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**MARIALVISMO:  
A MORAL DISCOURSE IN THE  
PORTUGUESE TRANSITION TO MODERNITY**

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**Marialvismo:  
A Portuguese Moral Discourse On Masculinity, Social Hierarchy and  
Nationhood in the Transition to Modernity.**

**Miguel Vale de Almeida.**

During fieldwork in the Portuguese Southern province of Alentejo on discourses and practices of hegemonic masculinity, I interacted mostly with working class men. They worked in the local marble quarries, an economic activity which has fully replaced ancient latifundia agriculture. The quarry owners are themselves of the same social extraction as the workers; their parents were landless journeymen. However, through manipulation of patron-client relations, godparenthood, and leasing contracts, they were able to become capitalists, a process that was much helped by the fact that marble is a rare and valuable ornamental stone the trade of which is strongly imbedded in the world economy. The quarry owners display all the traits of the nouveau riche, particularly in consumption practices. But they have also managed to claim as their own the traits that used to belong to latifundia owners; they did so by becoming patrons to their employees and by displaying symbolic traits which were characteristic of the ancient society, namely, equestrian bullfighting, which they now sponsor.

The nephew of the wealthiest quarry owner was, at the time of fieldwork, a 25 year old nation-wide famous equestrian bullfighter. Many of my working class informants were his employees, as he already owned a share in the quarries. They had been schoolmates and had played together in the streets as children. They had gone hunting together as adolescents and, for a while, had engaged together in "predatory sexuality", i.e., going out to the neighbouring towns' brothels and discotheques. However, ever since an employer/employee relationship was established between them, friendship cooled off. According to my informants, he had assumed "ares de grande senhor" (literally, "lordly airs"): he no longer joined the other men for drinks at the café, he no longer went out with them; he had also become an authoritarian employer; he had appropriated all the embodied features of a Marialva, but lacked the complementary aspect of enjoying the company of the lower classes. This was particularly obvious during bullfights: his eighteenth-century outfit, his "nobility" were a source of scorn and joking on the part of my informants. Briefly, he was trying to be a Marialva, but was not succeeding. When it came to popular, improvised bullfights, the workers did it on foot. The garraíadas are manhood tests also, but they lack the symbolic capital of Bullfighting on horseback.

Marialvismo has not been granted much importance in my written work (Vale de Almeida 1994): it was a mere footnote in the text. But I have come to realize that Marialvismo is a cultural text that was very important in the transition from ancien régime to modernity in Portugal, and not just in "my" village: it establishes a close relationship between a vision of social hierarchy together with a vision of gender, providing a grid for understanding constructs of masculinity, emotions, social hierarchy and national identity. It is recurrently called upon in situations of crisis and change in the social organization of

those aspects. It is the only coherent cultural text in Southern Portuguese culture tying them together, but it can also be seen as marginal, in the sense that it is put down by modern bourgeois discourses. Still, even modern bourgeois visions of nation, morals, emotions and gender, occasionally call upon Marialvismo (and the arenas where it occurs: Fado, Bullfighting, and the messianic discourse of Sebastianismo) as epytomes of national identity, as the link between the "now" (a modern country in the European Union) and the "always" ("Portugueseness").

This paper is intended as an essay in cultural criticism. It is not mainly concerned with theoretical issues in social anthropology; it draws mostly on ethnographic, literary and historiographic materials, and its purpose is to contribute with a case that is most probably unknown to the majority of readers. Marialvismo, as a moral and ideological discourse on hierarchy, gender and national identity shaping specific social practices, is here understood as a form resistance to modern forms of the social organization of gender, class and national identity. It is a discourse in the past tense. It is pushed to the margins by hegemonic bourgeois and modern discourses, but it resists by means of a claim to a moral precedence that would ultimately rest upon a pure essence of nationality, masculinity and social hierarchy.

The theme of Marialvismo can be found in three arenas: the world of Fado singers and fans; the world of Bullfighting professionals and fans; and the political and literary discourses around Sebastianismo and Saudosismo (which were temporarily turned into a political ideology known as Integralismo in the first quarter of the century). The common aspects of these are several. First, the meeting of two opposite ends of the social hierarchy, in an attempt to deny class conflict: in Bullfighting the aristocratic horseriders and the plebeian forcados (those who tame the bull with their bare hands); in Fado, the bohemian aristocrats of the nineteenth-century attracted toward the exotic of the urban lumpen-proletarian singers; in Integralismo, the mythological figures of divinely inspired kings side by side with a nation of pious peasants. Secondly, the characters of the Marialva, the fadista (Fado singer), the providencial king, the horserider, are prototypes of a masculinity which contrasts with a "lack of masculinity" in the bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, in modernity. Thirdly, these two aspects are used as metaphors for a national identity that was perverted by modernity and foreign influences: Fado was constructed as the mirror of the national soul (as nostalgic, accustomed to suffering and unwanting of change), Bullfighting in the Portuguese version was constructed as the symbolic display of unchanging social structures, and Sebastianismo reflects the perennial longing for a Saviour who will re-establish (social) order. Integralismo was actually an attempt to knit together these elements in a political programme based on corporativism and anti-modernism.

