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Prince Henry 'the Navigator': Representations of a Pre-Modern Figure in the Estado Novo,
Portugal 1933-1974

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Gomes Eannes de Zurara, the state chronicler of the Kingdom of Portugal (1410-1474), proclaimed the virtue of a member of the Portuguese royal family in the invocation to his most famous chronicle. He wrote, “O thou Prince little less than divine! I beseech thy sacred virtues to bear with all patience the shortcomings of my too daring pen, that would attempt so lofty a subject as is the recounting of thy virtuous deeds, worthy of so much glory.”¹ This proclamation by Zurara set a clear tone for the chronicle that followed. The plot of the work followed the deeds of O Infante Dom Henrique of Portugal from the conquest of Ceuta in 1415 to the chronicle’s end in 1448. Zurara attributed to O Infante Dom Henrique, better known as Prince Henry ‘the Navigator,’ a great deal of credit for the discoveries along the West African coast during that time.

By the 1450’s, explorers sailing on voyages under Prince Henry’s authority reached Guinea and Sierra Leone; in a mere thirty years of his life, twenty degrees of the earth had been “discovered.”² The period of Henrican discovery has been widely accepted as a paramount starting point for the entire Age of Discovery and it linked Portugal’s destiny to the sea. The monuments, poems, and histories dedicated to illuminating Prince Henry’s great virtue and accomplishments have spanned from the first-hand accounts of sailors in the fifteenth century to the Estado Novo regime of the twentieth century and continue to the present. The importance of the oceanic discoveries to Portugal’s history and culture can’t be understated.³ Their usage as symbolic representations also clearly demonstrates an effort to incorporate the discoveries into a larger conception of national identity. This paper brings to light the construction of a discovering

¹ Gomes Eannes de Azurara, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea Vol. I.*, trans. Charles Raymond Beazley and Edgar Prestage (New York, NY: Burt Franklin Publisher, 1896), 7.

² A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), 150.

³ AbdoolKarim A. Vakil, “Nationalising Cultural Politics: Representations of the Portuguese ‘Discoveries’ and the Rhetoric of Identitarianism, 1880-1926,” in *Nationalism and Nation in the Iberian Peninsula*, ed. Clare Mar-Molinera and Angel Smith (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1996), 35-36.

past by the Estado Novo around the legacy of Prince Henry ‘the Navigator’; Henry’s legacy was founded by the depiction of his character in the Pre-Modern primary sources, primarily by Zurara.

The importance of the Portuguese discoveries in Africa, Asia, and South America to Portuguese national identity was clearly manifested in Salazarist Portugal during the Estado Novo or New State (1933-1974). Prince Henry ‘the Navigator’ was one of the earliest proponents of these discoveries and sent out voyages to explore the West African coast expanding the known world. However, Henry’s importance to overseas discoveries and the opening of the world for Portuguese expansion fluctuated greatly over the next five centuries. During his lifetime Henry was credited immensely, while by the late sixteenth century he was largely peripheral in the pantheon of Portuguese discoverers. His reemergence to the forefront of Portuguese heroes in twentieth century Salazarist Portugal suggests a politicization of history through the creation of national myths and symbols constructed around the life of a feudal figure to create a particular view of national identity that based Portuguese’ uniqueness on the discovering past and the colonial empire.

This research is interested in both the pre-modern sources that detail Henry’s accomplishments and also the manifestation of Henry in Portugal during the Estado Novo regime in Portugal. Paulo S. Polanah’s essay, “*The Zenith of our National History!*” *National identity, colonial empire, and the promotion of the Portuguese Discoveries: Portugal 1930s*, closely examines the Salazarist regime’s efforts to mold and strengthen a national identity with fifteenth and sixteenth century discoveries as the foundation of Portugal’s national greatness. Polanah argues that by the end of the 1930’s, the Estado Novo regime’s focus on the discoveries had

become an extensive ideological investment in the nation's historic memory.⁴ While the generalized concept of the discoveries provided an interesting analysis into Portuguese nationalism, my research was distinct from Polanah's due to the emphasis and focus placed on Henry 'the Navigator'. Where Polanah examines the discoveries in whole, this paper focuses more specifically on one key figure in the discoveries. The other distinct difference between Polanah's research and this research is the emphasis on analyzing the few extremely pertinent primary sources written about Henry. My research approaches these sources with caution. While keeping in mind the implications these sources had for the creation of a national myth, claiming them as historical legitimation. Examining the process of nationalist creations of myths and symbolism from a shared history experienced by members of a nation is the goal of this research; using Henry 'the Navigator' as a case study.

