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**Nota: O Conselho Editorial da *Gaudium Sciendi* respeita e aprova a decisão dos autores de não escreverem segundo as regras do projecto chamado Novo Acordo Ortográfico.**







## EDITORIAL

Este número da *Gaudium Sciendi* foi escrito e editado durante o período de pandemia, que nos constrangeu a um isolamento forçado e nos impediu de estar perto dos amigos e dos colegas. Sentimo-nos também, conseqüentemente, entristecidos pela perda de entes queridos e interrogamo-nos sobre o futuro, perguntando-nos, tal como Martin Luther King, no título do seu último livro, *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?*<sup>1</sup>.

Precisamos, por isso, de ouvir vozes de otimismo e de esperança, como a do Papa Francisco<sup>2</sup>, quando nos diz: "como desafiamos a doença, a tribulação, o medo e o isolamento, estamos todos carecidos de mútuo encorajamento" e, a fim de enfrentarmos esses reptos com sucesso, necessitamos de ter um novo modo de pensar o que implica uma capacidade aumentada de enfrentar o futuro.

Ao considerarmos também o título da nossa revista, *A Alegria da Sapiência*, ocorrenos que, nos nossos tempos atribulados, necessitamos ainda mais da sabedoria que - podendo ser entendida como a aplicação da inteligência à aquisição de conhecimentos, a partir da experiência humana - é, também, habilidade prática para escapar ao perigo, característica que tem interesse nos nossos dias de confinamento. Trata-se da busca de uma regra interior, de uma harmonia com o universo, portanto, pode considerar-se uma arte de viver – uma ética.

Devemos ter em consideração que a sabedoria está em tudo e em todos, e que podemos apreendê-la a qualquer momento, bastando para isso termos sensibilidade para captarmos a sua essência. Deste modo, vemos a vida como um grande mistério, que precisa de ser desvendado e, por isso, necessitamos de uma mente curiosa e sedenta de sapiência.

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<sup>1</sup> *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967) foi o último livro de Martin Luther King Jr., que recebeu o Prémio Nobel da Paz e foi assassinado em 1968. Nesta obra, além de clamar por justiça social, King dá-nos também um sentimento de esperança.

<sup>2</sup> Vide a Mensagem do Papa Francisco "Para o Dia Mundial das Missões" (18 de Outubro de 2020).

Relacionado com o tema da Sabedoria, no âmbito da religião, entre os Livros Sapienciais da Bíblia, destaca-se o "Eclesiástico"<sup>3</sup> (do Latim *Ecclesiasticus Liber*), também chamado "Sirácida", que é um dos livros deuterocanônicos, cuja autoria é atribuída ao escriba judeu Jesus Ben Sirach, cerca de 200 a. C.. O livro, que é o mais recente do Antigo Testamento, foi originalmente escrito em Hebraico e é formado por reflexões pessoais do autor. Era geralmente lido nas igrejas e é também conhecido como "Sabedoria de Sirach"<sup>4</sup>. Invocamos este "Livro de Sirach" por nele haver um elogio à Sabedoria, quando afirma:

*Toda a sabedoria vem do Senhor  
e a sabedoria está para sempre com ele.*

Devido ao conteúdo de alguns dos textos deste número, como o Elogio Fúnebre do Prof. Esperança Pina, escrito por uma médica, também nos pareceu adequado citá-lo pois fala de "Os Limites do Luto" (38, 16-23), tema que nos interessa a todos, dizendo:

*Derrama lágrimas pelo morto,  
geme e entoia o canto fúnebre.*

E refere-se ao modo de pensar dos cientistas, afirmando: *O pensamento científico também é um dom de Deus.* (38, 1-15)

Como vemos nos versos que a seguir citamos, louva também o trabalho dos médicos, como todos deveríamos fazer no nosso mundo actual quando eles repetidamente enfrentam tantos desafios:

*Honra o médico por seus serviços,  
também ele foi criado por Deus.  
O médico recebe sua ciência de Deus,  
e seu sustento do rei.*

Por todos os motivos invocados, é justo atribuir ao *Livro da Sapiência* um lugar de relevo entre seus congéneres e reconhecer ao seu autor o mérito de pioneiro de um humanismo inspirado, que procura encaminhar as luzes da Razão para as luzes da Fé, e de que cada vez parece necessitarmos mais na nossa época tão adversa.

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<sup>3</sup> Era designado como Livro da Igreja ou da Assembleia, devido ao uso que dele se fazia nos templos antigos por, entre os Livros Sapienciais, ser o mais rico de ensinamentos práticos, apresentados de um modo paternal e persuasivo.

<sup>4</sup> Nos séculos XIX e XX, foram encontrados diversos manuscritos incompletos do original e, hoje, contamos com 2/3 do seu texto.

É, por isso, com grande satisfação que, nestes tempos tão atribulados e angustiantes, publicamos mais um número da revista, que, como habitualmente, contém artigos, ensaios e resenhas críticas, que nos parecem de grande interesse. Esperamos deste modo contribuir para dar aos nossos leitores "a alegria da sapiência"<sup>5</sup>, tal como está inerente no título *Gaudium Sciendi*, que lhe foi atribuído pelo anterior Presidente da Sociedade Científica, Professor Carmo Ferreira. Procuramos assim, apesar de múltiplos problemas, dar continuidade à nossa determinação de editarmos uma publicação multifacetada, na qual recebemos com gosto a contribuição de membros da Sociedade, professores e estudantes, e mantermo-nos no chamado "modelo diamante" das revistas de acesso aberto, estando, por isso, a *Gaudium Sciendi* registada no "Directory of Open Access Journals" e empenhando-nos em prosseguir com as nossas práticas de garantia de qualidade editorial.

Com este número apresentamos a décima nona edição da revista e, por isso, começamos por agradecer à Presidente da Sociedade Científica, Prof Doutora Maria Luísa Leal de Faria, o apoio que sempre nos dá e também a todos os autores que, confiantes no nosso trabalho editorial, nos continuam a enviar textos para publicação. Agradecemos, igualmente, aos membros do Conselho de Avaliação, cujo trabalho anónimo tanto contribui para o impacto científico cada vez maior da nossa revista, tanto a nível nacional como internacional.

Neste número – como presente de Natal - tivemos a honra de ter a colaboração da Professora Maria Beatriz Rocha Trindade, que veio enriquecer o conteúdo científico da revista com um artigo intitulado "Chinese Community in Portugal: History, Migration and Business" em que nos fala da presença da comunidade chinesa em Portugal, demonstrando todo o seu saber sobre o tema.

Marisa da Silva Martins, no seu excelente artigo intitulado "Do Inferno à Arcádia: Alusões Imperiais em *The Secret Garden*", analisa a famosa obra de Frances Hodgson Burnett e refere que, ao longo do romance, existem múltiplas referências e críticas ao império britânico.

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<sup>5</sup> Comprovando o nosso interesse por esta matéria, lembramos que, num número anterior, publicámos um "Caderno Temático sobre a Sabedoria" (*Gaudium Sciendi*, Nº 11, Janeiro 2017, pp. 17-50).

Prosseguindo com a consulta do nosso exemplar, após termos lido sobre mundos tão diferentes como a China e o Império Britânico, somos levados por Ana Sofia Souto a uma original interpretação dos poemas de Carolyn Forché no seu texto "A Reading of Carolyn Forché's *In Salvador Poems*".

Por seu lado, João da Rocha Rodrigues contribui para justificar a minha classificação de plurifacetada a esta edição da nossa revista quando, após uma introdução teórica reveladora de todo o seu saber, se debruça sobre a emblemática obra *Utilitarianism* (1863) de John Stuart Mill. No seu artigo, intitulado "Unidade e Propagação da Motivação segundo John Stuart Mill: Uma Dimensão Esquecida do Utilitarismo", considera o problema da sanção moral, da formação do sentido de dever e do desenvolvimento da consciência moral, para concluir com uma apreciação crítica do contributo de Mill que nos ajuda a compreender o seu "regresso" actual ao panorama filosófico.

O Professor Américo Pereira, que nos tem dado o gosto de colaborar regularmente na *Gaudium Sciendi*, dá-nos mais uma brilhante apreciação do desempenho de Churchill no seu texto intitulado "Churchill on Philosophy 'Intellectual Dynamite'". Referindo-se à obra *My Early Life* (1930), fala-nos da opinião de Winston Churchill sobre educação e refere que esta poderá ter contribuído para o grande político inglês ter compreendido os objectivos de Hitler.

"Identity and the Need for Recognition: The Ontological and Political Specter of Communitarism according to MacIntyre and Barry" é o título do ensaio de Anthony Vecchio. O autor fala-nos do motivo porque a maioria dos chamados "comunitaristas" se incomoda com o epíteto e também do "espectro" da "política de reconhecimento" em Brian Barry e do "espectro do comunitarismo" em Alasdair MacIntyre, que parecem ser uma ameaça aos direitos liberais imparciais.

A secção dos artigos termina com a apresentação de um artigo de Maria Laura Bettencourt Pires intitulado "Longing ou Saudade" no qual a autora fala da ansiedade nostálgica que sentimos quando perdemos um ente querido. Afirma que, embora se diga que se trata de uma emoção tipicamente portuguesa relacionada com o período das Descobertas, ela é também descrita na literatura, na pintura, na escultura e na música em todo o mundo.

Na secção das "Recensões Críticas", José Fabião Rodrigues e Anthony Vecchio escreveram uma resenha em que apreciam a obra de Samuel Moyn *Not Enough: Human*

*Rights in an Unequal World*, que foi publicada em 2018 e da qual fazem uma atenta análise.

Na nossa época de tristeza motivada pela pandemia, temos também de lamentar a morte dos amigos<sup>6</sup> e, nesse âmbito, iniciámos neste número, uma nova secção intitulada "Obituário", que, segundo alguns, é considerado como um dos mais nobres produtos do chamado Jornalismo Literário. Publicamos, por isso, com o título "*In Memoriam*", um tributo escrito pela Professora Maria Alexandre Bettencourt Pires como forma de merecida homenagem ao Professor Esperança Pina, que tanto fez pelo ensino da Anatomia em Portugal.

A Professora Maria Glória Garcia deu-nos o gosto de nos permitir publicar, na secção "Leituras Recomendadas", a excelente apresentação que fez do livro do P<sup>e</sup>. João Lourenço *O Tempo de Jesus. O Mundo e as Instituições Judaicas*. Estamos certos que as suas eruditas palavras irão contribuir para que aqueles que não puderam assistir ao lançamento se sintam motivados para apreender todos os vastos conhecimentos e profundas reflexões que a obra contém.

Concluimos esperando que todos apreciem os resultados do nosso trabalho com o mesmo entusiasmo com que nós o realizámos.

Desejamos Boas Leituras a Todos!

**Maria Laura Bettencourt Pires**

**Directora da Gaudium Sciendi**

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<sup>6</sup> Evoco, por isso, a memória de duas grandes amigas e colaboradoras da *Gaudium Sciendi*, Ana Monteiro-Ferreira e Maria Margarida de Mendia.





# ARTIGOS





*Chinese Community in Portugal: History, Migration, and  
Business*



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## Introduction

Although this paper derives from a previous study<sup>1</sup>, its objective is to take a critical look back in time, tracing the evolution of the interest in this topic and the way in which it has been addressed. It establishes a timestamp on the Chinese presence in our country at the dawn of a new century after which, based on subsequent academic output, the path leading to our current time can be followed (Rocha-Trindade *et al.*, 2006).<sup>2</sup> This research focused on the relations between groups and between people, which are naturally configured in a different way at any given time and particular space. The findings are described in more detail in the book of joint authorship<sup>3</sup> from which the graphs summarising the obtained data presented herein are extracted. The attention and care taken by the team members in their direct contact and in establishing relationships with the respondents (who were assured anonymity) throughout the entire duration of the research, most particularly during the fieldwork stage, in which the cultural and social identity of the

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<sup>1</sup> The research took place in an institutional context of two centres: the "Centre of International Strategic Studies" and the "Centre of Studies on Migrations and Intercultural Relations" (Universidade Aberta), both scientifically accredited in the area of physical mobility and social mobility.

<sup>2</sup> Developed from the project "The Chinese Business Community in Portugal. Catalysts of the Integration of China in the Global Economy (2003-2005)" (POCTI/SOC/40827/2001) funded by the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) (Ministry for Science, Technology and Higher Education), its findings were published by the National Institution of Administration (Oeiras, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> The team consisted of three researchers, Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade, Annette Bongardt and Miguel Santos Neves, whose areas of academic qualification – Ethno-Sociology, Economics and Law – enabled following a multidisciplinary itinerary in which an articulated approach characterised the entire sequence of the research stages. The working hypothesis was engendered by Miguel Santos Neves, whose longstanding interest dedicated to oriental societies and cultures, notwithstanding their diversity, and his personal experience gained during onsite assignments and visits, in particular in Macao, were determinant for the definition of the subject addressed and the pursuit of the methodological pathway.

interviewees was respected, undoubtedly contributed to our success in obtaining results<sup>4</sup>.

As the business community comprises one of the main segments of the Chinese population resident in Portugal, it was important to investigate the migratory framework that has always characterised it, albeit in a summarised manner, by collecting data enabling us to situate this community in the world, in Europe and foremost in our country.

Redesigning the initial questions, selecting and adjusting the research instruments and further expanding on one point or another, requiring further elucidation, all distinguish the flexibility that continuously accompanied the rigorous process of investigation, whose development encountered serious difficulties.

The characteristics of the migrant community under review are well known. The tightly closed circle of interaction among the members of this community, and that what is particular to them, leads to a certain isolation in daily life and brings about a certain mistrust of those outside their circle of interaction.

The necessary elucidation of the questions that emerged over time and the restructuring and reorientation of the subtopics that regularly came to light, often implied a search for ways to find new guidelines to reach the desired outcomes. An initially imprecise text gradually gained greater concision through written sources of information, electronic records and contacts achieved directly.

This text begins with a description of the geographic mobility of the Chinese diaspora in Europe and, subsequently, addresses the presence and evolution of the Chinese community in Portugal. The following section seeks to characterise the Chinese associativism in Portugal, and to present, at a final stage, the findings of the research study that was developed.

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<sup>4</sup> The selection and adaptation of the tools used to carry out our research depended on the existing material and human conditions. Alongside the initial bibliographic research, which preceded the formulation of the working hypothesis, the object of study was established definitively, encapsulating an extremely important and permanent position throughout the entire research (see the extensive and qualified bibliography consulted).

### Geographic Mobility

All migratory flows have since time progressively developed through the support provided by existing transnational networks, in which the information circulated through contacts of personal nature, to a large extended family. Chinese migration did not evolve by chance, but rather occurred as a "chain reaction", composed of parents and neighbours who travelled to specific places of a given region. The routes taken towards the selected destinations and the types of behaviour portrayed implanted, from the onset, the necessary dynamics to ensure the continuity of their permanence and enable a successful settlement.

The constancy revealed by Chinese mobility throughout the centuries and the prolonged settlement attained by the migrants in their selected destinations, followed by the same situation found among their descendants, enables classifying their geographic displacement as a diaspora (Trolliet, 2000). This concept defines the situation that is observed, especially as the social dynamics and "feeling of belonging" binding the expatriates to a common ancestral origin, constitute one of its outstanding features (Rocha-Trindade, 2001).

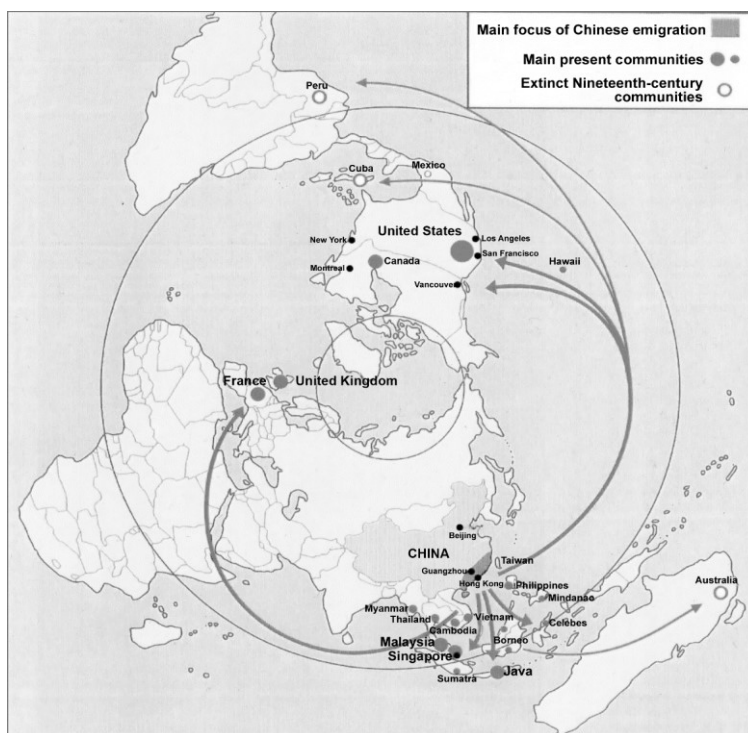


Figure 1 - Chinese Diaspora Source: Graphic design by Rita Martins

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The numerous communities of Chinese origin that have gradually spread throughout the four corners of the world originated from the migratory flows coming from diverse regions of this enormous country. A marked difference between China's national areas draws our attention to the division of the country marked by the Yangtze River. The first migrations date back to the third century (Han Dynasty) flowing towards Southeast Asia, a current that would become progressively more numerous and intensify towards the end of the eighteenth century. This visible growth that gradually took place and has currently attained a global dimension, essentially took place in the mid nineteenth century.

The two short periods corresponding to the two Opium Wars (1839-1842 and 1859-1860) and the early years of the last century witnessed the opening of the ports located in the south, which became a region for the development of international trade (Rocha-Trindade, *et al.*, 2006). The end of slavery in countries colonised by Europeans and the need to find low-cost labour were ideal conditions for the Chinese mobility to have occurred (Fourgeau, 1997). Moreover, the Chinese economic crisis derived from political uprisings and natural disasters, floods and droughts, strongly contributed to migration representing a resource for survival.

Devastated by the drastic political intervention that transformed the millenary Chinese empire after the deposition of the Qing Dynasty, the country re-emerged as the People's Republic of China (1912). This radical change of regime converted it into a vast battlefield extending over various regions, in particular the southeast coastal zone.

Seeking to flee from the hardship and widespread severe hunger of that time, several Chinese citizens tried an active search for a better life and a peaceful environment. Alongside this situation, we should also consider that the residents were confronting a thirst for power manifested by the Japanese, who many Chinese had already encountered during their previous visits as migrant workers. In this scenario the internal displacement, such as the route to the south towards the particularly significant area of Guangzhou, extended in search of Europe and Africa by ship.



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A longstanding implantation in the European continent occurred in gradual stages from the beginning of the twentieth century. At this time France emerged as one of the first destinations, as recruited workers moved there during the First World War. These migrants were specifically hired to work in military equipment factories and carry out other tasks, such as, for example, digging trenches (Fabienne, 2003).

Much later, in the 1980s, Europe started to receive new and massive migrant inflows less linked to the traditional places of origin. In addition to the great majority of those seeking to travel to Europe originally from the province of Zhejiang, in the southeast of the country, there were now flows particularly from the provinces of Jilin, Liaoning, Heilongjiang and Hebei (northeast). This was the consequence of the new economic situation unfolding, primarily due to the closure of unprofitable state companies (Picquart, 2004).



Figure 2 - China

Southern Europe definitively took on the position of choice target to be reached at the end of the 1990s. A series of population movements shifting directly from China towards the previously selected destinations, where migrants of Chinese origin had already settled, contrasted with those that took place from one country of settlement to other countries of settlement, which could be referred to as interpolar.



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The progressive growth of Chinese immigration, which enlarges its presence in Europe has been so significant that it is important to present the numbers reflecting this at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Figure 3 shows the number of foreigners in each of the listed countries, as receivers of migrants of Chinese ancestry, thus enabling a double appraisal, in absolute and comparative numbers.

Countries		Originally from the People's Republic of China				Originally from the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong and Taiwan			
		2000	2001	2002	2003	2000	2001	2002	2003
1	Germany	50885	63111	72094	---	56157	68288	77306	---
2	Austria	---	6799	---	---	---	8254	---	---
3	Belgium	---	---	6011	---	---	---	6011	---
4	Denmark	3073	3434	3892	4729	3178	3549	4016	4859
5	Slovenia	225	314	---	---	225	314	---	---
6	Spain	27574	37522	51203	---	27985	38067	51628	---
7	Estonia	18 <sup>a</sup>	---	---	---	18 <sup>a</sup>	---	---	---
8	Finland	---	---	2706	---	---	---	2706	---
9	France <sup>b</sup>	31987	35506	---	---	31987	35506	---	---
10	Greece	---	569	---	---	---	616	---	---
11	Netherlands <sup>c</sup>	20054	21884	24638	30732	31492	33373	36284	42670
12	Hungary	11432	---	---	---	11432	---	---	---
13	Ireland	---	---	5599	---	---	---	7263	---
14	Italy	56660	58844	---	---	57230	59414	---	---
15	Latvia	---	45	---	---	---	45	---	---
16	Lithuania	5	9	---	---	5	9	---	---
17	Luxembourg	1070	---	---	---	1083	---	---	---
18	Portugal <sup>b,d</sup>	3281	7239	8336	8703	3581	7608	8636	8994
19	UK <sup>e</sup>	---	247403	---	---	---	247403	---	---
20	Czech Rep.	3798	3221	---	---	3798	3240	---	---
21	Sweden	8150	8959	9776	10852	9368	10190	11025	12106
22	Norway	3617	3818	4159	---	3623	3826	4167	---
23	Switzerland	6502	7381	8416	---	7194	8057	9200	---
TOTAL EU			521677 <sup>f</sup>				544371		
TOTAL EEA		---	533016 <sup>f,g</sup>	---	---	---	556394 <sup>f,g</sup>		

**Figure 3 - Chinese Citizens Resident in Europe 2000-2003 (official data)**

Source: Rocha-Trindade *et al.*, 2006, pp. 51-52

EU: European Union; EEA: European Economic Area.

**Notes:**

- a. 1999 Data.
- b. Data refers only to citizens with Chinese nationality.
- c. Data refers only to citizens born on Chinese territory.
- d. In 2001, 2002 and 2003 includes citizens with residence and stay permits.
- e. Data refers to all ethnic Chinese citizens with diverse nationalities and origins.
- f. The data for Hungary and Luxembourg refers to 2000; the data of Belgium, Finland and Ireland refer to 2002.
- g. Includes the data of Iceland (140 in 2001).

As is clearly evident, the official statistics presented above do not include immigrants that are in an illegal situation and, in some cases, the records were produced based on nationality, not taking into account the immigrant's ethnic origin. While this list is not exhaustive, it does draw out, on a merely illustrative basis, some particular situations. The United Kingdom records the total number of citizens by association to their ethnic origin, irrespective of nationality or country of origin.<sup>5</sup> In contrast, the Netherlands only records those born on Chinese territories, taken to include the entire extent, therefore excludes many who, being descendants, were born and lived in other countries (Minghuan, 1998).

Chinese people sometimes enter into Germany as students, refugees seeking asylum or workers in the context of family reunification situations (IOM, 2002). In Southern Europe, Portugal, France and Italy base their criteria on the legal nationality held.<sup>6</sup> Within this region, Spain follows the rule of nationality in recording citizens of the People's Republic of China and Taiwan, taking into account those that have been locally nationalised as Spanish (INE, 2003). Italy is notable in being one of the key destinations for re-establishment of this population, which has imprinted a significant presence in the European Union in the post-Schengen/1997 era (Pieke, 2002).

We should not forget the communities that are resident in some East European countries where, with the collapse of the communist regimes, these places were selected due to their offer of competitive products and services. With the fall of these regimes, the political spaces formerly governed by them have also become sites chosen not for settlement but as transit routes. This situation is due to these economies now urgently requiring new consumer goods, most particularly those linked to clothing and footwear, produced in China and sold at low prices.

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<sup>5</sup> The first *census* conducted on the Chinese ethnic issue in 1991 gave rise to various studies (Parker, 1995; Owen, 1995; Chan and Chan, 1997).

<sup>6</sup> Information about the Chinese presence in Southern Europe can be obtained through various official, university and private sources. In Portugal, for instance, the sources include the Immigration and Borders Service (SEF); Balance of Payments Statistics and Statistical Unit of the Institute for Informatics and Statistics on Solidarity (IIES-UEST). In France, there is the European Federation of Chinese Organisations (EFCO).

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Russia, that maintains the features described above, has somewhere between 100,000 and 300,000 individuals (*Migration News*, 1999; Lintner & Mai, 1999). The capital city of Moscow is home to a significant Chinese community, whose organisation is notable. However, this organisation is very closed and can be considered self-sufficient – it has its own hotel facilities for example, and the same can be said of clinical structures and tourist agencies. Not being homogenous, it contains a series of micro societies constituted based on the province of origin of its members.

In Hungary, the number of Chinese residents varies according to the estimates of the actual Chinese organisations, suggesting numbers standing between 10,000 and 15,000, the majority of whom are living in Budapest and around 80% are engaged in trading activity. In the beginning of the 1990s, this country started to become a distribution centre for Chinese products all over Eastern Europe, particularly forwarded to Poland, Ukraine and Yugoslavia (Nyíri, 2000). Glancing towards the west allows us to point to the former Yugoslavia as the first clandestine gateway, the outcome of the good relations between Belgrade and Peking, which led to facilitating the obtaining of visas.

To summarise and, in an appraisal that constitutes more of an approximation than a reflection of the existing real situation, the number of Chinese in Europe (not including Russia) is estimated at around 556,394 on the date of the aforesaid research (Rocha-Trindade *et al.*, 2006). The recognised and major difference between the figures presented officially by each of the host countries, which continues to persist, enables us to consider that this total number represents a figure that is very much below the current reality. It should be noted that the number of those in an illegal situation that could never be accounted for by official means would always need to be taken into account. This undervaluation is naturally due to the inexistence of comparable parameters concerning the records of foreigners, and this estimate can be regarded as being very far from reflecting the truth.

While we do not know with any accuracy the numbers of those who began arriving in Europe, by their own initiative and, at a later date, by means of carrier

agencies or smugglers established in China itself, it is known that the previously selected destinations were reached and were progressively settled in. Assistance at the destination, provided by members of previously established Chinese communities, initially led to the undertaking of modest and poorly paid work, a situation that as a rule rapidly changed over time.

#### **The Chinese Presence in Portugal**

Chinese migration to Portugal, which as a rule accompanies that of all international movements, is placed within the context of the migratory flows directed at all the other countries of the European continent, both via legal and illegal pathways, in which various strategies and different routes are used. Looking back at the Chinese community that gradually established itself in the country, how and when, enables understanding the pathway leading to its first implantation, growth and settlement, reflecting the interest aroused by it over time. As this consists of a multifaceted reality involving various dimensions, its understanding requires considering the different aspects that determined the evolution of its settlement on national territory, the growth of which has been exponential.

The first migrants arrived in Portugal during the last century, in the 1930s. The available records point to 63 male individuals as the total number that settled at that time, essentially in the regions of Lisbon and Porto, but also in the Centre: Aveiro, Coimbra and Castelo Branco. This was the situation registered on mainland Portugal; records were also kept of Chinese migrants that moved to the Atlantic archipelagos. Among this pioneering wave some returned to their place of origin, thanks to accumulated savings, while others remained, in many cases showing the early days of a process of miscegenation through mixed marriages.



Figure 4 - Mixed Marriages Source: *Grande Reportagem 160*, ano XV, 3ª série, 31/01/2004

At a later date, 1955, the records indicate the presence of 73 people (7 families) (Poston, DL & Yu Mei-Yu, 1990). It is important to mention that, having crossed the Indian Ocean, some settled in Mozambique, at that time a Portuguese colony. Here, some chose to live in the urban spaces of Lourenço Marques (currently Maputo) and Beira, while others created sparse pockets of smallholder farming communities, or settled along the coast of Inhambane, the ideal place for those formerly involved in fishing.

After the decolonisation in the wake of the April Revolution (1974), there were 700 individuals of Chinese origin, primarily from the province of Guangdong, dispersed throughout mainland Portugal and its islands (Tomé, 1994).<sup>7</sup> Special reference should be made to the process of routing and implantation on national territory which took place with much greater frequency and in a much easier manner within the Portuguese society of origin, already installed, than among the actual Chinese community. Their perfect fluency in the Portuguese language and the generational position that the descendants held at that time, in view of the previous settlement of their families, considerably facilitated their integration.

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In Angola their numbers were low; however, in East Timor, before the Indonesian invasion (1975), followed by an extremely turbulent period, the community was at that time estimated at around 10,000 people and currently maintains its presence.

Nowadays, the Chinese community, which never portrayed a homogenous character in Portugal, consists of four groups, whose differences essentially reside in their place of origin, language<sup>8</sup> and networks of knowledge possessed. A detailed analysis leads to considering those that were resident in Mozambique (as a Portuguese colony in the time of the dictatorship, as mentioned above). These are the original entrepreneurs of the South China triangle (Macao, Hong-Kong and Taiwan), migrants coming from the province of Zhejiang (southeast of the People's Republic of China) and the group of university students, whose temporary settlement must be mentioned, although their variable time of stay precludes knowing the absolute number that defines their permanence at any given time.

Starting out as travelling salespersons (selling ties, belts, costume jewellery), they progressively worked their way up to establish shops, in the form of small warehouses, in which the offer of diversified products introduced a novelty.

As we can see on the graph in Figure 5, that gives a more actual perspective on the evolution of Chinese migrants to Portugal, it was since the beginning of the 2000s when Chinese migration became more expressive, and also in subsequent periods like 2006 and 2008. After that time, the growth has been constant and in 2018, there were already 25.357 Chinese migrants officially registered in Portugal.

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<sup>8</sup> It is worth noting the importance of the existence of dialects and their distribution in the geographic space of East Asia to enable understanding the conditioning and orientation of mobility and the implantation of business networks that have operated since the distant past and continue active in the present.

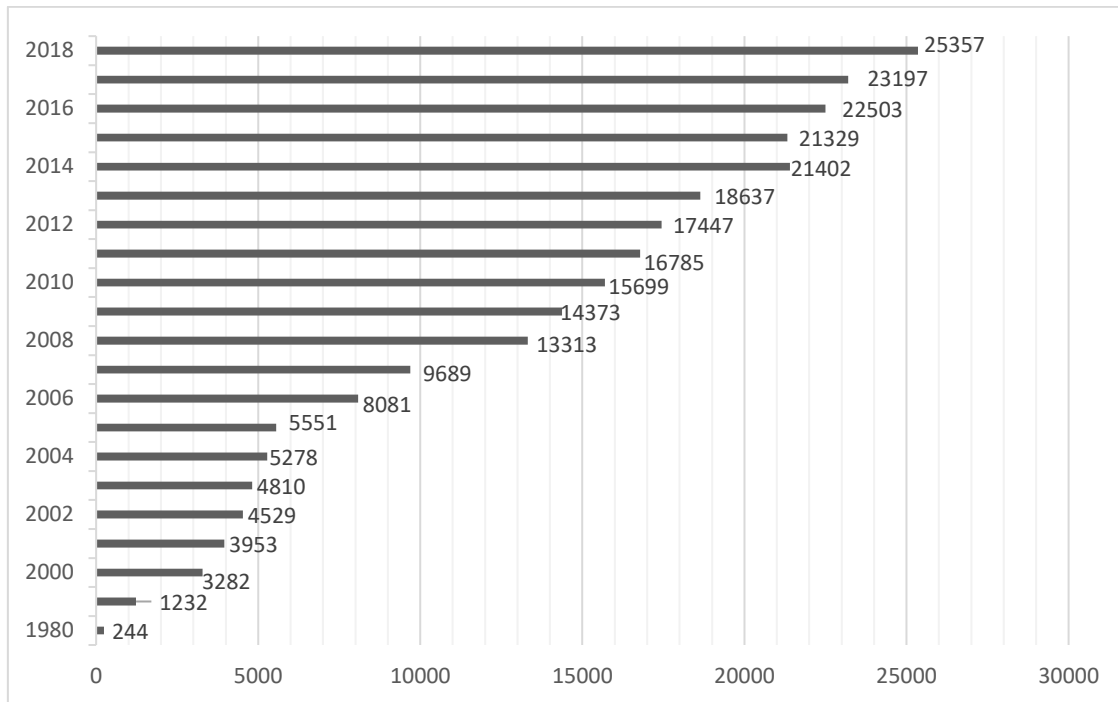


Figure 5 - The Chinese Community in Portugal

Source: SEF, Pordata (1980-2018)

### Characterisation of Chinese Associativism in Portugal

Taking into account the research project (Rocha-Trindade *et al.*, 2006), and in order to understand any of the situations reflected above it is fundamental to situate the object of analysis in the social circumstances in which it operated. Accordingly, we considered the series of intervening variables<sup>9</sup> that could explain the evolution of prior situations that had led to or contributed to their subsequent occurrence.

Therefore, the leaders of the main Chinese associations were interviewed, at previously selected locations according to the number of people involved: Lisbon, Porto and Algarve. From these associations, 23 were located in the North, 91 were in Lisbon, 17 in Faro and 1 in other location. Besides, from the total Chinese leaders interviewed, 24.7% are between 41 and 50 years old (around  $\frac{1}{4}$ ), 38.5% are between 31 and 40 years old, and 29.6% are less than 30 years old.

Likewise, the businesspersons interviewed were chosen according to company size, degree of diversification of the business, areas in which new activities

<sup>9</sup> At an individual level, the age cohort and sex were taken into account; regarding mobility, the processes of naturalisation, deportation and asylum application were considered; and in relation to work, integration and the Social Security system were considered.

considered emerging are situated, and frequency of international interaction, primordially that established with the People's Republic of China.

The different times at which the interviews were conducted sought to achieve diverse but complementing purposes: define the location of the target group that would constitute the sample, facilitating the alignment of an intentional selection. The non-existence of a sampling structure that could enable extracting a random representative sample, with a reasonable confidence level, immediately eliminated the possibility of taking this position. Therefore, this implied seeking specialised "informers" within the actual Chinese community, capable via direct knowledge of finding credible respondents, who would be requested to provide trustworthy collaboration.

Having recognised the significance of the Chinese associative space, inserted within Portuguese society, the decision was taken to lend it particular attention and search for members from whom elucidative answers could be obtained. Due to its significance it is important to mention this point.

The "Luso-Chinese Association", the first among the associations progressively installed, was founded in 1990 in the city of Albufeira (Algarve) by Chinese businesspersons based in Portugal. Essentially underlying its creation was concern about the teaching and fluency of the Chinese language. This attitude portrays apprehension in view of the lack of language skills of second-generation children and young people, as the power of communication is rightfully considered a factor of identity, which not only facilitates but strengthens understanding between people of the same origin.

The "Association of Luso-Chinese Merchants and Industrialists" (1997), positioned in the geographic region of Greater Lisbon has its head office in Algés (Oeiras). This association fundamentally pursues two goals, considered priorities: that of offering support to Chinese enterprises wishing to establish themselves in the country, and that of providing a legal framework on matters related to the migratory phenomenon for those wanting to be contracted and establish their residence here.

The development of cultural activities is not considered a priority; however, practices allusive to significant dates are respected (which are always extremely



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popular), with the most significant example being the festivities related to the Chinese New Year. Also called Spring Festival, it is regularly celebrated in different ways all over Portugal. Supported by the Embassy of China in Portugal in collaboration with the Chinese associations based in the country, these celebrations are held in the North, most especially in Póvoa do Varzim and Vila do Conde, in the capital (Lisbon) and extend to Lagoa in the Algarve. A series of cultural expressions of diverse nature include parades, exhibitions, photographs, street markets and musical attractions, among which particular reference should be made to the performance of Beijing Opera. The Ambassador and the senior leaders of these associations honour the parades with their presence. The social composition and their order in the alignment reflect the hierarchical position of the participants, enabling the audience to become aware of the values that are revered and entrenched. The Ambassador of the People's Republic of China in Portugal and the leaders of the community are followed by groups dressed for the occasion, according to the tradition, joined by members of the community carrying banners with groups identifications as "Lisbon Chinese School" and "Confucius Institute of the University of Aveiro" among many others.

The following images portrait the Chinese New Year celebrations in Lisbon in 2019 and 2020 including the parade in Av. Almirante Reis and the show at Alameda.

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**Photos by Sérgio Miguel Rocha Trindade**

Lastly, the "League of the Chinese in Portugal" (1997), which could best be explained as a federation of associations of diverse nature. Based in Oporto, its action covers the entire northern region of the country. The commercial and cultural actions developed include providing support to Chinese immigrants, giving them access to an easier and more harmonious integration in Portuguese society.

#### **Data Collection and Methodology**

In the research project (Rocha-Trindade *et al.*, 2006) and in view of the existing research hypotheses, we sought to gather information through two types of inquiry: qualitative elements (as mentioned above), accomplished by means of unstructured and semi-structured interviews, and quantitative data obtained by applying a questionnaire.