Dictionaries define the word "Marialva" in the following way: "Relative to the rules of horseriding according to the system established by the Marquis of Marialva. Someone who rides well; a good rider. Depreciative: someone who likes bullfights and horses and has a reputation of extravagance and idleness. "Fadista" who belongs to an honourable family or appears to". The Marquis of Marialva proper lived from 1713 to 1799 and was the author of "Luz da Liberal e Nobre Arte de Cavalaria" ("Light of the Liberal and Noble Art of Horseriding"), popularly known as "Marialva's Treaty". One of his nineteenth-century descendants was known as a very popular character and patron of the dark alleys of Mouraria neighbourhood in Lisbon, where the Fado was first sung; he was also skillful in equestrian bullfighting, called the "Art of Marialva" in his honour.

The period of the rising of Marialvismo was, therefore, late eighteenth-century, that is, the time of the first attempt - by prime minister Marquis of Pombal - to introduce a rationalistic and enlightened policy in Portugal. Pombal's period was a time of crisis and incipient transition from ancien régime to modernity. But, according to Cardoso Pires (1970 [1960]), the country was too weak in its urban and rationalist forces to oppose the strong parochial trends of the rural gentry (fidalgua), which was characterized by immobility, the fear of long-range planning, and the belief in God in a miraculous version. The Marialva was the embodiment of this, in a reaction against Enlightenment. For Cardoso Pires, the Marialva was the Portuguese anti-libertine, guided by the notions of House and Blood, a supporter of a type of economy and politics based on what the author calls irrationalism (1970:9).

The main opposition established by Cardoso Pires is that between provincial and cosmopolitan, Marialva and libertine. The common sense confusion between Marialva and libertine should not be established: the latter had a longing for happiness, a passion for change and cosmopolitanism. He was, like Casanova said, le voluptueux qui raisonne; in libertine novels not only Eros is personally and socially liberating, but changes in gender inequality are proposed. No such thing with the Marialva who supports most of all the continuity of social and gender hierarchies; as a matter of fact, nothing could be more foreign to a Marialva than Madame Merteuil's statement je suis mon ouvrage. To be "one's work" would imply an idea of individuality and freedom, in the Enlightened sense, impossible to find in the Marialva. Machismo and manly bravado - attributes of the Marialva - as well as obedience to the "voice of Blood" are incompatible with the acceptance of equality among lovers (Cardoso Pires 1970:79).

### **Fado, Women, and Bulls**

Patriarchal discourses on women and men, and the symbolism of Fado and Bullfighting do not go together solely in the anthropologist's mind. Pepe Luis, in a popular, pamphlet-like book written in 1945 (Fado, Mulheres e Toiros, Fado, Women and Bulls) tried to demonstrate the indissociability of Fado and Bullfighting. He starts with the description of an episode, that of the death of the Count of Arcos, during which the noble (altiva, meaning high and proud) figure of the Marquis of Marialva came down to the arena in order to avenge the death of his beloved son, "killing with his sword the murderous bull, not far from the spot where the young and generous fidalgo had forever fallen, to the sound of an anguishing cry from a female bosom" (Luis 1945:21). Episodes such as this are part of a tauromachic martirology and, according to the author, "that is what makes the guitar moan".

The eighteenth-century was the time when the Bullfighting gala most flourished, with a strong symbolic investment in the characters of the horserider (cavaleiro) and his courage. Some of its theatrical rules were established then and have been kept up to today, such as the use of eighteenth-century clothes. Pepe Luis says that "the Portuguese were always like that. When the ships followed a course of mystery, the crew sang the Fado (...); back home, after the voyage and the conquests in Africa and India, they fought the bulls" (Luis 1945:58). The defense of the Marialva code, strongly tied with an image of

nationhood, is summarized in Júlio Dantas's<sup>1</sup> sentence, quoted by Luis: "A guitar in his hands, a good horse between the knees, a bull straight ahead, and there you have a Portuguese!" (Luis 1945:63).

Pepe Luis was from the province of Ribatejo, like Alentejo, a region of latifundia economy. His hometown was Vila Franca de Xira, known as the capital of tauromachy in Portugal. The construction of a regional identity with the use of gender imagery, by means of a ritual and performative form, is outstanding in the sentence in which he says that it is during the bullfight that, in Ribatejo, "man, with the strength of his intelligence, achieves splendid feats of domination which make the campino<sup>2</sup> a heroic figure". He proceeds: "in Vila Franca still dwells the noble (altaneiro, meaning tall, who looks down on) spirit of the race and the expression of Marialvismo, which are the epitome of the gifts a Portuguese should be proud of" (Luis 1945: 79). His positive defense of Marialvismo is also legitimated by intellectual characters. He quotes Ramalho Ortigão<sup>3</sup>, who stood against bullfighting opponents: "To the reasonings of smoothness of customs, of humanity, of philosophy, of civilization, which are invoked by those who lead this contraption [meaning the country], I, humble interpreter of the people, have but one answer: may God damn the consumptive zeal of so many fairies, so many weakbones, so many reptiles" (in Luis 1945:79).