This research uses secondary sources on nationalism and its evolution to contextualize Henry's life and legacy within the historical context of identity-building in Portugal during the Estado Novo period. Caspar Hirschi in his work, *The Origins of Nationalism: An Alternative History from Ancient Rome to Early Modern Germany*, discusses the origins of nationalism in the medieval period at the Council of Constance, he also examines the way that nations measured their standing in relation to each other. He concludes that symbolic battles and heroes, spread by the innovation of print, were key tools for nations in creating prestige and standing.⁵ Benedict Anderson builds on this concept in his book, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Anderson argues that nations are imagined communities because all the citizens of a nation feel connected, even though most of them will never meet. Beyond this

⁴ Paulo Polanah, "The Zenith of our National History!": National identity, colonial empire, and the promotion of the Portuguese Discoveries: Portugal 1930s," *E-Journal of Portuguese History* 9, no. 1 (Summer, 2011): 40. Accessed August 10, 2013.

⁵ Caspar Hirschi, *The Origins of Nationalism: an Alternative History from Ancient Rome to Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 91-100.

basic premise, Anderson argues that the policy levers of official nationalism were state-controlled education, propaganda, the official rewriting of history, and militarism,⁶ all of which to an extent depict the Estado Novo in their construction of identity. He argues that under official nationalism, history is conceived of in terms of great leaders and events and that in general nationalism thinks in terms of the nation's historical destiny.⁷ E.J. Hobsbawm's work *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* details the development of nationalism through separate phases beginning in the late eighteenth century and continuing through the mid-twentieth century. Hobsbawm's work is particularly useful for giving a comprehensive analysis of nationalism and the ways that it was transformed, since it was never a solid concept and was thus constantly in flux and being reshaped within in states. Particularly, the shift Hobsbawm discusses towards state driven nationalism and the deliberate, ideological engineering in which state bureaucrats took part was critical to understanding Henry's role as a nationalist symbol.⁸ *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula*, a collection of essays focused on the development of nationalism in Spain and Portugal, provides a more narrow perspective of Portuguese nationalism. Edited by Angel Smith and Clare Mar-Molinero, this collection of essays claim that Portuguese national history was viewed as a process of awakening. Racial distinctiveness played a central role for Portugal as an attempt to gain independence and even superiority over the Spanish. More importantly for my research is Smith and Mar-Molinero argument that maritime discovery played a central role in building a national identity.⁹ Other essays from the same collection by Joel Freeland and AbdoolKarim A. Vakil further this

⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 2006), 99-101.

⁷ Anderson, 109 and 149.

⁸ E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 91-93

⁹ Angel Smith and Clare Mar-Molinero, "The Myths and Realities of Nation-Building in the Iberian Peninsula," in *Nationalism and Nation in the Iberian Peninsula*, ed. Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith (Oxford: Berg Publishers 1996), 7-11.

emphasis. These works on nationalism contribute to my research as constant reference points through which it was easy to analyze Henry's symbolic usage by the Estado Novo.

Peter Russell's *Prince Henry 'the Navigator' A Life* and others have questioned and critiqued Henry's interest in overseas expansion and the virtue attributed to him by Zurara, an uncommon theme in earlier histories. This is extremely useful for setting up a critical lens of the primary source documents. Another important distinction that my research makes is the linkage between the individual Prince Henry 'the Navigator,' in tandem with the discoveries in general, and Portuguese nationalist identities and symbols. Examination of the ad hoc connection between Henry and Portuguese nationalism could allow for a systematic investigation of the role of early national heroes, how they shape national identity, and the roles they play as nationalist symbols. For example, this research could be used to examine Christopher Columbus's role in Spanish, or even American, nationalism. Historians can now approach these people in a new light where they act as national symbols not as concrete historical figures.