The construction of the questionnaire included a double version with one form written just in Chinese language and another bilingual in both Chinese language and Portuguese. This attempted to facilitate the respondents' full understanding of what we wanted to know and the correct meaning encapsulated by each question. Sent to 200 enterprises in various zones of Chinese associations in Portugal, 129 questionnaires were received and considered valid. The questionnaire presented eight subject groups, aimed at providing information about:

- a) the respondent entrepreneur's profile, place of origin, duration of residence in Portugal and motivations for having chosen this country;
- b) professional activity performed and corresponding activity sector; location and size of the enterprise; origin of the workers; the respondent's assessment of the results achieved and expectations created;
- c) importance of participation in the associative scenario: knowledge of the position of each entrepreneur, membership time; opinion about the benefits received from this connection;
- d) relations maintained with other Chinese enterprises established in the country, intensity and nature of the existing relations;
- e) relations maintained with other Chinese enterprises established in the European Union;

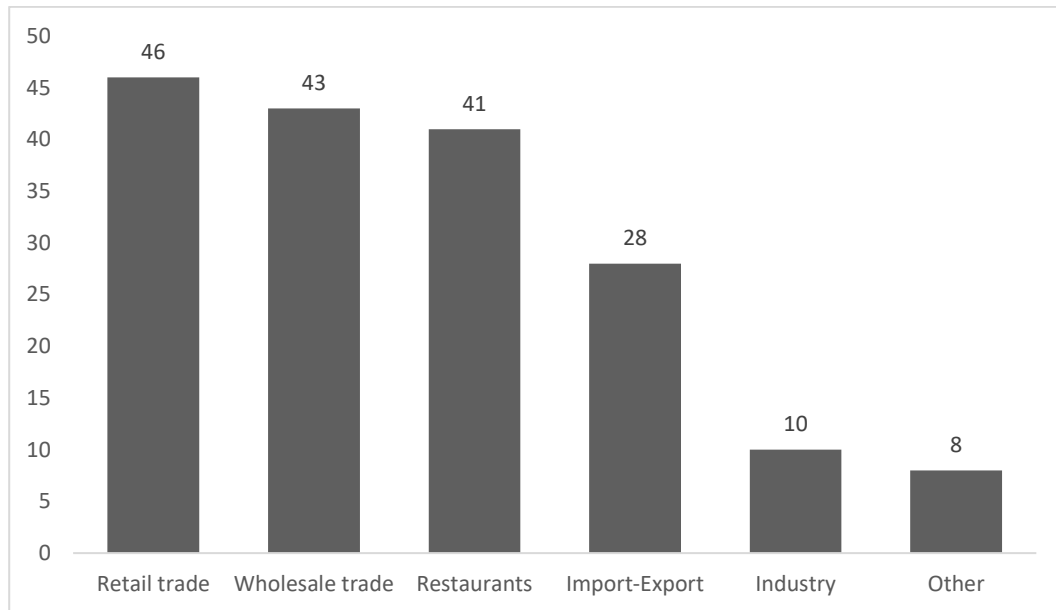
- f) relations maintained with Portuguese enterprises, and intensity, nature and main difficulties of the existing relations;
- g) nature of business relations with the Portuguese State and ascertainment of any problems;
- h) interaction established with the country of origin.

In the situation under review, it is imperative to consider the geographic location of Portugal and China, and observe the technological development over time, that has introduced profound changes in the way of disseminating information, in reciprocal knowledge and the far greater ease of establishing communication. For a long time, contacts were practically inexistent<sup>10</sup> - evoking a country situated in another continent was subject to preconceptions that were progressively instated and rarely coincided with the reality of the facts leading to the entrenchment and construction of stereotypes.

From the onset the business community showed a clear interest towards specialised sectors, one could almost say market "niches" that currently confirm the trends observed all over Europe, namely, restaurants, trade, textile products especially in the area of women's clothing. At a time when the restaurant sector was heading downhill, due to the existence of a situation of too many establishments running the same type of business – a phenomenon which could be labelled as saturation –, this rapidly gave way to the installation of another type of activity.

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<sup>10</sup> Macao, a remote territory under Portuguese administration, was referred to by those who mostly knew it, by direct or indirect means, and based on this, permitted themselves to extrapolate information not always coincident with the truth. Mainland China, in an undersized perspective, was frequently identified with Macao.



**Figure 6 - Professional Activity Sectors in Portugal** Source: Rocha-Trindade *et al.*, 2006.

The data obtained reveal that around a quarter of the Chinese residents in Portugal work in the context of the export-import business, reflecting the growth of trade activities with China (see Figure 6). This enables considering them as potential agents of promotion of bilateral relations, embodying a facilitating vehicle and operating as a bridge of internationalisation between Portugal and the “Orient”/Asia.

The implications of the presence of the Chinese business community in Portugal concerning relations with China essentially boil down to the business field. Marked by relations of family nature, which lend continuity to the tradition of Chinese enterprises, their business organisation basically presents the following features: management that holds total control and in which family members hold key positions; visible hierarchisation based on leadership driven by a living ancestor, who has the final say in ultimate decisions; stability in roles and obligations undertaken; and funding assured by the family, which contributes to strengthen the actual internal unity.

*Guanxi*, an extremely important practice firmly rooted in the operation of family firms, consists of an interactive web that is able to create opportunities, establish partnerships and provide assistance and support when necessary. This web

is established between people and not between enterprises, ensuring credit by instilling the feeling of reciprocal trust and confidence.

The information obtained through the questionnaire relative to the connections instituted between enterprises, whose owners are of the same origin, established in Portugal or China, or with owners of Portuguese enterprises established in their own country, reveals the differences illustrated in the following graphic representations.

Thus, our findings demonstrated that the intensity of the relationships of Chinese businesspersons with Portuguese businesspersons is above all of low (48%) or zero (15%) intensity, which indicates that their commercial and business networks are essentially situated outside the Portuguese business community. Likewise, when questioned about the intensity of their relationships with Chinese companies operating in Europe, the Chinese businesspersons answered that they are above all of low (31%) or zero (42%) intensity. However, when questioned about their transnational relations with China, almost all the businesspersons (93%) answered that they maintain ties with their country of origin.

The settlement of Chinese immigration on national territory triggers challenging situations both with respect to the policy developed domestically and at an external level. As to relations with the Portuguese State, offering difficulties that would be desirable to see overcome, the Chinese critically prioritised the lack of compliance with deadlines, bureaucracy, tardy or non-existent response, which is considered discriminatory conduct (Figure 7).

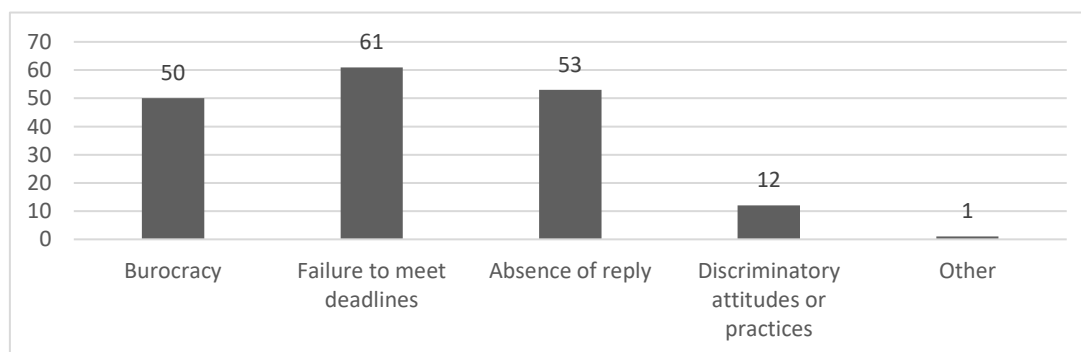


Figure 7- Difficulties in interactions with Portuguese Authorities Source: Rocha-Trindade *et al.*, 2006



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The most recent wave of Chinese migration (from the last decade of the twentieth century), characterised by the "search for opportunities", reflects the current dynamics of globalisation and China's growing insertion in the world economy, incorporating individuals with the highest educational level and, in some cases, personal experience of having previously lived in other European or even American countries.

In the context of migratory policies, the replacement of a logic of restriction of entrance into national territory by a flexible attitude based on the attraction of qualified flows, especially of entrepreneurs, potential investors as well as brains who could act in areas with an acute shortage of specialists, could lead to a revival offering benefits to both sides.

#### Conclusion

Taking a retrospective glance at the mobility that characterises the life of the Chinese people, the classic "diaspora" model could be applicable as a concept, which is embodied here in all its aspects. Throughout the ages, the different waves that carried Chinese migrants all over the world, coming from diverse regions, and the latent motivations, reveal a series of triggers of economic and social nature, not unrelated to factors of political order, which arise according to the time and place in which they occur.

The international movements that have flourished for centuries and continue to take place, the settlement that followed in areas that subsequently began to secure the possibility of absorbing these immigrants, as well as the maintenance of contacts in terms of the installed dispersion, allow for shared emotional relationships which complete the set of specific features of these movements.

As the European space has progressively become a highly prized destination, increasingly sought after, its growing Chinese community is significantly distributed throughout the continent, albeit with its constitution being heterogeneous and the assessments pointing to the total number resident in each country differing.

Among all who reside within the European space or beyond its borders, a constant connection is maintained with the country of origin, arising from a process

of ongoing interrelations, that are conducted through reciprocal information networks and operate via family, personal and social ties. Underlying all of this is an economic relationship, in which the situation of the labour market and business opportunities constitute driving conditions towards increased emigration.

Mostly originating from the province of Zhejiang, those newly arrived as a result of recruitment provided by those already established here could be classified as part of a displacement made from their origin to a foreign country, more as a movement within the actual community than considering it as international migration.

The choice of Portugal as their destination country is relatively recent. Although the beginning occurred in a marginal way in the first part of the twentieth century, from the 1930s, the migratory currents have progressively grown in a significant manner from the 1990s, a situation, which is expected to continue.

Chinese businesspersons in Portugal nurture an ongoing relationship among one another, with countries where other communities of theirs reside and with their own country of origin. They manage to develop and maintain connections with China both in the institutional sphere and social sphere, essentially marked by issues of economic scope. For this reason, we should consider the importance that they constitute for an immediate strategy to be able to be envisaged in the long term.

The settlement and growing presence of Chinese immigrants in Portugal should be reflected upon by those in government that are responsible for this area. In addition to the mandatory internal regulations that define the rules on entrance and permanence in the country and those that guide forms of development of professional activities, it would be desirable to take into account the whole existing potentiality of this community, when pondering the perspective of internationalisation that is posed.

The activity of the businesspersons comprising the Chinese business community established in Portugal creates new investment opportunities for the country acting as an attractive factor that boosts the entire economy. The current insertion holding the migration of Chinese origin, integrated in the worldwide

geographic scope where its existence is demarcated, merits being highlighted in the process of transnational globalisation.

A stronger involvement of the Portuguese authorities and of civil society itself in the knowledge and dissemination of China and its extremely rich culture, which should include an approach taking into account all the diversity that it encapsulates as well as knowledge of the language, could counter the construction of stereotypes and the distorted view in common circulation.

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**BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE**

Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade is a Sociologist and a Full Professor at Universidade Aberta (the Portuguese Open University). Her research career began with a doctorate at Université René Descartes–Sorbonne, in Paris (1970) with a thesis on Portuguese emigration to France. Since then she published more than two hundred scientific works, in different languages, in Portugal and in various countries in the world; among them, she is the author of several books, including a well-known Portuguese textbook, *Sociologia das Migrações*. International, as well as internal, migrations and cultural relations have always been her dominant fields of interest. She was the founder of the Centro de Estudos das Migrações e das Relações Interculturais, in Lisbon (a R&D Unit of the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology) where she works as a senior research scientist. She belongs to several international scientific associations and networks and is a member of editorial boards or referee for journals and revues dedicated to the study of migration issues. In recognition for her teaching and research work, she has been awarded the French Ordre Nationale du Mérite and the Portuguese Grã-Cruz of Ordem da Instrução Pública.

**ABSTRACT**

This text explores the presence of the Chinese community in Portugal, considering its specific characteristics and its evolution. Moreover, the individuality of this community motivated our interest in pursuing a research project, centred on the business community group established in this country. This study led to a transnational vision of the networks that interact in this field. The diversity of the migratory flows involved and the economic dimension prevailing throughout the entire Chinese diaspora compelled the analysis of their relationship in terms of European networks and the institutional link maintained with China itself.

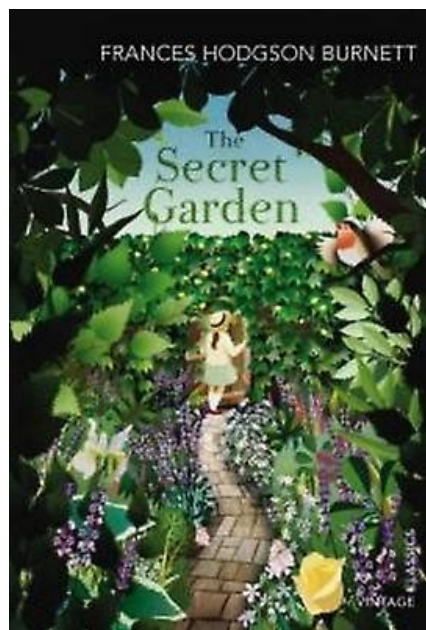
**Keywords:** Chinese diaspora; Portugal; Chinese businesspersons; associativism, entrepreneurship, migration

**RESUMO**

Este texto explora a presença da comunidade chinesa em Portugal, considerando as suas características específicas e sua evolução. A individualidade que assume motivou o interesse pela realização de um projecto de pesquisa, centrado sobre a comunidade empresarial estabelecida no nosso país. Este estudo levou a uma visão transnacional das redes que interagem nesse campo. A diversidade dos fluxos migratórios que as integram e a dimensão económica que prevalece em toda a diáspora chinesa, conduz a perspectivar o seu relacionamento ao nível das redes europeias e a ligação institucional que mantêm com a própria China.

*Do Inferno à Arcádia: Alusões Imperiais em The Secret Garden,*  
Marisa da Silva Martins

***Do Inferno à Arcádia:  
Alusões Imperiais em The Secret Garden***



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Num dos poucos estudos que privilegia a Literatura Infantil à luz dos Estudos Pós-Coloniais, Daphne M. Kutzer explica como o império britânico perpassa todos os clássicos infantis ingleses do século XIX, marcando, ainda, presença nos séculos XX e XXI.<sup>1</sup> Primeiramente serializado entre 1910 e 1911, *The Secret Garden* de Frances Hodgson Burnett não é exceção,<sup>2</sup> pelo que, ao longo do romance, existem múltiplas referências ao império britânico e, conseqüentemente, críticas ao mesmo. O presente artigo propõe, assim, uma análise de algumas dessas alusões imperiais. Deste modo, começaremos por discutir o contraste climático entre a Índia e Inglaterra, as conseqüências sofridas pela família Lennox relativamente ao clima, bem como o passado colonial dos Craven, que tinge a saúde da família e, por fim, as soluções apontadas pela autora.

### I – O Inferno

Fazendo uso do mito da deusa grega Perséfone, aplicando-o ao romance em estudo, Holly Blackford tece comparações entre Misselthwaite Manor e o reino do Hades.<sup>3</sup> Diferimos, todavia, dado que o local que mais se assemelha ao submundo clássico é a Índia, tal como apresentada por Burnett.

Na obra, a Índia é descrita como assolada por temperaturas quase infernais, ares bafientos e húmidos – um clima, claramente, aliciante a doenças, em particular nos corpos mais vulneráveis das crianças. Vítima desse clima, a jovem protagonista da trama é caracterizada como demasiado magra, mal-humorada, débil e constantemente doente, originando-lhe tez amarela. Danijela Petkovic comenta como as más condições climáticas da Índia interferem na saúde e desenvolvimento

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Daphne M. Kutzer. *Empire's Children: Empire and Imperialism in Classic British Children's Books* (New York/London: Garland Publishing, 2000), xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Frances Hodgson Burnett. *The Secret Garden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), [1911].

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Holly Blackford. "Maiden, Mother, Mysteries: The Myth of Persephone in *The Secret Garden*", in *Frances Hodgson Burnett's The Secret Garden: A Children's Classic at 100* (Plymouth: The Scarecrow Press, 2011), pp. 3-22.



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das crianças inglesas, particularmente das meninas e, por isto, pondo em risco o futuro do império.<sup>4</sup> Contudo, Mary não é a única personagem a sofrer as consequências do clima indiano. Se Burnett aponta a Índia como a responsável pela fraqueza e falta de saúde da criança, o império é, igualmente, o motivo pelo qual *Mr* e *Mrs* Lennox falham nas suas missões.

A única referência que Burnett devota a *Mr* Lennox acentua a fragilidade da saúde do administrador colonial. O leitor está livre, pois, de pressupor que a debilidade do chefe da família Lennox põe em risco a eficiência da missão que este deve cumprir no império. Por outro lado, as críticas apontadas a *Mrs* Lennox são mais ferozes. Na conjuntura imperial, as mulheres desempenham um papel importante, não somente no império doméstico (nas casas inglesas) como também nas colônias. Nas longínquas terras da Rainha Vitória, as mulheres podiam desempenhar o papel de esposas, apoiando os maridos nos respectivos cargos administrativos ou podiam tornar-se missionárias e educadoras.<sup>5</sup> Todavia, no início do romance, *Mrs* Lennox é, meramente, descrita como bela:

"A great beauty who cared only to go to parties and amuse herself with gay people. She had not wanted a little girl at all, and when Mary was born she handed her over to the care of an Ayah, who was made to understand that if she wished to please the Mem Sahib she must keep the child out of sight as much as possible. So when she was a sickly, fretful, ugly little baby she was kept out of the way, and when she became a sickly, fretful, toddling thing she was kept out of the way also" (p. 5).

Além disto, o romance aponta, subtilmente, a possível infidelidade de *Mrs* Lennox: "She was with a fair young man, and they stood talking together in low, strange voices" (p. 6). *Mrs* Lennox não apenas falha como mãe, mas, também, enquanto esposa. Estas falhas têm consequências em Mary e podem, ainda, malograr o futuro do império.

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. Danijela Petkovic. "'India is Quite Different from Yorkshire': Empire(s), Orientalism, and Gender in Burnett's *Secret Garden*." *Linguistics and Literature* (Vol. 4, No. 1, 2006), pp. 85-96, <http://facta.junis.ni.ac.rs/lal/lal2006/lal2006-09.pdf>.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Kutzer, p. 48. A autora explica também como as mulheres, mesmo em Inglaterra, se incluíam na propaganda imperial.

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Devido à saúde frágil e personalidade temperamental, Mary é vista como uma criança "quite contrary", sendo que os seus defeitos advêm das falhas dos pais. Por seu turno, à semelhança de Mrs Lennox, a Índia apresenta-se como uma péssima mãe. Além de interferir na saúde física e mental dos Ingleses, a Índia não é habitada por pessoas íntegras. A própria *Ayah* de Mary não somente é incapaz de dar educação à jovem, como ainda sofre de maus tratos físicos por parte da criança.<sup>6</sup>

Além de o clima indiano desencadear consequências negativas na personalidade e saúde das personagens, a própria Índia apresenta-se como um local de doenças e, conseqüentemente, de morte. O romance inicia-se, de resto, com o surto de cólera responsável pela morte dos pais e da *Ayah* da jovem. A ida de Mary Lennox a Inglaterra deve-se a este episódio que dizimou os entes mais próximos. À jovem restava-lhe apenas o misterioso tio Archibald Craven, senhor de Misselthwaite Manor.

Mary terá de abdicar da sua *contrariness*, a fim de sobreviver em solo inglês.

## II – Arcádia

Por oposição à Índia, em Inglaterra Mary conhece, pela primeira vez, os *moors*. Esta paisagem ventosa e tipicamente britânica perturba a criança, enfatizando como esta se sente deslocada e perdida naquele novo território, tão diferente da colónia na qual passou toda a sua vida. Contrastando totalmente com a sua antiga *Ayah*, Martha Sowerby acaba por motivar Mary a explorar o terreno fora da mansão, dizendo como o seu irmão mais novo (Dickon) passa os dias nos *moors*. Contudo, os *moors* não são a paisagem ideal para Mary. A jovem confunde-os, inclusivamente, com o mar e não os aprecia. Mrs Medlock explica a Mary que nada cresce nos *moors*, unicamente urze, tojo e giesta. Susan E. James declara que a descoberta do jardim secreto é uma fuga aos *moors*: "not only from the unpredictability of the 'outside' natural world but from the unpredictability of adult human notions".<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> "You don't know anything about natives! They are not people – they're servants who must salaam to you. You know nothing about India", p. 23.

<sup>7</sup> Susan E. James. "Wuthering Heights for Children: Frances Hodgson Burnett's *The Secret Garden*." *Connotations* 10, no. 1 (2000/2001): 61-62.

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A transformação da jovem começa através do contacto que estabelece com a Natureza, motivada por Martha Sowerby. Assim, e ao contrário da *Ayah*, Martha actua directamente na cura de Mary, transformando-a de uma criança "quite contrary" numa criança saudável e feliz:

"When she began to talk quickly or even run along the paths and down the avenue, she was stirring her slow blood and making herself stronger by fighting with the wind which swept down from the moor. She ran only to make herself warm, and she hated the wind which rushed at her face and roared and held her back as if it were some giant she could not see. But the big breaths of rough fresh air blown over the heather filled her lungs with something which was good for her whole body and whipped some red colour into her cheeks and brightened her dull eyes" (p. 34).

O ar fresco dos *moors* devolvem vitalidade e saúde a Mary. É ao respirar o ar daqueles terrenos – paisagem caracteristicamente inglesa – que a jovem perde a tez amarela e, em troca, ganha vigor, força e apetite. Durante os seus anos na Índia, Mary sofria de falta de apetite e a muito se deveu à carência de cuidados maternos. Holly Bradford comenta:

"The symbol of the maternal body that cooks for and nourished children, also literally feeding them from the body, is inseparable from women's role in Western domestic economy [...]. Cooking is a means by which the female body becomes a divine object of sacrifice for family communion".<sup>8</sup>

Deste modo, Burnett também culpa *Mrs Lennox* (e, conseqüentemente, o império) de não ser capaz de cuidar da filha, nem sequer de se preocupar quanto à alimentação da jovem. Ao invés, em Inglaterra, Mary encontra figuras maternas por excelência: a mãe Natureza (jardim secreto, onde ainda paira o espírito da falecida *Mrs Craven*) e a mãe inglesa, *Mrs Sowerby*, que lhe proporciona uma alimentação britânica.

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. Holly Bradford. "Recipe for Reciprocity and Repression: The Politics of Cooking and Consumption in Girls' Coming-of-Age Literature", in *Critical Approaches to Food in Children's Literature*. (London/New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 42.

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No decorrer das explorações de Mary pelos terrenos à volta da mansão, o apetite da jovem vai aumentando. Nos primeiros dias da chegada a Inglaterra, Mary recusa comer *porridge*. A recusa pelo pequeno-almoço põe dois factos em evidência. Primeiramente, demarca a personalidade deveras mimada e rebelde da criança, que nunca havia sido educada nem contrariada. Em segundo lugar, destaca como a jovem resiste a Inglaterra.

O *porridge* penetrou a dieta humana desde as civilizações egípcias e mesopotâmicas. De acordo com Rachel Laudan, os Romanos haviam construído o seu império à base de *barley porridge*, visto que era uma refeição bastante apreciada pela cozinha militar.<sup>9</sup> Capaz de alimentar inúmeros exércitos ao longo dos tempos, o *porridge* provou-se, deste modo, ser um excelente construtor de impérios. Devido ao fácil cultivo de grãos e cereais, a partir do século XVIII, as camadas mais desfavorecidas da população dependiam de *porridge* para sobreviverem. Além disto, era uma refeição muito nutritiva, destacadamente para as crianças, daí que seja possível traçar a sua presença nos contos de Hans Christian Andersen, os irmãos Grimm, bem como nos clássicos de Literatura Infantil. *The Secret Garden* não é excepção, pelo que, aquando da sua publicação, o *porridge* já se havia tornado parte integrante da tradição alimentar britânica. Assim sendo, quando Mary Lennox recusa este pequeno-almoço, refuta, indirectamente, a sua mudança para Inglaterra, sublinhando, uma vez mais, como se sente deslocada numa cultura tão diferente daquela que conhece. Todavia, a criança não resiste por muito tempo:

"After a few days spent almost entirely out of doors she wakened one morning knowing what it was to be hungry, and when she sat down to her breakfast she did not glance disdainfully at her porridge and push it away, but took up her spoon and began to eat it and went on eating it until her bowl was empty" (p. 34).

Martha diz à jovem que o responsável pelo súbito apetite é o vento, o ar dos *moors*. A criada acrescenta, ainda, que, caso a criança continue a passar os dias fora da mansão, irá deixar de ser tão magra e amarela. Se Mary passar os dias na

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. Rachel Laudan. *Cuisine and Empire. Cooking in World History* (London/Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2013), p. 33 e p. 76. Cf. Jill Neimark, "Porridge, The Food That Built Empires, Stages A Savory Comeback," *WYSO*, October 27, 2016, <https://www.wyso.org/2016-10-27/porridge-the-food-that-built-empires-stages-a-savory-comeback>.

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*moorland* perderá a influência que a Índia impôs no próprio corpo, resultando, de igual modo, na perda da sua *contrariness*. O corpo da criança é um meio através do qual Burnett critica o império e o impacto negativo que este tem nos Britânicos.

Misselthwaite Manor é tão importante no romance quanto os *moors* e o jardim secreto. Quando chove, Mary não pode explorar o exterior, pelo que a chuva convida a criança a desvendar os segredos da mansão de uma centena de quartos com portas fechadas (pp. 41-42).<sup>10</sup>

Durante as aventuras pela casa, Mary comenta como não viu nada vivo (p. 43). Esta conclusão pode transportar a jovem de volta à Índia, onde nada parecia crescer ou ter vida e, ao invés, pairava abandono e morte. A mansão representa, por isso, o passado de Mary na Índia. No decorrer das várias explorações ao interior da casa, Mary percorre corredores repletos de retratos coloniais: "There was a stiff, plain little girl rather like herself. She wore a green brocade dress and held a green parrot on her finger" (p. 42).

Um evento de maior importância no romance ocorre quando Mary encontra o quarto indiano: "In one room, which looked like a lady's sitting-room, the hangings were all embroidered velvet, and in a cabinet were about a hundred little elephants made of ivory [...] Mary had seen carved ivory in India and she knew all about elephants" (p. 43). Portanto, entre Mary e os aposentos de Colin encontra-se o quarto indiano, a prova mais relevante da envolvimento dos Craven no império e, particularmente, a ligação da família à Índia. No quarto indiano reside, ainda, uma crítica ao império. Danielle Price explica:

"These elephants are made from the very item for which their models would have been killed. The ivory is a reminder of all material extracted from the colonies that support the prosperity and leisure of the British – here figured in the room designed for leisure, the sitting room. In this

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<sup>10</sup> Segundo Michelle Beissel Heath: "Edwardian literature is filled with images of playful children and particularly of female children exploring and experiencing the possible gendered dimensions of play. Nowhere is this more the case than in moments of domesticity". Tendo sido publicado em 1911, *The Secret Garden* é fortemente influenciado pela época eduardiana, responsável por ter dado mais liberdade às crianças. Cf. Michelle Beissel Heath. "Playing at House and Playing at Home: The Domestic Discourses of Games in Edwardian Fiction of Childhood", in *Childhood in Edwardian Fiction. Worlds Enough and Time* (New York/Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 90.

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passage the wild and exotic has been miniaturized, made controllable,  
and placed behind glass for display" (p. 11).<sup>11</sup>

Burnett não desperdiça uma oportunidade para aludir à violência que enegrece o império e tinge os Britânicos. Deste modo, e afastando-se do que seria espectável aos autores da época, expõe um modelo de infância diferente, repleto de explorações na Natureza, no império doméstico e no seio familiar.

Numa mera exploração pela mansão, Mary descobre que, tanto ela como Misselthwaite Manor, partilham uma ligação à Índia. Embora o romance não permita certezas, pode acreditar-se que Misselthwaite Manor é sustentada através das riquezas oriundas do império. O jardim secreto ajudará Mary a despedir-se do passado, pois o jardim (apesar de abandonado) representa Inglaterra, a Arcádia – um novo começo e, sobretudo, a cura.

Além de se tornar uma jardineira intuitiva e de ter ganhado apetite, Mary começa, também, a tomar gosto pelo exercício físico; através destes elementos e das vantagens que trouxeram saúde e bem-estar à jovem, Burnett sublinha a superioridade de Inglaterra. Como Carolyn Daniel afirma: "While the garden needs weeding and planting with seeds, the children need fresh air, natural food, and exercise".<sup>12</sup> A Índia, e consequentemente o império, é incapaz de proporcionar boas condições de vida às crianças, mas Inglaterra e o campo britânico apresentam-se como excelentes.

Por oposição à Índia, Yorkshire ensina Mary a interagir com animais dóceis. Na Índia, a jovem deparava-se somente com répteis e insectos, – animais associados a frieza e doenças – pelo que era incapaz de estabelecer uma relação de afectividade com o reino animal.<sup>13</sup>

Em contrapartida, os animais de Yorkshire ajudam Mary a converter o egocentrismo e a *contrariness* em amabilidade, gentileza e empatia. Destaca-se,

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. Danielle R. Price. "Cultivating Mary: The Victorian *Secret Garden*", *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* (Vol. 16, No. 1, 2001), 4-14.

<sup>12</sup> Carolyn Daniel. *Voracious Children. Who Eats Whom in Children's Literature* (London/New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 27-28.

<sup>13</sup> Jessica Straley tece uma comparação entre as cobras fêmeas, que abandonam as suas crias assim que estas saem dos ovos, e *Mrs Lennox*, dado que a *Mem Sahib* nunca havia mostrado interesse na filha desde o seu nascimento. Cf Straley. *Evolution and Imagination in Victorian Children's Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 8.

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especificamente, o papel do tordo-americano na vida da criança, já que o pássaro é o primeiro a ajudar Mary a se identificar com Inglaterra. A respeito do tordo-americano, Phil Robinson declara que esta espécie em particular revela ter uma conexão especial com o espírito britânico, visto que são pássaros que permanecem felizes no inverno.<sup>14</sup> Deste modo, o tordo-americano é uma ajuda essencial para que Mary se integre em Inglaterra. Simultaneamente, dado que é um pássaro sociável e cria ninhos, o tordo-americano transmite qualidades maternais à criança, que, posteriormente, utiliza em Colin Craven, curando-o também. Por último, o pássaro ajuda Mary a transpor barreiras, fazendo-a desafiar o confinamento e quietude esperados nas jovens e mulheres da época.

Jennifer Marchant afirma: "Mary, as a domestic and wild girl, comes to share the robin's role in bridging worlds, linking the sickly, house-confined Colin with the outdoors and with Dickon" (p. 68). Assim, à semelhança do tordo-americano, Mary estabelece a união de dois mundos, – o selvagem e o doméstico – afastando-se do papel da mulher victoriana.

Por outro lado, na figura de Dickon Sowerby, Burnett parece sugerir que a população mais pobre e humilde da sociedade é essencial para que as pessoas tingidas pelo império possam, novamente, recordar as suas origens e espírito britânico. No romance, Mary Lennox, Archibald e Colin Craven representam o grupo de pessoas que, por se envolverem directa ou indirectamente, sofreram uma influência negativa do império.

Da mesma forma, está, igualmente, implícito como a proximidade aos afazeres coloniais afastou *Mr Craven* da domesticidade inglesa, bem como do próprio filho, Colin. Ao ter-se aproximado do império, em detrimento da mansão e da família, *Mr Craven* afastou-se das suas origens e do espírito britânico. O jardim secreto representa, no romance, a feminilidade necessária aos homens e à saúde dos mesmos. No entanto, tal como Maureen M. Martin explica: "While Burnett advocates that men be influenced by women, she does not advocate that men *be*

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<sup>14</sup> Ainda sobre o tordo-americano em *The Secret Garden*, Jennifer Marchant comenta: "The fact that 'the typical English bird' so quickly takes a fancy to Mary further implies her connection with England". Cf. Marchant. "'A Real Person – Only Nicer': The Robin as a Companion Species", in *Frances Hodgson Burnett's The Secret Garden: A Children's Classic at 100* (Plymouth: The Scarecrow Press, 2011), p. 70.



women. Apparently, if a manly boy incorporates some feminine values, it does not make him effeminate; it instead tempers his manliness, making it stronger".<sup>15</sup>

No início do romance, tanto *Mr Craven* como *Colin* estão afastados dos valores femininos, isto é, do jardim secreto. Pai e filho, tristes e abandonados, são, constantemente, assombrados pela morte de *Mrs Craven*. A constante renúncia à Natureza equivale à abdicação da feminilidade e da cura. Para *Burnett*, a angústia de ambos é, assim, o resultado de um passado ligado ao império, bem como da ausência do poder feminino. Todas estas falhas se traduzem nas doenças que apavoram a família *Craven*: *Archibald* é corcovado e o filho acredita sofrer do mesmo. Estas duas personagens masculinas dão voz ao discurso de uma masculinidade em risco, que percorreu a era victoriana e o virar do século.<sup>16</sup>

Combatendo as negligências e os anseios da família *Craven*, *Mary* convida a Natureza a penetrar *Misselthwaite Manor*, curando todos aqueles que nela habitam. A intimidade com o lar, o poder curativo da Natureza e da feminilidade apresentam-se como as soluções à ameaça da degeneração e do império castrador. Segundo *Burnett*, essa missão deve ser levada a cabo pelas mulheres – as rosas inglesas do império.

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<sup>15</sup> Maureen M. Martin. "Healing National Manhood in *The Secret Garden*", in *Frances Hodgson Burnett's The Secret Garden: A Children's Classic at 100* (Plymouth: The Scarecrow Press, 2011), p. 144.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Maureen M. Martin, p. 145.

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**BIONOTE**

Marisa Alexandra da Silva Martins has a BA in Portuguese and English Studies (2015) and a MA in Anglo-American Studies (2017), both at Nova University of Lisbon. Her dissertation was on British Children's Literature and Post-Colonial Studies, which are her main areas of interest. She is currently enrolled in the same field of studies as a PhD student at the same institution. Moreover, she is working at Instituto de História Contemporânea as a researcher. For her doctorate, she is still investigating British Children's Literature produced from the nineteenth to the twenty-first centuries. She has presented papers on Children's Literature, Postcolonial Studies and Food Studies. She is also interested in Mythology, Ancient History, Young Adult Literature, Folk and Fairy Tales.

**RESUMO**

O presente artigo tem por objectivo analisar a presença do império britânico num dos maiores clássicos da literatura infantil, *The Secret Garden* de Frances Hodgson Burnett (1911). Distanciando-se da literatura infantil da época, dirigida a rapazes e profundamente imperialista, Burnett opta por empregar um discurso anti-imperialista. A Índia é constantemente criticada ao longo do romance pela autora, que utiliza temáticas, tais como o clima, a paisagem e a saúde das personagens, a fim de sublinhar o impacto negativo causado pelo império, tanto nas crianças como nas respectivas famílias. Iremos analisar estas temáticas, destacando as soluções apresentadas pela autora no tocante aos problemas aludidos pela mesma.

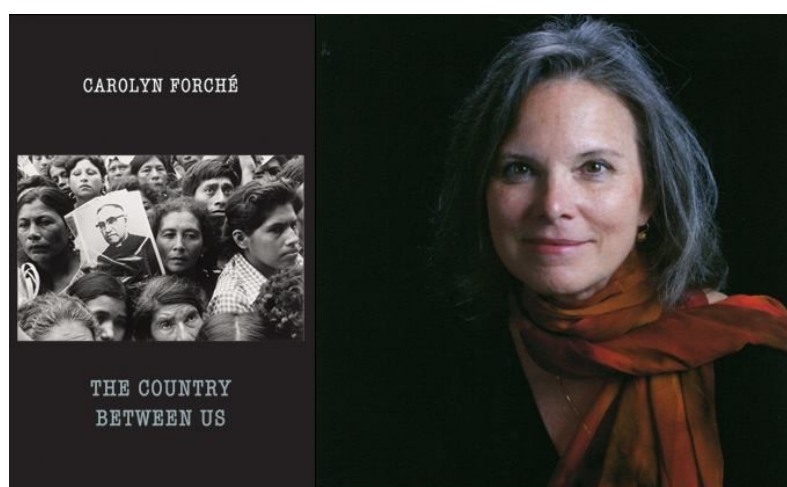
Palavras-chave: literatura infantil, império britânico, Índia.

**ABSTRACT**

This article aims at highlighting the presence of the British Empire throughout one of the most beloved children's classics, *The Secret Garden* by Frances Hodgson Burnett (1911). By stirring away from popular children's books, produced for boys and supported by the imperial agenda, Burnett endorses an anti-imperial discourse. India is constantly criticized by the author, who uses themes such as the climate, the landscape and the character's health in order to emphasize the negative impact empire has on children and their families. We will study these themes and we will call attention to the author's solutions in regards to these problems.

Keywords: children's literature, British Empire, India.

*A Reading of Carolyn Forché's "In Salvador" Poems*



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## Introduction

"There are a grammar and, even more importantly, an ethics of seeing"

Susan Sontag

Some of the questions raised by poetry as an act of testimony in general, and in Carolyn Forché's "In Salvador" poems in particular, include:

*--Before human suffering and human rights violations, what kind of responsibility does the poet have, if any? Should the poet speak about what he/she experiences? In which way?*

*--How does the poet find a balance between what is necessary to say and what is too much, or out of bounds? Is there something that should remain unsaid?*

*--Is speaking about what was seen more important than the risk of poeticizing or beautifying the horror?*

*--Who 'tells' history best? The poet or the historian? Why?*

*--Should poetry be used as an historical source? What may be the advantages and disadvantages of doing so?*

In this paper I will address these issues.

In 1978, when she was twenty-seven years old, Carolyn Forché, (whose first poetry book, *Gathering the Tribes*, had won the 1975 *Yale Series of Younger Poets Award*), traveled to El Salvador. The poet arrived in El Salvador as a journalist and a human rights activist prior to this country's civil war. From her experiences, she created a number of poems that she assembled and entitled "In Salvador". This collection formed the first part of her second poetry book *The Country Between Us* (1981).