Marialvismo became a current expression in the late eighteenth-century and its contents were fully established in the nineteenth-century. It involved a set of moral and ideological precepts: bravery, nobility, national pride, honour, virility. It established the lower classes and the aristocracy as the real representatives of nationhood. It defined Fado and Bullfighting as the main arenas for the expression of these ideas. And, finally, it was strongly marked by embodied and performative forms of masculine social precedence. It started at the time of the first (and aborted) attempt to introduce Enlightened policies in Portugal, and thrived throughout the period of constant struggle between Absolutist and Liberal factions in the nineteenth-century, including the period of the first Republic (1911-1926), itself a continuation of Liberalism. With the military coup of 1926 and the fascist dictatorship of Salazar, most of Marialvismo ideas were incorporated into the regime's cultural ideology. In 1939, José Bacelar wrote in Seara Nova (an intellectual periodical from the opposition): "In the ruling classes today a kind of 'marialvismo' rules, that is, a deep spite for all spiritual things, which are seen as manifestations or signs of (...) a tasteless bourgeois attitude and of general de-masculinization [of the nation]" (in Cardoso Pires 1970:74).

## **Fado**

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1. Júlio Dantas was a poet and playwright at the turn of the century. He was the target of much scorn and attack from poets in the Modernist movement.

2. Campinos are horseriding bull-herders. Dictator Salazar's cultural policy from the 1930s on promoted the figure of the campino to the status of a symbol of national (masculine) identity. Forcados, Bullfighters on foot who try to stop a bull with their bare hands, dress as campinos.

3. Another turn-of-the-century writer. He strongly supported bullfighting as a virile activity. Curiously, however, he attacked the nostalgic and fatalistic contents of Fado, which only demonstrates how these cultural constructs are objects of ideological dispute.

"Guitar weeping the Fado/ often you remind me/ the life, and the past dream/ of the Portuguese people/ For the Portuguese soul/ sighs within you/ guitars that pray/ my grandfathers' Fado" (Celestino David, 1901, O Livro de um Português, in Pinto de Carvalho (Tinop) 1903).

According to ethnologist Pais de Brito (1984), the Fado emerged in certain Lisbon neighbourhoods during the second half of the nineteenth-century. The process was similar to that of the Argentinian tango, the French songs from factory towns, the Brazilian samba, or the rebetika of Athens. In all cases, they are phenomena of industrial or harbour towns in the last century, in social milieux characterised by relative social marginalization. The themes are equally similar: love, jealousy, treason, virility, mother-son relationship, the familiarity of death, the dichotomy between rich and poor, painful experiences from which one wants to escape but which, at the same time, confer identity. Fado had a marginal existence at the beginning; in a second period it was appropriated by higher social classes, following an aesthetic of exoticism, pain and decadence, which was a characteristic attitude of late Romanticism. In a third moment, Fado went through a process of folklorization and increasing dependence on the tourist industry. Today, in order to find "true" (i.e., non-touristic) Fado, it is necessary to penetrate semi-clandestine environments, partly due to a liberal and bourgeois stigmatization of its inherent Marialva ethic.

For Pais de Brito, the Fado is an oral form materialized as performance, actualized in a time and space that is sociologically defined around neighbourhoods and/or professional occupations. It is connected with the growth of cities, with class structure and the organization of sociability around the duality between work and leisure, thus reflecting a conflict between hegemonic and subordinate cultural forms.

If one asks any Portuguese to characterize Fado, the common answer will be that it is a musical tradition with four important elements: it is a sad melody, in a way similar to the blues, and it has sad lyrics, reflecting a national state of soul called Saudade; the singer's voice, whether male or female, has to show a certain amount of pathos, reinforced by the nostalgic sound of the Portuguese guitar; the performance contributes to this general feeling by means of dress (mainly black) and body language (rigid, contained, and at times pathetic); and the atmosphere has to be one of silence, semi-darkness, and smoke. Then alternative styles can be outlined: a happier type of Fado, with a stronger provocative and erotic side; and Marialva Fado proper, sung mostly among the self-proclaimed remnants of the aristocracy, connected with royalism and the world of Bullfighting.

Fado in Portugal has always been the target of strong discussions marked by ideology, which either attacked it for reproducing Saudosismo (nostalgia, longing for the "social order" of a mythical past), inertia and the legitimation of inequality, or supported it as the keystone of national identity and reflection of the national soul. There were, as a matter of fact, so-called "socialist fados", when more politicized sectors of the working class claimed Fado as an expressive vehicle for their struggle. But it did not last long, and the traditional, communist left in Portugal always had a negative attitude towards Fado, particularly since the Salazar regime appropriated it as a national hallmark.