Prince Henry 'the Navigator' of Portugal (1394-1460) was a formative figure in the early Age of Discovery. However, historical sources from this era pertaining to Henry are scarce. The scarcity of resources available to historians created a reliance on translated versions of Zurara's *Chronica do Descobrimento e Conquista da Guiné* (1453), which became the definitive primary source for examining Prince Henry. This research is using a two part English translation of the chronicle published in 1896 and 1899. There were limited other primary source documents relevant to Henry and the Portuguese explorations that ventured out under his authority, these include two accounts by caravel captains, Diogo Gomes and Alouise Cadamosto, who took part in West African exploration. Henry's life, achievements and motivation were thus viewed through a very narrow lens. My research focuses on the characterization of Prince Henry by the

fifteenth century primary sources and the way these sources were mobilized by the Salazarist regime in twentieth century Portugal to manifest Prince Henry as a central symbol of national pride and identity based around the discoveries.

Prince Henry's legacy was established by chronicles during his lifetime and the years immediately following his death. However, the standing this legacy gave Henry in the pantheon of Portuguese explorers has changed over time. The virtue attributed to Henry by his contemporaries is summarized well in this passage from Zurara's chronicle. In it, Henry was giving direction and blessings to a ship captain before a voyage; the themes of piety and courage were apparent. "You cannot find a peril so great that the hope of reward will not be greater...Go forth, and heed none of their words, but make your voyage straightaway, inasmuch as with the grace of God you cannot but gain from this journey honour and profit."¹⁰ In 1434 a Portuguese captain Gil Eannes, under the direction of Prince Henry 'the Navigator,' sailed beyond Cape Bojador on the West African coastline. By crossing this fabled barrier, created from myths of sea monsters and other horrors, Eannes traveled into waters untouched by his contemporaries and predecessors. In Zurara's chronicle it was quite common to see Henry characterized as such a fearless, kind, and virtuous leader and the passing of Bojador was only the beginning of the accomplishments outlined by Zurara. Once the benefits of these West African discoveries became apparent, Henry received the highest praises from his contemporaries and subjects. After his death it seemed that these praises and the legacy that seemed inherent would not stand the test of time, even though they marked the starting point for the entire Portuguese colonial empire.

¹⁰ de Azurara, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea Vol. I.*, 33.

In 1572, Portugal's national epic *Os Lusíadas* was printed. Written by Luís Vaz de Camões, it formed a narrative of Portuguese expansion through the eyes of Vasco da Gama. While Camões' choice to focus on a more contemporary Portuguese explorer such as da Gama is understandable, there is surprisingly little mention of Henry and his role in the discoveries. Prince Henry is only mentioned significantly one time in Canto VIII, which outlines his role in the Portuguese attack on Ceuta in Moorish Morocco and his role in the early voyages of discovery.¹¹ Henry's decrease in status among the hierarchy of Portuguese explorers from his lifetime to the late 16th century is curious. Judging the importance of Prince Henry to Portuguese history using only the Portuguese epic might lead to the conclusion that he had faded from the memories of the European world. However, interest in Henry did not disappear altogether between the late sixteenth and early twentieth century. The magnitude of his glorification notably spiked during his life, immediately after his death, and in the Estado Novo period. By the nineteenth century there was a clear and early interest in scripting the discoveries into the idea of Portugal. The statue of Henry built at Sagres in 1839 indicates that he would at the very least be a part of this incorporation of the discoveries into national identity.¹² The primary sources provided the foundation for the symbolism of Prince Henry during the Estado Novo period.