Later, Forché published an anthology named *Against Forgetting: Twentieth Century Poetry of Witness* (1983). In this work she acclaims the testimony of first-hand experience as "poems of witness". Such poems are written by those who experience and survive challenging conditions such as war, political or religious

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persecution, or exile. To Forché, witness "is neither martyrdom nor the saying of a juridical truth, but the owning of one's infinite responsibility for the *other one (l'autre)*".<sup>1</sup>

Retaking Levina's thought of ethics as primary philosophy, Forché brings to the core of her poetic work about El Salvador an ethics of concern towards the exterior (the others), cast away from a deeply personal or emotional lyricism focused on the interior (the self). Below, I will offer a reading of three of the eight poems that constitute "In Salvador", in which the motifs of "interior" and "exterior", "inside" and "outside", "us" and "others" are a constant force. I will start by offering a comment on the poem "The Visitor", which portrays a specific episode, which occurred inside a prison. Secondly, I will discuss the poem "The Colonel", which has at its core El Salvador's military brutality. Finally, I will focus on the poem "Return", in which the poet narrates her return to her home country and the consequences of the El Salvador's experience in her poetic work.

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The poem "The Visitor" transport the readers to the interior of a prison, where an unknown visitor warns a prisoner – Francisco – of the lack of time:

### ***The Visitor***

*In Spanish he whispers there is no time left.  
It is the sound of scythes arcing in wheat,  
the ache of some field song in Salvador.  
The wind along the prison, cautious  
5 as Francisco's hands on the inside, touching  
the walls as he walks, it is his wife's breath  
slipping into his cell each night while he  
imagines his hands to be hers. It is a small country.*

*There is nothing one man will not do to another.*

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Carolyn Forché, "Reading the Living Archives: The Witness of Literary Art", in *Poetry of Witness: The Tradition in English, 1500-2001* (NY/London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2014), p. 26

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The moment of the prisoner's death seems near. By introducing the image of "the scythe arcing in the wheat", the poet indicates finality: the cycle of that cereal's life has come to an end. The reader might wonder, is Francisco's life also almost ceasing, with "no time left". Francisco is totally isolated from the outside. He cannot exit his cell, and he is dependent on other people's visits to receive information. By naming the poem "The Visitor", and not "The Prisoner", the poet is giving emphasis to the one who comes to visit and brings information to the one kept behind bars. Most emphatically, the visitor uses a simple closing sentence not only to erode the hope of the one who waits, but also to make each reader doubt the assumptions of hope.

Francisco is being kept in total darkness, as lines 4-5 suggest and so, in isolation his ears become his eyes. This is probably the reason why this poem accentuates sonorous elements. They are as important as the visual ones; the former provide information to conjure up the latter. Several sonorous elements are presented in the poem, mainly: the visitor's whispers, which suggests he did not wish to be heard by anyone else but Francisco (the reader cannot know for sure if Francisco recognizes and knows his visitor or not) (l. 1); the sound of scythes cutting the wheat, accompanied by the aching songs of those who work in the field (ll. 2-3); the sound of the wind, which is compared to the sound Francisco's hands produce when they touch the inside walls, looking for guidance (ll. 4-5); the breath of Francisco's wife as he imagines that she is with him (ll. 7-8).

The reader does not have any information about the prisoner's reaction to the visitor's words, nor about the visitor himself: Who is this visitor? What relationship has he with the prisoner? Does Francisco know him? Does he come to visit Francisco because he wants to warn him and so, help him? Or, on the other hand, does the visitor want to harass Francisco, causing him greater despair? Does the visitor come as a friend and an ally or as an enemy?

Because the information comes from an outside source, and not, for instances, from other prisoners, it seems as if the poet could be showing how an outside situation (a country's political life, for instance) may affect, even to the point of destruction, an individual life, which is powerless and can do nothing but await the unfolding of events.



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Contrasting with the faint and distant sounds described in the poem, the poet's words at the finishing sentence are loud and clear. They are separated from the others and thus emphasized – "There is nothing one man will not do to another". Forché seems to confirm this statement in the poem that follows "The Visitor". The poem is called "The Colonel", one of the most violent of the eight poems she gathered "In Salvador".

### ***The Colonel***

*What you have heard is true. I was in his house. His wife  
carried a tray of coffee and sugar. His daughter filed her  
nails, his son went out for the night. There were daily papers,  
pet dogs, a pistol on the cushion beside him. The moon  
5 swung bare on its black cord over the house. On the television  
was a cop show. It was in English. Broken bottles were  
embedded in the walls around the house to scoop the kneecaps  
from a man's legs or cut his hands to lace. On the windows  
there were gratings like those in liquor stores. We had dinner,  
10 rack of lamb, good wine, a gold bell was on the table for  
calling the maid. The maid brought green mangoes, salt, a  
type of bread. I was asked how I enjoyed the country. There  
was a brief commercial in Spanish. His wife took everything  
away. There was some talk then of how difficult it had become  
15 to govern. The parrot said hello on the terrace. The colonel  
told it to shut up, and pushed himself from the table. My  
friend said to me with his eyes: say nothing. The colonel  
returned with a sack used to bring groceries home. He spilled  
many human ears on the table. They were like dried peach  
20 halves. There is no other way to say this. He took one  
of them in his hands, shook it in our faces, dropped it into a  
water glass. It came alive there. I am tired of fooling around  
he said. As for the rights of anyone, tell your people they  
can go fuck themselves. He swept the ears to the floor with  
25 his arm and held the last of his wine in the air. Something  
for your poetry, no? he said. Some of the ears on the floor  
caught this scrap of his voice. Some of the ears on the floor  
were pressed to the ground.*

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The role of El Salvadorian's military forces on that country's social and political life is well documented.<sup>2</sup> Forché brings to public scrutiny one specific episode she experienced while there.

The first words of "The Colonel", utilized much later as the title of Forché's 2019 book of memoirs, directly address the reader. These words "What you have heard is true" can be seen as an invitation to believe in both what has been rumored in the press about the El Salvadorian situation, and what is being stated in the poem. In fact, the opening compels the reader to believe the poem as fact, and not as a creative story or a fantasy. The poem acts as hard evidence; it was not written to impress, to move or to create a certain effect. That can happen, of course, but the main purpose of the poem is to present something as poetic evidence of what actually happened. It is necessary to open the poem with this statement because, otherwise, the reader may think it was all an invention.

Banal everyday actions set the scene—"His wife carried a tray of coffee and sugar. His daughter filed her nails, his son went out for the night"; objects – "daily papers", "pet dogs", " (a) television"; and the dinner; mainly "lamb", "good wine", "green mangoes", "salt", "bread" (cf. ll. 3-14) - contrast heavily with the "human ears" brought in by the colonel after supper. Those come inside a bag, whose ordinariness (since the bag is usually used to bring groceries home) is stripped by its content.

The objectification of the "many human ears on the table", comparing them to "dried peach halves" (ll. 18-21) clarify what is being said, allowing the reader to better imagine them; and represent the way they were treated and disposed, as mere tools and not parts of human bodies, advancing a total disregard for human life and dignity. The ears also demonstrate the total control of the colonel, who can do

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<sup>2</sup> "At war's end, the Commission on the Truth for El Salvador registered more than 22,000 complaints of political violence in El Salvador between January 1980 and July 1991; 60 percent concerned about summary killing, 25 percent kidnapping, and 20 percent torture. Almost 85 percent of the violence was attributed to the Salvadoran Army and security forces alone. The Salvadoran Armed Forces were accused in 60 percent of the complaints, the security forces in 25 percent, military escorts and civil defense units in 20 percent of complaints, the death squads in approximately 10 percent, and the FMLN in 5 percent. The Truth Commission report concluded that more than 70,000 people were killed, many in the course of gross violation of their human rights. More than 25 per cent of the population was displaced as refugees before the U.N. peace treaty in 1992". (cf. Rodrigo Castro Cornejo & Michael Coppedge, "El Salvador: A Country Report Based on Data 1900-2012", Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Country Report Series, 5, November 2013)

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whatever he desires with El Salvadorans. The poet adds –"There is *no other way* to say this" (l. 21). The use of "*no other way*" implies the complete lack of words to describe that specific reality, having to refer to a familiar image, turned powerfully disturbing, suggesting that the ears were dry, smaller than usual and wrinkled. Here, the limits of the poet's language are put to the test - how is it possible to describe those human ears outside their common place, a human head? Will the poet be able to write about it? The poet is able to solve the difficulty through the use of a simile, which allows her to communicate with its readers.

Later, the colonel takes one of the human ears, shows it to the poet's friend and to the poet herself and puts it inside a glass of water, where it seems to come to life, like a dried peach half rehydrating when soaked. Perhaps it looked more what it used to look like before it was removed from its proper place. He is not only used to behaving in that brutal manner, it seems, but also likes to show them around, like trophies. He can make them appear and disappear, to give them more or less relevance according to his wishes, almost as if he were a magician, with manipulative hands, presenting a show to an audience.

The hands are responsible for a vast array of actions. The motif of the "hands" is one of the most recurrent in this collection of poems. In the first poem – "San Onofre, California", the hands are being tied together, suggesting an impossibility or difficulty of movement (cf. p. 11, ll. 12-13). On separate occasions, the hands appear as an utilitarian tool - used to catch pieces of bread; to look for something; to bring, to take and to show things (like the ears) around; to pose and to dispose; as nonverbal communication, to help express something that words cannot; to touch the halls, in order not to fall (as happened in the previously analyzed poem "The Visitor"); to knife other people; to throw people into holes or to dig holes where people are placed, dead or alive; to rip apart and to assemble; to give orders and to be obeyed. Additionally, hands are commonly used as a way of reaching or getting closer to other people – they are used to embrace; in the acts of love, to dress and to undress; to pick up babies and stroke a pet.

It is also possible to surpass the original context of these hands and to think about them in other contexts. It is worth considering the poet's hands, which are used to write and, in some cases, to testifying about what was experienced (first-

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hand); or those of the reader, who uses them to hold a book, to turn the page, to signal one or more passages. Finally, it is possible to think of the hands as a gesture of solidarity – to 'join hands', to 'give (or lend) a hand', to give something to others, be it material or not.

At the beginning of his book – *Paul Celan, de l'être à l'autre* – Emmanuel Levinas quotes a phrase Celan has written to Hans Bender: "Je ne vois pas de différence, entre un poignée de main et un poème".<sup>3</sup> In this passage, Celan affirms that, for him, no difference exists between a handshake and a poem, thus comparing a poem to gesture of greeting that usually conveys mutual trust and respect.

Taking the hands from their usual position near the body and stretching them in direction of someone else as to say – "Here am I and I offer this "I" to you, there, on the other side". When the hands are stretched, the other person is welcomed. When hands join and thus embrace, a dialog is possible. Similarly, a poem may be seen to greet, embrace and enter a dialog with its readers.

After placing the ears in the water, and using violent language, the colonel states – "I am tired of fooling around" (ll. 24-25), which implies that the ears were nothing but the beginning of what is yet to come. This is followed by a direct offense to the human rights advocates and activists present in El Salvador, referred to as "your people" (l. 28), and demonstrates that the colonel does not intend to respect the rights of anyone. He then throws the ears from the table to the floor and held the remainder of his wine in the air, as if he is making a toast or celebrating his power.

The colonel is a violent man. This figure exercises total authority as the head of the household: husband, father and, on top of that, a colonel. He dismisses the parrot's "hello", after which the poet's friend expresses mutely – *it is better not to say anything, to stay silent, not to confront him*. In addition to towering over everything, everything revolves around him. It is "his house", "his wife", "his daughter", "his son". They do not matter but for his possession and presence. By not having a name, even if a fictional one, the reader is fixed on his role as brutal army

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<sup>3</sup> Levinas, Emmanuel. *Levinas: De l'Être à l'Autre* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France – PUF, 2016), p. 15

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commander, more than in the humanity of his personality -- his humanity is replaced by its professional role.

The colonel is, and is not, at the same time, a figure we can relate to. On one hand, he is just like us – with the same needs, to eat, to drink, to find shelter. On the other hand, though, he could not be more different from "common people", since common people do not have the power to behave like that, even if they wanted to. The brutality of the colonel's actions and of the political situation outside are mixed in daily life. The interior of the house, where life seems to go on undisturbed, with its cop show on the television, and a talking parrot, is augmented by the presence of "broken bottles" on the outside walls, whose purpose is "to scoop the kneecaps from a man's legs or cut his hands to lace" (ll. 6-8), and the gratings on the windows. This suggests two things:

Firstly, the colonel's house is a fortress and not easily accessed from the outside. It contains a variety of valuable possessions and products, some of them luxurious, - such as the *good* wine. The fact that the colonel has a maid, who is summoned with "a *golden* bell" (and not a silver or plastic one), shows that he has enough wealth to hire someone to take care of the house, something not available to the majority of the population who lives outside his realm. Secondly, there is a need of protection from the outside violence. This violence reaches its peak of expression by the presence of the human ears that invade that once personal space, now being openly taken over by symbols of El Salvador's societal and political circumstances.

The poem finishes with the ears on the floor, establishing a relation with the first sentence of the poem (ear – hear). They have been divided into two categories. On one hand, the ears that "catch the scrap of colonel's voice". On the other, those incapable of hearing (ll. Pp. 29-30). By creating this division, the poet may be asking the reader – *Have you heard what I just said? What kind of ears are yours? Ones that listen or ones that remain deaf? Are you going to believe my words?* inviting the reader back to the opening sentence of the poem – "What you have heard is (indeed) true". Moreover, the final image of ears pressed to the ground can refer to the common expression – "to have/keep an ear to the ground", that means getting to know what is happening, to acquire knowledge, and to be aware of potential danger.

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Historically, ears to the ground was a vigilant soldier's way of hearing hoof beats of approaching horses.<sup>4</sup>

A little before, the colonel questions the poet directly – "Something for your poetry, no?" (Il. Pp. 27-28). The same would be to ask: *how are you, as a poet, going to react about what you just saw? Will you write about it?* This introduces the issue of the status of the poet in North America *versus* that of South America. As Forché reveals, in an interview given in 2015, Leonel Gómez Vides and the Archbishop Óscar Romero, the same persons who invited her to go to El Salvador, wanted a poet, and not a journalist or an historian, to come to their country. They probably thought that the poets in the United States have the same power and impact as those in Latin America and so imagined that, as a Pablo Neruda in and beyond Chile, Forché would have enough influence to bring El Salvador to the core of every conversation in the US.

Archbishop Romero believed that a poet would be able to understand El Salvador's situation independently, and not be influenced by objectivity or ideology. Moreover, he thought there should exist creative voices, cast away from specific political or social interests. The journalistic work, too stuck to journalistic conventions, would, in his opinion, also not suffice.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. "Keep an ear to the ground", *The Free Dictionary Online*, accessed October 1, 2020  
<https://idioms.thefreedictionary.com/keep+an%2F+ear+to+the+ground>

<sup>5</sup> "Forché: (...) Then Leonel Gómez Vides came into my life, with his very different idea about the place of poetry in the world. He wanted a poet to come to El Salvador. He knew that war was coming.

(...)

deNiord: He really wanted a poet to go there, a poet who was going to witness as well as to report on the atrocities.

Forché: He had this idea that it was important for a poet to see this in advance, so that when war began, this poet could somehow speak to her countrymen about the situation in a way that was much more serious, Leonel thought, than journalism.

(...) He believed that poets have a capacity to read the world in an unusual way that didn't involve illusory notions of objectivity.

deNiord: He was also interested in sort of the essential language of poetry.

Forché: Yes. He believed that poetry would affect the world. And it would affect the world not only in our time but in the times to come, because in Latin America, and in many other countries, and in our own country, I would argue, poetry does survive the age".

(Chard deNiord, "An Inexhaustible Responsibility for the Other: A Conversation with Carolyn Forché", *World Literature Today*, (August 2015)

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"The Colonel" is an example of the "poetry of witness". In the article "El Salvador: An Aide Mémoire", Forché presents an explanation for her collection of poems about El Salvador. In it, the poet justifies her poetic project, by stating that she has been told "that a poet should be of his or her time". The many human right violations, which took place in the twentieth century, some of them observed by the poet, were thus converted to what she calls – *a poetry of witness*. This poetry aims, most and foremost, to document, and present "narratives of witness and confrontation":

I have been told that a poet should be of his or her time. It is my feeling that twentieth century human condition demands a poetry of witness.

This is not accomplished without certain difficulties; the inherited poetic limits the range of our work and determines the boundaries of what might be said. (...) There is the problem of poeticizing the horror, resembling the problem of the photographic image which might render starvation visually appealing. (...)

I decided to follow my impulse to write narratives of witness and confrontation, to disallow obscurity and conventions which might prettify that what I wish to document.

(Forché, 1981: pp. 6-7)

Forché continues to provide explanations about "poetry of witness" in the introduction to her anthology *Against Forgetting: Twentieth Century Poetry of Witness* (1993), which presents a collection of poems of the "extreme" from a diversity of linguistic and literary traditions, containing poems written on The Armenian Genocide, the Revolution and Repression in Soviet Union, the Spanish Civil War, Repression and Revolution in Latin America, among others. In it, the poet refers to "poetry of witness" as poetry that recognizes that something took place, at a particular moment in history.

Poetry of witness would not be strictly "personal" or "political", since its goal is not to reflect one's thoughts and feelings; to convince or persuade someone to do, or think something; nor does it convey a moral or political message. Contrarily, it would be "social", recognizing that something took place at a certain place in time, representing a real event and thus allowing for that specific event to become a "trace", an "evidence" of wider social implications. Following that line of thought, when referring to her poetic work, Forché prefers the designation of "poet of witness" over that of "political poet", since she feels the word "political" to be too limiting. For this reason, Forché does not particularly agree with those who have reduced her to the condition of "political poet", upon the publication of *A Country Between Us*. As the poet advises, (cf. Forché, 1993: p. 31):

Poetry of witness presents the reader with an interesting interpretative problem. We are accustomed to rather easy categories: we distinguish



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between "personal" and "political poems" – the former calling to mind lyrics of love and emotional loss, the latter indicating a public partisanship that is considered divisive, even if necessary. The distinction between the personal and the political gives the political realm too much and too little scope; at the same time it renders the political too important and not important enough. (...)

We need a third term, one that can describe the space between the state and the supposedly safe heavens of the personal. Let us call this space "the social".

In order to be able to witness, one has to be completely immersed and saturated in a given situation. If a person lacks interest in the world or situations, and is oblivious to the surrounding situation and circumstances (be they historical, political, cultural or societal) that person will have nothing about which to witness. The poetry of witness, thus, entails receiving a social and cerebral space, with an openness to the world and its people, that surpass the limits of the personal space preferences. It transcends self-focused lyric poetry limitations; and crosses that of the political partisan space that is too narrow and closed in a specific ideology, being able to express unrestricted evidence.

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Moving from the interior of the colonel's house to the core of El Salvador's army conflict - the exterior - Forché, in a poem, which dialogs with Josephine Crum (to whom the poem is dedicated), continues to narrate what she saw in El Salvador. Immediately after "The Colonel", comes the poem "Return", which, among other subjects, refers to the profound change the poet feels upon going back to her native country from El Salvador:

*Return*  
*(For Josephine Crum)*

*Upon my return to America, Josephine:*  
*the iced drinks and paper umbrellas, clean*  
*toilets and Los Angeles palm trees moving*



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*Tell them of José in his last few hours  
and later how, many months later,  
a labor leader was cut to pieces and buried.  
Tell them how his friends found  
55 the soldiers and made them dig him up  
and ask forgiveness of the corpse, once  
it was assembled again on the ground  
like a man. As for the cars, of course  
they watch you and for this don't flatter  
yourself. We are all watched. We are  
60 all assembled.*

*Josephine, I tell you  
I have not rested, not since I drove  
those streets with a gun in my lap,  
not since all manner of speaking has  
65 failed and the remnant of my life  
continues onward. I go mad, for example,  
in the Safeway, at the many heads  
of lettuce, papayas and sugar, pineapples  
and coffee, especially the coffee.  
70 And when I speak with American men,  
there is some absence of recognition:  
(...)  
96 I cannot, Josephine, talk to them.*

*(...)*

*116 Your problem is not your life as it is  
in America, not that your hands, as you  
tell me, are tied to do something. It is  
that you were born to an island of greed  
120 and grace where you have this sense  
of yourself as apart from others. It is  
not your right to feel powerless. Better  
people than you were powerless.  
125 You have not returned to your country,  
but to a life you never left.*

Forché, back in the US, seems not to fully identify anymore with her home country. "Iced drinks", "paper umbrellas", "clean toilets" and "Los Angeles palm trees moving" mean nothing to her (cf. ll. 1-3), as she is afraid of everything and everyone, walking in a society that is, at the same time, hers and not hers anymore. Aggravating her feeling of non-belonging are the dilemmas of communication she experiences. After El Salvador, the poet possesses a knowledge that few around her

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have. This creates a barrier between the poet and the others and further contributes to the poet's anxiety: "And when I speak with American men, / there is some absence of recognition:/ (...) / I cannot, Josephine, talk to them". (Il. Pp. 71-72, 96).

This poem also presents a big criticism to US's society, which enjoys reading about someone else's struggle: "So you've come to understand why/men and women of goodwill read/torture reports with fascination". (Il. Pp. 25-27); and appreciates other people's fight, as long as it is kept outside their own borders (cf. Il. Pp. 35-57). Moreover, now that the poet knows what it takes to produce some consumer goods her countrymen buy at their supermarkets, she becomes furious. The coffee, in particular, hides behind its production a great amount of violence and exploitation.<sup>6</sup> This may be unknown to the vast majority of the US's consumers, but Forché knows all too well: "I go mad, for example,/in the Safeway, at the many heads/of lettuce, papayas and sugar, pineapples/and coffee, *especialy the coffee*" (Il. Pp. 67-70).

In a passage that can be read as a reference to the ever changing repetitions of history in general and Central and South America in particular (cf. Il. Pp. 31-35), Forché alludes to four relevant historical figures from the last century, all of them killed in different circumstances and countries, mainly Che Guevara, Camilo Torres, Victor Jara and José Martí. By referring to these personalities, Forché may be asking: will those conflicts never cease? Will people continually fight for what they think is right, despite the consequences their actions may bring to them, the people around them and their countries? Will they ever learn from the past? To complement this idea, it is also worth considering the poem "Message", in which the poet says: "Tonight you begin to fight/for the most hopeless of revolutions. (...) You will fight/and fighting, you will die. (...)" (cf. pp. 23-24, Il. Pp. 5-6; 16-17), accentuating the circularity of certain historical events, that seem to repeat in distinct countries, in different times, possessing others names, for other reasons and with diverse protagonists, but having the same or similar causes and consequences.

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<sup>6</sup> For more information about this subject, please refer to: Jonathan Newman. "*Violent conditions in Ethical Coffee Production*", *Longberry*, 1, no. 2 (2016): pp. 15-22. See also: Jeffery Paige, *Coffee and Power: Revolution and the Rise of Democracy in Central America*, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998.

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The poet struggles to continue with her life after El Salvador – she is incapable of resting, of relaxing, or feeling at ease. The most special thing she, as a poet, possesses – the power of words – seem to be worth nothing, and to be absolutely insignificant. What she most treasures – the possibility of writing - has been completely changed from what she experienced there, almost as if she had gone there with a language, and returned without it: "Josephine, I tell you/I have not rested, not since I drove/those streets with a gun in my lap,/ not since all manner of speaking has/failed and the remnant of my life/continues onward" (Il. Pp. 61-66). How to come back? How to return to a "normal life", when one is aware that somewhere, someone is not having a "normal" life, or is living a life so permeated with violence, that it has become the norm, and not the exception? Can revisiting poetry grant the poet access again to the language she thinks she had lost?

The way that this and the other poems are presented throughout the book is worth noting, since the poet continually returns to the technique of "enjambment", i.e., the lines are broken, splitting the information between one verse and the other. This may suggest that the poet wants to show that it is extremely difficult to express the information the poem contains in one single line, and, so, needs time, in order to breathe, and then carries on. It can also suggest that the language used to write the poem, which can be compared to a body that used to move well but not anymore, has been wounded and ripped apart, and the poet, in a supreme effort, is trying to reunite it again, through writing, in a corpus of poems, just like a surgeon mends, in an operation table, a body that has been hurt. (Or a damaged hand learns to grip firmly, surely and confidently again instead of with uncertain weakness).

The same technique is used on Forché's recent memoir, *What You Have Heard is True*, in which the poet provides a detailed account of her times in El Salvador. On it, Forché consistently constructs her texts without punctuation, which results in words following words and images following images that were cut in half (cf. Forché, 2019: p. 281):

*On both sides of the road there was smoke it was blue and still/  
rising when we passed although the fields were already black  
from/  
being burned everything was burned they had shot the cattle  
yes/*

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*even them and the pigs they had also shot so they were lying  
there/  
already bloated and there was a smell of meat as well as death  
and/  
a howling that couldn't actually have been heard but it was  
there/  
the wattle in the houses was burned and the corn in the cribs we/  
didn't stop we slowed down the turkey vultures were above us/  
many also already on the ground they don't sing they hiss some/  
things we saw through the field glasses some with naked eyes  
we/  
couldn't tell how many people we didn't know how long it had/  
been that's all I told them.  
Leonel had driven as slowly as he could through the smoke.  
"Look, Papu. Look at this. Remember this. Try to see".*

At the far end of the poem, Forché refers to the United States, using the metaphor of the "island", as a country separated from the others (cf. ll. Pp. 116-125). Back to a country which, in the words of the poet, suffers from a profound geographic and linguistic isolation,<sup>7</sup> the thematic of "distance" seems to be a special concern of the poet.

On the first poem of the book, titled "San Onofre, California", in which the poet is referring to something that is happening in an unknown location in the South, Forché writes: "the cries of those who vanish/might take years to get here" (p. 11, ll. 19-20). The same is to ask: How long does it take for news to cross borders? How long, if ever, does it take for the ones who are "inside" to get to know what is happening "outside"? Can people, despite being so closed, as close as living in neighboring countries, still be enormously apart? Similarly, on the poem "The Island", dedicated to the Nicaraguan-Salvadoran poet Claribel Alegría, whose poems Forché translated, the poet questions: "(...) do you know how long it takes/any one voice to reach another? " (cf. p. 14, ll. 76-77). The same is to ask: how much do human beings *actually know* about each other? And how long will they need to finally *know*? Will the voices of those who live in places that are not so central to traditional world's narratives ever be heard?

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<sup>7</sup> cf. deNiord, *An Inexhaustible Responsibility for the Other*

*Conclusion*

"In Salvador", Forché is able to create a narrative, from poem to poem, in which every composition, although independent, can be better perceived as a whole, for the last poems of the collection fill the gaps the preceding left. Since these poems closely relate to historical events, the names and events mentioned in them are nothing but references that the reader has to follow in order to have access to the bigger context. This collection must, therefore, be accompanied by the study of other sources – historical, sociological, journalistic, in the form of essays, reports, interviews, documents; and artistic, in the form of pictures, drawings, or other texts, in order to be able to grasp, in a manner as inclusive as possible, a polyphony of voices capable of offering a multitude of views and not just one oppressive and silencing "official" or "convenient" representation.

Though anchored in the experience of a single poet, these poems end up representing the struggle of an entire nation; and can be seen to represent the human condition; they surpass the individual context of the poet and become a manner of transmitting a trans-individual historical experience. As Forché argues in *Reading the Living Archives: The Witness of Literary Art* (2014)<sup>8</sup>, the readers of poems of witness become themselves witnesses to what is in front of them, and the poems themselves become "living archives" – they become *consultable*, liable of being studied as "containers" of the specific events they address, thus proposing another way of investigating past events, and offering a complement to historical research.

In "In Salvador", Forché takes her readers by the hand and invites them, with absolute precision and control, to join her on a journey that is simultaneously hers and that of a country and its people, forever changed by conflict. The poems in this

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<sup>8</sup> "In the poetry of witness, the poems make present to us the experience, rather than a symbolic representation. When we read the poem as witness, we are marked by it and become ourselves witnesses to what it has made present before us. Language incises the page, wounding it with testimonial presence, and the reader is marked by the encounter with that presence. Witness begets witness. The text we read becomes a living archive". (cf. Forché, "Reading the Living Archives", p. 26)



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collection allow the readers to observe, even if at a distance, the lives of others; to temporarily exit their own "protected lives" and access those of distant ones, turning poetry into a repository of human limits, gestures, voices and cries. In doing so, the poet leads the readers to observe otherwise unseen aspects of the prisons, the houses, the fields, the visitors, the prisoners and the colonels in El Salvador. Given the contingent cycles of historical events, this multitude of references can even surpass their original context and become metaphors both of past times, and serve as warnings about the future. Repetitions in the same or other places and in similar circumstances, are also right here, right now, urging us, as Leonel Gómez Vides did to Forché, to remain alert, and to try to see.

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ABSTRACT

Between 1978 and 1980, immediately before El Salvador's long-lasting Civil War, American poet Carolyn Forché (1950-) worked in El Salvador where she represented *Amnesty International* as a journalist and a human rights advocate. Forché addresses her experiences in "In Salvador" -- the first section of her second poetry book, *The Country Between Us* (1981). In what follows, I will offer a reading of three poems -- "The Visitor", "The Colonel" and "Return" while remarking on the way Forché was able to create a very specific poetics, which primary goal is to document her experiences and reveal their surrounding circumstances.

Key-Words: Carolyn Forché; Contemporary American poetry; El Salvador; *The Country Between Us*; "Poetry of Witness"

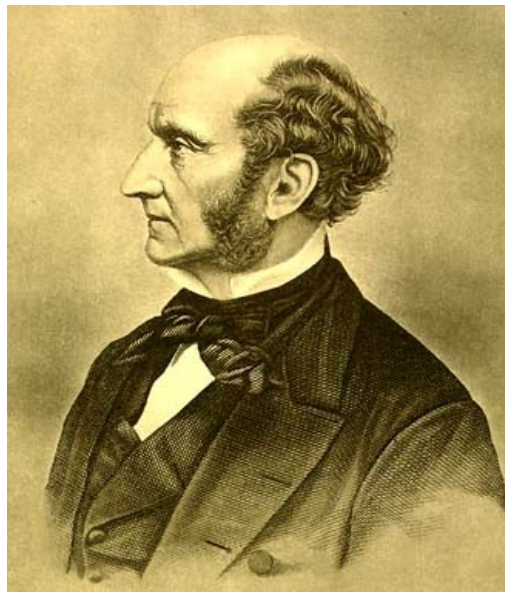
RESUMO

Entre 1978 e 1980, imediatamente antes da Guerra Civil de El Salvador, a poeta americana Carolyn Forché (1950-) trabalhou como jornalista e defensora dos direitos humanos para a *Amnistia Internacional*. Forché relata a sua experiência naquele país na primeira parte -- "In Salvador" -- do seu segundo livro de poesia, *The Country Between Us* (1981). Neste ensaio, proponho uma leitura dos poemas de El Salvador, ao mesmo tempo que observo o modo como a autora criou uma poética específica, cujo objectivo é, principalmente, documentar as suas experiências e as circunstâncias que as propiciaram. Para esse fim, três poemas são considerados, nomeadamente: "The Visitor", "The Colonel" e "Return".

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*Unidade e Propagação da Motivação segundo John Stuart Mill: Uma Dimensão Esquecida do Utilitarismo, João da Rocha Rodrigues*

***Unidade e Propagação da Motivação segundo John Stuart Mill: Uma Dimensão Esquecida do Utilitarismo***



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## *Unidade e Propagação da Motivação segundo John Stuart Mill: Uma Dimensão Esquecida do Utilitarismo, João da Rocha Rodrigues*

Quando Sócrates termina a sua exposição aos outros convivas sobre o que é a justiça, no fim do Livro I de *A República*, a questão parece resolvida pela definição que ele sugere. Os irmãos de Platão, todavia, revelam a sua insatisfação e pedem-lhe que os persuada a serem justos, independentemente dos castigos e recompensas.<sup>1</sup> É o problema da "motivação" do agir moral, que Kant, dois milénios depois, continua a procurar resolver.

Um dos problemas éticos que continua a atormentar os filósofos através do tempo é o que nos leva a agir moralmente, quer dizer, com nobreza, generosidade ou compaixão—por oposição a cálculo, mesquinhez ou crueldade. O exame da questão mostra que tudo depende do que considerarmos que conta como uma "razão" para agir e, hoje ainda, pressentimos que a educação tem um papel importante na formação da motivação.

Mas tal questão parece continuar a escapar-nos. O debate ético, em especial na filosofia analítica contemporânea, desde o início do século XX, tem estado centrado no problema da articulação da linguagem moral. Opõe-se nomeadamente uma linguagem impessoal—o chamado "ponto de vista do Universo"<sup>2</sup>—ao ponto de vista do sujeito—na "primeira pessoa". Debate-se, obviamente, também o que se deve fazer, mas a reflexão filosófica sobre o que nos leva a agir moralmente é muito mais escassa e a resposta de Kant ao que conta como uma razão para agir parece demasiado dura, quase estoica: o puro sentido do dever.

Todavia a resposta a esta questão é absolutamente fundamental, sob pena de a dedução de princípios morais ser pouco mais que um exercício intelectual para filósofos ou um instrumento retórico para políticos. O problema da motivação moral é, pois, inerente a todas as doutrinas éticas. O princípio ético mais popular entre economistas e

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<sup>1</sup> Ver esta interpretação em Colen, 2020, e Zuckert, 2009. Sobre Kant a literatura é infindável, mas veja-se a entrada na *Enciclopédia de Filosofia* de Stanford de Cureton, 2004.

<sup>2</sup> A dicotomia foi primeiro formulada claramente por Sidgwick, 1874, mas a melhor apresentação do problema é de Nagel, 1979.

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decisores políticos foi sempre o utilitarismo—a que, desde o famoso ensaio de Elisabeth Anscombe, se chama também muitas vezes consequencialismo.

Apesar de uma nova vaga de filósofos utilitários—entre os quais se conta Peter Singer e Derek Parfit — diferir um pouco da sua versão oitocentista, todos concorrem na ideia de que o que confere valor à acção não é o seu objecto, mas apenas os seus efeitos. Esta é a essência do "Princípio da Utilidade". Este afirma que uma acção é moral se promover a felicidade geral, imoral caso contrário.<sup>3</sup> Por felicidade, entendem os utilitários a presença de prazer ou a ausência de sofrimento. O comportamento totalmente desinteressado ou "altruísta" parece excluído pelo princípio da "utilidade": calculemos!

O que aqui se tentará fazer é discutir o modo como este princípio pode, ou não, influenciar a conduta humana. Pois, tal como se disse, sem explicar *como* e *porque* a "utilidade" motiva a agir, não é senão especulação vã. Seguiremos de perto a mais importante defesa do princípio, que se encontra na obra *Utilitarismo (Utilitarianism)* de John Stuart Mill, publicada em 1863.

Mill via o seu próprio papel como o de um educador, com a responsabilidade de defender os princípios filosóficos (e, por extensão, políticos) apropriados para a organização da sociedade moderna<sup>4</sup>. De maneira semelhante, entre os mais conhecidos utilitários contemporâneos, Peter Singer também sublinha que os proponentes da moralidade utilitária estão caracteristicamente empenhados em obter mudanças práticas, sem se confinarem exclusivamente ao mundo da teoria<sup>5</sup>. Apesar desta forte inclinação prática, constata-se na literatura utilitarista uma conspícua falta de atenção à maneira como o princípio da utilidade supostamente motiva os sujeitos a agir em conformidade com o princípio.<sup>6</sup> Esta ausência é notória na recente introdução à doutrina utilitarista escrita por Singer e Lazari-Radek. Pouco se tem escrito também sobre a proposta utilitária sobre a educação, mas o ensaio de Gutman sobre o assunto também não aborda senão

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<sup>3</sup> Mill, 1861, p. 210. Esta é a edição a ser citada ao longo deste *paper*.

<sup>4</sup> Rawls, 2007, p. 252.

<sup>5</sup> Lazari-Radek e Singer, 2017, p. xviii.

<sup>6</sup> Veja-se a definição de Mill nos seus *Essays on Ethics, Religion and Society*: "Utility, or the Greatest Happiness Principle, holds that actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness. By happiness is intended pleasure, and the absence of pain; by unhappiness, pain, and the privation of pleasure." (p. 252)

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superficialmente a questão.<sup>7</sup> O que é tanto mais surpreendente quanto o problema que se tornou conhecido como “*akrasia*” ou fraqueza do desejo (*buletai*) é tão antigo como a própria filosofia. Uma pessoa pode reconhecer um certo princípio moral como reto, mas mesmo assim não agir em concordância com esse princípio, seja pela fraqueza da vontade, ou mesmo por vontade deliberada em sentido contrário.

Porque tem hoje o utilitarismo uma segunda vida, depois de parecer votado ao esquecimento no fim do século XIX? O utilitarismo, oitocentista ou actual, é, com efeito, problemático e frequentemente criticado de uma variedade de perspectivas diferentes. Do lado da ética das virtudes, Alasdair MacIntyre defende que os objectos do desejo humano são “irreduzivelmente heterogêneos”<sup>8</sup> e que, por isso, o apelo a uma noção abstracta de felicidade como a única coisa que é desejável em si mesma não é mais que o apelo a uma ficção moral.

De uma perspectiva deontológica, Kant e os neokantianos actuais, defendem que qualquer princípio ou lei moral deve ser racionalmente necessária e somos obrigados a deduzir as leis, máximas e princípios morais independentemente do exame de factos empíricos<sup>9</sup>. Neste texto vamos tentar operar dentro do próprio universo utilitarista e avaliar a sua consistência interna.

Partindo da obra emblemática de Stuart Mill, vamos considerar sucessivamente o problema da sanção moral—quer externa quer interna ao sujeito—da formação do sentido de dever e do desenvolvimento da consciência moral, para concluir com uma apreciação crítica do contributo de Mill que ajude a compreender o seu “regresso” actual ao panorama filosófico.