Pinto de Carvalho (Tinop) describes certain social types of people associated with the world of Fado in the turn-of-the-century. They met mostly at the esperas de touros (festive Bullfighting in the outskirts of Lisbon). Famous characters were the Count of Vimioso and, later, also de Count of Anadia and the Marquis of Castelo Melhor. The

forcados were all servants of one or another nobleman. Tinop says: "After [the bullfight], and still inside the ring, a group of lads (...) would linger until dawn playing and listening to the guitars, and one could hear also the puerile tones of mundane women" (1903:46-7). There was also the character of the fadista proper, the Fado singer from the lower classes, whom Tinop regards as the equivalent of the contemporary French voyou or the Anglo-American rough. Tinop says that the fadista was someone who had attained the "ideal perfection of the ignoble"; he was a "Don Juan of the slums, a Valmont of sloth". He claims as his own the identity of Marialva.

Although the expression describes an aristocrat, it acquired a broader sense, mainly a sexual and gendered one, appropriated by lower class men. The fadista was characterized by a specific attitude towards women: "he does not understand them, nor love them, other than in the vicious circle of the disturbing and slightly exotic coquetry of deviousness" (Tinop 1903:47). He was a Lisbon character, just like the fidalgo (who lived in the capital from the revenues of his far away land properties) he tagged along with: the character of the Bullfighting, streetfighting and drunk fidalgo was not known in Oporto, for instance. For nineteenth-century literary author Camilo Castelo Branco, the social cohesion between the second son of a fidalgo and the servant was barely starting, as opposed to Lisbon where it was full-fledged.

For Pimentel (1904), The Marialva had to live outside society, identifying himself with the people, in order to feel the Fado. That was what the Count of Vimioso - who lived in the first half of the nineteenth-century - did. The love affair between him and Severa personified the "delirium of the rich marialva". Pinheiro Chagas, in his Dicionário Popular, quoted by Pimentel, wrote that the Count of Vimioso was a first class bullfighter who preferably sought the company of a society less appropriate for his high rank, although he was perfectly able to show himself in high society as a true fidalgo. Severa came from the other social extreme, connected with prostitution.

At the beginning, the love affair between Severa and the Count was interpreted as a "whim and a passing satisfaction for the Count, who, just like the gourmet who is full of the ongoing pleasure of haute cuisine, relishes a dish of sardines or the odoriferous charm of a tavern snack" (article in Diário Popular, quoted by Pimentel 1904: 149). Vimioso was an equestrian bullfighter and Severa a Bullfighting fan.<sup>4</sup> According to Pimentel, the popular classes loved the Count who "treated them without hierarchical prejudice". He "made visible the qualities that dazzle the un-intellectual criteria of the people: bravery, courage, expertise with the guitar and in Bullfighting" (Pimentel 1904: 172). In short, Vimioso was seen as the Marialva of the nineteenth-century. Pimentel summarizes nicely how "the other side" saw the mythical love between Severa and him: "All the women from the infamous neighbourhoods, all the house maids, all the waitresses in bars, prefer to sing the Fado da Severa and the Fado do Conde de Vimioso, investing in it the hope for a rehabilitating aristocracy, instilling the hope that a new count might one day come, in love, to play the guitar in dedication to a new plebeian Severa" (Pimentel 1904: 185).

No one knows for sure whether or not this love affair actually took place. But it is

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4. He was known for saying that the work of bullfighting on horseback consisted in that the horserider, by means of his skill and art, teased and provoked the animal's power, while sparing the rider or the horse any injury or contact. In Portuguese, the sexual metaphor is almost explicit.

precisely its mythical characteristic which is anthropologically relevant, since the alliance between the two classes excluded from bourgeois and capitalist development and morality (the landed gentry and the urban marginal groups) is hereby sealed with a carnal union, mastered by the bohemian, sexually predating aristocrat.

Osório is another commentator of Fado as a social phenomenon, but from the standpoint of the political Left. He situates the emergence of Fado in socio-historical terms: with the return of the court from Brazil in 1822, at the end of King João VI's reign. Later, King Miguel, surrounded by fidalgos, campinos and gipsies, entered Lisbon during the Vilafrancada revolt dressed as a campino. In 1824, bullfights were the favourite show in Lisbon, and the Fado with guitar back-up started after Miguelismo (1828), spreading in Lisbon during the Liberal wars. It is after the establishment of the Liberal regime in 1833 that Fado venues make their appearance (Osório 1974:21). The context is described as catastrophic: the French Invasions, the British rule, the dismantling of trade with Brazil, the 1820 revolution, Brazil's independence, the Miguelista reaction, the civil war of 1833-34. As a matter of fact, one can find in Camilo Castelo Branco's novel Eusébio Macário the character José, a fidalgo fadista. The time of Severa was also the period of Cabralismo, a particularly repressive government in reaction against Liberalism<sup>5</sup>.

Fado then begins to be an issue in political and cultural debates. It was so throughout the period of the first Republic (1911-1926), but also at the beginning of dictatorship. Luis Moita, from the Mocidade Portuguesa (the national version of the Nazi Youth) already in the dictatorial period, attacked Fado. He wanted to defend the values of virility in consonance with an Italian and German fascist influence, focusing on gymnastics and military organization. This was not the winning faction in the Portuguese totalitarian regime, but rather the rural-pious version, although in constant imbalance with the heroic and virilizing imagery of the heroes of the past. Fado fans responded by calling football - Luis Moita's proposed alternative mass activity - a "terrorist sport"...