Fully understanding Henry's historical legacy requires a close-reading of the limited primary sources that provide almost all the information there is on the Prince. The first-hand accounts of Alouise Cadamosto and Diogo Gomes provide extremely useful information for contextualizing the nature of West African exploration. However, they are supplementary

¹¹ Luís Vaz de Camões, *The Lusiads of Luiz De Camões*, trans. Leonard Bacon (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1950), 290.

¹² Polanah, 42.

sources when compared to the chronicle produced by Zurara. The chronicle established many of the accomplishments attributed to Henry and set the foundation for his legacy.

Zurara became the official state chronicler of Portugal while writing his chronicle on Henry. As an employee of the state, the possibility for political bias in his work seems likely. While he attempts to maintain a detailed and observational style in his writing, his glorification of Prince Henry creates many concerns about the accuracy of his writing. Zurara employed many techniques in his writing and made many conscious choices when he detailed his historical chronicle of Henry's life. Critical to the work is the way Zurara systematically developed the character of Henry. He did so by giving a detailed list of motivations for his actions, comparing Henry to heroic figures from history, and praising his role in the conquest of Ceuta. The boldness of Zurara's praise was apparent, in what seemed to be a clear attempt to frame the audiences' opinions of the prince and his deeds while simultaneously setting the frameworks for a deeper connection between the character of Henry and that of the Portuguese people.

A recurring theme used by Zurara was claiming all of Henry's actions were religiously motivated. These pious motivations enveloped all of Henry's endeavors from the conquest of Ceuta in North Africa to his many expeditions down the west coast of Africa and islands in the Atlantic Ocean. Zurara details why Prince Henry was compelled to search for the lands of Guinea, he attributed five reasons to this. All of the Prince's reasoning was based on spreading Christianity throughout Africa, searching for disconnected or unfound Christian kingdoms, and saving the souls of the non-Christian inhabitants of these mysterious lands.¹³ These motivations were used to create an aura of extreme piety around Henry, for example:

¹³ de Azurara, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea Vol. I.*, 28-30.

The fifth reason was his great desire to make increase in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ and to bring to him all the souls that should be saved, - understanding that all the mystery of the Incarnation, Death, and Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ was for this sole end- namely the salvation of lost souls- whom the said Lord Infant by his travail and spending would fain bring into the true path. For he perceived that no better offering could be made unto the Lord than this; for if God promised to return one hundred goods for one, we may justly believe that for such great benefits, that is to say for so many souls as were saved by the efforts of this Lord, he will have so many hundreds of guerdons in the kingdom of God, by which his spirit may be glorified after this life in the celestial realm.¹⁴

This passage from Zurara's chronicles exemplifies the great lengths to which the author went in order to ensure that Henry would be glorified as a man of God. Portugal was historically a strongly Catholic country. Because of this, it was very important during Henry's life that he was portrayed as a devoted Catholic. These strong religious roots in Portugal also made Henry's religious character relevant for the Estado Novo in building national identity around the discoveries. Painting a portrait of Henry as a pious man of God was only the first step however. At the end of the Chronicle, Zurara concluded that Henry had in total converted nine hundred and twenty seven souls to Christianity.¹⁵ This claim reinforced his highly detailed style while also solidifying Henry's piety through a concrete assertion. Zurara would use other methods in his writing to create the heroic character of the Prince.

Zurara continued to build this character by comparing Henry to famed and glorified historical and mythological figures. These comparisons of Henry to heroic figures of the past are intriguing because of the connections they create. Zurara drew an innate connection in the minds of his audience. The readers of his chronicle could not help associating Henry with the greatness

¹⁴ de Azurara, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea Vol. I.*, 29.