### **Sanções Externas e Internas**

Porque se prefere neste texto abordar a questão a partir da obra de Mill, e não dos seus predecessores ou herdeiros? Por um lado, este pensador é mais subtil que os seus mestres Jeremy Bentham ou James Mill—pode mesmo dizer-se que foi a defesa de Mill

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<sup>7</sup> Gutman “What’s the use of going to school?” In: Sen and Williams, 1982.

<sup>8</sup> MacIntyre, 1981, p. 70.

<sup>9</sup> Kant, 1785, 4: pp. 389.

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que salvou o utilitarismo do descrédito, dada a psicologia um pouco crua dos seus predecessores.<sup>10</sup> Por outro, lado os utilitários mais recentes pouco inovam no que toca à questão que interessa aqui abordar: a das "razões" ou força motora da acção.

Mill, por contraposição, introduziu um conceito fundamental na teoria utilitária. Não é exagero dizer que a sua grande inovação em matéria de doutrina ética é a ideia de que existe em cada homem uma forma de "sanção interna". O terceiro capítulo do *Utilitarismo* intitula-se precisamente "Da Sanção Última do Princípio da Utilidade" e começa por se perguntar pelos "motivos" que levam a aderir a certo princípio moral e, em concreto "qual é a fonte da sua obrigatoriedade? De onde deriva a força que a este vincula?".<sup>11</sup> Esta formulação dá a entender que o problema por detrás das perguntas é o mesmo fundamental problema, ou até que as próprias perguntas são vistas como equivalentes. Será a motivação moral uma espécie de sanção? Consiste num certo medo de alguma espécie de castigo? Tal não se aplica certamente a todos os sistemas de ética normativa — como a ética kantiana onde a vontade dá leis a si mesma<sup>12</sup>, que exclui do agir moral todo o comportamento que é motivado pelo medo de algum castigo, interior ou exterior. Uma acção feita para evitar a "dor" (*latu sensu*) de um castigo não teria, para Kant, qualquer valor moral.

Mas, ao contrário do que poderíamos pensar à primeira vista, também não parece que se aplique sequer ao princípio da utilidade. Para Mill, todos sistemas morais contêm sanções internas e externas. Exemplos de sanções externas seriam, por exemplo, a esperança de louvor e o medo de desagradar a outras criaturas ou a Deus. Também podemos ser motivados a agir por simpatia ou afeição em relação aos outros ou por admiração a Deus. Existem, pois, tanto motivações positivas como motivações negativas, mas a felicidade geral é, segundo este filósofo, o único critério do bem, que o próprio Deus aprovaria, e o critério da obediência ao princípio da utilidade.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Ver Sandel, 2009, *Justice*, pp. 31-57.

<sup>11</sup> Mill, 1861, p. 38.

<sup>12</sup> Johnson and Cureton, 2004, p. 10

<sup>13</sup> Mill, 1861, p. 228.

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O uso da palavra "sanção" soa estranho numa discussão sobre as razões que alguém pode ter para seguir um princípio moral. Seria mais apropriada talvez no contexto judicial ou penal, por exemplo, mas para Bentham, a palavra "sanção" significa simplesmente uma fonte de prazer ou de dor.

Teve igualmente grande influência sobre Mill o teórico legal John Austin (1790-1859) que afirmara que qualquer sanção estava sempre estritamente associada a uma fonte de dor. O sujeito apropriado da "dor" é, segundo Austin, aquele que não faz aquilo que é ordenado pela lei. Ligada de perto à noção de "sanção" está, pois, a noção de "obrigação". Ter a obrigação de fazer alguma coisa não significa senão que uma sanção será imposta no caso de a acção não ser praticada. É compreensível a razão pela qual Mill utiliza as expressões "sanção" e "fonte de obrigação" (com o sentido de Austin) de forma intermutável<sup>14</sup>.

Tal como Bentham e Austin, Mill utiliza, portanto, o termo "sanção" para se referir a uma fonte de prazer ou dor, mas, no capítulo terceiro da sua obra ética, intitulada *Utilitarismo*, parece está mais preocupado com o problema da motivação que os seus predecessores: porque, ou de que maneira, alguém pode sofrer por agir contra o princípio da utilidade?

Para concluir estas reflexões introdutórias, é importante mencionar que este texto não visa provar ou infirmar o princípio da utilidade. As dificuldades que resultam de usar a ideia de sanção como raiz do princípio utilitarista na sua própria demonstração foram já suficientemente expostas por outros estudiosos de Mill<sup>15</sup>. Aqui limitamo-nos a examinar o seu um relato sobre a origem a propagação do sentimento de dever associado ao princípio de utilidade.

### As Sanções Externas

Podemos afirmar que as sanções externas são consistentes com o princípio da utilidade, ou seja, que nos levam sempre a agir de acordo com o mesmo? A nossa

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<sup>14</sup> Miller, 2006. "Mill's Theory of Sanctions". In: *The Blackwell Guide to Mill's Utilitarianism* p. 161. Aqui é apenas apresentado um sumário da sua explicação que é mais detalhada e profunda.

<sup>15</sup> Cohen, 1990. "Proof and Sanction in Mill's Utilitarianism" *History of Philosophy Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 4 pp. 475-487.

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hipótese é que o desejo da "maior felicidade para o maior número" nos motiva a agir em conformidade em alguns casos, mas apenas de forma contingente. Por exemplo, quando agimos por esperança de louvor externo, o que nos motiva é o desejo de louvor. Mas este mesmo louvor pode ser obtido através de acções que violam, à primeira vista pelo menos, o princípio da utilidade. Seria o caso, para dar um exemplo um pouco simplista, de um político que mente ao seu eleitorado sobre a fraca situação económica do país e consegue ainda assim manter a sua reputação intacta como político (e recebe o almejado louvor), mas assim prejudica a população que não se prepara devidamente para tempos económicos difíceis.

Para Mill, o medo de desagradar a outros não é na verdade mais do que uma forma de "medo" do que os outros nos possam fazer. Mas tal motivação pode igualmente ser ocasionalmente inconsistente com o princípio da utilidade. Imaginemos alguém que pretende avisar uma cidade conhecida por ser muito intolerante de uma catástrofe iminente, mas que teme ser executado como herege pelos habitantes da cidade. Alguns seguiriam o aviso e fugiriam da cidade antes desta ser destruída, mas neste caso o medo de desagradar a outros motivaria a agir de forma oposta ao princípio da utilidade geral. Como conciliar o ponto de vista individual com o ponto de vista imparcial—o chamado ponto de vista do universo? O conceito que assegura a compatibilidade entre ambos os "motivos" ou razões de acção, no sistema de Mill, tal como em Adam Smith e nos empiristas escoceses, é a ideia de "simpatia".

Mill entende por "simpatia" o que hoje é normalmente chamado "empatia": uma disposição para sentir o que os outros sentem. Mill acredita que, quando "simpatizamos" com outrem, a sua felicidade torna-se uma fonte da nossa própria felicidade.<sup>16</sup> A simpatia, todavia, pode ser de duas espécies, particular ou universal. No caso de simpatia particular — ou seja, simpatia que tem como objecto um grupo limitado de criaturas — podemos facilmente entender como tal sentimento pode levar o sujeito ético a agir contra o princípio da utilidade. Pense-se no exemplo clássico de uma mãe que escolhe salvar a sua própria filha ao invés de cinco outras crianças pelas quais não tem a mesma "simpatia". Ao contrário, a simpatia universal—ou seja, a simpatia por toda a humanidade—motivaria

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<sup>16</sup> Miller, 2006, pp. 162-163.

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o sujeito ético a agir sempre de modo conforme ao princípio de utilidade. É esta forma de simpatia pois que estabelece uma espécie de "ponte" entre a felicidade individual e a felicidade geral.

Pode então afirmar-se que, segundo Mill, a motivação moral em função da utilidade é um fenómeno real, que oferece provas na observação empírica dos sentimentos de simpatia universal nos indivíduos? A resposta dos intérpretes parece ser negativa por duas razões. Primeiro, é duvidoso que um indivíduo motivado por tal simpatia universal tenha alguma vez existido. Segundo, mesmo que, as suas acções nos levassem a pensar que existisse, nunca poderíamos ter a certeza de que o que o motiva a agir é de facto a simpatia universal, e não, por exemplo, o medo do castigo eterno após a morte, ou outra qualquer motivação externa.<sup>17</sup> Todas as sanções relacionadas com Deus presumem a sua existência, e a veracidade dessa proposição fica fora do escopo da investigação empírica que Mill defende.

Poderíamos ainda assim levantar o problema platónico do *Eutífro*: será que a maior felicidade é boa porque Deus a aprova, ou Deus necessariamente aprova a felicidade porque esta é boa? E, no caso da última, poderíamos continuar a afirmar que Deus é onipotente, se não tem mais escolha senão aprovar o que é bom?

### **Um Sentimento Subjectivo de Dever**

Para Mill, a sanção interna do dever é apenas uma; um sentimento na nossa mente; uma dor sentida aquando da violação do dever, ou mais tarde, sobre a forma de remorsos<sup>18</sup>; isto é a base da nossa consciência, que se mistura com sentimentos de simpatia, amor, medo, e convicções religiosas, para formar uma "barreira de sentimento" que é necessariamente trespassada quando qualquer acção viola os nossos padrões morais.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Acima presume-se que o medo de desagradar era nada mais do que o medo das consequências de que poderíamos ser vítimas. Mas se Mill tomasse o desagrado (sofrimento) de outros, só por si, como sanção suficiente do princípio da utilidade, então o presente argumento aplica-se de igual maneira.

<sup>18</sup> A palavra sanção (*sanction*) faz mais sentido neste contexto, que coincide com a ideia comum da nossa consciência moral como sendo algo que nos castiga quando realizamos acções imorais.

<sup>19</sup> Mill, 1861, p. 229.



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A origem deste sentimento subjectivo é indiferente enquanto motivo da acção. Uma pessoa pode ser motivada a obedecer a critérios morais porque estes têm uma origem divina ou transcendental, mas o motivo próximo para agir é o sentimento subjectivo de dever.<sup>20</sup> Será tal sentimento de dever moral inato nos indivíduos, ou adquirido? Mill defende que é adquirido, mas nem por isso menos natural. Da mesma maneira que a linguagem é adquirida, também o sentimento de dever moral é inculcado no sujeito pela sociedade e educação.<sup>21</sup> Mill ainda assim admite que este sentimento pode surgir espontaneamente em cada um, em "pequena escala".

Será a relação entre o sentimento de dever e o princípio da utilidade completamente arbitrária? Se o sentimento de dever moral é adquirido, parece que qualquer outro princípio, que não o da utilidade, poderia ser igualmente inculcado (pela educação, pelos costumes, etc.). Mill nega-o, afirmando que associações morais ditas "completamente artificiais" seriam, numa cultura intelectual<sup>22</sup>, dissolvidas pelas forças de análise. O sentimento de dever associado ao princípio da utilidade não é dissolvido porque está em harmonia necessária com a nossa "base de sentimento natural" que nos motiva a cultivá-lo nos outros e valorizá-lo em nós próprios. Esta base de sentimento natural, a fundação que harmoniza com o dever em relação ao princípio de utilidade, é o sentimento social do ser humano, o desejo de estar em unidade com os outros<sup>23</sup>.

Mas o que é exactamente este desejo de unidade? John Rawls, nas suas lições sobre a História da Filosofia Política descreve o conteúdo desse desejo assim:

[é] o desejo de que não sejamos rivais dos outros nos meios para a felicidade. É também o desejo de que deve haver harmonia entre os nossos sentimentos e metas e os sentimentos e metas dos outros, de tal modo que os objectivos da

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<sup>20</sup> Mill, 1861, p. 228-229.

<sup>21</sup> Mill, 1861, p. 230.

<sup>22</sup> Um exemplo de uma tal cultura intelectual seria uma sociedade onde a liberdade de pensamento e discussão é assegurada, tal como conceptualizado em *On Liberty* (Mill, 1859).

<sup>23</sup> Mill, 1861, p.231.

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nossa conduta e da deles não estejam em conflito, mas sejam complementares.<sup>24</sup>

Mill além disso acreditava que este desejo que floresce da nossa natureza é cada vez mais característico da idade presente.<sup>25</sup> E tenta explicar como o desejo de estar em unidade com os outros se propaga pela humanidade<sup>26</sup>. Pode formular-se o processo de propagação que descreve da seguinte maneira:

1.O estado social é tão natural ao ser humano que ele apenas se concebe como membro de um corpo social maior.

2.Por isso, qualquer condição que seja essencial a um certo estágio de sociedade é vista como algo essencial que deve ser alcançado pelos seres humanos.

3.Uma sociedade entre seres humanos (excluindo as relações entre mestre e escravo) é manifestamente impossível sem que os interesses de todos sejam consultados.

4.Uma sociedade entre iguais só pode existir com a compreensão de que os interesses de todos devem ter igual valor e, como em qualquer sociedade, todas as pessoas (excluindo um monarca absoluto) são iguais, toda a gente vive nestes termos com outros.

5.Desta maneira, as pessoas crescem na impossibilidade de desprezar por completo os interesses dos outros.

6.O ser humano está também familiarizado com a prática de cooperar e alcançar objectivos coletivos.

7. No acto de cooperar, o indivíduo sente que os interesses dos outros são também os seus interesses. Assim se desenvolve o instinto de os satisfazer como se fossem seus.

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<sup>24</sup> Rawls, 2007, p. 282.

<sup>25</sup> Rawls, 2007, p. 282

<sup>26</sup> Mill, 1861, p. 232.

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Mill faz questão de dizer que o sujeito moral, mesmo que não possuísse ele próprio este desejo de unidade, teria interesse em que os outros o possuíssem. Desta forma, a mais pequena quantidade do sentimento vai ser nutrido pelo contágio da "simpatia" e outras sanções externas<sup>27</sup>, bem como pela educação, de modo a propagar-se como um germe<sup>28</sup>.

A explicação de Mill para a origem e propagação do sentimento de unidade parece, apesar da aparência de rigor, algo ambígua se pretende apresentar-se como universal e necessária. Não é claro que um indivíduo tenha necessariamente de se conceber como um membro de uma construção social maior—os indivíduos sentem-se por vezes alienados dos sistemas sociais aos quais pertencem e ou são supostos pertencer. O segundo ponto do seu raciocínio é plausível se for visto como um mero fenómeno psicológico, mas a inferência que indica no ponto terceiro parece mais que duvidosa, pois mesmo que se considerem instáveis, sempre existiram e continuam a existir sociedades despóticas. Noutros passos da sua inferência, Mill argumenta que um desejo de unidade particular—como, por exemplo, o desejo de que os interesses dos outros sejam realizados, pois são também em certo sentido idênticos aos meus—dará origem a desejos de unidade generalizados (isto é, ao desejo de ajudar a alcançar os interesses dos outros em geral). Não é claro como este processo se dá, mas na sua raiz parece estar o desenvolvimento da consciência utilitária.

### O Desenvolvimento da Consciência Utilitária

Para perceber o processo pelo qual se gera a "consciência" utilitária, é necessário recordar o funcionamento básico da psicologia associacionista que Mill herdou do pai, James Mill. Segundo o filósofo Jonathan Riley, pode descrever-se a psicologia associacionista como um ramo da psicologia que estuda as leis científicas que governam associações de pensamentos, ideias, e outros estados mentais<sup>29</sup>.

De acordo com esta teoria psicológica, a educação e as sanções externas podem ser utilizadas para criar associações de ideias e sentimentos na mente do indivíduo. Por

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<sup>27</sup> O estatuto da simpatia como sanção externa foi acima questionado.

<sup>28</sup> Mill, 1861, p. 232.

<sup>29</sup> Riley, 2017, p. 345.

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exemplo, se uma criança roubar algo e for prontamente admoestada ou castigada, acabará por ser incapaz de pensar em roubar sem pensar também no respectivo castigo. Simultaneamente, acabará por ser incapaz de pensar no castigo de um ladrão sem pensar também no sofrimento das suas vítimas. Através do condicionamento social, a mesma criança pode ser, pois, influenciada de tal modo que perceba que o mal feito ao ladrão é merecido, enquanto que o mal sofrido pelas vítimas não o é.

Mill defende que através deste processo se forma um composto moral complexo, em que a ideia de roubar fica associada a um castigo que deve ser administrado. O que começou como um desejo egoísta de evitar o castigo transforma-se paulatinamente num desejo desinteressado de ver castigados aqueles que roubam<sup>30</sup> Naturalmente, neste processo, acção e castigo teriam de ocorrer simultaneamente várias vezes. Esta é a explicação de Mill sobre o modo como um desejo moral desinteressado pode surgir de um desejo, inicialmente egoísta, de evitar o próprio castigo. Quando o indivíduo é condicionado de modo a reconhecer que o sofrimento do malfeitor é merecido, e o das vítimas não o é, a sua faculdade moral é alterada. É assim que se forma a consciência moral.<sup>31</sup>

O argumento de Mill pode ser formulado da seguinte maneira:

**P1: O desejo de viver em unidade com outras criaturas é uma parte fundamental da natureza humana.**

**P2: Associações morais que não estejam em harmonia com o fundamental da natureza humana são artificiais.**

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<sup>30</sup> Mill, 1861, p. 346. O exemplo aqui apresentado é paralelo ao oferecido por Riley.

<sup>31</sup> Mill acrescenta: "But moral associations which are wholly of artificial creation, when intellectual culture goes on, yield by degrees to the dissolving force of analysis: and if the feeling of duty, when associated with utility, would appear equally arbitrary; if there were no leading department of our nature, no powerful class of sentiments, with which that association would harmonize, which would make us feel it congenial, and incline us not only to foster it in others (for which we have abundant interested motives), but also to cherish it in ourselves; if there were not, in short, a natural basis of sentiment for utilitarian morality, it might well happen that this association also, even after it had been implanted by education, might be analyzed away. But there is this basis of powerful natural sentiment; and this it is which, when once the general happiness is recognized as the ethical standard, will constitute the strength of the utilitarian morality. This firm foundation is that of the social feelings of mankind; the desire to be in unity with our fellow creatures (...)". Mill, 1861, p. 230-231.

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P3: Associações morais artificiais podem ser dissolvidas através de análise.

P4: As associações morais que são a base da consciência utilitária harmonizam o desejo de unidade presente no ser humano (que é uma parte da sua natureza).

C: Logo, estas associações não são artificiais e não podem ser dissolvidas através de análise.

O pressuposto crucial da inferência é P4. Para o melhor perceber é útil rever o exemplo da criança que é condicionada a desejar não roubar. Existem quatro associações presentes neste processo. Elas são: 1. Roubo-Castigo; 2. Castigo-Sofrimento da Vítima; 3. Castigo-Merecimento; 4. Sofrimento da Vítima-Não Merecimento.

Estas quatro associações resultam na formação da consciência na criança que começa a ver o acto de roubar como errado. A sua consciência, assim formada, dá origem ao desejo de não roubar, bem como o desejo de que seja aplicado um castigo àqueles que roubam. Para Mill, portanto, a associação psicológica em moldes utilitaristas resulta num sentimento de dever ligado ao princípio da utilidade que defende<sup>32</sup>. Tal associação não é artificial (e não é destruída pela análise) porque está em harmonia com o desejo de unidade presente na natureza humana.

### A Relação entre Princípio Moral e Motivação

A maneira como Mill justifica a motivação do princípio moral é extremamente inovadora. Por contraste, vemos que na ética kantiana o sujeito, enquanto sujeito moral, é motivado a agir por respeito à lei moral<sup>33</sup>. O processo é directo: a lei moral dá origem ao respeito (por parte do indivíduo), que por sua vez influencia a conduta. Mill aparentemente acredita, em certo sentido, numa ligação directa desta espécie entre os princípios e a conduta moral, pois parece-lhe necessária a mediação da consciência. No início do capítulo que dedica à questão no seu *Utilitarismo*, admite que regras morais que

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<sup>32</sup> Isto posto de forma simples. A associação entre o sentimento de dever e o princípio da utilidade pode pressupor um grande número de associações prévias, como foi visto no exemplo de alguém que aprende a não roubar.

<sup>33</sup> Kant, 1785, 4: p. 400.

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são adquiridas através da opinião e da educação—por exemplo, não matar, não roubar, entre outras—se apresentam ao indivíduo como obrigatórias *em si*.

Mas o princípio da utilidade, que é o fundamento das outras regras, não é sentido como obrigatório *em si*. Admite por isso, paradoxalmente, que a "superestrutura" moral funciona melhor quando o seu fundamento não é reconhecido como tal<sup>34</sup>.

Existe uma relação somente indirecta entre o princípio da utilidade e a motivação para o seguir. No ponto de partida está a presunção de que uma sociedade tem de assumir um princípio, qualquer que seja, como a sua base moral. De seguida, ergue-se uma superestrutura moral, que engloba os vários corolários do primeiro princípio, que através da educação e do costume ganham progressivamente influência sobre a conduta dos indivíduos. Mas qual é o critério a aplicar na escolha do princípio moral na base de tal superestrutura? Parece que deve ser somente a estabilidade da superestrutura resultante. O princípio da utilidade é por isso o "candidato perfeito", por assim dizer, pois fomenta a cooperação e a união na sociedade em questão. Para além disso, todos os indivíduos, do mais benevolente ao mais egoísta, irão "contagiar" os seus próximos com o mesmo desejo de unidade: no caso dos benevolentes por simpatia, no caso dos egoístas pelo apelo ao benefício pessoal. O sentimento de dever utilitário está imune à dissolução enquanto o desejo de unidade se continuar a propagar.

Um candidato inadequado a fundamento moral seria, por exemplo, o que Bentham chama de "princípio do asceticismo"<sup>35</sup>, que classifica uma acção como moral na medida em que ela promove a infelicidade. Através do esforço educativo não seria impossível erguer uma superestrutura moral baseada em tal fundamento. Mas não existiria nenhum desejo fundamental da natureza humana ao qual o sentimento de dever associado ao princípio do Asceticismo se pode harmonizar. E mesmo que existisse, tal desejo não seria tão forte como o desejo de unidade social que tem a característica de ser contagioso. O esforço educativo deveria ser constante e depararia com a resistência dos indivíduos, levando assim à instabilidade e eventual colapso de toda a estrutura moral.

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<sup>34</sup> Mill, 1861, *Essays on Ethics, Religion and Society*, p. 227.

<sup>35</sup> Bentham, 1824, p.9.

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A ideia de "contágio moral" é extremamente curiosa. Mesmo tendo em conta que, no caso de Stuart Mill, aparece ligada a uma psicologia humana muito específica, um pouco crua, esta concepção parece potencialmente fecunda, porque sugere qual o papel da "educação moral" e porque depende em última análise de uma certa harmonia com o que é ser humano. Mesmo no contexto da doutrina ética mais popular entre os economistas e que mais influência tem nas políticas públicas, reconhecer a "possibilidade do altruísmo",<sup>36</sup> sem por isso ser forçoso aceitar o pressuposto milliano de que as motivações individuais estão sempre alinhadas com o princípio da utilidade geral por este duvidoso "desejo de unidade".

O problema da motivação moral, como se disse no início, é inerente a todas as doutrinas éticas, pois sem uma resposta, mesmo provisória, à questão a defesa de princípios morais reduz-se a um exercício intelectual ou à mera retórica política. É importante continuar a reflectir sobre o problema, porque vemos por um lado diariamente como a "felicidade do maior número" é tantas vezes invocada, e por outro lado, como o princípio da utilidade se revela tantas vezes insuficiente como explicação. Mais, as expectativas de uma sociedade que encoraja o puro interesse próprio dos agentes, mesmo aqueles que são supostos defender o bem comum, acaba por desencorajar o altruísmo e a simpatia. Paraphrasing a recent work (that cites David Hume): se tratarmos todos como cidadãos nobres em vez em vez de sujeitos servis, pode descobrir-se que os cidadãos não são peões, mas rainhas.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Ver Nagel, 1979 e o comentário de Scanlon, 2014.

<sup>37</sup> Le Grand, 2006. Na mesma linha Sandel, 2012.

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### **NOTA BIOGRÁFICA DO AUTOR**

João da Rocha Rodrigues é investigador do projecto "Cultura Cívica, diversidade religiosa e vulnerabilidade: Uma história dos modernos paradoxos da tolerância", na Universidade do Minho, dirigido por J. A. Colen e Alexandra Abranches. Escreveu anteriormente sobre o pensamento de Anselmo de Cantuária, em particular a sua noção de liberdade e as tensões que esta origina. No seu trabalho, sob o título "A Liberdade dos Incapazes: O Livre Arbítrio e o Pecado em Anselmo", examina os paradoxos que a sua concepção de liberdade provoca. Em particular, uma vez que Deus, apesar da sua onipotência, não pode pecar sendo livre, pois não pode deixar de preservar a rectidão da sua vontade, que é necessariamente recta, como podemos entender a liberdade humana. Além deste *paper* é ainda autor de um ensaio aceite como comunicação na conferência internacional "Open Borders, Closed Borders" e autor, com o Prof. Doutor José Colen, de uma nota crítica da obra de Carlos Gaspar, *O Regresso da Anarquia*.

### **RESUMO**

Um dos problemas éticos que continua a atormentar os filósofos é o que nos leva a agir com nobreza, generosidade ou compaixão—por oposição a cálculo, mesquinhez ou crueldade. Em estreita relação com esta questão está "o que conta como uma razão para agir?" e o papel da educação no comportamento altruísta que parece excluído pelo princípio da utilidade. O princípio da utilidade, apesar disso, tem ainda grande popularidade na definição de políticas públicas. Os proponentes do utilitarismo procuram explicar de que maneira o princípio da utilidade motiva a conduta humana. John Stuart Mill, na sua obra seminal, defende que os indivíduos são incentivados a agir moralmente através de "sanções", que podem ser externas ou internas. As sanções externas apresentadas por Mill incluem a simpatia e o medo de desagradar ao próximo. Este ensaio defende que todas nos podem levar a agir contrariamente ao princípio da utilidade que Mill defende—sendo, portanto, motivações contingentes. A "sanção" da consciência ou sanção interna é, pelo contrário, um sentimento subjectivo de dever que, mesmo no quadro utilitário de Mill, se inculca no sujeito através da educação. A educação moral consiste, para este filósofo, essencialmente na formação progressiva de uma associação entre a dor (*latu sensu*) e o incumprimento do dever. Esta associação não pode ser dissolvida pela análise crítica, pois enraíza-se num desejo de unidade fundamental presente na natureza humana. Mill considera que este desejo de unidade é característico da "idade moderna" em que ele próprio vive e que tal desejo se

## ***Unidade e Propagação da Motivação segundo John Stuart Mill: Uma Dimensão Esquecida do Utilitarismo, João da Rocha Rodrigues***

propaga por "contágio". Neste texto procura-se mostrar que a explicação que Mill apresenta desse processo de propagação não é satisfatória e que se pode mesmo afirmar que o autor presume uma psicologia humana demasiado optimista. Mesmo assim, a concepção de um "desejo contagioso", que fundamenta a motivação moral, é uma proposta original e potencialmente fecunda, representando uma grande inovação por parte de Mill—uma inovação que tem sido geralmente esquecida na literatura académica sobre o problema. Identificamos algumas das consequências deste olvido na conclusão.

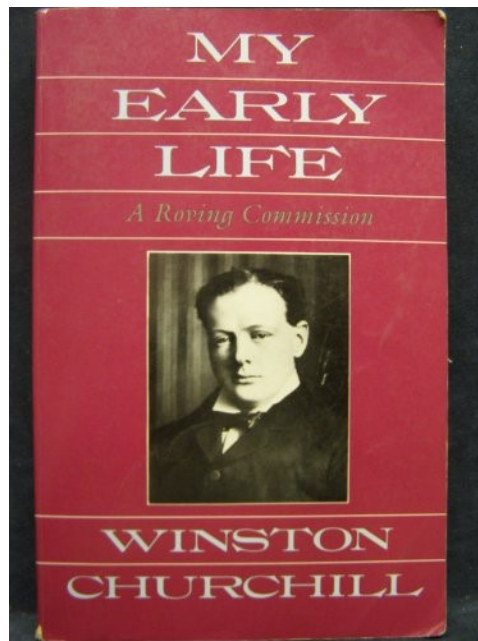
Palavras-chave: Stuart Mill, motivação, sanção, utilitarismo, unidade de vida

### **ABSTRACT**

One of the ethical problems that continues to puzzle philosophers today is why should we act with nobility, generosity or compassion—as opposed to calculation, pettiness or cruelty. In close connection with this question is the further question "what counts as a reason to act?" and concerns about the role of education into the kind of altruistic behavior that seems excluded by the principle of utility often used by policymakers. Proponents of utilitarianism seek to explain how the principle of utility motivates human conduct. John Stuart Mill, in his seminal work, argues that individuals are motivated to act morally through "sanctions", which can be external or internal. Mill's external sanctions include sympathy and the fear of displeasing others. This paper argues that all of them can lead us to act contrary to the principle of utility that he defends — being, therefore, merely contingent motivations. The "sanction" of conscience is, on the contrary, a subjective feeling of duty, even though in the utilitarian framework Mill argues that this internal sanction is inculcated in the subject through education. Moral education essentially consists of the progressive formation of an association between pain (*latu sensu*) and non-compliance with duty. This association cannot be dissolved by critical analysis, because it is rooted in a desire for fundamental unity present in the human nature. Mill believes that this desire for unity is characteristic of the "modern age" in which he lives and that this desire spreads by "contagion". This text seeks to show that Mill's explanation of this propagation process is not satisfactory and that it can even be said that the author assumes a very optimistic human psychology. Even so, the conception of a "contagious desire" that underlies moral motivation is creative and potentially fruitful, representing a great innovation on the part of Mill; an innovation that has been largely overlooked in academic literature on the problem. We will make an attempt at briefly pointing out some of the consequences of such an abandonment.

Keywords: Stuart Mill, motivation, sanction, utilitarianism, sympathy, conscience

***Churchill on Philosophy  
"Intellectual dynamite"***



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In his book, *My Early Life* (first published in 1930),<sup>1</sup> when discussing his grand lack of philosophical education, among other "spheres of thought", Winston Churchill affirms:

"It was not until the winter of 1896, when I had almost completed my twenty-second year, that the desire for learning came upon me. I began to feel myself wanting in even the vaguest knowledge about many large spheres of thought. I had picked up a wide vocabulary and had a liking for words and for the feel of words fitting and falling into their places like pennies in the slot. I caught myself using a good many words the meaning of which I could not define precisely. I admired these words, but was afraid to use them for fear of being absurd."

It is evident that his capacity to "fit words into their places" is proven beyond any doubt. He confesses to having collected many words and the inherent peril of, without proper intellectual training, misusing them. The preoccupation with the precise definition of words reminds us of the unique mode of clarity with which Churchill observed events, mainly the ones related to the coming to power and the use of power by the Nazi, and particularly those which were related to their deity-type leader, Adolf Hitler. Perhaps Winston's preoccupation with accuracy – that one can observe reported as early as when he arrived, very young, at school, as narrated in the scene of the Latin First Declension, when he declared that he did not 'address or speak to tables'<sup>2</sup> – is one of the main traits of his person.

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<sup>1</sup> CHURCHILL Winston, *My Early Life*, London, Eland, 2000, p. 107, [first edition, 1930]; all other quotations pertinent to this text will be from this same edition, and are marked *ibidem*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 9-11. "[...] 'But why O table?' I persisted in genuine curiosity. / 'O table, – you would use in addressing a table, in invoking a table.' And then seeing he was not carrying me with him, 'You would use it in speaking to a table.' / 'But I never do,' I blurted out in honest

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Winston was a man of great passion, vicious passion, perhaps, sometimes, but he was always overburdened with the sense of accuracy. He was a man of accurate passion for Britain, his wife and children, his nanny, even his most undeserving, unloving, parents.

A young and dashing cavalry officer, a sportsman, a promising front-line soldier, he felt himself "wanting in even the vaguest knowledge about many spheres of thought". He possessed some vocabulary, partly vague and lacking the due precision, and, intellectually, he possessed not much else, or so he thought. The bold man who defied bullets and blades and was used to killing<sup>3</sup> confesses to be "afraid to use" those vague words in an absurd fashion.

He had had no formal university education, just the training due to an officer of the British Empire, whose main preoccupation was not to obtain a high intellectual score but to obey the orders coming from above and convey them to the ones under his power and range of commission. These men to whose class Winston belonged did not have to be learned, but to be military efficient. The intellectual matters mattered to the intellectuals and these were the civilians, for the British tradition is one of strict obedience of the Military to the Civilian in power representing the choice of the people. The Military are the servants of the interest and will of the people, not highly educated intellectuals. This is how things were viewed. Nevertheless, exceptions existed.

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amazement. / 'If you are impertinent, you will be punished, and punished, let me tell you, very severely,' was his conclusive rejoinder. [...].

<sup>3</sup> Though from a different period, the following words are demonstrative of how Churchill dealt with the perils of war (and of his sense of the frailty of life), *ibidem*, p. 191: "Suddenly in the midst of the troop up sprung a Dervish. How he got there I do not know. He must have leaped out of some scrub or hole. All the troops turned upon him thrusting with their lances: but he darted to and fro causing for the moment a frantic commotion. Wounded several times, he staggered towards me raising his spear. I shot him at less than a yard. He fell on the sand, and lay there dead. How easy to kill a man!". How easy it is, indeed. To what point did experiences such as this one marked him in the sense of not causing undue deaths?

The young man and officer began a whole new and decisive phase of his life, with this new desire that had sprung from the intuition of the lack of due knowledge, his newly perceived «mental needs». In his own words:

"This was only typical of a dozen similar mental needs that now began to press insistently upon me. I knew of course that the youths at the Universities were stuffed with all this patter at nineteen and twenty, and could pose you entrapping questions or give baffling answers. We never set much store by them or their affected superiority, remembering that they were only at their books, while we were commanding men and guarding the Empire. Nevertheless I had sometimes resented the apt and copious information which some of them seemed to possess, and I now wished I could find a competent teacher whom I could listen to and cross-examine for an hour or so every day."

There was a gap between his skills as a young non-academically-learned cavalry officer and the ones of the "nineteen and twenty [years old] youths at the Universities" who were acquainted with an apparatus of reasoning and erudition that enabled them to "pose you entrapping questions or give baffling answers". This would not do. This had to be altered. Furthermore, psychologically, Churchill admits, he "had sometimes resented the apt and copious information which some of them seemed to possess". The psychological passion transformed itself into an ethic desire of resolving the matter, an act of the will: "I now wished I could find a competent teacher whom I could listen to and cross-examine for an hour or so every day." It was an almost-academic project designed to rapidly change his cultural condition.

This confession is amazing to be read, coming from a man whose later capacity for accumulating information and for dealing with it according to his best interests was to become world famous. Further on, we will discuss how Churchill thought he should proceed to implement such an almost-academic endeavour, and how he actually acted.

Meanwhile, there are two of his observations that deserve special attention. The first concerns the way he understands the possession of knowledge by the University youths. The expression employed is "stuffed with all this patter". It is not

a word of praise. Though for some time his most immediate convivial life had been spent with the Military type, he was not devoid of contact with civilian University youths. Therefore, the way he perceived them was not as sapient possessors of knowledge, but as "stuffed" with something ("patter"). One stuffs dead animals, dead people, children's toys, and the like. One "stuffs" the belly with unneeded food. Denotatively, one does not "stuff" living people.

So, those academic youths seemed to young Winston something someone had stuffed with something. Stuffed beings are not exactly people; not actually. One may call it envy. Certainly one may. Nevertheless, the later experience Churchill had with these people – kind of people – illustrates what one can perceive, in an objective and non-envious sight, as "stuffed people", that is to say, people full of ready-made notions, the kind of unprecise ones Churchill disliked, people, for instance, who observed what seemed to Winston the tyranny of Hitler and saw nothing of it, seeing eventually just another political clown.

Perhaps those stuffed academic people were the same ones who did address tables just because the Latin Grammar told them to. But not impertinent Churchill, the one who loved to understand not just how things were but why and what for they were. And this is the topmost height of impertinence. For impertinent he was, this odd grandson of a Duke.

The second observation deals with a comparison, the relation of importance, perhaps valour, between the Academic youth and the Military one. Interestingly, Churchill does not speak as an individual but as a member of a group, using a "we": "We never set much store by them or their affected superiority, remembering that they were only at their books, while we were commanding men and guarding the Empire."

This statement may seem innocuous and trifle, banal. It is far from it. This is the full embodiment of what Churchill assumed as the task and aim of his life: to guard the Empire, having, for that purpose, to command men. These were his favourite

activities (he, who, to secure the support of Roosevelt, had to concede losing the Empire).<sup>4</sup>

The importance of this materially minute bit of text resides not in any possible consideration respective to Churchill's psychology or to his points of view on society, rather in the affirmation of the main-stays of his action: the defence of the Empire and the command of men in order to defend the Empire. To not understand this point is to not understand anything of Churchill's action, mainly during his terrible dark years of homeland exile during the thirties and the also terrible but brightly fertile years of his command of men (and women, by the many thousands) while procuring to save the Empire, in the form of saving the British (and Western) Civilization from the barbaric onslaught of the new tyranny forces of pied fascism, mainly the Nazi one; and never forgetting the other form of barbarism represented by the Soviet way of envisaging the world and human relations.