The only socio-anthropological monograph on Fado is that by Costa and Guerreiro (1984). The authors claim that the notions of "Tragedy" and "Contrast" organize the themes in Fado. Tragedy turns around the conflict between freedom and fate; contrast, around that between rich and poor. The main elements under moral dispute in Fado themes are four: destiny, voluntary action, uncounscious misdoing, and responsibility. They are part of a cultural menu that helps marginalized groups find their way in a social and economic organization the rules of which are unknown to them and out of their reach in terms of power.

The authors wanted to know whether there still was Fado in Alfama or whether it had been completely transferred to the folklorized tourist industry. The neighbourhood associations seemed to them to be the appropriate loci for "amateur Fado". One en passant detail in the authors' account struck me as important for this essay: one informant told them, in 1980, that "there ins't much amateur Fado", and that the little there was <<is an

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5. It would be burdensome for the non-Portuguese reader to go through a thorough explanation of Portuguese nineteenth-century History. The main point is that the mid-century was characterized by a state of almost constant real or latent civil war, between Liberals (who supported King Pedro's constitutional regime) and Absolutists (who supported his brother Miguel's claims to the throne). Politico-economic decisions were, of course, at stake, namely, the change from semi-feudal land and labour allocation to their capitalist forms.



atmosphere of homosexuals". In another neighbourhood association, where Fado sessions took place, the atmosphere was described as such that the same informant was asked by the doorman whether he was fadista or homosexual, since the former went to the right hand side and the latter to the left (Costa e Guerreiro 1984:31). But the general idea was that "there was no more fado in Alfama".

This connection between semi-clandestine environments and homosexuality would need an empirical study in itself. But it is interesting to note that it refers to a kind of homosexual sociability that is itself "popular" and marginal". As opposed to "bourgeois" homosexuality, it found in the previous marginalized semi-clandestinity of the Fado milieu an appropriate niche. Furthermore, the themes in Fado, the kinds of sentiments conveyed (fate and destiny, for one) probably have emotional and self-identitary relevance for those homosexuals who do not participate in the scholarly and liberal rationalization of the political aspects of gender and sexual orientation. Just like the ancient Greeks who thought that men attracted to men were more masculine than those attracted to women (seen as more ambiguous), the participants of environments which are strongly homosocial (as that of Bullfighting) or in which gender divisions are stressed as an issue (such as the world of Fado), may "eroticize" that which is being eulogized - men and passionate, fatal, "irrational" emotions.

## **Bullfighting**

"For me/ there is/ no bigger pleasure/ than the saddle/ and the woman" (Fado do Marialva).

A Portuguese matador (who performed in Spain, since in Portugal the killing is forbidden) once said: "a bullfighter's life is a life of strife and sacrifice; the bullfighter can't afford certain pleasures that his economic status would otherwise allow him; do you want the evidence? The bull is jealous. Each sexy broad you meet is a bull's horn in your body" (in Capucha 1988: 154). This is a central theme of the bullfighter's world-view, organized around the idea of the self-made man, the sacrificial content of Bullfighting, and its metaphorical influence on social and gender hierarchies. In it, I believe, (hetero) sexuality is seen as a disruptive pollution in the masculine contention and concentration implied in the Ordeal and Sacrifice of Bullfighting.

The horseriding cavaleiros, on the contrary, actualize in Bullfighting the traits of distinction they previously had, for in order to be a cavaleiro one needs family capital. That is why the cooptation of Marialvas was made among the nobility and today from among the big landowners of the south (Capucha 1988: 154) and entrepreneurs, like the quarry owners aforementioned.

For sociologist Luis Capucha, "the avenues of cooptation for the field of taumachy are a clear indication of the relation between internal acquisitions and struggle between the classes. One group does not give up the use of the hands and bodily effort, the other does not leave the horse" (Capucha 1988: 1559). Therefore, one of the messages that Bullfighting conveys is that, although it is the two social extremes together that make this national tradition possible, they should remain, somehow, separate: the horse and the eighteenth-century for the rich, the feet and the campino outfit for the poor.

In Pitt-Rivers' analysis of Spanish Bullfighting, the tercios correspond to a

symbolic itinerary from the bullfighters feminization to his conquest of masculinity by means of feminizing the bull. In Portuguese Bullfighting, the bull's feminization is obtained by means of stabbing the ferros that make it bleed, and by means of holding it still by the horns and the tail, a feat achieved by cohesive solidarity of a group of male forcados. Entering the ring follows a protocol. First enter the auxiliary personnel, then the forcados, then the matadores, the peões de brega, lined up according to the time sequence of their alternativa, i.e., their seniority in the profession. Lastly, enter the cavaleiros, also lined up in order of seniority.