¹⁵ Gomes Eannes de Azurara, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea Vol. II.*, trans. Charles Raymond Beazley and Edgar Prestage (New York, NY: Burt Franklin Publisher, 1899), 288, accessed November 10, 2013, Project Gutenberg.

of these figures. Zurara began by describing Prince Henry's determined work ethic, and how he approached the arduous challenges that stood in his way. He wrote, "Such was the length of his toil and so rigorous was it, that as the poets have feigned that Atlas the giant held up the heavens upon his shoulders... our Prince 'conquered the heights of the mountains,' that is to say, the matters that seemed impossible to other men, by his continual energy, were made to appear light and easy."¹⁶ This high praise associated Henry with a titan from Greek mythology that held up the sky and it was just the first of many comparisons that Zurara made. Next he compared the Prince to the famed conqueror of antiquity, Alexander the Great. When the first Moorish captives had been brought back and there was tangible evidence of Henry's successes, proving that the expeditions were not for nothing. Zurara recalled how the people turned their blame into public praise and called Prince Henry a new Alexander as they coveted the fortunes of exploration.¹⁷ Zurara also declared that Henry's virtues were greater than many Roman figures such as Cicero, Caesar, and even the mythical Romulus. Zurara compared Henry to Caesar as he claimed that the image of Caesar had been set up as a god, and an example of good morals and honest life.¹⁸ In connecting these two figures and describing Caesar in this way, Zurara, through his words, had set Henry up as a man equal to Caesar in his virtue and achievement. By alluding to famous and powerful historical and mythological figures Zurara creates a similar image to surround Henry as he passed these qualities and virtues on to the Prince.

Zurara described the Conquest of Ceuta as "that most glorious conquest of the great city of Ceuta, of which famous victory the heavens felt the glory and the earth the benefit."¹⁹ In 1415 a large Portuguese force that had been amassed took the Moroccan port city of Ceuta, Zurara

¹⁶ de Azurara,

attributed the role of Captain of this grand conquering force to Henry. The heroism shown by Henry during the battle was extraordinary in Zurara's retelling of events, not only was he the commander of the fleet, he also fought alongside his men for the entire length of the battle. He described, "In the which conquest the Prince was a captain of a very great and powerful fleet, and like a brave knight fought and toiled in person on the day when it was taken from the Moors;... and his square banner was the first that entered the gates of the city, from whose shadow he was never far off himself. On that day the blows he dealt out were conspicuous beyond those of all other men."²⁰ Through his triumphs on the battlefields Henry again was glorified by the chronicler. The cause of his conquest, a holy crusade against the infidel, also shed a positive light on the Prince. The conquest of Ceuta was just the beginning of Henry's firm and determined effort against the Muslim armies of North Africa, Zurara glorified his continued efforts against the Muslim forces in North Africa as well as the benefits brought by these efforts. Benefits like the increased safety of trade in the Mediterranean. The image of Henry as a resolved holy warrior who fought crusades against the infidel in the name of God is clearly manifested by Zurara for his chronicle's audience. Nevertheless these claims established Henry as a Prince whose interest was in advancing Christianity and fighting for God, which clearly served the same purpose as Zurara's allusions to historical figures, and his recurrent outline of Henry's many virtues.

A further examination of the chronicler's writing style also provided insight into Zurara's entrenchment of values on his chronicle. Henry's life was neither completely devoted to exploration nor to crusading in North Africa. Nor were all of Henry's ventures successful; for example, the Siege of Tangiers in Morocco was a massive failure for Henry and the Portuguese

²⁰ de Azurara, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea Vol. I.*, 16.

as many soldiers were taken captive including Henry's brother Prince Fernando. However, Zurara even turned Henry's failures into declarations of the Prince's virtue. Zurara claimed that Henry failed at Tangiers because the men of his household failed and deserted him.²¹ Zurara placed the blame for Tangiers on others, while he claimed the success at Ceuta and in the discoveries for Henry. Regardless of Zurara's explanation, these actions were more likely motivated by Henry's goal to establish Portugal as a power in Europe. The explorations were just the means through which Portugal could ascend to the rank of Europe's elite powers. For a small coastal kingdom to gain power when much larger, more populated, and well-resourced kingdoms dominated Europe politically and militarily, it would require resources from beyond Portugal's borders, thus exploration was a necessity to achieving these ends.