Another note is pertinent: though the exact words Churchill uses when referring to the relation between the Academic youth and the Military are "remembering that they were only at their books, while we were commanding men and guarding the Empire", there is an interpretation that is not impertinent and that

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<sup>4</sup> The Atlantic Charter, in its third point affirms: "Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.". Imperialists may argue that the document does not speak about independence of colonies or dominions. Nevertheless, the notion of "self-government" is quite clear: it is not due to others, whoever they may be, to govern us, but that right and 'burden' is due to us. The first affirmation is undeniably clear: each people have the right to choose its form of government. «We don't want to be a colony, governed by the Government that sieges in London»: was this claim not to be perceived by cunning old political fox Churchill when drafting the document and then, when signing it? Who would believe that? The price to pay in order to get the world rid of the worst form of tyranny was very heavy, but there was no other solution, but for the setting down of all the principles on which the Western Civilization was built. The reference for this matter in Churchill's memoires is: CHURCHILL Winston Spencer, *The Second World War*. Volume III. *The Grand Alliance*, New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1985, pp. 385-400. These pages correspond to "Chapter XXIV, The Atlantic Charter"; one can find the transcription of the final version on pp. 393-394; the first draft is reprinted on p. 395 and shows Churchill's handwritten corrections.



helps to understand the actual relation between Churchill and the other members of the British political elite who did not have a military past but had only an academic one. This interpretation is the one according to which the reason for the existence of the guardians of the Empire was that their action was the one that permitted peace and security enough for some people to deal with and in books and not in blood, as the men like Churchill did. This also means that the scholars owed it to the men with the sword the possibility of not using a sword, but rather a pen.

This is, therefore, a subtle declaration of the political superiority – also moral – of the self-sacrificing Military over the gentle Academic. Diamantine thinking Churchill at his best.

In one other of his many and long literary monuments, Churchill refers to the ‘revolt’ of some student members of the University of Oxford<sup>5</sup> refusing to serve in the military, the same ones who not much later were some of the first to sacrifice themselves for the sake of Britain, some as the youths on board the fighter planes

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<sup>5</sup> CHURCHILL Winston Spencer, *The Second World War*. Volume I. *The Gathering Storm*, New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1985, p. 77: "In this dark time the basest sentiments received acceptance or passed unchallenged by the responsible leaders of the political parties. In 1933 the students of the Oxford Union, under the inspiration of a Mr. Joad, passed their ever-shameful resolution. "That this House will in no circumstances fight for its King and Country." It was easy to laugh off such an episode in England, but in Germany, in Russia, in Italy, in Japan, the idea of a decadent, degenerate Britain took deep root and swayed many calculations. Little did the foolish boys who passed the resolution dream that they were destined quite soon to conquer or fall gloriously in the ensuing war, and prove themselves the finest generation ever bred in Britain. Less excuse can be found for their elders, who had no chance of self-redemption in action.". At this point, Churchill introduces a quite graphic footnote: "I cannot resist telling this story. I was asked to address the University Conservative association in the Oxford Union. I declined to do so, but said I would give them an hour to ask me questions. One of the questions was, "Do you think Germany was guilty of making the last war?" I said, "Yes, of course." A young German Rhodes Scholar rose from his place and said, "After this insult to my country I will not remain here." He then stalked out amid roars of applause. I thought him a spirited boy. Two years later it was found out in Germany that he had a Jewish ancestor. This ended his career in Germany."

who valiantly pushed back the Luftwaffe attack during the high Summer of 1940, the same ones who merited one of his most famous phrases: «never in the...".<sup>6</sup>

So, good old History, with its dramatic and tragic options, bluntly put on the table of events, to be finally reconciled, the scholar and the military. Clearly, and with no great room for doubt, in Churchill's mind the aim and the task of the military were to guard what was comprehended under the notion of «Empire». In so doing, they also arranged the necessary peace, time and leisure needed for the academic type to define what the "Empire" should consist of.

In terms of the definition of what political society is and should be, this relation is paramount. For Churchill, there is no doubt that there can be no society – the Empire – without either the academic, the ones who think the society and define it formally, or the military, the ones destined to materialize that form, holding its identity, autonomy, its life, ultimately.

This is a Platonic structure, less its third kind, the makers or producers. These are the ones for whom Churchill provided better working and living conditions, acting politically as if he were an academic. History does have its ironies.

Irony apart, what one encounters here is the mental form through which Churchill thinks society, articulated – never "divided", this is not a notion that Churchill would accept – in three kinds, the producers, the guards, the academic. This is the Platonic form for the "polis", and it is of great significance that Churchill mentions Plato in the text that is being studied here, as we will soon see.

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<sup>6</sup> CHURCHILL Winston Spencer, *The Second World War*. Volume II. *Their Finest Hour*, New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1985, p. 300: "[...] The carefully-wrought organisation of Fighter Command, without which all might have been in vain, proved equal to months of continuous strain. All played their part. / At the summit the stamina and valour of our fighter pilots remained unconquerable and supreme. Thus Britain was saved. Well might I say in the House of Commons. "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few." These few comprised not just these special pilots but other people struggling in the fronts and struggling in the rear, namely at Bletchley Park, the brain force who broke many Axis war codes.

Knowing what and how the long life of Winston Churchill developed, one has to acknowledge another subtle historic irony: this man embodied the three kinds of men he recognized as the makers – and doers – of the city: he was an academic in fact if not formally; he was, by trade, a military; he was also a proud brick-layer. The Old Bulldog was an entire city on his own. Nevertheless, this tripartite mode of being gave him the unique perspective and experience, in a world where commonly one would have a flat just-one-kind life, perhaps, if one was non-compliant with traditional class dividing, two, very seldom, three. Winston had them all, he could think and act like an academic, like a soldier (both front-line and general-staff one), like a working man. He was always a working man with the intelligence of a scholar and the discipline and resilience of a soldier.

As is known, this was of consequence, permitting a triple, though integrated view, on political things that no one else had. It was not always the best possible view, but, when he got it right, he was capable of not only leading the views on common decency politics but also seeing beyond the common near-sighted vision of traditional policy making and general political practice.

Young Churchill was discovering a whole new world of sense, of a "logos" previously unsuspected to him. There were many and much higher layers of intellectual reality than the ones present to his intelligence and memory. His inner intellectual possibilities were emerging to his own intelligence as something pristine, un-thought, perhaps deemed impossible before this logic shock. He found himself capable of dwelling, or, at least, capable of trying to dwell where the finest of the scholars abode. It is almost tender to listen to the words he streams conveying this discovery:

"One day, before I left England, a friend of mine had said: 'Christ's gospel was the last word in Ethics.' This sounded good; but what were Ethics? They had never been mentioned to me at Harrow or Sandhurst. Judging from the context I thought they must mean 'the public school spirit', 'playing the game', 'esprit de corps', 'honourable behaviour', 'patriotism', and the like. Then someone told me that Ethics were concerned not merely with the things you ought to do, but with why you ought to do them, and that there

were whole books written on the subject. I would have paid some scholar £2 at least to give me a lecture of an hour or an hour and a half about Ethics. What was the scope of the subject; what were its main branches; what were the principal questions dealt with, and the chief controversies open; who were the high authorities and which were the standard books? But here in Bangalore there was no one to tell me about Ethics for love or money. Of tactics I had a grip: on politics I had a view: but a concise compendious outline of Ethics was a novelty not to be locally obtained."<sup>7</sup>

The memorial narrative is almost childish. However, it shows, if true to a memory itself true to the reality of the past, the traits, one may say the main traits of Churchill's mode of living as a man in search of sense, of a sense that corresponds as best as possible to the true core of reality. The axial love of reality, of truthfulness, patented symbolically in the scene of the child who did not address tables or speaks to them, lingers on within the pertinence of the questions reported above: "What was the scope of the subject; what were its main branches; what were the principal questions dealt with, and the chief controversies open; who were the high authorities and which were the standard books?".

Was this not the intellectual way mature Winston used to approach – with better or worse outcomes, as in the usual walk of human action – all the issues that came under his range of duty and power?

Let us try to apply these many questions to the "matter Hitler". "What was the scope of the subject"? Did Churchill not study with the utmost interest, vastly, the "scope of the subject" Hitler? Did he not, during the major part of the thirties, obtain and shared an incomparable knowledge on the "scope of this subject"? Apparently he did, indeed. The study and the insight obtained navigating largely and profoundly the "scope of the subject" were what permitted him to be ready for dealing, precisely, with "the subject" as soon as the latter urgently had to be dealt with. No one else possessed such an appropriate knowledge.

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<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 107-108.

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"What were its main branches"? The study carried on the subject under discussion lead Churchill to being able to appreciate uniquely great many of the "branches" of the "problem Hitler", its background and foundations, its possibilities, its dangers, its degree of political and anthropological perversion; and, of course, its ethic grounds and the ethic practice one could expect coming from the "subject", Corporal Hitler.

"What were the principal questions dealt with"? Undoubtedly Churchill, during the phase of studying "the subject", perceived and interiorized the "principal questions", some of which constituted the matters of his addresses to a Chamber in a House that did not concern itself with such trivial subjects, until faced with the inevitability of having to fight and perhaps die or become enslaved. The inhumanity of the Nazi regime was one of the subjects; the rearmament of Nazi Germany and the miserable military situation of the Great Democracies was another of such subjects; many others are available for consultation as already common historiography.

"The chief controversies open"? Most of these controversies were opened by Churchill himself, in a period of appeasement, when people preferred to not think about impending perils, magically hoping that a godless providence of political relations would solve what just the ethic of a human common good oriented action could. Perhaps the main controversy in the United Kingdom versed on Churchill being or not being a simple warmonger. Nevertheless, the main real controversy consisted on the possible destination of the world and the future of humanity as a thing of freedom or as a mass of slaves under one tyrant or a few oligarchs.

"Who were the high authorities and which were the standard books"? These are the easiest questions to be answered, for there were just two authorities of the highest rank, precisely Hitler, as the man who devised the sense of the new order wantonly expected to invade the whole world; and Churchill, the man who, continuously being the child who did not address tables as normal people were supposed to, was capable of having an intelligent approach to Hitler's ideas,

believing that – as the old Corporal wanted – they were created to be put into political existence.

As to the "standard books", Hitler facilitated the task when he wrote and published *Mein Kampf*, a repertoire of many things, mainly of the ones that were the "granite pillars" of the dictator's ambitions – which are psychological beings – and aims, finalities, which are not psychological, but necessarily objective, thus palpably doable.

This objectivity of the aims situates the discussion on a ground of human possibility – not of human magic mania or psychological daydreaming – which is to say, on the grounds of ethics and politics. Those were the grounds upon which Churchill was able to situate Hitler's ideas, Hitler's aims.

Therefore, the youngish 'Winstonian' curiosity on philosophical things such as «ethics» played a major role in the drama of Churchill's public life as the man who always acted bearing in mind that action is not just "anything", but the core of the human ability to construct human world, not as "anything", but as a thing of goodness.

A quote of a part of his narrative prior to the one under analysis is quite revealing. It affirms: "Ethics were concerned not merely with the things you ought to do, but with why you ought to do them". For instance: why on earth does one address a table? This intellectual encounter with ethics as a thing, better said, as an act of questioning, an act of interrogation prior to making or doing things, does, indeed, fit the deepest mode of being of this odd aristocratic youth. Action, practice, doing or making things revealed themselves not just as matter of fact, based on tradition – 'people do address tables, young man!' –, but as a necessarily thought out, pondered, process. Action does not derive mechanically from tradition or regulations, but from human beings who have to think about the reasons for acting.

Therefore, this is not a young-odd-Winston's problem wanting to know the reason for addressing tables. On the contrary, seemingly, there is an old and prestigious philosophical discipline that deals with action and its reasons, its

justifications, pre and post implementation. No wonder, old Churchill, writing about young Churchill, seems to feel good finding this new intellectual horizon.

This permanent want for knowing the reasons of acts is structural to the person Winston Churchill. Why would such fine people, such fine and devoted women, such as his Nanny, after many years of labour end up abandoned? Why should miners have to endure such harsh working conditions? Why should prisons be so wickedly built and run? His own life experiences made him pose questions of this sort, finding practical and pragmatic answers to them, reforming many sectors of British society and tradition. His was a profoundly ethic marked action.

Why address tables? Why abandon aged workers? These are not the same words. Nevertheless both phrases carry the same intellectual attitude. This ethic trend persists when an again odd Winston starts questioning the acts, and their ethics, perpetrated by a notorious former German Army Corporal named Adolf Hitler. Why act the way he acts? What are his aims? What does Hitler, beyond or within his rhetoric, really want? Is he talking truthfully when he barks his inflammatory diatribes, or is it just another clown playing the inflated toad?

The man who did not address tables soon found out that the old Corporal 'meant business'. Hitler's talk was for real. What he had put down in writing on *Mein Kampf* was to be overviewed with caution and purpose, the purpose of identifying what that really meant and what was to actually spring out of that already open box.

For about seven years no one or very few payed the due attention to the questions being raised by Churchill. When they at last did, it was already too late to take effective measures to avoid what was to become the up to now deadliest human conflict.

There is a strong irony in some parts of the text under analysis here: "But here in Bangalore there was no one to tell me about Ethics for love or money.". Laying aside the irony, one wonders if, other than the academics, anyone really knew anything about what ethics was, not as an academic thing but as the core of the intimate sense of human action, past, present and to be. The stupid question "where

was God Here and There" comes many times to the mouths of ethic incapable people: in Churchill's odd action in those odd times, the question, not stupid, to be made was: "how was it possible that almost no one sees what is cooking exactly before their eyes and under their noses?"; perhaps, while Churchill was ethically pondering upon Hitler's diverse moves, the rest were addressing tables. How comforting this thought must be to the ones who both address tables and wait for "God" to do what they should do but cannot for they are busy addressing tables.

Inquisitive, odd, Winston carries on:

"Then someone had used the phrase 'the Socratic method'. What was that? It was apparently a way of giving your friend his head in an argument and propping him into a pit by cunning questions. Who was Socrates, anyhow? A very argumentative Greek who had a nagging wife and was finally compelled to commit suicide because he was a nuisance! Still, he was beyond doubt a considerable person. He counted for a lot in the minds of learned people. I wanted 'the Socrates story'. Why had his fame lasted through all the ages? What were the stresses, which had led a government to put him to death merely because of the things he said? Dire stresses they must have been: the life of the Athenian Executive or the life of this talkative professor! Such antagonisms do not spring from petty issues. Evidently Socrates had called something into being long ago which was very explosive. Intellectual dynamite! A moral bomb! But there was nothing about it in The Queen's Regulations."<sup>8</sup>

Apparently fascinated with 'the Socratic method', that "moral bomb", with the power and consequences of "Intellectual dynamite", Churchill does not let himself be wronged by illusions, for, after knowing about the old Men-Sculptor's fate, he clearly understood that "Such antagonisms do not spring from petty issues.". These antagonisms sprung from Socrates' attitude towards the ethic, religious and political traditions of old Athens. "What were the stresses which had led a government to put him to death merely because of the things he said?"

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 108.



The Winston living these anxieties was a young man and not a very learned one, but the Winston writing about the young one was differently shaped: he already had tasted the bitterness of political failure, political triumph as well, always acting as an independent mind. To what extent does the old Churchill writer interpret old Socrates as 'another himself' and himself as this old Churchill, the inquisitive, unloved political troublemaker, incapable of toeing his party's lines, daring to think for himself, pointing out – rightly or wrongly – to what he could perceive as the correct analysis, the correct way, the correct thing to do?

When he wrote these memoirs, he knew perfectly what kind of quarrels he had had with the powers in power, the quarrels he was having with them. Being himself gloomy in many moments of his life – the "black dog", always lurking inside his person –, was he transferring to himself the fatal ending, political ending due to the ethic stance of Socrates? The following quote seems – but for the part of the nagging wife, which Clementine never was – to fit almost too well: "A very argumentative Greek who had a nagging wife and was finally compelled to commit suicide because he was a nuisance!".

During the thirties, especially with the failures of his defence of a hard stand on the Empire's relation with India's possibility of self-rule and independence, and of the politically foolish King Edward VIII, to which he added the early and persistent denouncement of Hitler's aims, ways and methods, seemingly old nagging Winston was committing a political suicide. Had not historic reality given him due reason, though ingloriously vain for the price it implied, and Churchill would end his political days as a political suicide. Really, he would amount to nothing more than a perished, forgotten "nuisance".

However, his active nuisance almost daily rested on solid matters. Solid and utmost perilous were they. The point of dissent was grave. Therefore, saying that "Dire stresses they must have been: the life of the Athenian Executive or the life of this talkative professor!" was most accurate, for those stresses did not emerge from petty troubles or causes, and the friction they caused between British Executive and talkative Churchill was not unimportant, for «Such antagonisms do not spring from

petty issues.». Winston's latest favourite matter of political attrition was a 'grand' issue, made with the stuff of grand evils: Corporal Hitler.

In Bangalore, Winston found out that he was made of the same «explosive» «intellectual dynamite» that shaped the life and death of Socrates. Intellectually, the ethic and philosophic novice encountered a mentor: Socrates of Athens. The encounter and the choice could not be better, for the old philosopher embodied many of the main principles that were to guide adult Churchill's live, the ponderous one, under the surface of alcohol and cigars.

On page 109 of *My Early Life*, we encounter the following:

"...] Now I wanted to know more. / So I resolved to read history, philosophy, economics, and things like that; and I wrote to my mother asking for such books as I had heard of on these topics."

"Things like that" is an expression that seems to show that Churchill did not have in great consideration the matters into which he was plunging. Lacking proper academic guidance, perhaps the neophyte also lacked the necessary intelligence to perceive the greatness of the issues not just at hand, now that he spotted their existence, but, really «in hand», having the physical vectors – the books – that carried with them this high knowledge in his possession.

However, a few words ahead, the same apparently frivolous student affirms:

"From November to May I read for four hours every day history and philosophy. Plato's Republic – it appeared he was for all practical purposes the same as Socrates; the Politics of Aristotle, edited by Mr. Welldon himself; Schopenhauer on Pessimism; Malthus on Population; Darwin's Origin of Species: all interspersed with other books of lesser standing. It was a curious education. First because I approached it with an empty, hungry mind, and with fairly strong jaws; and what I got I bit; secondly because I had no one to tell me: 'This is discredited'. 'You should read the answer to that by so and so; the two together will give you the gist of the argument'. 'There is a much better book on that subject', and so forth. I now began for the first time to envy those young cubs at the

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university who had fine scholars to tell them what was what; professors who had devoted their lives to mastering and focussing ideas in every branch of learning; who were eager to distribute the treasures they had gathered before they were overtaken by the night. But now I pity undergraduates, when I see what frivolous lives many of them lead in the midst of precious fleeting opportunity. After all, a man's Life must be nailed to a cross either of Thought or Action. Without work there is no play."

The young, unlearned officer attacked history and philosophy four hours a day, which, battle times wise, is a considerable feat of arms. Winston's mind seemed to be capable of pairing with his body; his intellect capable of going along with his memory. The fields of battle chosen could not be better or even more vast and profound: Plato and Aristotle, first and most, among others. Plato indeed, within the framework of his Republic, "appeared he was for all practical purposes the same as Socrates». The same "intellectual dynamite", both of them? Certainly the same deeply rooted love for common good. Common good, in Churchill's very own perspective, will be the passion and love of this mature and old imperial soldier, even when he had to forfeit the Empire in order to obtain the help of President Roosevelt. Common good as the antithesis of fascism had to be worth the loss of imperial power, perhaps just a childish illusion, even a deeper fascist one. This terrible movement of political 180° inversion must have been terribly painful to Churchill. In the end, at least provisionally, fascism was defeated.

Someone who had the pleasure of reading Plato's dialogues in which his beloved master Socrates exposed what Churchill intelligently perceived as their general common doctrine, understands that both the Master and the pupil, through the way they thought and acted, were themselves «intellectual dynamite». The love for common good, that is, the good for all who want to share it (it is impossible for those who don't want to participate) is the political and ethic 'dynamite' that blows up all trends and facts that centre good – the possession of good, of which the possession of "goods" is part, not coinciding – on just one – tyranny – or on just a few, even if in an apparent majority form – oligarchy.

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In a very patent sense, Churchill himself assumed the part of "political dynamite", having understood the power that the "intellectual dynamite" created when practised by people who devoted themselves to the promotion of common good.

Plato's *Republic* starts with the descent of Socrates from Athens to the Piraeus, and ends with a vow of "farewell", literally "fare well"; fare well for the rest of your eternal life. Not at all a mean trip for the old Master to utter, conveying the words of his pupil. Winston is right: the old sculptor and the frustrated scribbler of drama do share a profound 'likeness'. This same ethic and political paradigm is also shared by the Old Bulldog.

Such an understanding of the Socratic way as a blasting mode of thinking and acting must surely have sprung from the already mentioned lack of proper academic orientation. The thus poor victim of that lack of proper guidance is the first to admit that. On pages 110-111, he writes:

"It was a curious education. First because I approached it with an empty, hungry mind, and with fairly strong jaws; and what I got I bit; secondly because I had no one to tell me: 'This is discredited'. 'You should read the answer to that by so and so; the two together will give you the gist of the argument'. 'There is a much better book on that subject', and so forth."

His mind was "empty" of academic 'things'. It was "hungry", though. Hungry perhaps because his mind was not stuffed with the same things that other people fed on. Let us not forget that the moment of emptiness – of "ignorance"; but not a stupid one – is the first Socratic step towards the possibility of acquiring "science", "knowledge", "intelligence"; it is the step without which there can be no metamorphosis of the human being, for in a full space there is no room for anything else.

The hunger for knowledge, for a higher intelligence of 'things', of the world and its foundations is not another step, but the necessary "eros" that moves the human

being from this emptiness of litter to a possible fulfilment of divine beauty and goodness, as Plato, through the voice of Socrates, explains in the *Symposion*.

This "eros" would achieve little if not equipped with "strong jaws": the will – not just the desire, but its concrete realizations – to bite and rip intelligence from where it abides, that is to say, the courage to look and see; the courage to climb the stairs of knowledge. No one can advance in intelligence, in knowledge without this act of permanent courage. Science is not for the ones with a coward ethic fabric.

The lack of academic tutorial may help to understand Churchill's intellectual stance and the general mode through which he interpreted life, his own and political life as a whole. He was not impeded by formal traditional education to think autonomously, he had not had thwarted his brilliant capacity to grasp unapparent political and ethical sense, that is to say, unapparent to the ones to whom the capacity of thinking free from academic reductive vices had been diminished or annihilated.

Though the academic critical sense is fundamental, precisely in a Socratic-Platonic sense – forget not that Plato was the founder of the first ever Academy –, there is always the danger of pedantic metamorphosis of such a good tool. Therefore, the words that follow are both a confession of lacking and a kind of admission of freedom from pedantic shackles: "I had no one to tell me: 'This is discredited'. 'You should read the answer to that by so and so; the two together will give you the gist of the argument'. 'There is a much better book on that subject', and so forth."

Churchill, when writing this memoir of his youthful times, as a mature man and politician, a prolific writer and an old soldier, knows perfectly that the ones who did not act as they should have acted, in peace and in war, the ones who, during the foreboding decade of 1930, did nothing to prevent the utmost perilous swelling of fascism, mainly the "hitlerite" one, belonged almost all of them to the number of those who had academic training, many of them in some of the best Universities of the Empire and of the world. It did them no good as far as political intuition was

concerned. It seemed to have bound them to traditions and values that had not the plasticity and actability necessary to interpret and act in modern day political life.

It matters not in a positive way, intelligence of political facts wise, if, after having perceived Hitler's finalities as stated in *Mein Kampf*, one goes and reads ten «opinions» on the same subject. One just finds himself afloat perhaps even drowned in a sea of words. Human life is not a matter of words, for the sake of words, but of sense. It is the sense that has to be found, "insighted": this alone permits an action pertinent and effective, if that is the case, if what one perceives demands action.

What should the Old Bulldog compare *Mein Kampf* to? Hitler's action is comparable to what? All was terribly new back then. Reducing that novelty to already known thoughts or actions would do nothing more than to lead astray intelligence from reality, actual and alive, to a side show of intellectual agonistic struggle, all of it illusion and smoke.

As shown immediately as soon as he was put into office, action is the only way to contradict action. For the possibility of success of that action the knowledge of your enemy's aims and methods is paramount. You learn it by studying it, not by collating opinions on it. "Will Hitler attack or not?": this is not a question that can be effectively answered through the discussion of different opinions, but by the insight on the man's aims; aims, not intentions, for these are, but for a divine or magic intervention, unfathomable. Are the ways of action exhibited coherent with the proclaimed aims? For Churchill, the answer was "yes", which meant that, sooner or later, Hitler would attack, which he did more than once, tentatively, and, having obtained no counter action worthy of worrying, finally launched the main attack. This is nowadays commonly known history.

In Churchill's wasteland times, the ones in which he wrote the memoir that concerns us here, this history had not yet developed. Nevertheless, Churchill endlessly shared his insights on Hitler and his aims. Too late was he heard, and even then, the sense of relative opinion prevailed, right to the end.

Platonic Academy was based on the doctrine exposed in Plato's *Symposion*, where the aim of the human being is to erotically ascend ontologically via acts of ever growing and ever higher intelligence of the beauty present in the world as manifestation of the good the constituted the ontological core of reality, ending – that is, not really ending – at the eternal contemplation of beauty itself, the "phainomenon" of goodness itself, Plato's "God".

Thus, the truly academic, under a Platonic perspective, is Churchill, who, unimpeded by the shackles of academic perverse pedantic fashion, was able to look at reality in a perhaps apparently childish manner, but one that centred him on the acute point, the one on which everything depended.

It is therefore no acid irony or even the sarcasm of a frustrated man what we read in this next and final quote taken from the youthful memoirs:

"When I am in the Socratic mood and planning my Republic, I make drastic changes in the education of the sons of well-to-do citizens. When they are sixteen or seventeen they begin to learn a craft and to do healthy manual labour, with plenty of poetry, songs, dancing, drill and gymnastics in their spare time. They can thus let off their steam on something useful. It is only when they are really thirsty of knowledge, longing to hear about things, that I would let them go to the University. It would be a favour, a coveted privilege, only to be given to those who had either proved their worth in factory or field or whose qualities and zeal were pre-eminent. However, this would upset a lot of things; it would cause commotion and bring me perhaps in the end a hemlock draught."<sup>9</sup>

If any doubt subsisted on what to understand as the definition of "intellectual dynamite" presented by this ever biting Old Bulldog, the present paragraph says it all. It even anticipates the effects on the Author of such upsetting mode of thinking, so un-academic, perhaps so 'proletarian'. Let us not forget that this same man was a brick mason with trade union certification. This prole would be prized with hemlock. He really was, in a certain way.

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 111.

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As he himself says, under – perhaps "in" – a "Socratic mood", Churchill would be, Churchill was platonically diamantine. Having seen the results of the highest education on "well-to-do citizens", and considering that the others hardly had any chance of reaching such a privileged level, he would act to radically change the way people were (and still are) educated – in fact, instructed, for education is always an happening of the rarest kind – altering the entire structure of education. Good old Winston never forgot the marking experience of dealing with people who thought one can address tables just because Latin Grammar formally permits it. Reality has a proper grammar, but it cannot be confused with the academic one or substituted by it.

What would he indeed do, under the spell of a Socratic disposition, planning his *Republic*? The answer is quite objective: "[...] I make drastic changes in the education of the sons of well-to-do citizens.". The justification, implicit only, comes immediately after: «When they are sixteen or seventeen they begin to learn a craft and to do healthy manual labour, with plenty of poetry, songs, dancing, drill and gymnastics in their spare time. They can thus let off their steam on something useful.". Quite a heavy punch on the gut of these youths and their happily proud parents this is.

The not well to do people have an experience of hard and painful work. Most of them, even if capable, will never have the means to undergo a more intellectual path. The well to do, even if devoid of real intellectual capacity, do have the means to receive a higher education. Some of them make bad use of this opportunity, thus occupying a place, which should not be theirs by right. This right and place are for the ones who are willing to work. Learning, though plentiful of joys, is not a joke, but a work of intellectual art. These artists are the real aristocrats. Real aristocrats like Mrs. Everest, the Old Nanny. This intellectual, ethic and political stand on education and its access is paradigmatically platonic.

For this in-the-Socratic-mood Churchill, first you prove yourself as a worker – broad sense of the term – then you can, if that is your will and capacity, pursue a path of higher knowledge. Here, there is waste of resources. Therefore, «It is only



when they are really thirsty of knowledge, longing to hear about things, that I would let them go to the University», for such a possibility is "a favour, a coveted privilege, only to be given to those who had either proved their worth in factory or field or whose qualities and zeal were pre-eminent."

No wonder this Socratic pupil would be destined to swallow a plentiful cup of hemlock. Education would not come as a privilege of birth or wealth, but as a privilege – a deserved one, but, nevertheless a privilege for it would not be for all – of "qualities and zeal". One supposes qualities and zeal of and for good, for goodness, for common-good.

This would be an academic world where there would be no acceptancy for people who were imbecile enough to address tables (except in excellent metaphors in excellent poems, of course), granting access for everyone who had good enough qualities and zeal. Again, old Plato present; unloved, hated Plato, who does not accept that the city should be built on bloodlines, who demands that the city be built on intelligence and hard work. For all. Otherwise, the door of the city is the way out for the ones who do not comply.

Philosophy is the pursuit, the loving pursuit of sense, of «logos», the one reality that both Heraclitus and John the Evangelist place as the absolute axis of reality. It can be totally unreligious or totally religious, what it cannot allow is the annihilation of sense practiced by the people who address tables just because grammar allows them to. It is through this black hole of intelligence that senselessness penetrates humanity. One can always find a person ready to give in to Hitler in a person magically addressing a table. Intelligence, in its zeal for goodness, should "never surrender".

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**ANNEX: The whole fragment quoted from *My Early Life***

"It was not until the winter of 1896, when I had almost completed my twenty-second year, that the desire for learning came upon me. I began to feel myself wanting in even the vaguest knowledge about many large spheres of thought. I had picked up a wide vocabulary and had a liking for words and for the feel of words fitting and falling into their places like pennies in the slot. I caught myself using a good many words the meaning of which I could not define precisely. I admired these words, but was afraid to use them for fear of being absurd. One day, before I left England, a friend of mine had said: 'Christ's gospel was the last word in Ethics.' This sounded good; but what were Ethics? They had never been mentioned to me at Harrow or Sandhurst. Judging from the context I thought they must mean 'the public school spirit', 'playing the game', 'esprit de corps', 'honourable behaviour', 'patriotism', and the like. Then someone told me that Ethics were concerned not merely with the things you ought to do, but with why you ought to do them, and that there were whole books written on the subject. I would have paid some scholar £2 at least to give me a lecture of an hour or an hour and a half about Ethics. What was the scope of the subject; what were its main branches; what were the principal questions dealt with, and the chief controversies open; who were the high authorities and which were the standard books? But here in Bangalore there was no one to tell me about Ethics for love or money. Of tactics I had a grip: on politics I had a view: but a concise compendious outline of Ethics was a novelty not to be locally obtained.

This was only typical of a dozen similar mental needs that now began to press insistently upon me. I knew of course that the youths at the Universities were stuffed with all this patter at nineteen and twenty, and could pose you entrapping questions or give baffling answers. We never set much store by them or their affected superiority, remembering that they were only at their books, while we were commanding men and guarding the Empire. Nevertheless I had sometimes resented the apt and copious information, which some of them seemed to possess, and I now wished I could find a competent teacher whom I could listen to and cross-examine for an hour or so every day.

Then someone had used the phrase 'the Socratic method'. What was that? It was apparently a way of giving your friend his head in an argument and prodding him into a pit by cunning questions. Who was Socrates, anyhow? A very argumentative Greek who had a nagging wife and was finally compelled to commit suicide because he was a nuisance! Still, he was beyond doubt a considerable person. He counted for a lot in the minds of learned people. I wanted 'the Socrates story'. Why had his fame lasted through all the ages? What were the stresses which had led a government to put him to death merely because of the things he said? Dire stresses they must have been: the life of the Athenian Executive or the life of this talkative professor! Such antagonisms do not spring from petty issues. Evidently Socrates had called something into being long ago which was very explosive. Intellectual dynamite! A moral bomb! But there was nothing about it in The Queen's Regulations.

[...] From November to May I read for four hours every day history and philosophy. Plato's Republic – it appeared he was for all practical purposes the same as Socrates; the Politics of Aristotle, edited by Mr. Welldon himself; Schopenhauer on Pessimism; Malthus on Population; Darwin's Origin of Species: all interspersed with other books of lesser standing. It was a curious education. First because I approached it with an empty, hungry mind, and with fairly strong jaws; and what I got I bit; secondly because I had no one to tell me: 'This is discredited'. 'You should read the answer to that by so and so; the two together will give you the gist of the argument'. 'There is a much better book on that subject', and so forth. I now began for the first time to envy those young cubs at the university who had fine scholars to tell them what was what; professors who had devoted their lives to mastering and focussing ideas in every branch of learning; who were eager to distribute the treasures they had gathered before they were overtaken by the night. But now I pity undergraduates, when I see what frivolous lives many of them lead in the midst of precious fleeting opportunity. After all, a man's Life must be nailed to a cross either of Thought or Action. Without work there is no play.

When I am in the Socratic mood and planning my Republic, I make drastic changes in the education of the sons of well-to-do citizens. When they are sixteen or seventeen they begin to learn a craft and to do healthy manual labour, with plenty of poetry, songs, dancing, drill and gymnastics in their spare time. They can thus let off their steam on something useful. It is only when they are really thirsty of knowledge, longing to hear about things, that I would let them go to the University. It would be a favour, a coveted privilege, only to be given to those who had either proved their worth in factory or field or whose qualities and zeal were pre-eminent. However, this would upset a lot of things; it would cause commotion and bring me perhaps in the end a hemlock draught."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> CHURCHILL Winston, *My Early life*, London: Eland, 2000, pp. 107-111, [1st edition, 1930].

**ABSTRACT**

Mature Winston Churchill, writing his memoirs on his youthful days reflects on his tardy found desire of academic type knowledge and the wonders and joys he discovered practising philosophy in a Socratic mood, manifesting his view on education, higher and lower. This article also discusses the possible influence of his odd education path on his ability to comprehend political reality in a very different way, allowing him to perceive Hitler's aims with almost pinpoint accuracy.

**Key-words:** Churchill, philosophy, education, Socrates.

*Identity and the Need for Recognition: The Ontological and Political Specter of Communitarianism according to MacIntyre and Barry, Anthony Vecchio*

***Identity and the Need for Recognition: The Ontological and Political Specter of Communitarianism according to MacIntyre and Barry***



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## *Identity and the Need for Recognition: The Ontological and Political Specter of Communitarianism according to MacIntyre and Barry, Anthony Vecchio*

### I. Canada and Communitarianism

In 1992, Charles Taylor received the Léon Gérin prize for "his extraordinary contribution to the civic and intellectual life of Québec." His intellectual contributions had been wide-ranging – among other achievements, a professorship at McGill University, impressive contributions to moral philosophy, the philosophy of language, social science, political theory, the history of ancient and modern philosophy, and over a dozen book publications. His civic contribution was mostly comprised of his active engagement in the constitutional debate in Canada about the recognition of Québec as a "distinctive society within the federation, reformed in 1982" and the adoption of the Canadian Charter of Rights. His proposal, expressed, for example, in his rejections of both the 1990 Meech Lake accord and the 1995 Québec independence referendum, was of the "recognition" of Québec's distinctiveness, and an asymmetrical and decentralized form of federalism. Québec's exit would imply a shock to something characteristically Canadian, which he called "deep diversity."<sup>1</sup>

Although, in principle, communitarianism is concerned with all kinds of communities, in practice, Canada has probably been the most fertile land for these ideas to develop.

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<sup>1</sup> For Charles Taylor's political engagements, see Stephen Mulhall's "Articulating the Horizons of Liberalism: Taylor's Political Philosophy", in *Charles Taylor*, ed. Ruth Abbey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 113-22.

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Taylor is generally placed among the four horsemen of liberalism's "communitarian" critics,<sup>2</sup> and one more of the "communitarians" who deny the label. One point which distinguishes him from other recent critics of liberalism is his suggestion that ontological questions do not directly play into the formation of a certain kind of government or a particular kind of politics; so that contest between the priority of the right or the good, which typically serves as the point of demarcation between liberals and "communitarians", respectively, is not a test applicable to Taylor in the usual sense. We may get a picture of his political outlook with two considerations.

First, he does not find that liberalism is necessarily wrong in its core respects, although it needs ancillary clarifications. "There is a form of the politics of equal respect", Taylor notes, "as enshrined in a liberalism of rights, that is inhospitable to difference, because (a) it insists on uniform application of the rules defining these rights, without exception, and (b) it is suspicious of collective goals."<sup>3</sup> He rejects this variant of liberalism on both counts, and ancillary clarification would show both how liberalism does not uniformly apply rights, and that it should not be suspicious of collective goals.

Secondly, and on the latter point of collective goals, Taylor is of the mind that the goods captured by a communal analysis – that is, which take some overarching and agreed upon communal norms as the criteria by which something is evaluated as good or bad – are not the only goods which should be taken into account. We can get some clarity on Taylor's suspicion of the suspiciousness of collective goals when he writes:

A society with strong collective goals can be liberal, on this view, provided it is also capable of respecting diversity, especially when dealing with those who do not share its common goals; and provided it can offer adequate safeguards for fundamental rights. There will undoubtedly be tensions and difficulties in pursuing these objectives together, but such a pursuit is not impossible, and the problems are not in principle greater than

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<sup>2</sup> Stephen Mulhall and Adam Swift, *Liberals and Communitarians* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), vii. See also pp. 96-101.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition", in *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, ed. Amy Gutmann (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 60.

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those encountered by any liberal society that has to combine, for example, liberty and equality, or prosperity and justice.<sup>4</sup>

The move here is to emphasize "respecting diversity" in the face of divergent goals, and the protection of "fundamental rights" which allow these different objectives to be pursued in the same society.