The audience evaluates the performance in terms of "truth", i.e., a mixture of reference to traditional origins and new meanings of bullfighting practices. Capucha interprets the bull as a symbol of strength, virility, fertility and power. The audience wants a wild, fiero bull, one with race and will; but at the same time it must be smooth, with feeling, noble, boiante. The negative quality is tameness, the equivalent of a false and dangerous bull. Tameness is the attribute of women or un-manly men; the bull must be a living symbol and embodiment of wild sexual and anima energy, whose taming is the ultimate end of the bullfight, the bull's energy being appropriated by the men who fight it in the form of (cultural) maleness. From the performance one expects mutual help along with competition, joy and tragedy, sharpness and technique, masculine bravado and daring, countenance and "brains", the following of rules, spontaneity of gesture, ambition of grandeur and respect for hierarchy and tradition (Capucha 1991). These are the same values which are then sung in Fados that have Bullfighting as a theme.

In 1968, A. Anselmo Muacho, a commentator of Bullfighting, wrote the Biography of a Marialva (Alfredo Conde). In the introduction, he says that Marialvas are the true idols of equestrian Bullfighting: "They represent the labour and heritage of our ancestors. They personify the love of the land, the landscape and Portuguese customs. They give us the living image of the Race, the splendour of a deep national sentiment, the dignity of our traditions. They truly are the symbol of Portugal's immortality. It is our duty to admire them!"

The eulogy becomes then more specific. The Marialva is, in this case, "a human being", but "he stands out from the crowd as one of our Marialvas". His father was a known ganadero. At the age of seven, Alfredo Conde was riding horses and had his first corrida at 12. His picture as a bullfighter (on foot) has a caption that reads: "To stop, to templar, to lead, three necessary qualities to be classified as a character in Bullfighting" [on foot, as a cavaleiro can and should try early in his life; the reverse is not true, for it is socially unlikely that a forcado or a toreador would learn to be a cavaleiro]. Between 1961 and 1963, Conde was a member of the Forcados' group in Santarém. Thanks to his "enormous passion for horses", he was given his alternativa by master João Branco Nuncio himself, "master among masters of the Art of Marialva"<sup>6</sup>.

In a section dedicated to forcados, the author says: "The bravery of the forcado, his total despise for fear and danger, [actualizes] (...) the tenacious and heroic strength of a

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6. The book includes a poem that contains a wide range of images associated with bullfighting Marialvismo: "Oh ancient knight, oh! old Portuguese/ wearing his ancient silk and gold (...)/ if the vertical iron, fiery and colourful/ should your arm high and firmly hold/ on a nervous stallion, our stallion of breed/ then you can say: I am Portuguese; I come/ from those manly heroes, all vigour and daring gesture/ who knew how to kill a ferocious bull in the ring".

Race which, from the founding of Nationhood to the Discoveries, and thence to our days, has always demonstrated that it does not turn its back on danger". He goes on: "In a world which moves towards the standardization of habits, against custom, the Portuguese corrida holds on, rooted in the Lusitanian Race". The forcados, seen as representatives of the people as opposed to the knights as aristocrats, are here portrayed as the Nation's embodiment.

### **Saudade, Sebastianismo, Integralismo**<sup>7</sup>

In his book O Labirinto da Saudade (1982), Eduardo Lourenço sets out to do the "mythical psychoanalysis" of the Portuguese. He starts by defining a sort of "un-realism" that he claims to be at the core of Portuguese self-identity. Sebastianismo would be, simultaneously, the epytome of an unrealistic existence and the epytome of a coincidence with the Portuguese collective being. It represents the delirious awareness of a national weakness, of a real absence.

In the eighteenth-century, the Marquis of Pombal wanted to free Portugal from the remnants of medievalism by means of a sort of Enlightened Europeanized despotism, against the reaction of "illiterate, glutton and lazy fidalgos", as they were described in William Beckford's work<sup>8</sup>. Each period of forceful humanism in Portugal, however, has been followed by a return of the repressed, as Lourenço says. The return of Marialvismo after Pombal was already mentioned by Cardoso Pires (1970).

Later, the beginning of the nineteenth-century was the period when for the first time "the Portuguese questioned themselves", thus inaugurating the decadent attitude (Lourenço 1982:26). The British Ultimatum - a British claim to Portuguese colonies - was the traumatic triggering event. As a reaction to the devastating criticism of the 1870s by Liberal intellectual elites, and as a reaction to "Civilization's aggression" (personified by Britain), the "infamous flower of national love, nationalistic mysticism and, later, poetico-ideological Saudosismo" emmerged (Lourenço 1982:38). Lourenço says that Portugal would be a gold mine for Freud, since its people are the best example of the sublime triumph of the pleasure principle over the reality principle. Child rearing is seen by the author as one of the least repressive, containing a permanent and spectacular cult of the "child-king" (particularly the male one), a truly open door for narcissistic and

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7. Saudade: The Portuguese like to say that the word is untranslatable... It is an emotional idiom, referring to a feeling of nostalgia that can be both self-defeating and positive, in the sense of a regenerating force. Saudosismo is the general social attitude based on saudade. Sebastianismo: from Sebastião, Portuguese king in the late sixteenth-century. The expression refers to messianic beliefs around the eventual return of King Sebastian. Generally it means an attitude of waiting for problems to be solved providentially and not by means of social effort. Integralismo: from the root "integral", meaning an essentialistic perception of Nation.