Zurara's chronicle is an essential source of information in regards to Prince Henry's life, however the primary accounts of two men who took part in West African exploration provide additional insight about Henry. The voyages of Alouise Cadamosto(1455 and 1456) and Diogo Gomes (1456) were the first accounts of exploration written by caravel captains sailing the West African coast. Stylistically they write in an empirical way, attempting to detail their surroundings with accuracy; similar to the style employed by Zurara. Cadamosto even prefaced his work with an empiricist disclaimer stating "I prefer rather to understate than to relate anything which exceeds the truth."²² In fact most of the documents consist of in depth descriptions of the voyages and the things they observed. However, the relevance of these documents lies in their references to Prince Henry's virtues and deeds. Though it is slightly peripheral to their works, their characterization of the Prince is noteworthy when considering his symbolic importance.

²¹ de Azurara, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea Vol. II.*, 208.

²² Alouise Cadamosto, "The Voyages of Cadamosto," in *The Voyages of Cadamosto; and Other Documents on Western African in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century*, trans. G.R. Crone (Germany: Kraus, 1967), 1.

Cadamosto was a Venetian sailor who traveled to Spain and then Portugal in the 1450's, while on the Iberian Peninsula he met a squire of Prince Henry and agreed to go on a voyage. Early on his writing focused on Henry, describing his illustrious nature and the many noteworthy things related to his virtue. Cadamosto told a story of Henry going to his father, King John, on his death bed and vowing to follow his true and holy intent to persecute the enemies of Christianity.²³ This story implied that Henry was compelled to spread the faith, furthering the motivations ascribed to his voyages of discovery by Zurara. In addition to these motivations, Cadamosto explained that Henry desired to learn about the people who they came into contact with.²⁴ The interest in gaining knowledge attributed by this motivation is interesting. Zurara also mentions Henry's desire to learn about the unexplored world, however it clearly is always ascribed less importance than the Christian motives that overwhelm and reappear throughout the texts. Once Cadamosto reached Africa, he also noted that Henry protected the black Africans in the hope that they would convert to the Christian faith.²⁵ While Diogo Gomes spent less time discussing Prince Henry, a particular recollection in his account furthers the themes of Cadamosto and Zurara.

Gomes was a Portuguese noble who went on a voyage down the West African coast in 1456 and later recounted his journey. Of particular interest, was the interaction he described with an African King named Nonymans. After Gomes converted Nonymans to Christianity, the King gave an impassioned declaration of his thanks and love for Christ and Prince Henry. Nonymans said, "There was no other God but He, in whom his brother, the Prince Henry, said that he believed. Calling the Infante his brother, he desired that I should baptize him...The King himself

²³ Cadamosto, "The Voyages of Cadamosto," 2.

²⁴ Cadamosto, "The Voyages of Cadamosto," 2.

²⁵ Cadamosto, "The Voyages of Cadamosto," 18-19.

declared that he would have no other name but Henry...”²⁶ While this was Gomes’ only mention of Prince Henry’s Christian morals, it was a critical testament to the character Zurara was trying to establish.

The virtue attributed to Prince Henry by Zurara, Gomes, and Cadamosto did not diminish after Henry’s life. However, Luíz Vaz de Camões clearly did not view Henry with the same reverence. The brief stanza devoted to Prince Henry and his brother the Regent Pedro in Camões’ epic poem, *Os Luísadas*, did focus on creating a virtuous image of Henry,

Lo! Peter, with him Henry, princes twain,/Who were John’s noble-
hearted progeny./ One did such deeds that still in Alamain/ His
praises sound, which cheat mortality./ The other’s glory Fame has
published plain./ For he was the Discoverer of the Sea,/ Who the
Moor’s swollen vanity put down/ And entered first the gate of
Ceuta town.²⁷

The peculiarity of Luíz Vaz de Camões work was not that it attempted to tarnish the legacy of Prince Henry. It merely focused on another explorer who was active during Camões’ life. Camões only mentioned Henry briefly in the eighth canto, the purpose of that canto was to glorify Portugal’s past. Vasco da Gama, on the other hand, is attributed a virtuous character by Camões similar to the character Zurara attributed to Henry. Camões described him as “The captain strong and tried,/ Who still took up such valorous enterprise,/ With a heart all audacity and pride,/ And who his fortune watched with kindly eyes,”²⁸ This is just a short example of the style Camões used when creating the narrative of da Gama, his characterization of da Gama was similar in scope to Zurara’s characterization of Henry. The stark difference between Camões glorification of Henry and the symbolic representations of the Estado Novo was the impact of

²⁶ Diogo Gomes, “The Voyages of Diogo Gomes,” in *The Voyages of Cadamosto; and Other Documents on Western African in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century*, trans. G.R. Crone (Germany: Kraus, 1967), 98.