### **II. Charles Taylor's Ontology of the Self**

Despite his denials, Taylor may very well be the only multiculturalist with an ontology of sorts. Among the three other 'horsemen' – Michael Sandel, Michael Walzer, and Alasdair MacIntyre – only MacIntyre, in his later stage, starting from *Dependent Rational Animals*, has something comparable to Taylor's ontology.<sup>5</sup>

Taylor's seminal work *The Sources of the Self* has as its starting point an analysis of language. For Taylor, the notion of an "ego" or "self" as a responsible human being implies the faculty to desire as well as the capacity to discriminate between the wishes held in common with other animals and specifically human desire – that is, the desires oriented by our evaluation of them as really desirable or undesirable.

Some human desires are evaluated in such a way that they are rank-ordered as lower or higher, as virtuous or vicious, noble or vulgar, profound or superficial; so humans act as moral beings by exercising that capacity to make a "strong evaluation" about the real worth and dignity of those desires.

The use of this capacity is the background scheme of our moral reactions or intuitions. As Taylor states in a preliminary conclusion in *The Sources of the Self*,

So our moral reactions in this domain have two facets, as it were. On one side, they are almost like instincts, comparable to our love of sweet things, or our aversion to nauseous substances, or our fear of falling; on the other, they seem to involve claims, implicit or explicit, about the nature and status of

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<sup>4</sup> Charles Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition" p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> Alasdair MacIntyre, *Dependent Rational Animals* (Chicago and LaSalle: Open Court, 1999), pp. ix-x.



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human beings. From this second side, a moral reaction is an assent to, an affirmation of, a given ontology of the human.<sup>6</sup>

In other words, moral reactions or intuitions are characteristically "instinctive", as well as characteristically driven in the direction of certain ontological claims about what it is to be human. And as "strong evaluators", we have a language rich enough to articulate especially the second of these two "facets" by means of different ontological justifications.

[An ontological justification of this kind] tells us, for instance, that human beings are creatures of God and made in his image, or that they are immortal souls, or that they are all emanations of divine fire, or that they are all rational agents and thus have a dignity which transcends any other being, or some other such characterization; and that therefore we owe them respect. The various cultures which restrict this respect do so by denying the crucial description to those left outside: they are thought to lack souls, or to be not fully rational, or perhaps to be destined by God for some lower station, or something of the sort.<sup>7</sup>

*The Sources of the Self*, as a whole, is an examination of different frameworks that present such ontological justifications of the self and its sources along three axes:<sup>8</sup> (1) views about our relationships with others; (2) a conception of the good life for all human beings; (3) the idea of our own dignity and status as human beings.

It is important to remark that, for Taylor, the self's identity is not just what we happen to think about ourselves – a reductive thesis which would allow us to dispense with what Taylor takes as an inclination of moral reactions to form ontological judgments – but depends on a web of various non-arbitrary conceptions active even in ordinary life:

I want to defend the strong thesis that doing without frameworks is utterly impossible for us; otherwise put, that the horizons within which we live our lives and which make sense of them have to include these strong qualitative discriminations.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Charles Taylor, *The Sources of the Self* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, p. 14ff.

<sup>9</sup> Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, p. 27.

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To reject this "strong thesis" would be to disorient, to put the self out of "moral space."<sup>10</sup> Humans are self-interpreting animals, and the language that we use to articulate our strong evaluations helps to define us. But language is only possible within a community, the self only exists among other selves, and it cannot be described without reference to others.

This is the sense in which one cannot be a self on one's own. I am a self only in relation to certain interlocutors: in one way in relation to those conversation partners who were essential to my achieving self-definition; in another in relation to those who are now crucial to my continuing grasp of languages of self-understanding-and, of course, these classes may overlap. A self exists only within what I call 'webs of interlocution'.<sup>11</sup>

The crucial feature of human life is that it is dialogical, that is, identity is defined through the interaction with others whom we consider to be significant others. I am a self, a strong evaluator, and those strong evaluations shape me, but all of this presupposes 'webs of interlocution' which extend beyond my own self. Thus, in "The Politics of Recognition", Taylor emphasizes that:

.... discovering my own identity doesn't mean that I work it out in isolation, but that I negotiate it through dialogue, partly overt, partly internal, with others. That is why the development of an ideal of inwardly generated identity gives a new importance to recognition. My own identity crucially depends on my dialogical relations with others.<sup>12</sup>

What Taylor calls the "naturalist temper", a "reductive thesis" in the sense above which tries do without strong evaluations and to keep simply to our moral reactions and actions, is thus pitted against his notion of 'webs of interlocution,' which are supposed to be crucial features of human life.

### **III. The Good, the Self, and the Just**

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<sup>10</sup> Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, p. 28.

<sup>11</sup> Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, p. 36.

<sup>12</sup> Charles Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition", p. 34.

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We may take this opposition as the analogue to the usual liberal-"communitarian" point of demarcation, that is, the question of the priority of the good.<sup>13</sup>

This "naturalist temper" thus includes utilitarianism, which abandons all qualitative distinctions and reduces the self to a subject of calculated (or calculable) action, as well as Kantian constructivism, which takes as irrelevant any distinctions based on the cosmic order or ordinary human nature.<sup>14</sup> What has moral value in either case is what is implied by the principles of duty, without any substantive considerations of the good – or, that it unwittingly conceals those substantive considerations in the first place – thus rendering them characteristically universal and non-substantive.

Morality is narrowly concerned with what we ought to do, and not also with what is valuable in itself, or what we should admire or love. Contemporary philosophers, even when they descend from Kant rather than Bentham (e.g., John Rawls), share this focus. (...) [Moral philosophy's] starting point should be our intuitions about what actions are right (Rawls), or some general theory about what morality is, conceived in prescriptive, i.e., action-guiding, terms (Hare).<sup>15</sup>

Now, Rawls' "thin theory of the good" asserts the priority of the just over the good,<sup>16</sup> and as this is the usual point of demarcation between liberals and "communitarians", it is necessary for finding Taylor's functionally equivalent place. Although Rawls' thin conception is useful to fight shallow utilitarianism, wielding such a prioritization as a benchmark may result in the deprecation of any conception of the good. Quoting Taylor:

Where 'good' means the primary goal of a consequentialist theory, where the right is decided simply by its instrumental significance for this end, then we ought indeed to insist that the right can be primary to the good. But where we use 'good' in the sense of this discussion, where it means whatever is marked out as higher by a qualitative distinction, then we could say that the reverse is the case, that in a sense, the good is always primary to the right. Not in that it

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<sup>13</sup> Fergus Kerr, "The Self and the Good: Taylor's Moral Ontology," in Ruth Abbey (ed.), *Charles Taylor*, pp. 84-104.

<sup>14</sup> Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, p. 22ff.

<sup>15</sup> Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, p. 84.

<sup>16</sup> John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999) p. 347ff [§60].

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offers a more basic reason in the sense of our earlier discussion, but in that the good is what, in its articulation, gives the point of the rules which define the right.<sup>17</sup>

So, again, there is a sense in which Taylor finds Rawls' thin conception correct, i.e. in opposition to consequentialism. But, again, this is characteristically non-substantive. This thin liberalism gives full priority to individual rights as the basis for organizing society, and this prioritization affords such a universal political outlook. However, this prioritization neglects what is usually and even sometimes correctly called "the common good"— good precisely in its being commonly shared, commonly good.

Rawls himself tries to identify some primary goods, among which, along with income and wealth, he includes the social bases of self-respect. But he privatizes a rank of goods whose essential value implies sharing and which, on Taylor's analysis, is dialogically constituted – such as a joke told to a group, a public performance of an orchestra, or French conversation in Québec.

Taylor narrates a history beginning with the loss of social hierarchies, which were the basis for honorific and unequal social structures, and ending with the universalist and egalitarian notion of dignity.<sup>18</sup> "With the move from honor to dignity", writes Taylor in *Multiculturalism*, "has come a politics of universalism, emphasizing the equal dignity of all citizens, and the content of this politics has been the equalization of rights and entitlements."<sup>19</sup>

It seems, therefore, that Taylor would qualify as a liberal of sorts, despite a great deal of disagreement about what exactly liberalism beyond some vague references to freedom or individual autonomy. But, as Adam Swift comments, "The problem is that both 'liberalism' and 'communitarianism' mean different things to different people."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, p. 89.

<sup>18</sup> Charles Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition" p. 26ff.

<sup>19</sup> Charles Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition" p. 37.

<sup>20</sup> Stephen Mulhall and Adam Swift, *Liberals and Communitarians* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), viii. See an attempt at characterizing "communitarianism" in pp. ix-xii.

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### IV. "The Spectre of Communitarianism"

Whereas the previous influential and important critiques of the excesses of liberalism came from Marxism, as Alasdair MacIntyre suggested in a 1993 joint review of Daniel Bell's *Communitarianism and its Critics* and Stephen Holmes' *The Anatomy of Antiliberalism*, many of the best critiques against certain deep-seated excesses of liberalism are now levied by very different philosophers who have received the common name of "communitarians" (or some near-cognate, such as "anti-liberals").

The "communitarians" have frequently rejected the label, however, and MacIntyre explains that he, Christopher Lasch<sup>21</sup> and Roberto Unger<sup>22</sup> – three "communitarian" targets in Holmes' book – cannot be targets of the fantasy collective of Holmes' invention. Actually, critiques of "communitarianism" had by then become fairly widespread, as though it were a new "spectre" and haunting, not Europe, but academia: not a unified Marxist or communist resistance, but a unified "communitarian" resistance.<sup>23</sup>

There seems to be a disjunction between the scale of the liberal reaction and the actual opposition of the critics. In connection with Bell's piece, MacIntyre notes how much similarity there is even between liberalism and Bell's (explicit) communitarianism, where the latter is "anxious to accommodate liberal concerns" and "[correct] liberal principles."<sup>24</sup> Even Holmes admits that those such as MacIntyre are actually "soft anti-liberals" who "malign liberalism verbally, but when faced with practical choices, reveal a surprising fondness for liberal protections and freedoms."<sup>25</sup>

If the criticism from the (only sometimes acerbic) liberal side should in substance amount to, not an alert of a reinvention of totalizing politics from pre-1945 – being

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<sup>21</sup> Stephen Holmes, *The Anatomy of Antiliberalism*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2006), p. 134.

<sup>22</sup> Stephen Holmes, *The Anatomy of Antiliberalism*, p. 162.

<sup>23</sup> Alasdair MacIntyre, "The Spectre of Communitarianism", *Radical Philosophy* 70. (March/April 1995): pp. 34-35.

<sup>24</sup> Alasdair MacIntyre, "The Spectre of Communitarianism", p. 35.

<sup>25</sup> Stephen Holmes, *The Anatomy of Antiliberalism*, p. 88.

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instead a more quasi-benign anti-universalism, to abuse Brian Barry's words even out of context<sup>26</sup> – but a "deeply unrealistic and utopian" alternative to liberalism, as MacIntyre characterizes the would-be criticism; if at least something like this is the case, one might expect "communitarianism" to simply be ignored, almost how Barry remarks that "within academia [Marxism] has lost ground to the point at which it is not even attacked any more, let alone defended." <sup>27</sup>

Instead, "communitarians" receive "spluttering outrage" in books such as Holmes' – a spluttering apparently endorsed by distinguished liberal theorists, if the book cover endorsements are supposed to mean anything. (In the edition MacIntyre was reviewing,<sup>28</sup> Richard Posner had written that Holmes' targets have, at least as a collective, "roots" in the same "soil" as Fascism; this is seemingly unwarranted even if we dispel the word "blood" from mind.)<sup>29</sup>

Why then are many liberal theorists bent on turning "communitarians" or "anti-liberals" into a school of thought, and a dangerous one at that? Or, put differently, "why is contemporary liberal theorizing thus haunted by phantoms?" asks MacIntyre. "Here" he continues, "I can make only a suggestion":

Is it that such [liberal] theorizing is now informed by an imperfectly suppressed consciousness of its own irrelevance? In liberal periodicals and among university teachers the battles of the concepts proceed, with liberals continually announcing victories over some new set of enemies or dissidents. But in the social and political order at large the ugly realities of money and power are increasingly badly masked by the games played with the concepts of utility, rights and contract. The spectre haunting contemporary liberal theorists is not communitarianism, but their own irrelevance.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Cf. Brian Barry, *Culture and Equality: An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 5.

<sup>27</sup> Brian Barry, *Culture and Equality*, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> Stephen Holmes, *The Anatomy of Antiliberalism*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1993). Posner's remark is apparently absent from the Revised Edition.

<sup>29</sup> A displeased MacIntyre comments: "[A]s Richard A. Posner puts it in his dust jacket endorsement, [Holmes' book] 'exposes [these antiliberals'] roots in the soil that nourished Fascism'. The implied history is even more dubious than the arguments." Alasdair MacIntyre, "The Spectre of Communitarianism", p. 35.

<sup>30</sup> Alasdair MacIntyre, *Idem*, "The Spectre of Communitarianism", p. 35.

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MacIntyre does not have Barry in mind, at least not in the way he has Holmes and Posner in mind (spewing as they do "liberal agitprop"<sup>31</sup>), but perhaps it is "the games played with the concepts of utility, rights, and contract" masking "the ugly realities of money and power" which MacIntyre would take Barry's anti-particularism to be defending as well, effectively.

Where does multiculturalism fit into a debate about the "spectre of communitarianism"? Insofar as misapplied "communitarianism" is a specter of liberal theorists' imagination, we might expect that liberalism is irrelevant in some way, that it fails to be effective where it aspires to be effective – and that the variety of outside complaints, including those of multiculturalists, seem like a more or less unified resistance.<sup>32</sup>

Both "communitarianism" and multiculturalism would fall under the rubric of quasi-benign anti-universalism, to continue to abuse Barry's words. There are those, such as Will Kymlicka, who have insisted upon a multicultural liberalism – to which we will turn in the penultimate section – and whom liberals such as Barry denounce. But the haunt of liberal academia, to whatever extent it is a void left by Marxism, is possibly also a void left by a liberalism bearing too much in common with a dead enemy. "[T]he anti-liberal rhetoric of multiculturalists," Barry remarks somewhat tellingly, "is not uncongenial to the reactionary right. Thus, exponents of the 'politics of difference' typically inveigh against the 'abstract universalism' that they attribute to liberalism."<sup>33</sup>

### **V. Losing Our Way in Post-Marxist Territory**

Another mention of the specter haunting liberalism comes, paradoxically, from very different quarters. Brian Barry begins his book *Culture and Equality* with Marx's famous

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<sup>31</sup> Alasdair MacIntyre, *Ibidem*, "The Spectre of Communitarianism," p. 35.

<sup>32</sup> Although Barry does not find there to be a single "Enlightenment project" in any positive sense, he does find there to be a curiously unified anti-Enlightenment resistance from the left and from the right. Again, he does not use the term "communitarian." See *Culture and Equality*, 9ff, esp. p. 16.

<sup>33</sup> Brian Barry, *Culture and Equality*, p. 11.

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sentence: "A spectre is haunting Europe..." The specter is no longer communism, but "the politics of difference, the politics of recognition or, most popularly, multiculturalism."<sup>34</sup>

It has been a long time since communism has haunted Europe, but a specter haunts Europe nonetheless: The void left by communism and academic Marxism, which is now filled by tendencies of nationalist or ethnic "self-assertion" as well as poverty in the wake of destroyed command economies.<sup>35</sup> There is a corresponding situation in academia.<sup>36</sup>

According to Barry, Marxism agreed with other modern projects in that it proposed itself as universally applicable. Especially insofar as liberalism used to fill the role of countering academic Marxism, it tried to match that Marxism in its universality.<sup>37</sup> With the decline of academic Marxism, and as some dogmatically universalizing tendencies in liberalism were recognized and abandoned, this has seemed to leave liberal theorists without a clear picture about the future of an international liberal community.

It is not inevitable that political situations tend today in the direction of "particularism" – nationalist or ethno-culturalist, or something more nonthreatening.<sup>38</sup> What matters in crucial part is the ideas in circulation, and in this respect the continuing development of arguments in favor of an international liberal community cannot simply be ignored. Nor should the history of those ideas; it was the anti-particularism of post-war liberalism, as famously expressed in the landmark Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, which has served as a touchstone in the development of an international liberalism.

There are importance differences between liberalism with post-war aspirations, however developed since then, and what has come to be called "the politics of recognition" or "multiculturalism", which has, curiously, evolved alongside the development of the post-war international community. Multiculturalism has some overlap with the nationalist and ethnocentrist particularism, which Barry denounces as a

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<sup>34</sup> Brian Barry, *Culture and Equality*, p. 5.

<sup>35</sup> Brian Barry, *Culture and Equality*, p. 3.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Brian Barry, *Culture and Equality*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>37</sup> Brian Barry, *Culture and Equality*, p. 4.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Brian Barry, *Culture and Equality*, pp. 4-5.



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step backwards. Multiculturalism is a far more unproblematic particularism, he assures us, but this does not dissipate the anxiety:

My concern is with views that support the politicization of group identities, where the basis of the common identity is claimed to be cultural. (...) Those who advocate the politicization of (cultural) group identities start from a variety of premises and finish up with a variety of policy prescriptions. Nevertheless, there is enough overlap between [multiculturalism and nationalist or ethnocentrist particularism] to make it feasible to discuss them within a single book.<sup>39</sup>

More generally, in the West, political thinkers seem decreasingly sure of the universal efficacy of liberal ideas. Some of these "anti-universalistic" but "benign" thinkers have merited (but not by Barry) the label "communitarian" if we can take "communitarianism" to signify a set of at least loosely connected positions. Neither the "communitarian" thinkers nor "communitarianism" would be free of Barry's particularist charge, whatever the case. Even so, there might be a different meaning to "communitarianism", which is revelatory about the development of multiculturalism and its relationship to liberalism.

### **VI. Ontological and Political Differences**

Taylor qualifies Rawls' priority of the just over the good; the MacIntyre of *After Virtue* believes Rawls' and Nozick's defense of liberal ideas to be incommensurable, and points to their shallow ideas of the good life. But they could hardly be qualified as upholding the case of moral particularism (as, for example, Bernard Williams). But both Taylor and MacIntyre think there is an unresolved tension between Rawls' and Nozick's ideas, and what they consider the excesses of certain kinds of liberalism.

Brian Barry goes further and thinks that most communitarians and the politics of recognition simply depart from the Enlightenment idea of universal morality and are truly incompatible with liberalism. Will Kymlicka thinks, on the contrary, that there is no

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<sup>39</sup> Brian Barry, *Culture and Equality*, p. 5.

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contradiction between the politics of recognition and "group-differentiated rights" <sup>40</sup> and liberal ideas. He argues that liberals need to endorse group rights.

Surely, Kymlicka acknowledges that, as more and more national groups "mobilize and assert their identity" and the rules of political life are challenged by the new politics of cultural difference that, for instance, outrage Brian Barry, are gathering support within academia.<sup>41</sup> However, while many people see this politics of difference as a threat to liberalism, Kymlicka presents a more optimistic view, trying to show that many demands of cultural or ethnic groups are consistent with the liberal principles of individual freedom and social justice.

He does not try to solve the baseline difficulties with liberalism and anti-liberal cultural or ethnic groups. Instead, he looks to show that they can be "managed", so to say. He acknowledges that there is hatred, segregation, pogroms, and genocide, and that given these abuses, many people feel a strong temptation "to push aside the very idea of minority rights." In his opinion, that response is misguided, but not owing to the impoverishment of a naturalistic temper. In many cases, more individualism would actually dissolve many conflicts. Kymlicka's point is that political life has an inescapably national dimension, whether it is in the drawing of boundaries and distributing of powers, or in decisions about the language of schooling, courts, and bureaucracies, or in the choice of public holidays. Moreover, these inescapable aspects of political life give a profound advantage to the members of majority nations.<sup>42</sup>

Kymlicka suggests some practical steps. Ethnic groups and other disadvantaged groups should be accommodated by polyethnic and representation rights or, in certain cases, minorities should receive self-government rights within majority nations. But he also asserts that there are two constraints on any conception of minority rights. The first, an external constraint, is that a group should not be allowed to oppress other groups. The second, an external constraint, is that a group should not be able to oppress its own

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<sup>40</sup> Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 26. See Ch. 5.

<sup>41</sup> Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship*, p. 93.

<sup>42</sup> Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship*, p. 194

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members. "Within these limits" he insists "minority rights can play a valuable role within a broader theory of liberal justice. Indeed, they must play a role if liberalism is not to be condemned to irrelevance in many parts of the world."<sup>43</sup>

Indeed, Kymlicka thinks that the future of a just liberalism integrally involves minority rights. "Without such measures" he says, "talk of 'treating people as individuals' is itself just a cover for ethnic and national injustice."<sup>44</sup>

Thus, Kymlicka ultimately determines that the liberal principles of justice are consistent and indeed require certain forms of special status for minorities. Some of these minorities may be illiberal. But liberals do not have an automatic right to impose their (liberals') views – only a responsibility to identify what those views are. In his opinion, the questions on how to deal with illiberal cultures are not specific to minority cultures. There are many illiberal majority cultures, and many liberal homogeneous nation states. The liberality of a culture is a matter of degree.

### **VII. Concluding Remarks**

We tend to agree with MacIntyre that there seems to be a disjunction between the scale of the liberal reaction and the actual opposition of the critics, but we assert nonetheless that we should not minimize the differences. In fact, Will Kymlicka's easy pragmatic solution may turn out to be more intrusive than a sheer liberal view, because we cannot simply dispel entirely all conceptions of the good – and there is indeed a strong difference about the status of the recognition of human dignity that is both metaphysical and political.

Charles Taylor asserts that from his ontological view no concrete political stances necessarily follow. And MacIntyre has a diagnostic of our dystopian moral situation but does not really have a political proposal at all. However, it is surely surprising that the four "communitarian" horsemen tend to describe themselves as: "I'm not a communitarian,

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<sup>43</sup> Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship*, p. 194.

<sup>44</sup> Regarding immigration, Kymlicka does not think it is wrong for a liberal state "to insist that immigration entails accepting the legitimacy of state enforcement of liberal principles, so long as immigrants know this in advance, and none the less voluntarily choose to come."

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**but..." Both the specter of communitarianism and the crises of liberalism have flesh and bones. To the extent that all of them consider that a substantive conception of the good always necessarily underlies any idea of justice or procedures in public life, that is why they deny that moral value can be defined without any substantive considerations of the good. Often, universalist liberalism just conceals its own substantive considerations (let us call them an "ontology"), rendering it characteristically universal and apparently non-substantive.**

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## **BIO NOTE**

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**ABSTRACT**

In this paper we will start from a distinction established by Charles Taylor between the metaphysics of the self as a dialogical being and the politics of recognition. With this distinction in mind, we inquire why (1) most so-called communitarians are often uncomfortable with the epithet, and (2) why the "specter" of "the politics of recognition" (Barry) or the "spectre of communitarianism" (MacIntyre) seem to be a threat to impartial liberal rights. We tend to agree with MacIntyre that there seems to be a disjunction between the scale of the liberal reaction and the actual opposition of the critics, but we assert nonetheless that we should not minimize the differences. In fact, Will Kymlicka's easy pragmatic solution may turn out to be more intrusive than a sheer liberal view, because we cannot simply dispel entirely all conceptions of the good and there is indeed a strong difference about the status of the recognition of human dignity that is both metaphysical and political. Both the specter of communitarianism and the crises of liberalism have flesh and bones.

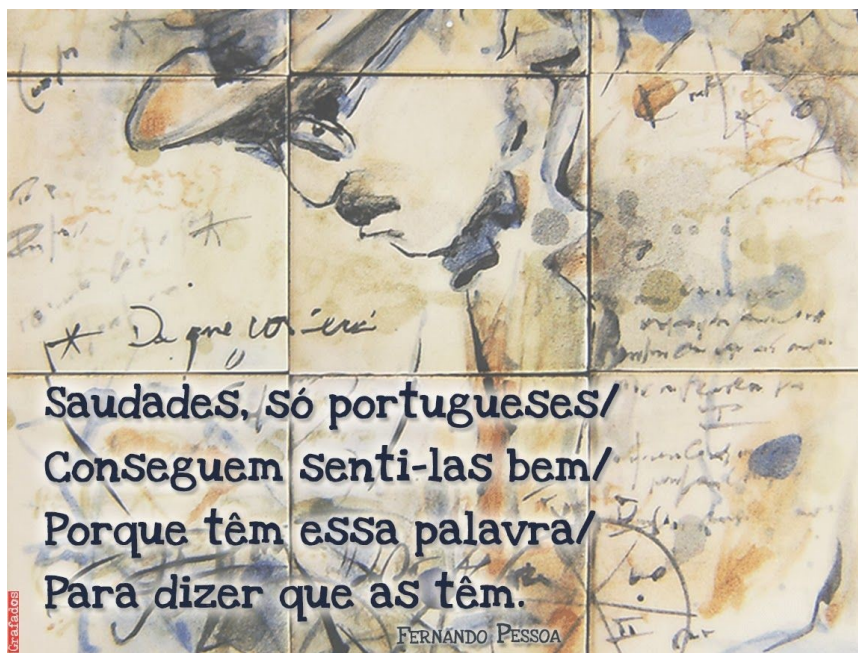
**Keywords:** Politics of recognition; communitarianism; liberal rights, universalism.

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### RESUMO

Neste artigo, partiremos de uma distinção estabelecida por Charles Taylor entre a metafísica do eu como ser dialógico e a política de reconhecimento. Com essa distinção em mente, perguntamo-nos, primeiro, por que motivo a maioria dos chamados "comunitaristas" muitas vezes se incomoda com o epíteto e, em segundo lugar, por que o "espectro" da "política de reconhecimento" (Brian Barry) ou o "espectro do comunitarismo" (Alasdair MacIntyre) parece ser uma ameaça aos direitos liberais imparciais. Tendemos a concordar com MacIntyre que parece haver uma disjunção entre a amplitude da reacção liberal aos comunitaristas e a oposição real dos críticos do liberalismo, mas afirmamos, no entanto, que não devemos minimizar as diferenças. Na verdade, a solução pragmática fácil de Will Kymlicka pode acabar sendo mais intrusiva do que uma visão liberal pura, porque não podemos simplesmente dissipar todas as concepções do bem nem da esfera privada, nem da esfera pública e há, de facto, uma forte diferença sobre o estatuto do reconhecimento da dignidade humana que é tanto metafísica como política. Tanto o espectro do comunitarismo como a crise do liberalismo têm carne e ossos e não são meras fantasias e conclui que há uma forte diferença sobre o estatuto do reconhecimento da dignidade humana que é tanto metafísica como política.

## **LONGING AND "SAUDADE"**



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*Saudade*

*I feel beliefs that I do not hold.  
I am ravished by passions I repudiate.*

Fernando Pessoa

As is implicit in my bilingual title, I have chosen as a topic for this essay the sad state of intense longing that I have been feeling since the death of my twenty-five-year-old son and of some very dear friends. Although this nostalgic yearning is very intense and somewhat difficult to analyze and scrutinize, we all know when we feel it. I am sure that most of my readers are also aware of this emotion for they must have perceived it when they lost someone from their past or even regarding a bygone place or time.

This intensity of feeling and persistent carving is due to the remembrance of absent people or of pleasant experiences you no longer have - and are missing - and, therefore, you feel grief, sorrow and heartache. As is common knowledge, yearning is an emotional state, widely experienced in situations involving loss, focused on a desire for a person, place, or thing that was treasured in the past. Sometimes that longing comes unexpectedly and it hurts and disturbs us.

Since – although writing in English - I have used the Portuguese word "Saudade" in my title<sup>1</sup>, I think I should justify my choice. Some might say that it is due to the fact that many people think that there is no exact English translation. Others that it conveys a typically Portuguese emotion connected to the period of the Discoveries, when our sailors

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<sup>1</sup> As Fernando Pessoa did in his poem entitled *Saudade*, that I quote as an epigraph.

were travelling all over the world and feeling an intense memory of something with a desire for it, as Duarte Nunes Leão has said already in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup>

More recently, and as many other scholars, Aubrey F. G. Bell (1882-1950) also attempted to clarify this complex concept in his book entitled *In Portugal* saying that "saudade" is a vague and constant desire for something that does not, and probably cannot, exist, for something other than the present.<sup>3</sup>

The word "saudade" - which, as I've said, has been considered untranslatable because its sense cannot be expressed in any other language - describes this sentiment of incompleteness, nostalgia and homesickness. It corresponds also to the emotion of feeling both happy and sad at the same time, which might be translated in English as bitter sweet. However, although it has been appraised as deeply connected with Portuguese culture, it is often expressed in literature, painting, sculpture and music, all over the world.

Considering that art is the best way to express our emotions, I will start by alluding to some of the artistic references made to my topic in painting. Among many other works of art, to illustrate my title, I have selected "Saudade" (1899), an oil picture by the Brazilian artist José Ferraz de Almeida Júnior (1850-99), which I assess as remarkable because the subject's face clearly reveals the commotion of yearning.



Figure 1 *Saudade* (1899), José F. de Almeida Jr.

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<sup>2</sup> Duarte Nunes Leão, *Origem da Lingoa Portuguesa* (Lisboa: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1606). Vide Biblioteca Digital de Portugal <http://purl.pt/50/1/index.html#/3/html>

<sup>3</sup> See the recent edition of *In Portugal* (1912) by Aubrey F. G. Bell (Trieste Publishing Pty Limited, 2017).

I might also mention the American painter Shelby McQuilkin (1966--) whose work entitled "Longing" is on two separate panels, in which each figure of the diptych is reaching out for the other.



Figure 2 - *Longing*, Shelby McQuilkin

But I think that, if I had to select only one image to illustrate my text, I might choose "The Longing" by Abeer Malik, a contemporary Free Lance Concept and Portrait artist from Delhi, India.



Figure 3 *The Longing*, Abeer Malik

To my surprise, during my research, I realized that even the most famous painters, like Paul Klee and Marc Chagall, had certainly also felt the abovementioned emotion of longing, which they expressed in different ways in their well-known paintings.



Figure 4 Paul Klee, "Mural from the Temple of Longing", 1922

Paul Klee (1879 – 1940), the celebrated German painter, who was influenced by Expressionism, Cubism, and Surrealism, was also inspired by the theme as is evident in his painting "Mural from the Temple of Longing  $\curvearrowright$ Thither $\curvearrowleft$ " (1922), which we can see at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. It has been said that Klee saw the upturned arrows are symbols of spiritual energy that transformed the 19th-century juxtaposition of man and nature to a 20th-century idiom.

I must also mention Winslow Homer (1836–1910), the preeminent figure in American art who, as a landscape painter and printmaker, is best known for his marine subjects. He is considered one of the foremost painters in 19<sup>th</sup> century and he illustrates the topic of yearning in several of his works. Among them I would select "Waiting for Dad - Longing" (1873) a watercolour, which is at Mills College Art Museum, in the United States.



Figure 5 Winslow Homer, "Waiting for Dad-Longing", 1873

## *Longing and Saudade, Maria Laura Bettencourt Pires*

Another painter that I must allude to is, obviously, Marc Chagall (1887-1985), whose every painting seems to capture his feelings of deep yearning for his family and for the rich Jewish life of the village from his childhood. His paintings also clearly convey, in his dreamlike and whimsical style, his longing, as is evident in *Hommage au passé ou La Ville* (1944) that we can contemplate at Pierre Matisse Gallery, in New York.



Figure 6 Marc Chagall, "Hommage au passé ou La Ville", 1944

Confirming my idea that the feeling of "saudade" is expressed all over the world, I include a painting by Wafaa Jamil, which is also entitled *Longing*. It is an original oil portrait of a beautiful woman yearning for her beloved ones. The author is a Jordanian artist residing in Abu Dhabi, in the United Arab Emirates, who has been painting since 2004, and who says she likes making art because it is the only way she can express her emotions.

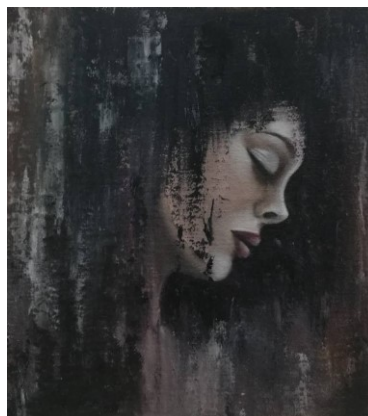


Figure 7 Wafaa Jamil, "Longing"

In the area of sculpture, there are also manifestations of the same feeling as is evident in *Saudade* by Andrea Bucci (1966--), that we can see at the Bucci Art Gallery, which is located in the historic centre of the town of Lucca and holds a selection of exquisite artworks by this contemporary Italian artist, which are distinguished by the quality and originality of his craftsmanship.

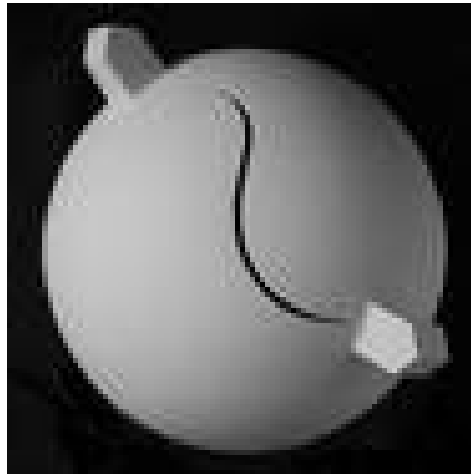


Figure 8 Andrea Bucci, "Saudade"

From the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, I have selected the French sculptor Camille Claudel (1864–1943), who studied sculpture with Auguste Rodin and was the sister of the poet Paul Claudel, and is known for her figurative artwork in bronze and white marble. Among her impressive sculptures, I think that it is the one entitled *Rêve Au Coin du Feu* (1902) that better conveys the feeling of loneliness and craving for a lost happiness.



Figure 9 Camille Claudel, "Rêve au Coin du Feu" (1902)



Still in the sphere of sculpture, I must also mention funerary art for it is a domain, which is closely connected to longing. It is constituted by works of art that are placed in a repository for the remains of the dead (such as their tombs) in an attempt to preserve the memory of those who are gone and to incite the living to remember them and to celebrate their lives and accomplishments.

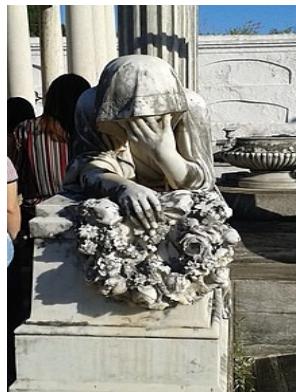


Figure 10 - Images of Longing

Funerary art is a space full of memories and the way in which the statues are conceived and their visual codes are composed of sets of compelling symbols. They are made with several materials, such as marble, iron or bronze and some of them are now seen as works of art that transmit affection. Although they represent heartache they are beautiful because they depict the last tribute to someone who was loved. It has a wide variety of forms, including cenotaphs, tomb-like monuments, which do not contain human remains, and communal memorials to the dead, such as war memorials, which may or may not contain remains, and a range of prehistoric megalithic constructs. The sculptors, through their sensibility, try to transmit affection through the works made of stone. Each sculpture is an homage made by the living to incite and urge the sweet and terrible task of remembering those that are gone forever.

Funerary art is found in almost all cultures and there are many artistic creations of the past, like the Egyptian pyramids and the famous tomb of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty Pharaoh Tutankhamen. It was produced for the powerful and wealthy, although the burials of ordinary people might include simple monuments. Nearly all the art connected with the burial, except for limited grave goods, was intended for later viewing

by the public but the treasure of Tutankhamen, for example, though exceptionally lavish, was never intended to be seen again after it was deposited. On the other hand, the exterior of the pyramids was a permanent and highly effective demonstration of the power of their creators.

This cultural tradition, which is evident in the sculpted sarcophagus and tomb monuments of the Greek and Roman empires, and later of the Christian world, has flourished all over the world. It reached its climax in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries but nowadays it is less used due to the preference for the so-called garden-cemetery that became popular in the United States and Europe, due to the overcrowding and health concerns of urban cemeteries.



Figure 11 Forever Sad

Besides painting and sculpture, we also find the most impressive artworks related to the topic of longing and "saudade" in music. There are many great very early baroque and classical pieces that contain that emotion, as well as many operatic works and later also more popular genres that are much appreciated and understood by the general public. As we all know, music can evoke memories, transporting us to another time and place.





Figure 12 Lament of the immigrant

Migration and music are intrinsically linked, mirroring the movement of people from place to place and country to country. Musical styles have been influenced by migration, as communities tell their migration stories through music.

Music and migration both influence and inspire each other, and the rhythms and movement of people and their feelings of longing and "saudade" are reflected in the lyrics and notes of folk music across Europe and, therefore, I will allude to some examples mainly from Ireland, Greece and Portugal.

As regards Ireland, emigration for economic, political and social reasons has been a part of Irish life throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. People left Ireland largely for other English-speaking countries.

Hundreds of folk songs express the sentiments of those who left Ireland through lyrics put to the air of traditional songs, taken by emigrants as they crossed the seas. Some refer to events in the country's turbulent history, such as The Great Famine and British rule; others are very personal, speaking of loved ones, childhood memories and the glorious Irish landscape.



Figure 13- Poor Pat must Migrate

In a penny ballad" handbill entitled *The Irish Refugee, or Poor Pat Must Migrate*, the singer J. S. Berry laments the misfortunes at home, the high rents and taxes, the ninety-eight uprising, the famine of forty-eight, and other difficulties that have driven Pat to leave home. The song refers to the English injustice and Pat's desire to return home with a Fenian<sup>4</sup> band.

As many Greeks migrated to seek their fortune in other countries, migration - and therefore longing and "saudade" - is also a common theme in Greek folk music. Songs dating to the period of the Ottoman rule contain lyrics full of melancholy, reflecting the deep sorrow and the great pain of the person who is leaving, and also of those who stay behind.