8. William Beckford was an English aristocrat who lived in Portugal in the eighteenth-century. He fraternized with the local aristocracy, particularly with the family of the Marquises of Marialva. One of his opinions summarizes his impression in a nutshell: "No one reads in these houses. These people never read".

exhibitionistic tendencies, together with the absence of positive social expectations other than the selfish promotion of self. All this, according to Lourenço, is a natural defense reflex on the part of mothers who are frustrated by the general absence of the fathers and lack of paternal responsibility. The counterpart of this "royalty syndrome" that converts each adolescent into a "macho man", "is a human space that sets limits on nothing, defines nothing but the opposite will, thus originating a society that promotes and imposes state violence as an attempt to balance the fictitious individual royalty (...): as little resistance as possible and as much social promotion as possible in the sense of 'appearances'" (Lourenço 1982:144).

The central mythical character in the various manifestations of saudosismo ever since the eighteenth-century is that of King Sebastian. Crown Prince John, son of King John the Third, died in 1554, three years before the ruling monarch. His posthumous son, Sebastian (later called the Desired One), became king, under the regency of his grandmother Catarina who, in 1562, retired to Spain, leaving behind Cardinal Henrique in the regency. The young prince Sebastian was proclaimed king in 1568 by the Courts (Sérgio 1985:103). He assembled an impressive army in Lisbon which camped in silk tents, dressing magnificently, drinking, singing and "doing dishonest deeds", an attitude much criticized as "effeminate" by Francisco Manuel de Melo<sup>9</sup>. Sebastian then proceeded to invade Morocco, where he was defeated in Alcácer Quibir. Cardinal Henrique became king at the age of 66, when he was already being breastfed by a nanny ... Filipe the Second of Castille was on the line of succession and proclaimed himself king. Portugal lost its independence to Spain until the Restoration in 1640.

The Sebastianic myth was triggered by the fact that the dead king's body was never found. The messianic movement was very strong at the time, and poet Bandarra wrote a widely publicized prophetic pamphlet that stimulated it even more. The phenomenon is similar to that of the Welsh's King Arthur, the medieval Germans' Frederick, the Danes' Holger Danske, the Serbs' Marco Craljevic, the Mexican Indians' Quetzalcoatl and even the Russians' Alexander the First (Sérgio 1985:105). But to this day it is common-sensically seen as specifically Portuguese, as well as the sentiment associated with it - Saudade - supposedly expressed in sublime form by the musical and emotional poetics of Fado.<sup>10</sup>

The Sebastianic theme is central to a famous Fado - of aristocratic tendency - still today very much sung in the milieux connected with Bullfighting. It is the Fado do Encoberto (Fado of the Hidden One), which tells the tale of a masked man who shows up uninvited in a Fado session, only to uncover his hood at the end and disclose that he was

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9. Seventeenth-century author of a guide book for married men. The book is widely known as "Marialva's guide book", not because of any family relation with the Marquises of Marialva, but rather because of its contents. It is a project for male domination, in which he gives advice on how to sustain it. His negative reaction to King Sebastian's effeminacy echoes one of Marialvismo's ambiguities: men must be glorified, and women are dangerous creatures, but men must not love men... It reminds one of the above mentioned case of "homosexuals" in modern Lisbon's Fado milieux.

10. Even anthropologist Jorge Dias (1971), in an essay influenced by the American Culture and Personality School, cannot avoid reproducing the emic notion that the Portuguese are characterized by the sentiment of Saudade and that Fado is its artistic expression.

really King Sebastian, whose hand is then kissed by all present in a gesture of redemption and reestablishment of the old times of heroism - of which Sebastian had been the last representative.

King Sebastian's youth, his feminine traits, his association with the ambiguous sexuality and homoeroticism of his patronimic saint (whom he revered), the mythology of the Fifth Empire connected with the Portuguese version of the cult of the Holy Ghost (in which a child is crowned Emperor, as one can still see in the Azores islands), make one think that these themes constitute the "infantile" and "passive" (i.e., culturally perceived as feminine) side of the national model of masculinity, its repressed side. Maybe, but it is mostly a political mythology of the return to an Old Order.