²⁷ Camões, *The Lusiads of Luíz Vas De Camões*, 290.

²⁸ Camões, 14.

nationalism. Whereas Camões centered his epic on one of his contemporaries, nationalism's view of history in terms of great leaders focused on Henry. Camões seemed to view the past as something completely distinct from the contemporary ventures of Portugal. The Estado Novo, on the other hand, would inextricably connect the contemporary with the discovering past, creating a collaboration between the two using Henry as the focal point of coordination.

The critical role of history in the building of national identity cannot be understated and Portugal was no exception. The ideological construction of relations between the past and present were fundamentally shaped by the representations and misrepresentations of the nation's past.²⁹ By the late nineteenth century Portugal's monarchy was crumbling and much like the crumbling of the monarchy in Brazil, the regime was replaced by a republic in 1910. This republican period lasted until 1926, when a military coup eventually led to the establishment of the Estado Novo or New State under the leadership of António de Oliveira Salazar. The shift to a dictatorship fundamentally altered the capability of the regime to construct national sentiments. During the first decade of the Estado Novo regime the discoveries were the "ideological vertebrae" of Portugal's conception.³⁰ To create this focal point around the discoveries, the regime created a massive repository of symbolism from the past and implanted it into the core of collective memory, imagination, and national identity.³¹ Beyond a mere construction of identity around the discoveries, Portuguese elites had also created a metanarrative during the colonial Scramble for Africa that inextricably linked Portugal to its overseas empire.³² It legitimated its colonial presence and presented itself to the citizenry and other European nations as a historically

²⁹ Alan Freeland, "The People and the Poet: Portuguese National Identity and the Camoes Tercentary (1880)," in *Nationalism and Nation in the Iberian Peninsula*, ed. Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1996), 47.

³⁰ Polanah, 45.

³¹ Polanah, 45.

³² The Scramble for Africa allowed Portugal to maintain control over Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé e Príncipe, and the Cape Verde Islands.

legitimated European Empire.³³ In this way there was a clear and deliberate attempt to secure political legitimacy through history and Portugal's unique past instead of through representative elections or other modern political means.

Two themes outlined by Paulo S. Polanah, one of the only scholars working on these issues, are particularly intriguing for the symbolic importance of Prince Henry. The first was the concept of luso-messianism and the divine Christian roots of the discoveries. The second was the idea of historical primacy and the importance of the Portuguese as the first European discoveries. The Christian virtue attributed to Henry by Zurara, and the motivations of his voyages for the spreading of the faith mirror these sentiments of luso-messianism so it seems appropriate to start there.

Rather than being seen as merely commercial ventures, the Portuguese discoveries were promoted by the regime as historical enterprises concerned first and foremost with the spreading of the faith.³⁴ This view bears a striking similarity to the motivations attributed to the Henrican voyages by Zurara. The fifth of these reasons was to spread Christianity and increase the faith of "our Lord Jesus Christ."³⁵ In fact, the apparent commercial reasons including the discovery of new resources, lands to colonize, and groups to trade with were all diminished in Zurara's chronicle. This draws a strong parallel between the chronicle and the ideals of the Estado Novo's construction of national sentiments. The motivations of the Portuguese discoverers were not the extent at which the Estado Novo would stop. Because they were the pioneers of the Age of Discovery, the Portuguese clearly had been granted divine providence and were God's chosen people to spread the faith across the globe. The divine responsibility placed on the Portuguese

³³ Polanah, 47.