The protagonist of these songs is always a man, unfolding an often-tragic tale: as most migrants were not expected to return, moving away was considered an equivalent to death. In many of these songs they are compared with migratory birds and vulnerable travelers. The songs also express the feelings of the people who remained behind as the figure of the mother who appears in many songs. Thus, it has been said that the songs have a strong patriarchal connotation.

As regards the theme of longing and "saudade" in Portugal, it is the musical genre "Fado" that has become so famous that it is often considered as a symbol of the country.

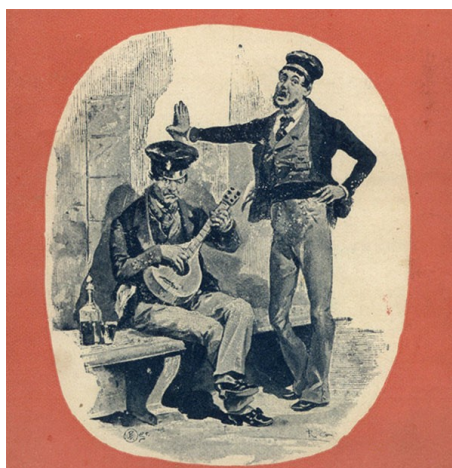


Figure 14 Pinto de Carvalho, *História do Fado*

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<sup>4</sup> Fenian was a member of an Irish revolutionary organization founded in New York in 1858 that worked for the establishment of an independent Irish republic.

From its origins in the early 1800s, "fado" music and lyrics have been associated with longing, sadness and remembering. The mournful tune is often about the sea or the life of the poor, it expresses feelings of nostalgia and yearning and emotions dealing with emigration, which are related to these themes. There are two distinct models of *Fado*, the one from Lisbon and the other from Coimbra, which is connected to the academic traditions of the University of Coimbra and is only sung by men.

Among others, the song entitled "Fado do Emigrante", which was sung by António Menano<sup>5</sup>, who was one of the best-known and most famous singers from Coimbra, clearly exemplifies this. The lyrics below describe the feelings of leaving the land where the singer was born and his emotional reaction to distance and homesickness.

<i>Adeus terra onde eu nasci</i>	Good-bye land where I was born
<i>E onde vivi tão feliz</i>	And where I lived so happy
<i>Adeus olhos que dizeis</i>	Goodbye eyes that you say
<i>Coisas que a boca não diz .</i>	Things the mouth doesn't say (My translation)

The scholar Rui Vieira Nery, in his book *Para Uma História do Fado*<sup>6</sup> - that is a fundamental reference for the study of that popular musical genre – tells us that it is considered as the most famous Portuguese music style and describes how, along the centuries, *Fado* has evolved. It is generally sung by a single person (the *fadista*) who is accompanied by a Portuguese guitar, which is different from the Spanish model<sup>7</sup>, as we can see in the famous painting by José Malhoa (1855-1933) entitled "Fado".

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5 António Menano (1895-1969) was famous all over Portugal. He was an immigrant himself for he worked as a doctor in Mozambique from 1933 till he returned to Portugal in 1961.

6 Rui Vieira Nery, *Para Uma História do Fado*, (Público; Corda Seca, 2004). This 1<sup>st</sup> edition won the "Prémio Amália de Ensaio e Divulgação" in 2006.

7 The modern Portuguese guitar derives from the medieval "citole" and has been used in Portugal since the 13<sup>th</sup> century amongst troubadour and minstrel circles. Later it became popular and was played in theaters, taverns and barbershops. It is used for solo music (*guitarradas*) as well as the accompaniment.



Figure 15 *Fado* by José Malhoa (1910)

"Saudade", the topic I have chosen for this essay, is one of the most popular themes of *fado*, alongside with nostalgia, jealousy, and the themes of short stories about the typical city quarters. The word *fado* comes from the Latin word *fatum* meaning fate or destiny and the songs are the musical cultural expression of the abovementioned bittersweet yearning.



Figure 16 - Amália Rodrigues singing Fado

Among all the Portuguese fado singers, we must distinguish Amália Rodrigues (1920-1990), who was a *fadista* and an actress that acted in several films, such as "Capas Negras" (1946) and "Fado" (1947). She was known as "Rainha do Fado" (Queen of Fado), sung a "Fado da Saudade" that became famous and, because she travelled internationally throughout her career, was instrumental in popularizing that music genre, which is so connected with longing<sup>8</sup>.

Her great talent was recognized not only in Portugal – where she remains the best-selling Portuguese artist in history - but wherever she sang. In the United

<sup>8</sup> To know more about her biography, see Rui Vieira Nery, *Pensar Amália*, Lisboa: Tugaland, 2010.

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States, one of her albums achieved the first position among the best sellers, she was the cover of the American magazine *Billboard*, performed at Radio City Hall in New York and sung at *Mocambo Club*, in Hollywood and on American TV on ABC (1953). She was also popular in Spain and Brazil, lived in Paris, recorded and acted in Germany and Mexico.

To her fame contributed the fact that, in the sixties, Alain Oulman (1929-1990), the French composer, became her main songwriter and musical producer. He created numerous melodies for her *fados*, adding orchestral accompaniments and invited leading poets, like David Mourão Ferreira and Pedro Homem de Mello, to write specifically for her.

In France, she acted in the film *Les Amants du Tage*, performed at the prestigious Parisian *Olympia* hall (1956-92) in a series of concerts and her performance was recorded in the album "Portugal's Great Amália Rodrigues Live at the Olympia Theatre in Paris", in 1957, and Charles Aznavour wrote the *fado* "Aie Mourir Pour Toi" for her.

Amália, as she was known all over the world, was awarded forty decorations and honors for her music, stage presence, and philanthropy, including the *Légion d'Honneur* by the French government. She was given a state funeral and is the only woman who had the honor of having her remains in the National Pantheon in Lisbon.

Before Amália, *saudade* has been a theme in Portuguese music that goes back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the age of the Discoveries. Therefore, we find it as an inspiration for many songs and compositions mainly in the countries where Portuguese is spoken, like Cabo Verde and Brazil.



Figure 17 Cesária Évora

Among them, I have selected "Sodade" (*saudade* in Cape Verdean Creole), which is the title of the most famous song of the Cape Verdean singer Cesária Évora, because, like Amália's, her voice was heard all over the world.



Another reason for my choice is the fact that, like the Portuguese and the Irish, Cape Verdeans have been seafarers and emigrants for centuries and therefore they know the emotion of longing. The title of Cesária's song corresponds to the Portuguese word "saudade"<sup>9</sup>, that derives from the Latin *solitudo*, which, as mentioned above, means solitude. The Cape Verdeans, due to their contacts with the Portuguese during colonization, must have heard them singing *Fado*, and realized it is connected to the feeling of yearning that they also express in their musical genre, which is the Cape Verdean "sodade"<sup>10</sup> that is a kind of *morna*<sup>11</sup>.

In Brazil, that feeling is also conveyed in "samba de fassa" and "bossa nova" but the name that stands out in the history of Brazilian music and literature connected with my topic is Vinicius de Moraes (1913-1980), the well-known poet and composer who wrote a famous song entitled "Chega de Saudade".

Besides being inspiring in painting, sculpture and music, as we have seen, longing and "saudade" are obviously also recurring themes in literature all over the world.

In Portugal, where – as in most countries - literature is an expression of the national temperament, there are many references to my theme for there is an overtone of melancholy that permeates Portuguese lyric poetry as it does in music.

In our cultural history, one of the first to theorize about "saudade" was King Edward (D. Duarte I, 1391-1498), who was called The Philosopher or The Eloquent, in his *Leal Conselheiro*<sup>12</sup>, written in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and where he defined longing saying: "Saudade is the feeling that our heart is failing because it is separated from the presence of someone, or some persons, that he loves very much."<sup>13</sup>. The wise king wanted to leave a manual of prudent conduct for his subjects but, after his death, the Queen took the

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<sup>9</sup> According to Carolina Michaelis (*A Saudade Portuguesa*), 1914, the word "saudade", which has a complex meaning, is indissolubly linked to Portuguese culture.

<sup>10</sup> "Sodade" is the translation of the Portuguese word "saudade" in Cape Verdean Creole. It is the title of a song, which was popularized by Cesária Évora on her 1992 album *Miss Perfumado*.

<sup>11</sup> "Morna" is the national music and dance genre from Cape Verde.

<sup>12</sup> D. Duarte, *Leal Conselheiro*. Lisboa: Instituto Nacional/Casa da Moeda, 1998. This critical edition by M. Helena Lopes de Castro is the most recent.

<sup>13</sup> "Saudade propriamente he sentido que o coração falha por se achar partido da presença dalguma pessoa ou pessoas que muyto por afeição ama" (Dom Duarte, *Leal Conselheiro*. Coimbra: Atlântida, 1973, Chapter XXV, p. 16.

manuscript to Spain and it was only published in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when it had two editions and started being known and quoted as a reflection on Portuguese identity.

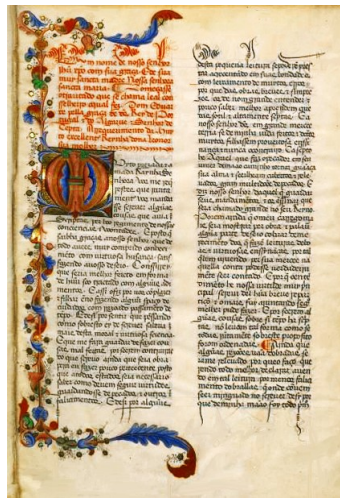


Figure 18 - D. Duarte, *Leal Conselheiro*

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Luís de Camões (1524-1580), the author of the national epic *Os Lusíadas*, also wrote about longing in his poems as did Bernardim Ribeiro (1482-1552) in his *Livro das Saudades* (1554)<sup>14</sup>. In the 19th century, António Nobre (1867-1900), especially in his poetry collected in the volume appropriately entitled *Só* (1892), and Teixeira de Pascoaes (1877-1952) were the foremost initiators of a growing cult of a movement called "saudosismo".

João de Barros (1881-1960) also adopted the same fad for they considered it as the key to the nation's greatness and therefore it came to dominate the aesthetics of the time. The mentor of this cultural movement, which was created during the Second World War and had a nationalist character, was Teixeira de Pascoaes. Their objective was to regenerate Portuguese culture, of which "saudade" was seen as a symbol, and wanted to give it a universal dimension.

Later on, other famous poets - besides Fernando Pessoa (1888-1935), who wrote in a tone of "saudade" dealing with themes of nostalgia and alienation - like Mário Beirão (1890-1965) and Florbela Espanca (1894-1930), the author of *Livro de SÓror Saudade* (1923), also mentioned a constant feeling of absence and a wistful longing for integrality or wholeness that can still be considered a mark of Portuguese Literature nowadays.

<sup>14</sup> This was the first Renaissance pastoral romance written in Portugal and it became known as *Menina e Moça*.

As regards other countries, I will only allude to Germany and, among all the many other possible references, I've decided to choose the poem "Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt" ("Only he who knows yearning") by Goethe (1749-1832), that was published in his novel *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*<sup>15</sup>, because of its obvious connections to the topic and also due to the fact that, besides being appreciated in the area of literature, it is acknowledged in the musical world in various countries.

The poem, which is one of the songs of Mignon, a character in the novel, has been set to music by many well-known composers, among them Beethoven<sup>16</sup>, Schubert<sup>17</sup>, Schumann, Wolf and Tchaikovsky<sup>18</sup>, thus being also appreciated in the musical world all over Europe.

*Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt  
Weiß, was ich leide!  
Allein und abgetrennt  
Von aller Freude,  
Seh ich ans Firmament  
Nach jener Seite.*

Only those who know longing  
Know what sorrows me!  
Alone and separated  
From all joy  
I look into the sky  
To the yonder side.  
(Translation)

Having made references to my topic in different cultural areas in several countries and epochs, I will now conclude as I have started by evoking the memory of my deceased son with a quotation of a sonnet by Camões (1524-1580), who, besides being one of the greatest Portuguese poets, is also known for writing about longing and "saudade".

Alma minha gentil, que te partiste  
Tão cedo desta vida, descontente,  
Repousa lá no Céu eternamente  
E viva eu cá na terra sempre triste.<sup>19</sup>

Luiz de Camões

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<sup>15</sup> Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*. Ein Roman. Zweiter Band, Berlin: Johann Friedrich Unger, 1795–96, pp. 265-266. The poem appears in Book 4, Chapter 11 of Goethe's novel.

<sup>16</sup> Ludwig van Beethoven (1770 - 1827), "Sehnsucht. Gedicht von Goethe viermal in Musik gesetzt von L. van Beethoven", Wo O. 134 (1808).

<sup>17</sup> Schubert (six settings, the last two included in *Gesänge aus "Wilhelm Meister"*, D 877).

<sup>18</sup> Tchaikovsky's setting is often known in English as "None but the Lonely Heart". It has been set in many vocal, choral, and instrumental arrangements and recorded, among others, by Mario Lanza, Frank Sinatra, Elisabeth Schwarzkopf and Plácido Domingo.

<sup>19</sup> Luís de Camões, *Rimas* (1595), Soneto XIII. "My gentle soul, who departed/So soon from this life, feeling unhappy, /May you rest in Heaven for all eternity/And I must live on earth always sad." (My Translation)



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## BIO NOTE

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## ABSTRACT

Due to the sad times we are living in, I have chosen as a topic for my article "Longing and Saudade", the English and Portuguese words for the nostalgic yearning we feel when we lose a loved one. It is often considered that it conveys a typically Portuguese emotion connected to the period of the Discoveries. However, it is also expressed in literature, painting, sculpture and music, all over the world. Therefore, I have chosen examples in painting from different countries, such as Brazil, United States, India, France, Germany and the United Arab Emirates. I have done the same in the areas of sculpture and funerary art and allude to the importance of the theme in relation between migration and music in Ireland and Greece but giving special relevance to "Fado", that has been considered as a symbol of Portugal. Amália Rodrigues sang it all over the world as Cesária Évora also did with "morna", the Cape Verdean music. In Portuguese Literature people write about "Saudade" since the 15<sup>th</sup> century (*Leal Conselheiro*) and there was even a cultural movement called "saudosismo" in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. From Germany, I mention Goethe and his poem "Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt" ("Only he who knows yearning") that has been set music around the world.

## RESUMO

Devido aos tempos atribulados em que vivemos, escolhi como tema do meu artigo "Longing and Saudade", a palavra inglesa e a portuguesa usadas para designar a ansiedade nostálgica que sentimos quando perdemos um ente querido. É muitas vezes afirmado que se trata de uma emoção tipicamente portuguesa relacionada com o período das Descobertas. Contudo, ela é também descrita na literatura, na pintura, na escultura e na música em todo o mundo. Escolhi, por isso, exemplos na pintura em vários países, tais como o Brasil, os Estados Unidos, a Índia, a França, a Alemanha e os Emiratos Árabes Unidos. Fiz o mesmo nas áreas da escultura e da arte funerária e aludi à importância do tema na relação entre migração e música na Irlanda e na Grécia dando, contudo, uma relevância especial ao "Fado", que tem sido considerado como um símbolo

## *Longing and Saudade, Maria Laura Bettencourt Pires*

de Portugal. Amália Rodrigues cantou-o em todo o mundo tal como Cesária Évora fez com a "morna", a música cabo-verdeana. Na Literatura portuguesa, tem-se escrito sobre "Saudade" desde o século XV (*Leal Conselheiro*) e houve até um movimento cultural chamado "saudosismo" no século XIX. Da Alemanha, refiro Goethe e o seu poema "Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt" ("Só quem conhece a saudade"), que foi musicado em múltiplos países.

# RECENSÕES CRÍTICAS





**RECENSÃO CRÍTICA, Anthony Vecchio (University of Texas—Arlington).  
José Fabião Rodrigues (Universidade do Minho)**

Samuel MOYN (2018). *Not Enough: Human Rights in an Unequal World*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

A few months ago, Samuel Moyn delivered the 2020 Page-Barbour Lecture series at the University of Virginia, under the title "A History of Duties for an Age of Rights." Little more than one year before, Moyn wrote (arguably) his most important book so far on the history of human rights, which we are presently reviewing.

The author of this interesting book is a Professor of Law and History at Yale University. He has produced for us already some intriguing work with a marked historical and political character – and his *The Last Utopia* (2012) provides us with a fine show display of his craftsmanship in putting historical narrative to work for the demonstration of political points. In fact, and in particular, it seems that an important characteristic of his historical works is their level of achievement in integrating a unique approach to human rights with the historical context of those rights. Moyn draws upon ideas of diverse disciplinary provenance, from philosophy, history, law, and sociology, giving his ideas a currency and relevance in his specific field, as well as managing to capture plenty of interest elsewhere.

The book of our present attention, *Not Enough: Human Rights in an Unequal World*, is a largely historical examination of "sufficiency" and "equality" as they have come to relate to the distribution of goods in contemporary society. Ensuring that the otherwise penurious have sufficient material welfare is an agenda that has come to be strongly associated with human rights. This association has cemented to that point that human rights language is the language one would use when championing the alleviation of the abject and the destitute. Befittingly so; yet what may escape our notice is the failure of sufficiency-minded alleviation to level out the (growing) social and economic hierarchies that sit on top of the (growing) demographic of the non-destitute.

As Moyn asserts in the beginning of the book: "Enough, in this view, is not enough" (p. 4). Indeed, what may also escape our notice, he tells us, is that "Human

rights do not necessarily call for a modicum of distributive equality" (p. 3), so that we are left to infer that neither alleviation of the destitute nor, more crucially for Moyn, the language and notions of human rights are sufficient for equality.

At least, this is what we would infer from a rigorously argued history demonstrating the proposed relationship between equality, sufficiency, and human rights – including, as one might come to expect, a good and persuasive account of how human rights got tangled up with sufficiency in precisely this way. Just this is what Moyn looks to provide, and it constitutes most of the book's anatomy. "The primary goal of what follows", he says, "is to chart the evolution of human rights to illustrate how (...) they reached this state of imprisonment" (p. 6).

Among the contemporary jail wardens responsible for the imprisonment of human rights language are the articulate defenders of "market fundamentalism" and "neoliberalism" (p. 8), among which are to be counted politicians and philosophers – especially modern philosophers of human rights (p. 9). But the story apparently stretches a bit further back than the current trends among philosophers.

We are first given a story that goes from the Old Testament through the French Revolution. A concern for sufficiency, we are told, has a history beginning as early as various monotheistic injunctions demanding concern for the poor's indigence (p. 16). Yet it was through the legacy left by the "the first welfare state", (p. 22) in particular the "Jacobin national welfare state", that equality among citizens, over and above mere sufficiency, was first demanded (p. 23). This ideal would fall into disuse, as signaled by Thomas Paine's rejection of distributive equality in his book on agrarian justice (pp. 24-25).

Next, the ambitious historical survey brings us swiftly to the eve of the 20<sup>th</sup> century – when the early embers of socialism began to kindle (p. 25) – and then to key events of the following century, especially in the post-war period. Among such events we find: the rise of national socialism, the emergence of national welfare, e.g. in Roosevelt's New Deal, decolonization, and the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Concerning the UDHR, Moyn suggests that it should be read as

orbiting around "the project of national welfare", whereas it is presently read as "an internationalization of rights politics that occurred decades later [than the document's writing]" (p. 44).

Over the time elapsed since the (unsuccessful, anyway) Jacobin state, an increasingly wide margin of social and economic disparity grew. While this trend of disparity began then perhaps in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, and continued through the immediate post-war period, the breaking point was the Cold War (1947-91), when the human rights revolution "occurred almost *ex nihilo*" (p. 121). This manifested itself in different ways on various continents, but in the end, the winners were the capitalists who asserted themselves through their global campaign of "neoliberalism", a "maelstrom" leaving in its wake a global eruption of social and economic inequality. "What was really occurring", Moyn says, "was the detachment of social rights from the welfare state project that had birthed them" (p. 193).

The entrapment of human rights in neoliberalism has left us in a world of mere sufficiency, a world at odds with economic equality. This is the world of Croesus, "a kind of utopia" (p. 212) wherein the "wonderfully rich" Croesus bestows, in his magnanimity, sufficient provision for those well below him.

Moyn's narrative leaves us with a bleak, but not despairing picture: "[A dream of welfare] will not look like our human rights movement, which has become prominent as our world has become more like Croesus's. (...) Human rights will return to their defensible importance only as soon as humanity saves itself from its low ambitions. If it does, for the sake of local and global welfare, sufficiency and equality can again become powerful companions, both in moral lives and in our political enterprises" (p. 220).

While the book as a whole is interesting, we may ponder how profound a renovation or innovation is really needed to secure a "dream of welfare." If we are supposed to radically reframe our outlook as one between "barbarism" and "socialism" (p. 220) in the interest of equality, the required conversion from one to the other may require a profundity such that today's advocates of socialism would



be tomorrow's enemies of equality – and not just in the banal way that Kant and Rousseau could, as mere predecessors, be enemies of Rawls. Distributive equality may come to mean something more and different than material equality, in which case a story which treats the concept as, here at least, functionally the same (quasi-theological?) from Deuteronomy to the UDHR would need to be rewritten.

If the dream of welfare has never been successfully fully thought or worked through, one might wonder whether there is not something important hidden from our sight. In particular, if the plot is supposed to twist as we discover that mere sufficiency is too thin compared with the ideal of equality, it may twist again if we find that mere welfare is too thin compared to some grander and less barbaric notion of human flourishing.

**Anthony Vecchio, University of Texas—Arlington**

**José Fabião Rodrigues, Universidade do Minho**



*Nature morte (crâne, sablier, tulipe)*  
CHAMPAIGNE Philippe de (attribué)  
c. 1671  
Oil on panel, 28 x 37 cm  
Musée de Tessé, Le Mans

## **OBITUÁRIO**





**IN MEMORIAM**

**JOSÉ ANTÓNIO ESPERANÇA PINA (14 Jun.1938-21 Out.2020)**

Os Grandes Anatomistas têm a qualidade imortal de serem acima de tudo, "Humanistas", no sentido da abrangência cultural, da internacionalização, e da multidisciplinaridade intelectual, características das grandes figuras do Renascimento. Reconhecemos, com sentida emoção, todos esses epítetos, quando enfrentámos no passado dia 21 de Outubro, a notícia do falecimento do Professor JOSÉ ANTÓNIO ESPERANÇA PINA.

Esta tão breve definição das qualidades de um humanista, conduzirá de imediato a pensar na figura "primeira" do Renascentismo, LEONARDO da Vinci, de quem celebrávamos, há apenas um ano, os cinco séculos do falecimento. Ao mencionar o óbito, não poderemos utilizar a palavra "perda", pois que nos deixou um legado bem "vivo", sempre actual, irreproduzível e ainda em fase de desvendamento da incomensurável riqueza.

Esperança Pina teve fundamental importância na divulgação e promoção do exemplo de Leonardo Da Vinci, tanto nas aulas inaugurais dos diversos cursos de Anatomia que ministrou na Faculdade de Ciências Médicas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, como também

em diversas conferências e palestras dedicadas ao tema da "Arte e Anatomia no Renascimento".<sup>1</sup> Com essas magistrais preleções sobre história da anatomia e história da arte aprendemos a apreciar a mestria e rigor científico da perfeição representativa dos elementos anatómicos longamente ocultados por Leonardo, que bem deveriam oferecer-lhe o merecido epíteto de Pai da Anatomia, como real predecessor temporal de Vesalius.

Em termos da multidisciplinaridade inerente aos grandes Humanistas, aprendemos também com Esperança Pina como, ainda um milénio antes de Leonardo, outro grande médico e anatomista, ARISTÓTELES, marcou de modo indelével a cultura mundial, essencialmente pelo seu legado no campo da Filosofia. Nessa época da cultura clássica grega, a multi- e transdisciplinaridade seriam a norma académica, nos primórdios da Academia, com a Escola de Atenas, confundindo-se Filosofia e Ciência no ensino abrangente da Moralidade e Estética, da Lógica e Ciência, da Política e Metafísica. Por isso mesmo, foi o médico da Corte de Filipe da Capadócia seleccionado para preceptor do príncipe, Alexandre. Atrevemo-nos a presumir que, nos seus ensinamentos humanistas e multidisciplinares, Aristóteles terá sabido incutir na mente do jovem Alexandre Magno, a ideia da importância da internacionalização do saber, como eventual origem do futuro ímpeto de conquista do Mundo...

Encontramos provas da vertente anatomista e da prática de dissecação por Aristóteles, num fresco do século IV, patente nos muros das catacumbas da Via Latina de Roma, representando uma lição de Aristóteles perante discípulos. Neste fresco, em que a face do grande filósofo é fácil de reconhecer, verifica-se como a lição ancestral das bases da Medicina era ministrada perante um cadáver deitado aos pés dos discípulos. Trata-se, portanto, da mais ancestral representação artística de uma lição de anatomia, contrariamente à crença vulgarmente divulgada, de que a primeira, seria a do tratado de Anatomia de Mondino da Luzzi datada de 1311<sup>2</sup>.

Passados quase dois mil anos, na sétima década do século XX, um jovem e fulgoroso Esperança Pina participou activamente numa verdadeira revolução do mundo académico e

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<sup>1</sup> Esperança Pina J.A. - Palestras oferecidas à Academias das Ciências de Lisboa, como Membro efectivo.

<sup>2</sup> Rifkin B.A; Ackerman M.J.; Folkenberg J. *Human Anatomy. Depicting the Body from the Renaissance to Today*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2011.

cultural português, enquanto membro fundador da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, e em particular da inovadora Faculdade de Ciências Médicas, como Presidente da Comissão Instaladora da Faculdade (1977-1980); Presidente do Conselho Nacional do Ensino e Educação Médica da Ordem dos Médicos (1978-1980); Presidente do Conselho Científico das Ciências da Saúde do INIC (1979-1991); Membro do Conselho Nacional do Ensino Superior (1979-1982); Vice-Reitor da Universidade Nova de Lisboa (1980-1982); Reitor da Universidade Nova de Lisboa (1982-1991); Presidente do Conselho de Reitores das Universidades Portuguesas (1987-1989); Membro da Comissão Permanente do Conselho Superior de Ciência e Tecnologia (1987-1989); Membro do Conselho Nacional de Educação (1988-1991); [...]³

Para além da incansável actividade em prol da inovação no ensino científico português, e em paralelo com a excelência didáctica e de promoção da investigação em Morfologia e Anatomia<sup>4</sup>, ESPERANÇA PINA dedicou-se de modo singular ao ensino e à promoção da Ética e Deontologia Médica, com as cátedras de Deontologia, Bioética e Direito Médico da Faculdade de Ciências Médicas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa e, ainda de forma inovadora, no ensino de Direito Médico e Medicina Legal na Faculdade de Direito da Universidade Católica Portuguesa. Nesse capítulo, deixa-nos mais um precioso legado, desde a publicação de um valiosíssimo volume sobre "Ética, Deontologia e Direito Médico"<sup>5</sup>.

Igualmente nesse campo, de novo se destacou desde cedo, como promotor nacional da Ética e Deontologia, destacando-se os cargos como Membro do Conselho Nacional de Ética para as Ciências da Vida (1991-2003), ou como Membro do Conselho Nacional de Deontologia e Ética da Ordem dos Médicos e Relator do Código Deontológico (2005-2008).

Acometido de gravíssima doença, em 1993, Esperança Pina conseguiu reunir forças para prosseguir trabalhos em detrimento da sequela de quase total incapacidade física, oferecendo à Sociedade e à Academia Portuguesa uma ímpar demonstração de resiliência e invencibilidade. É dessa época que data a redacção definitiva do primeiro *Tratado de Anatomia* em 4 volumes, em língua portuguesa, totalmente redigido segundo a moderna

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<sup>3</sup> In Esperança Pina J.A. *Anatomia Humana da Locomoção*. 4ª Ed. Lisboa: Lidel, 2010.

<sup>4</sup> Valente Alves M. *História da Medicina em Portugal*. Lisboa: Porto Editora, 2014.

<sup>5</sup> Esperança Pina J.A. *Ética, Deontologia e Direito Médico*. 2ª Ed, revista e ampliada. Lisboa: Lidel, 2013.

norma internacional de revisão da Terminologia Anatómica, tendo presidido à primeira reunião do Comité Internacional de Revisão da Terminologia em Ciências Morfológicas (1994).

Em 1994, culminou a sua carreira de renome mundial enquanto Anatomista, com a organização do XIV Congresso Federativo Internacional de Anatomistas, em Lisboa, em que acolheu mais de 800 congressistas provenientes de 80 países. Por essa ocasião, foi eleito Presidente da Federação Internacional das Associações de Anatomistas (IFAA), o cargo mais importante a que um anatomista pode aspirar a nível mundial (1994-1999).

Tal renome internacional, enquanto médico e académico, tinham-lhe já conferido a Legião de Honra de França, e os cargos de Representante de Portugal no Conselho de Investigação Médica Europeia da Fundação Europeia de Ciência (1982-1991); ou ainda de Representante de Portugal no grupo de direcção do programa IMHE da OCDE (1980-1998).

Pelo aura internacional dos seus trabalhos enquanto Anatomista de excelência, foi convidado como Membro Honorário das mais diversas Sociedades Anatómicas mundiais (Sociedade Pan-americana de Anatomia; Sociedade Italiana de Anatomia; Sociedade Israelita de Ciências Anatómicas; Sociedade Venezuelana de Anatomia; Sociedade Brasileira de Anatomia); e ainda eleito Secretário da Associação Francesa de Anatomistas e Membro Emérito da Associação Americana de Anatomistas (E.U.A.).

O singular renome mundial resultou da realização do impressionante número de 528 conferências, lições magistrais, mesas redondas, simpósios e comunicações e a publicação de 166 trabalhos científicos e pedagógicos, 9 livros científicos e didácticos, com várias edições.

Cada um dos trabalhos científicos apresentados por José António Esperança Pina constituiu uma lição magistral de como conduzir investigação científica original. Com a humildade inerente a quem não necessita de demonstrar grandiosidade, Esperança Pina absteve-se, mesmo nas publicações, de enfatizar a importância e originalidade das suas próprias descobertas pioneiras e primeiras descrições de estruturas anatómicas, como no

caso da vascularização venosa do coração<sup>6</sup>, da artéria "ílio-ceco-colo-apendicular", ou da segmentação arterial esplénica<sup>7</sup>, para o estudo da qual propôs a primeira classificação da ramificação vascular até ao nível ultramicroscópico dos capilares. Para esses seus trabalhos pioneiros em termos da Angiomorfologia, desenvolveu e aperfeiçoou técnicas de estudo inovadoras como a técnica de "injecção-corrosão-fluorescência", deslumbrando o mundo com imagens de rara perfeição estética obtidas por fotografia em câmara escura, com três fontes de iluminação ultra-violeta, e realce tridimensional da fluorescência da ramificação arterial dos órgãos estudados.

Marca assim de modo indelével a Escola Portuguesa de Angiomorfologia, de renome mundial.

Não poderemos portanto, falar em perda. Antes, celebramos este ano a indelével adição de um nome ímpar na história da anatomia mundial, da ética e deontologia, da construção académica e da investigação científica.

José António Esperança Pina permanece vivo, na prática clínica diária de tantos milhares de médicos a quem magistralmente leccionou anatomia e conselhos deontológicos. Permanecerá vivo nos ensinamentos constantes dos quatro volumes do *Tratado de Anatomia*, ou do volume de *Ética, Deontologia e Direito Médico*, reeditados e modernizados para gerações vindouras de médicos que desejem ser bem instruídos.

Maria Alexandre Bettencourt Pires

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<sup>6</sup> Esperança Pina J. A. *Circulação Venosa Cardíaca*. Lisboa: Universidade de Lisboa, 1972. (Na pioneira demonstração das veias intra-cardíacas, Esperança Pina comete o excesso de humildade académica de as denominar de "Veias de Tebésius" - nome do anatomista que primeiramente formulou a possibilidade da sua existência).

<sup>7</sup> Esperança Pina J. A. *Territórios Arteriais Esplénicos. Bases Anátomo-experimentais das Esplenectomias Parciais*. Lisboa: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1979.



***IN MEMORIAM, Maria Alexandre Bettencourt Pires***

## ***LEITURAS RECOMENDADAS***





## *O Tempo de Jesus. O Mundo e as Instituições Judaicas*



*Maria da Glória Garcia*

*Universidade Católica Portuguesa*

É com muita satisfação que me encontro na Universidade Católica Portuguesa<sup>1</sup>, neste ainda jovem entardecer de um outono avançado que se confunde com o Outubro em que vive.

As razões do meu contentamento são compreensíveis e enunciam-se rapidamente: em primeiro lugar, respondo a convite de um amigo, o Professor João Lourenço; em segundo lugar, o convite respeita ao lançamento de um livro seu, um livro de vida, um livro muito especial *O Tempo de Jesus. O Mundo e as*

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<sup>1</sup> Este texto foi apresentado pela Sra. Professora Maria da Glória Garcia no lançamento do volume do P<sup>o</sup>. João Lourenço, na Universidade Católica, no dia 22 de Outubro de 2020.

*Instituições Judaicas*; em terceiro lugar, o livro tem a chancela de qualidade a que a Universidade Católica Editora, e a sua fantástica equipa, nos habituou. Razões de sobejo para estar contente... Mas há mais, e não de somenos: a partilha da apresentação do livro com o biblista e também amigo Professor Alexandre Palma, e a presença em sala de tantos olhares que me dizem tanto, na singularidade com que os fixo. A todos, sem excepção, a minha gratidão, a minha alegria, o calor do meu coração.

Dividi a intervenção em três partes: I. Introdução – o autor e a obra; II. Peregrinação interior; III. Água que faz sede.

I. Introdução – o autor e a obra

O homem dá-se a conhecer pelo que faz. A sua interioridade exterioriza-se em gestos, comportamentos, em escutas, nas situações em que se projecta, nos momentos de encontro com familiares, nas reuniões com amigos, interlocutores do trabalho, conhecidos, em fragmentos de viagem, nas encruzilhadas da vida... em tudo vai construindo a sua coerência, aquilo que realmente é.

A minha memória encontra João Lourenço mal dormido, no cansaço extremo de um regresso do Instituto Inter-Universitário de Macau, de que era então Reitor, após inúmeras atribulações em aeroportos, directo para a sala de entrada da reitoria da Universidade Católica, à espera de ser recebido.

João Lourenço na alegria da celebração eucarística, desdobrando a palavra, elevando o cálice, ajoelhando, comunicando, no Seminário da Luz, no Dia da Universidade Católica.

João Lourenço em sala de aula, em conferência académica, na liderança da Faculdade de Teologia, no Conselho Superior, tolerante, conciliador, combativo, intransigente, consoante as circunstâncias.

João Lourenço, vindo de Braga, rejuvenescido pelos irmãos, sobrinhos e demais família.

João Lourenço segurando um ramo de túlipas, flor oriunda do Médio Oriente, competindo com o brilho nos olhos das histórias contadas de fugas da Jordânia, paisagens de pasmo na Síria e na Arménia, episódios extraordinários vividos na Palestina, em que é difícil não ver a presença do milagre.

João Lourenço na imagem de um presépio que me acompanha no cotidiano de confinamento em que vivo, muito antes deste a que um vírus nos obriga.

João Lourenço e os seus livros ao longo demais de três décadas, *Salmos, Oração do Povo de Deus* (2005), *História e Profecia: o Mundo dos Profetas Bíblicos* (2008), *Guia Bíblico e Cultural da Terra Santa* (2011), também *O mundo em que Jesus viveu – Cultura Judaica do Novo Testamento* (2005), e tantos outros, para além de muitos artigos científicos...

João Lourenço e a palavra escrita, a palavra que fica, a palavra que, depois de impressa já não é só de quem a escreveu.

Pedi-me o Professor João Lourenço para apresentar o seu livro *O Tempo de Jesus. O Mundo e as Instituições Judaicas*, agora também meu e de todos quantos o lerem.

Cortado o cordão umbilical que liga uma qualquer obra ao seu autor através da publicação, o texto adquire vida própria e bate à porta de cada um com sorriso diferente, recebendo um acolhimento igualmente diverso da parte de quem o lê. Uma coisa, porém, desde já afirmo: independentemente do específico acolhimento que cada leitor der ao livro *O Tempo de Jesus. O Mundo e as Instituições Judaicas*, tenho a certeza de que, tal como eu, vai ficar mais rico, mais atento ao que o rodeia, mais curioso relativamente ao que não sabe.

## II. Peregrinação interior

A afirmação contida no título do livro, *O Tempo de Jesus*, de imediato me tocou como uma interrogação. Perguntei-me: então, o tempo não faz parte de Jesus, no sentido em que Jesus incorpora o tempo? E continuei a interrogação: não é Jesus o Senhor do Tempo, de tal ordem que de Jesus se pode dizer "para sempre", o que de mais nenhum outro ser se pode dizer? Por outras palavras: não é Jesus, em certo sentido, o Absoluto Temporal?

Jesus e a sua Palavra não tem tempo – respondia eu à interrogação que havia colocado – porque Jesus os tem todos: passado, presente e futuro. Ou, sob outro ângulo: Jesus não tem tempo porque é passado e presente, e assim continuará no futuro.

O que leva também a afirmar, neste diálogo comigo mesma, que Jesus está fora do tempo que cada um de nós tem: o tempo do Professor João Lourenço, o tempo do Professor Alexandre Palma, o tempo da Dra. Anabela Antunes...

Não vos vou maçar mais com as minhas pobres lucubrações desarticuladas a partir do título do livro. Acrescento somente que, por elas caminhando, me vi, de súbito, a pairar no vazio. Senti o desconforto de quem ficou sem amarras e ... a *secura ácida* de quem tem fome.