So-called Portuguese Philosophy was the first attempt to establish an Integralist cultural image of Portuguese reality. It was an attempt to reverse the cultural ideology of liberal and enlightened bent that had again blossomed in the 1870's after the triumph of Liberalism and, later, Republicanism. It was a sort of eulogy of the "excellence of being Portuguese". The panegyric of Portugal was done by means of an imperial rhetoric, focused on the time of the Discoveries. Two tendencies marked Integralism. First, that of Saudade, which constructed a mythical image of the country as a sort of medieval haven. It was the ground for a political doctrine based on traditionalism and isolationism. Sebastianismo, on the other hand, was grounded on an epic imagery and promoted interventionism and imperialism (Esteves Cardoso 1982). The main school of Integralismo was born at Coimbra University in 1889-1891 and later expanded in 1907-1911. Its protagonists came from higher social strata than the average students (they came either from the Alentejo latifundia or the Northern aristocracy (Costa Pinto 1982). The foundation of a movement called Lusitanian Integralism occurred in 1914, three years after the establishment of the first Republic. People's sovereignty was to be replaced by the idea of the "organized Nation", and elections were to be held at the level of "the traditional cells of the Nation": family, municipality, professional guilds (Costa Pinto 1982). This is basically what came to be known as corporativism, an ideological denial of class conflict and of the very notion of society, replaced by the essentialist notion of Nation which had as main representatives and exemplary characters male aristocratic heroes and the "small people". Salazar's dictatorship would eventually incorporate the corporatist form of organization.

### **How central? How marginal?**

This essay is basically an anthropological detective story in Portuguese history: I have tried to trace the main instances in which Marialvismo is expressed, therefore showing that constructs of masculinity are strongly tied to concepts of emotions, national character, social hierarchy and nationhood.

Marialvismo is not, however, the only masculine model in Portugal. Nevertheless, alternative models do not have this type of historical and mythological legitimation, they are not anchored on the very national identity, no matter how constructed they may be. They do not project themselves, ritually and symbolically, onto performances like Fado and Bullfighting, or on ideologies like Sebastianism, Integralism, or even on social representations of emotions such as Saudade. They do not have the performative and

ideological strength to portray and deal with contradictions such as those between nature and society, chaos and order (as in Bullfighting), between disempowerment and moral superiority (as in Fado), or between peripheral underdevelopment and national pride (as in Integralism).

In order to build their self-definition and self-construction, the new models have to invoke foreign models - modern ones - with diffuse origins in mediatized global culture, or in transnational social movements, such as the bourgeois "successful man", the "yuppie", or the post-modern gay.

Be it as it may, they have to take into account the "resistance" and resilience of the Marialva model, which is no other than the resistance of the Ancien Régime kept latent in Portuguese social environments where objective conditions for the reproduction of this cultural model persist: urban environments of vast social exclusion and paternalistic providentialism, and rural environments strongly marked by latifundism and patron-client relations. The remnants of an old social order and its once empowered characters (the "aristocracy") and the disempowered strata or urban capitalist social relations actually join in their efforts to struggle for legitimacy outside the hegemonic guidelines of work, money, individuality, success, citizenship and civility.

The fact that these constructs of identity are largely done in the idiom of gender, to the exclusion of femininity and alternative models of masculinity, is in itself an important question for the understanding of the structuring character of gender in social relations and the morality that guides and controls them. In this sense, one can also see how body, gender and emotions can be symbolic resources in the strategic struggles for legitimacy. It is on the bullfighter's and the Fado singer's performance and on the heroic imagery of Integralism that the cultural spotlight momentarily focuses.

Marialvismo can also be seen as a marginal moral order of gender. Statistically, very few people are open adepts of Marialvismo or participants in its expressive arenas. On the part of real or supposed aristocrats, Marialvismo is a form of reaction to modernity, bourgeois values and rationality in social and gender relations. On the part of the lumpen-proletariat (and its fringe gender groups, such as the "popular" homosexual) it is an empowering discourse and a form of resistance. The historical project of the Enlightenment has triumphed in Portugal, albeit late, and Marialvismo can be seen as a relic of the past. But it continues to be a model, with a set of key-symbols, for hegemonic masculinity, and from time to time it has its comebacks, particularly when social change challenges its legitimacy. This probably means that masculinity is an arena of personal and social identity that strongly resists change, this being why it is called upon for the symbolic contestation underlying the three examples on which I have focused. The contradiction can be solved if one does not think in terms of absolute centrality and absolute marginality, but rather in terms of symbolic contestation made visible in the performative moments.

Bullfighting, Fado, cultural constructs such as Sebastianismo and political interpretations such as Integralismo, at first sight, seem difficult to compare. Social actors engaged in any of them are in different positions of power. The common feature, however, is that they are outside the hegemonic cultural and political concepts of modern rationalistic bourgeoisie. The common aspect that binds them together is the strategic manipulation of symbols that are relevant for national identity and for moral concepts of maleness. The incapacity of the modern bourgeois state to invent new symbols of national identity and its neutralization of gender (in law, education etc) creates an empty space which is occupied

by those in relatively marginal situations.

Particularly in Bullfighting and Fado performances, one can see how the contradictions of national, social and gender identities are portrayed, dramatized, made visible and felt rather than simply mediated or temporarily solved. This is probably why the last half decade has witnessed a steady comeback of popularity in Fado and Bullfighting as well as a (so-called) poetic re-appropriation of Saudosismo and King Sebastian's character, as Portugal is finally feeling the social and cultural contradictions triggered off by its full membership in the European Union.

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