E um grito surgiu do mais fundo de mim para alto clamar: Jesus existiu no tempo, porque o Pai o quis Vida. E a Vida para ser vivida, precisa de um específico tempo e de um lugar também ele especial. Disso sabemos nós, porque vivemos, porque temos vida, desde logo a que nos trouxe hoje à Católica, a este Anfiteatro com o nome do seu primeiro Reitor, José Bacelar e Oliveira, em razão de uma motivação particular. É a vida que nos une ao tempo, ao lugar. É a vida que nos une à identidade singular do nós.

A afirmação do título do livro do Professor João Lourenço, que me desafiou interrogativamente, encontra-me agora apaziguada. Porque o Pai quis que Jesus fosse Vida, Jesus tem de ter um tempo, o seu tempo. Mais, o sentido de ser Vida e a intensidade de a viver tornam-se ainda mais fortes quando situados num lugar com existência cultural e temporal, com pertença comunitária. E compreende-se que o conhecimento desse tempo, desse lugar, dessa comunidade envolvente tenda a aproximar-nos mais de Jesus, não só porque, pelos sentidos, nos leva mais facilmente até Ele, como ainda, também pelos sentidos, Ele vem mais facilmente até nós.

Com o Professor João Lourenço, profundo conhecedor da Bíblia e viajante inveterado por terras de Israel, Jordânia, Egito, Turquia, Arménia... por guia – e não conheço melhor –, comecei a peregrinar por entre as instituições judaicas do período intertestamentário e a vivência social de então, levada pela leitura de uma escrita simples mas atraente, uma escrita que flui como um rio e a todos, crentes e não crentes, convida a navegar.

O livro tem nove capítulos antecedidos da lista de siglas e abreviaturas usadas ao longo do texto e de uma introdução, que contextualiza o leitor e lhe dá a

conhecer as condicionantes, bem como as opções do Autor, seguidos de três importantes apêndices – o calendário litúrgico do judaísmo, um dicionário de termos judaicos e a estrutura do Tratado dos Patriarcas da Tradição Judaica –, fundamentais para bem compreender e acompanhar a leitura do livro. A enunciação das fontes e uma bibliografia geral diversificada, fundamentalmente estrangeira, põem termo ao texto que se estende por pouco mais de 300 páginas.

Quem ousa entrar na aventura do conhecimento de uma época histórica recuada e muito rica – e as palavras são-me sugeridas pelo Autor "o que faz desta tarefa uma ousadia quase impossível, uma espécie de atrevimento em que nos vamos aventurar" (p. 11) – tem de definir um objectivo preciso, bem como o itinerário para o alcançar.

O objectivo do Professor João Lourenço fica claramente traçado nas primeiras páginas: dar a conhecer ao leitor a história, a cultura e a religião da comunidade judaica ao tempo de Jesus. Mas o Autor não se fica por aqui. Quer mais. Quer que a leitura do seu texto permita ao leitor construir por si uma outra leitura, qual seja a de compreender mais profundamente a total novidade de Jesus, a mensagem radical, primeira e única que nos deixou.

Não admira que a escolha do itinerário tivesse obedecido a um questionamento realçado na vasta literatura bíblica das últimas décadas, um questionamento que, sem deixar de ser religioso, é mais abrangente, porque também, e porventura fundamentalmente, cultural, social, político. Assim, o itinerário leva-nos por fontes históricas distintas da Sagrada Escritura, através de um vasto e rico manancial de textos, que vão da literatura judaica extra bíblica à narrativa histórica e política, contendo um sem número de coordenadas diversificadas, epigráficas, apocalíticas – estas carregadas de simbolismo e de um passado sem presente que anuncia o futuro redentor –, não esquecendo os 173 textos encontrados nas 11 ou 12 (?) grutas de Qumran, conhecidos como Manuscritos do Mar Morto, e, ainda, os textos rabínicos...

De tudo resulta um vastíssimo acervo de coordenadas que, de *per si* e em conjunto, permitem melhor compreender, além do mais, a profundidade de sentido dos gestos de Jesus, o significado último do seu comportamento perante os



poderes instituídos, o amplo e diversificado alcance da penetração da sua palavra oral na dinâmica da comunidade de então.

Traçado o itinerário, o percurso inicia-se com a percepção da força da identidade cultural judaica (Introdução), construída ao longo dos séculos com os Patriarcas, desde logo, Abraão, chamado a formar um povo que acreditasse num Deus único. Um povo que conhece a fome, a escravidão no Egito, mas também a posterior libertação por Moisés, o percurso pelo deserto, a chegada à Terra Prometida, um povo que se vai diferenciando e isolando dos outros povos, primeiro pela profecia e pela especulação mística, mais tarde pela "devoção à Lei de Moisés (a *Torah*)" (p.25), mas também um povo que vai recebendo e assimilando a cultura grega, e, ainda, a gramática do exercício do poder vindo de Roma.

João Lourenço deixa clara a essencialidade deste início de percurso, já que é no interior do povo judaico, com a força identitária que os séculos cimentaram em redor da escrita, das suas muitas instituições e influências, das suas arraigadas tradições e *modus vivendi*, que se demarca, com não menos força e invulgar capacidade de sedução e expansão, o cristianismo.

Definido o período intertestamentário em cerca de 200 anos (do século II a. C. ao século I d. C.), João Lourenço conduz-nos pelos meandros do mundo político do povo judaico, no âmbito da realidade política internacional (Capítulo I), mostrando as sequelas do desmantelamento do império de Alexandre Magno, os períodos conturbados que se lhe seguiram, a revolta da família dos Macabeus, chefiada por Matatias, contra a presença da cultura grega na região, a restauração do estado judaico, a tomada de Samaria, o apoio dado por Roma, as desinteligências entre irmãos na assunção do poder político e o aproveitamento desta situação pelas legiões romanas que, comandadas por Pompeu, entraram na Palestina para restabelecer a paz. Corria o ano de 63 a. C.. E não faltaria muito tempo para Herodes, educado em Roma, ser proclamado "Rei dos Judeus" (37 a. C.), exercendo o poder ao longo de mais de três décadas (até ao ano 4 a. C.).

João Lourenço obriga-nos a fazer uma paragem aqui e lembra ter Herodes procurado, trabalhando em três frentes:

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- ✓ primeiro, ganhar a simpatia dos Judeus, através da realização de grandes obras, nomeadamente a construção do Templo, em Jerusalém,
- ✓ segundo, manter a simpatia dos Romanos, através da guerra sem tréguas aos inimigos internos,
- ✓ terceiro, desenvolver uma estratégia de centralização e concentração do poder, tanto no campo religioso como no político-administrativo.

E tudo numa sociedade acentuadamente dividida, de que os Evangelhos irão dar abundantemente nota – os Saduceus, os Fariseus, os Zelotas, os Essénios, os grupos apocalípticos, de cariz religioso (Capítulo V), mas também os Herodianos –, uma sociedade de complexo xadrez humano que vive cansada de intrigas e dramas na corte, lutas e pilhagens na cidade, inclusivamente nas regiões limítrofes, nomeadamente no Egipto e na Turquia, está afogada em impostos, ao mesmo tempo que aprende, de forma dura e dorida, a viver sob diferentes poderes, concretamente políticos, administrativos e religiosos, obedecendo a diferentes leis civis – das cidades, da Judeia, da longínqua Roma –, mas também a leis sagradas, em especial a lei de Moisés, a *Torah*.

O nascimento de Jesus coincide com a transição do poder político. Na senda dos últimos anos do reinado de Herodes, em que Herodes, sentindo-se desprezado pelo povo e sozinho numa fortaleza-palácio do deserto, conspira, além do mais, a morte de filhos e do cunhado, este período é também marcado pela instabilidade política e pela brutalidade.

Dividido o reino pelos três filhos vivos, divisão aceite pelo imperador romano, a Arquelau, além do mais, coube a Judeia e a Samaria, mas as arbitrariedades que cometeu foram tais e tantas que o imperador o teve de depor. Antipas, amante do luxo e ambicioso, recebeu a Galileia e a Pereia, a leste do rio Jordão, e procurou construir uma nova cidade, destinada a ser capital, competindo com Jerusalém, porém sem êxito. Por seu turno, a Filipe, de perfil justo e pacífico, bem diferente dos irmãos, coube um conjunto de territórios sobre os quais não há unanimidade quanto à exacta determinação, sabendo-se que foram anexados mais tarde pela Síria. Ao que vem de ser dito acresce o pedido feito por um grupo de judeus, em Roma, ao imperador, no sentido de não dar o poder a Arquelau ou

Antipas, deixando que os Judeus vivessem democraticamente, segundo as suas próprias leis, desde logo tornando a *Torah* a sua lei civil (p.81-3).

Sem pretender justapor a história de Jesus, constante do Novo Testamento, à narrativa que emerge dos historiadores, situada numa particular geografia, mas sempre movido pelo intuito de melhor compreender a condição messiânica de Jesus, a peregrinação que João Lourenço propõe no seu livro recorda que a Galileia e Jerusalém, mas também a Samaria e a margem do Jordão, são espaços que Jesus percorreu, onde esteve, onde foi.

É, por isso, expectável que, no conturbado e incerto ambiente político então vivido, a sociedade judaica tenha visto em Jesus o Messias, cuja voz encantatória lhe mostrava a existência de um outro tipo de poder, imerso em liberdade interior e alegria, um poder que, ao mesmo tempo, a redimia dos flagelos quotidianos.

Quanto ao ambiente social e económico daquela época (Capítulo II), um ambiente de crise permanente e generalizada, grande pobreza e precariedade das relações intercomunitárias, o caminho pelo qual João Lourenço opta introduz a afirmação da persistência, na cultura judaica, de um humanismo de fundo helénico, patente na liberdade de movimentos, na procura do belo, na busca da justiça comunitária – pese embora a hoje inadmissível aceitação da escravatura –, realidades que permitem compreender quanto Jesus se pôde tornar uma fonte de esperança, de que a multiplicação dos pães, contada nos Evangelhos, é somente um entre muitos, muitos exemplos.

Uma multiplicação que, sendo de pães, nos leva também, tendo João Lourenço por cicerone, ao melhor entendimento da dispersão multiplicada de homens pelo espaço geográfico, a tão falada diáspora judaica (Capítulo IV).

Iniciada longe no tempo com a expansão do mundo helénico e a conquista do Oriente por Alexandre Magno (332 a. C.), mais tarde com a expansão do Império Romano até à destruição de Jerusalém no ano 70 d. C., a diáspora leva a cultura judaica muito para além da Terra Prometida, e não só por razões políticas. Também pela necessidade de sobrevivência. Sendo a Palestina exígua e pobre, a procura de pão, que o mesmo significa a procura de terras férteis constituía um desafio à mobilidade, no desejo de alcançar regiões mais pródigas, como a bacia do

Nilo, a sul (diáspora em terras do Egito), e a Mesopotâmia, a norte (diáspora oriental). Emigrar e ter de adaptar-se a lugares estranhos e a culturas diferentes, algumas hostis, tornou-se marca da identidade judaica. Uma identidade que reganha força e sentido de união na adversidade, seja quando ergue barreiras a influências de fora, nomeadamente influências religiosas pagãs, seja quando solidifica as suas próprias instituições, nomeadamente a centralidade do Templo, que viria ser substituída, após a destruição deste, pela centralidade da lei, *Torah*. Uma identidade que, apesar de tudo, sempre soube cultivar o diálogo com os outros povos.

Desta importante coordenada que é a diáspora, por cuja compreensão caminhámos guiados por João Lourenço, se pode retirar, de um lado, que, de forma algo paradoxal, a diáspora contribuiu para a sobrevivência das instituições e cultura judaicas; de outro, que foi nessa diáspora que a expansão da mensagem de Jesus e a difusão do cristianismo por terras e povos distantes puderam encontrar o fio condutor, quantas vezes perante a hostilidade à pregação apostólica e, mesmo, a perseguição.

Em suma, a afirmação, a conformação e a consolidação da cultura cristã introduziram-se num amplo movimento de dispersão territorial, impregnaram esse movimento de esperança messiânica, e foram ainda mais além.

E a peregrinação proposta por João Lourenço prossegue: percorremos as instituições judaicas (Capítulo III), particularmente as mais representativas, em concreto o Templo, o Sinédrio e o Sacerdócio, depois as teologias do judaísmo intertestamentário (Capítulo VI), de seguida o culto judaico, mas também as suas festas e orações (Capítulo VII), a Sinagoga e a Comunidade (Capítulo VIII).

O Templo como lugar austero (p. 95), presente na tradição bíblica e extra bíblica – "um Deus, um só Templo, uma só Lei" (p. 100) –, lugar de fascínio e do tremendo (p.106), por isso mesmo também lugar central do judaísmo. O Templo erguido em Jerusalém por Herodes e a sua posterior destruição pelas tropas romanas de Tito (ano 70 d. C.). A exigente substituição da centralidade do Templo por uma outra, desprendida de lugar físico, assumida pela *Torah*, acompanha o declínio do poder do sacerdócio, que, no Templo, fazia a mediação com o sagrado.

Por sua vez, o Sinédrio acompanha o cumprimento da lei, dirime conflitos, julga os comportamentos (*Halakah*) de natureza religiosa, assim consolidando a tradição do judaísmo através da lei. Ao mesmo tempo, a construção e manutenção da unidade através da *Torah*, lei das leis, exige trabalho miúdo, quotidiano, de interpretação e actualização às circunstâncias da vida. Empreendido pelos rabinos, este trabalho permite desenvolver uma tradição oral que confere à identidade judaica uma consistência normativa.

Para tornar mais evidente a identidade judaica, João Lourenço faz-nos percorrer as que, em seu entender, são as teologias do judaísmo: de um lado, a santificação do Nome – "Sede santos, porque eu, vosso Deus, sou Santo na vossa Palavra", lê-se no *Levítico*, o livro por excelência do judaísmo (p. 193) –, de outro, a vivência da misericórdia como forma de estar no mundo – porque a misericórdia é a alma, é entrega, é a comunhão com o outro –, finalmente, o messianismo como prospetiva de futuro, traduzido numa teia de conceitos em que a esperança se revela no plural, fruto de tensões e de diálogos (p. 205), mas também – e, fundamentalmente, acrescento eu, peregrina que sou neste também meu peregrinar – como caminho da lei que é também o caminho do que é justo.

A voz messiânica de Jesus, neste tempo e, em especial, neste lugar em que, presencialmente, Ele é, tudo por seu intermédio se agiganta, porque Ele tudo convoca, tudo recolhe, tudo une, tudo expande, tudo multiplica.

A unidade de um povo volve-se na unidade da Humanidade. A comunhão com o outro, a essência do estar de cada um no mundo. E a lei (*Torah*, a lei das leis) que, pela escrita, equilibra as forças centrípetas e centrífugas, centralizando e difundindo, tem, pela luz do espírito, em Jesus, simultaneamente a fonte e o caminho, a memória e a promessa, o testemunho encarnado da própria Vida.

Não surpreende – diz-nos o nosso guia João Lourenço – que o culto e a oração, as vestes e os cânticos, a festa e os ritos, particularmente na sua ligação com os ciclos da natureza e das estações e com o calendário lunar, bem como os respectivos textos de suporte, que integram e sustentam a tradição e a cultura judaicas, influenciem o cristianismo.

Como tão-pouco surpreende que a centralidade da *Torah*, no judaísmo, após a destruição do Templo de Jerusalém, tendo gerado rituais próprios de celebração, tenha permitido, no cristianismo, a transferência dessa centralidade para Jesus, com tudo o que essa transferência globalmente implica:

- a festa celebra-se em qualquer pedaço de terra,
- a oração individual apela à interioridade de cada um, em qualquer momento do dia,
- e a oração colectiva convoca, de um lado, o ambiente familiar, onde quer que exista, de outro, o ambiente comunitário, numa qualquer capela ou catedral

(tal como, no judaísmo, anciãos e homens bons ainda hoje se reúnem para a leitura, interpretação e pregação da *Torah*).

A peregrinação está no fim. O Capítulo IX, o mais pequeno do livro – a peregrinação foi grande; é preciso descansar –, tem por título: "Olhar o mundo judaico a partir do Novo Testamento". O objectivo inicialmente proposto é alcançado. A Carta aos Hebreus – um texto no limite hermenêutico torna claro terem todas as expressões da tradição cultural judaica sido recebidas por Jesus e terem sido por Jesus superadas.

Com Jesus, inicia-se um novo tempo, "o tempo da plenitude".

III – Água que faz sede

É hora de terminar. A terceira e última parte da minha intervenção – "Água que faz sede" – contém, simultaneamente, júbilo, curiosidade e uma recomendação.

O júbilo resulta do prazer de ter lido o livro do Professor João Lourenço *O Tempo de Jesus. O Mundo e as Instituições Judaicas* e com ele embarcado em viagem por espaços, tempos e, particularmente, por saberes que tiram a sede, a água de que necessitamos para viver. Uma água que, em nome de Jesus e do que, no seu tempo, Jesus disse, fez e deu testemunho vivo, compromete cada um e todos na melhoria da convivência social, na partilha do muito ou pouco que houver, na atenção aos outros para que a dignidade, em especial dos mais pobres e frágeis, seja respeitada, no contributo para mais e melhor justiça na comunidade.

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Quanto à curiosidade, esta decorre de o livro, apesar da água disponibilizada, me ter deixado com sede de saber mais, em concreto, sobre a mulher judaica, o seu papel na história e no dia-a-dia da construção da identidade do povo a que pertence. Sei que, na cultura judaica, *Torah* simboliza a luz (p.205); sei que a festa da luz se celebra perto do Natal (p. 260); sei que é a mãe da família quem, antes do *Qiddush*, acende as velas (p. 270), mas a curiosidade que o livro do Professor João Lourenço em mim despertou leva-me a querer mais. Porque Deus, ao escolher um tempo e um lugar para Jesus, começou por escolher uma mulher, Maria.

Quanto à recomendação: quem tenha sede de saber mais sobre a cultura judaica e sobre o tempo de Jesus, mas também quem julga tudo saber e não precisar de saber mais, que caminhe como eu caminhei pelas páginas do livro do Professor João Lourenço, que procure como eu procurei, e encontrará.

A teal-colored graphic element consisting of two overlapping trapezoidal shapes. The word "INFORMAÇÕES" is written in white, uppercase, sans-serif font across the center of the graphic.

**INFORMAÇÕES**





## INFORMAÇÕES SOBRE *GAUDIUM SCIENDI*

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- Os artigos devem ser submetidos à *Gaudium Sciendi*, Revista *on-line* da Sociedade Científica, em formato electrónico, para o seguinte endereço: [gaudiumsciendi@fch.lisboa.ucp.pt](mailto:gaudiumsciendi@fch.lisboa.ucp.pt)
- Os textos devem incluir, em nota de rodapé, um C.V. do autor com aproximadamente 1.720 caracteres incluído os espaços.
- Os artigos podem ser submetidos em Português, Inglês, Francês e Espanhol.
- As publicações devem conter, obrigatoriamente, um resumo em português e em língua estrangeira com cerca de 2.620 caracteres com espaço, seguido de palavras-chave, no máximo de cinco.
- Os ensaios não deverão exceder 52.360 caracteres com espaço (c. 20 pp. A4), incluindo os resumos, palavras-chave e bibliografia.
- As resenhas críticas não deverão ter mais de 7.854 caracteres com espaço (c. 3 pp. A4). Os colaboradores devem conservar em seu poder um duplicado de todo o material enviado para a *Gaudium Sciendi*.

### FORMATAÇÃO

- **FORMATAÇÃO:** Word ou RTF, letra Calibri 12, alinhamento justificado, espaçamento entre linhas 1,5. Citações com mais de 3 linhas—espaçamento entre linhas 1.
- **TÍTULO:** Além do título do artigo, deve incluir o nome e a universidade do autor.
- **EPÍGRAFE** ou citação inicial (se houver): alinhada à direita, seguida de uma linha em branco.
- **PARÁGRAFO NORMAL:** justificado, indentação: esquerda: 0 cm, direita: 0 cm, primeira linha: 0,7cm.
- **CITAÇÕES COM MAIS DE TRÊS LINHAS:** separadas do texto por uma linha em branco, indentação: esquerda e direita 1 cm.
- **ASPAS E PARÊNTESES:** Devem ser sempre usadas aspas rectas "" e não curvas como «» e "" e parênteses curvos (...) em vez de rectos [...], excepto na indicação da data da 1ª edição nas bibliografias.
- **NOTAS:** Devem ser usadas notas de rodapé e não notas no fim do artigo.
- **VÍRGULAS E PONTOS FINAIS NAS CITAÇÕES:** Devem ser incluídos depois das aspas. Dois pontos e ponto e virgule também devem ser colocados depois das aspas.

- **NÚMERO SOBRE ELEVADO (*SUPERSCRIPT*) INDICATIVO DAS NOTAS:** deve ser colocado depois do ponto final ou vírgula, dois pontos ou ponto e vírgula.
- **USO DE MAIÚSCULAS NOS TÍTULOS:** Devem ser seguidas as normas internacionais, incluindo o uso de maiúscula na primeira palavra do subtítulo depois dos dois pontos.  
Exemplo: *As Humanidades e as Ciências: Dois Modos de Ver o Mundo.*
- **REFERÊNCIAS BIBLIOGRÁFICAS:** Tanto no texto, como nas notas de rodapé assim como nas referências bibliográficas no final dos artigos, devem ser seguidas as normas internacionais de *The Chicago Manual Style*.
- **IMAGENS:** Se os autores incluírem nos seus textos ilustrações, tabelas ou longas citações que tenham sido previamente publicadas noutra local são responsáveis pela obtenção dos respectivos direitos de autor, devendo comprová-lo à Direcção.

## CONSELHO EDITORIAL



Os Conselhos Editoriais são uma antiga tradição em todas as revistas. Actualmente, embora não detenham o poder decisório de outros tempos, têm ainda um papel importante nas análises críticas que fazem de todos os materiais, sendo de sua responsabilidade zelar pelo conteúdo científico e pela imagem das publicações.

O Conselho Editorial da *Gaudium Sciendi* é o sector responsável pela edição e publicação da Revista, que tem por objectivo ser um veículo de difusão científica semestral e interdisciplinar de artigos de autores da Sociedade Científica da Universidade Católica e de outras instituições académicas que queiram ter seus trabalhos publicados e difundidos no país e no estrangeiro. Tem também como objectivo contribuir para a divulgação do pensamento crítico e da pesquisa. Uma das competências do Conselho é estabelecer a política editorial da publicação relativamente às suas diferentes Secções de Artigos, Recensões Críticas, Poesia e Cartas à Directora, colaborando, assim, directamente, com a Directora, que, por sua vez, articula com a Presidência da Sociedade.

O Conselho Editorial da *Gaudium Sciendi* é composto por três membros da Sociedade Científica, que são professoras da Universidade Católica e especialistas em diferentes áreas científicas. Na sua constituição, procurou-se a diversidade tanto nas áreas de ensino como nos níveis de senioridade.

### COMPOSIÇÃO

O Conselho Editorial é constituído por professores doutorados que representam várias áreas do conhecimento e, actualmente, é composto pelos seguintes membros:

- Prof. Doutora Maria Laura Bettencourt Pires, Directora da *Gaudium Sciendi* e Investigadora Sénior do CECC.
- Prof. Doutora Ana Costa Lopes, Docente e Investigadora Sénior do CEPCEP e do CECC.
- Prof. Doutora Marília Lopes dos Santos, Docente e Investigadora Sénior do CECC.

### COMPETÊNCIAS

O Conselho Editorial tem por finalidade principal viabilizar a publicação da revista electrónica *Gaudium Sciendi*, onde serão difundidos textos originais resultantes de actividades de investigação e ensino e cujo valor técnico, científico, artístico e literário tenha sido assegurado pelo Conselho de Avaliação (*Blind Peer Review*) da revista. Além de promover e divulgar a produção científica multidisciplinar da comunidade universitária em que se integra, a revista edita também artigos de autores nacionais e estrangeiros de outras instituições, desde que se articulem com a sua política editorial. O Conselho deve igualmente ter o propósito de difundir novas ideias e, através da atenção prestada ao conteúdo e à técnica, apostar no desenvolvimento de um projecto editorial e de um *design* gráfico diferenciados, seguindo a tendência do actual mercado editorial universitário.

### FUNCIONAMENTO

O Conselho Editorial reunirá, ordinariamente, de três em três meses, e extraordinariamente, quando convocado pelo Presidente da Sociedade Científica, pela Directora da revista ou pela maioria de seus membros.

### EDIÇÃO DIGITAL

A Doutora Dália Guerreiro (Universidade de Évora) é responsável pela edição digital da *Gaudium Science*.

## CONSELHO CONSULTIVO



O Conselho Consultivo da *Gaudium Sciendi* é uma comissão externa permanente de aconselhamento científico que actua como órgão de consulta, apoio e participação na definição das linhas gerais de actuação da Directora da revista.

### CONSTITUIÇÃO

O Conselho Consultivo é composto por académicos, investigadores e personalidades de reconhecido mérito e gabarito científico, tanto portugueses como estrangeiros, convidados pela Directora por serem especialistas nas matérias publicadas pela revista.

### DECISÕES

As decisões do Conselho Consultivo são tomadas por maioria simples e não são vinculativas.

### CANDIDATURAS

Os candidatos a membros do Conselho Consultivo são propostos pela Directora da *Gaudium Sciendi* ao Presidente da Direcção da Sociedade Científica, a quem cabe aceitar ou recusar a candidatura.

É uma honra e um aval científico para a *Gaudium Sciendi* que o seu Conselho Consultivo inclua nomes de académicos de tão grande prestígio internacional como os de:

- Luísa Leal de Faria (Universidade Católica Portuguesa), Portugal
- Molefi Asante (Temple University), EUA
- Pedro Louzada da Fonseca (Universidade Federal de Goiás), Brasil
- Ian Campbell (University of Edinburgh), UK
- Dália Guerreiro (Universidade de Évora), Portugal
- Leonídio Ferreira (Direcção Diário de Notícias) Portugal
- Georges Rousseau (Oxford University), UK
- Ana Paula Machado (Universidade Aberta), Portugal
- Catarina Burnay (Universidade Católica Portuguesa), Portugal
- Gerald Bär (Universidade Aberta), Portugal





## CONSELHO DE AVALIAÇÃO

O êxito editorial da publicação depende da qualidade dos artigos publicados, que é, obviamente, assegurada pelos autores mas também pelo Conselho de Avaliação. Pertencendo, contudo, à Directora a última palavra no que se refere à edição pois é da sua responsabilidade assegurar a qualidade, a correcção e a variedade do conteúdo científico, que deverá, tanto quanto possível, ser interactivo.



Os textos enviados para a *Gaudium Sciendi*, desde que sejam adequados à linha editorial previamente estabelecida e não tenham sido publicados antes, serão avaliados pela Directora e revistos segundo o sistema de *Blind Peer Review* e submetidos, em regime de anonimato, ao parecer de especialistas da respectiva área científica, sendo o autor notificado da decisão do Conselho de Avaliação. O artigo não deverá conter qualquer indicação de autoria ou vínculo institucional, para que o material seja analisado de maneira absolutamente impessoal.

Nesse processo, os nomes dos avaliadores permanecem em sigilo, sendo também junto deles mantido o anonimato dos articulistas. Os dados relacionados à titulação, afiliação institucional e profissional devem ser inseridos apenas num dos exemplares enviados. Caso sejam necessárias informações adicionais que vinculem o texto ao autor, as mesmas serão mencionadas na versão final para publicação.

Dos pareceres emitidos, podem constar sugestões de alterações, acréscimos ou adaptações necessárias ao aprimoramento do texto examinado, a serem efectuadas com a concordância do autor. Após a aprovação dos textos, os autores são informados e feitos os necessários ajustes dos trabalhos de acordo com as normas de submissão de artigos da

***Gaudium Sciendi.*** Ao contrário do que sucede em algumas revistas universitárias, trata-se de um método de revisão que deve funcionar como um estímulo e não como um ataque e cujo objectivo principal é assegurar a qualidade e o mérito científico da publicação para benefício tanto dos leitores como dos autores.



**About us**



## ABOUT US

### CONTACTS

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*Gaudium Sciendi* is a bi-annual, open and free access online magazine published since 2012 by the Scientific Society of the Portuguese Catholic University. It has been conceived to be read online on a computer, a tablet or any other mobile device. The publication of *Gaudium Sciendi* on the Net reaches readers all over the world and creates new opportunities that include being accessible at any time and place, in Portuguese as well as in foreign libraries. It can also, if the reader prefers, be printed and read as a book.

### OPEN ACCESS POLICY

The magazine offers freely to its readers the type of scientific information that gives them "the joy of knowing", as implicit in its title *Gaudium Sciendi* thus contributing to a better democratization of knowledge. Although following a policy of open access, the contacts of the authors will be kept private.

### OBJECTIVES OF GAUDIUM SCIENDI

The editorial activity of the magazine follows principles aimed at assuring the freedom of initiative and cooperation and, therefore, *Gaudium Sciendi* accepts and encourages the collaboration of all the members of Sociedade Científica as well as of academics of the Catholic University and other Portuguese and foreign institutions who are interested in research, tuition and culture, if they want to attain the same objectives and values, thus trying to motivate inter-institutional interchange.

*Gaudium Sciendi* follows an editorial policy that also aims at establishing contacts and providing occasions for meetings and debates of researchers, authors, students and readers, in the different moments of their scientific career and academic education. Another of its purposes is to promote opportunities for a critical reflection and for a dialogue about the themes presented in the magazine and to provide occasions for an intellectual debate and for academic cooperation, in an interdisciplinary perspective, that contribute to develop the formation and the interest for scientific research among its readers, primarily the younger ones. To attain this goal, it would be good to have regular contributions of the associates of all the different "Sections" of SCUCP. The magazine also

gladly accepts collaborations of academics of other institutions, if they follow the directives of *Gaudium Sciendi* and the rules for the submission of articles. *Gaudium Sciendi* also wants to contribute to keep its readers – whether they are SCUCP associates or professors, actual or former students or researchers at Universidade Católica – connected to their *alma mater*. That connection can be made not only by regularly reading the magazine but also by sending articles or, in a more intervening way, by writing short texts to the Sections "Debate", "Letters to the Editor" and "Interviews".

The magazine also wants, within the scope of its possibilities, to contribute to publicly demonstrate, through all the collaborations that it gets, that all those who are connected either to the Sociedade Científica or to Universidade Católica are proud to belong to those institutions. By keeping our readers informed about the results of undergoing scientific research or about the professional success of former students or researchers as well as with the publication of texts, which are related with events organized by Sociedade Científica and by Universidade Católica, *Gaudium Sciendi* also aims at contributing to demonstrate how both institutions are important in Portugal and abroad.

#### **THEMATIC NUMBERS**

Although one of the aims of *Gaudium Sciendi* is to publish of academic articles, whose themes are free, there are also some thematic numbers that focus a central topic, such as " The Linguistic-Cultural Transversability of the Bible" (January 2013), "The Law" (July 2013) and "The Concept of Soul – From Ancient Egypt to the World of Matrix" (June 2014).

#### **INFORMATION FOR THE AUTHORS**

We welcome contributions about a wide range of subjects from different research and scientific areas. The Editor is responsible for all the images included in the articles unless the authors have chosen the illustrations themselves and, in that case, it will be mentioned in a note.

#### **BLIND PEER REVIEW**

The articles will be anonymously submitted to blind peer-review by recognized scholarly experts on the theme.

#### **SECTIONS**

There are several sections in the magazine, such as the Editorial, Articles, Debates, Critical Reviews, Poetry, Interviews and Letters to the Editor.

## RULES FOR PUBLICATION

1. The articles for publication, which should not have been printed previously, should be submitted to *Gaudium Sciendi*, the *on-line magazine* of Sociedade Científica, by e-mail to the following address: [gaudiumsciendi@fch.lisboa.ucp.pt](mailto:gaudiumsciendi@fch.lisboa.ucp.pt)
2. The texts should include a footnote with a C. V. of the author of around 1720 characters including spaces.
3. The articles can be written either in Portuguese, English, French or Spanish.
4. The essays must include an abstract in Portuguese and in a foreign language with c. 2620 characters with spaces, followed by no more than five key-words.
5. The texts should not have more than 52.360 characters with spaces (20 pp. A4), including the abstracts, key-words and bibliography.
6. Book reviews should not have more than 7854 characters with spaces (3 pp. A4).
7. Format: Word or RTF, Size A4, font Calibri 12, Bold, justified, space between lines 1,5.
8. The authors should keep a duplicate of all the materials sent to *Gaudium Sciendi*.
9. Footnotes, bibliographical citations as well as bibliographical references at the end of the articles, should follow the international rules of *The Chicago Manual Style*.





## EDITORIAL BOARD



Editorial Boards are a longstanding tradition in every newspaper. Nowadays, although they no longer have the deciding power they used to have, they still have an important role in the critical analysis they make of every material presented for publication, and it is their responsibility to watch over the scientific content and the public image of the publications.

The Editorial Board of *Gaudium Sciendi* is responsible for the edition and the publication of the magazine, which is published twice a year and whose objective is to be a means of transmission of scientific interdisciplinary articles written by members of Sociedade Científica of Universidade Católica and of other academic institutions who want to have their work published and acknowledged at home and abroad. It also has the objective of contributing to the knowledge and the disclosure of critical reflections and research. One of the capacities of the Board is the establishment of the editorial policy of the magazine regarding its different Sections such as Articles, Book Reviews, Poetry, and Interviews and, thus directly collaborating with the Director, who, on the other hand, is the link with the President of the Society.

The recently created Editorial Board of *Gaudium Sciendi* is composed by three members of Sociedade Científica, who are Professors at Universidade Católica Portuguesa and reknown scholars in different research areas. Both the diversity in the tuition fields and the levels of seniority were taken into account for the constitution of the Board.

### ORGANIZATION

The Editorial Board is constituted by PhD Professors who represent several fields

of knowledge and, nowadays, its members are:

- Professor Maria Laura Bettencourt Pires, Chief Editor of *Gaudium Sciendi* and Senior Researcher of the Research Center for Communication and Culture.
- Professor Ana Costa Lopes, Executive Editor and Senior Researcher of the Research Center for Portuguese Culture and of the Research Center for Communication and Culture.
- Professor Marília dos Santos Lopes, Executive Editor and Senior Researcher of the Research Center for Communication and Culture.

#### **DUTIES AND OBLIGATIONS**

The main objective of the Editorial Board is to assure the publication of the on-line magazine *Gaudium Sciendi*, thus making known original texts that result both from teaching and research activities and are mainly produced by members of Sociedade Científica of Universidade Católica Portuguesa – once their technical, scientific, artistic and literary value have been assured by the *Blind Peer Review*. Besides promoting and publicizing the multidisciplinary scientific production of the academic community in which it is integrated, the magazine also publishes articles written by Portuguese and foreign authors from other institutions, if they follow the editorial policy. The Board must also aim at diffusing new ideas and - due to its care for the content and technological aspects – contributing to the development of an editorial project and search for a graphical *design* that is distinct from others, thus following the tendencies of our days academic editorial market.

#### **MEETINGS**

The Editorial Board will meet, as a rule, every three months and extraordinarily, whenever convoked by the President of Sociedade Científica, by the Director of the magazine or by the majority of its members.

#### **DIGITAL EDITION**

Professor Dália Guerreiro (University of Évora) is responsible for digital edition of *Gaudium Science*.

## **ADVISORY BOARD**

The Advisory Board of *Gaudium Sciendi* is an external permanent committee that gives scientific advice and support to the Director and participates in the definition of general editorial directives. It is constituted by Portuguese and international academics, researchers and other personalities, who, being well known for their merit and scientific level, are considered experts on the topics published by *Gaudium Sciendi*. The members are invited by the Director, who proposes their names to the President of the Society. The decisions of the Advisory Board are not mandatory.

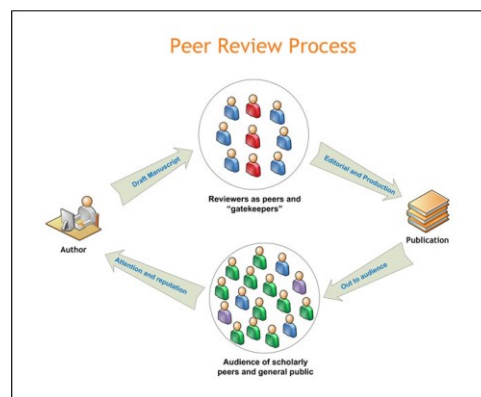
The Advisory Board of *Gaudium Sciendi* is currently constituted by:

- Luísa Leal de Faria (Universidade Católica Portuguesa), Portugal
- Molefi Asante (Temple University), EUA
- Pedro Louzada da Fonseca (Universidade Federal de Goiás), Brasil
- Ian Campbell (University of Edinburgh), UK
- Dália Guerreiro (Universidade de Évora), Portugal
- Leonídio Ferreira (Direcção Diário de Notícias) Portugal
- Georges Rousseau (Oxford University), UK
- Ana Paula Machado (Universidade Aberta), Portugal
- Catarina Burnay (Universidade Católica Portuguesa), Portugal
- Gerald Bär (Universidade Aberta), Portugal



## BLIND PEER REVIEW

The editorial success of the magazine depends on the scientific quality of the articles, which is, obviously assured by the authors but it also depends on the Blind Peer Review Process of evaluation. The Editor, being responsible for the quality, the correction and the variety of the scientific material published in the magazine, has, however, the last word.



The texts sent to *Gaudium Sciendi*, which should not have been published previously, will be evaluated by the Editor and then reviewed according to the *Blind Peer Review Process*. The names of the members of the Blind Peer Review Board as well as those of the authors, whose texts they evaluate, are kept secret. The writers will be informed of the evaluation of their texts and also of any required correction.