³⁴ Polanah, 45.

³⁵ de Azurara, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea Vol. I.*, 29.

made them the agents of God's will and the central historical protagonists in the divine narrative.³⁶ On a smaller scale, Henry was the central historical protagonist of the divine narrative as written by Zurara. As the first explorer of the entire Age of discovery, Henry's role as central protagonist arguably became the most critical.

The historical primacy of the discoveries and Henry's primacy over the other Portuguese discoveries placed him in a central position in the construction of national identity. Historical primacy was largely used as a mechanism through which the unique and valuable character of the Portuguese could become self-apparent. The argument of primacy altered the time frame of the paradigmatic shift to modernity, placing it in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries rather than the nineteenth century.³⁷ By arguing that the shift to modernity took place in the Renaissance era, the regime could argue the discoveries enabled modernity. The discoveries were in many ways viewed as the inaugural events of the modern era and the savior of Europe from Muslim domination.³⁸ *Os Lusíadas* was an implicit and constant reminder that Portugal was the first European kingdom to 'discover' vast areas of the world, of which the benefits of trade and conquest were spread to all Europeans.³⁹ The consensus on primacy across sources suggested that primacy was of critical importance to Portuguese identity. Constructing a national identity around the discoveries, there inherently would be a need to distinguish and make unique the Portuguese discoveries from other European discoveries. Primacy was an important distinction for the Portuguese that was furthered by the evidence found in Zurara's Chronicle, Camões national epic, "A Portuguesa" the national anthem, and other insuring representations of the discoveries used by the regime in their construction of identity. Prince Henry viewed his own

³⁶ Polanah, 49.

³⁷ Polanah, 54-55.

³⁸ Vakil, 44-45.

³⁹ Freeland, 64.

discoveries as a worthwhile accomplishment. In 1446 he was granted one-fifth of all profits from discovery and a license over voyages.⁴⁰ This placed a clear monopoly on African trade, giving power to the first man to take part in it. Just as Portugal saw itself as the leader of expansion and the pioneer of the transition to modernity, Prince Henry was the one who paved the way for the Portuguese.

The overlying themes of nationalism are also applicable to Portuguese nationalism, and they increasingly developed consensus on the role of symbolic historical figures such as Prince Henry. The sense of a historic mission or destiny, the loyalty of nationalism to ideological constructions of regimes rather than countries, the manipulation of the public's sentiments by ever expanding state mechanisms through propaganda, ritual, and education, and the reliance on symbolic events and figures represented through statues, poetry, paintings, and even chronicles all were recurring themes of nationalist identity building. Governments of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century engaged in deliberate ideological engineering. This nationalism was not loyal to country but only to the ideological construction of the nation.⁴¹ When coupled with a strong centralized state, nationalist regimes had the ability to construct ideology as they chose and most often this would include the usage of events or heroes from the nation's history in ways that would benefit the present. The particular form that this construction took in Portugal was centered on the discoveries of the past as means for maintaining the colonial empire of the Salazarist regime. For nationalists, history was only conceived in terms of these great leaders and events; everything else simply was not useful.⁴² Fundamentally, constructing a national ideology requires symbols that have meaning, or at least have the potential for such, to establish a strong

⁴⁰ Gomes Eannes de Azurara, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea Vol. II.*, 248.

⁴¹ Hobsbawm, 92-93.

⁴² Anderson, 109.

cohesion of the national community. The state is often the culprit behind these representations and symbols and as such the benefits of a strong national identity are often rewarded to the state in authority and enthusiastic populations.

Religious icons are often too broad to use as national symbols, but those icons directly associated with the state are extremely satisfactory for the same purpose.⁴³ For the Estado Novo, it was imperative to also have Christian, specifically Catholic, elements in their nationalism. Salazar was even credited by *Time* magazine as the perfect Catholic statesman.⁴⁴ A common sentiment about nationalism is that it became the religion of the people. Following this same logic, historical symbols associated with the state were used as religious icons. The strong Christian themes associated with the discoveries and particularly with Prince Henry, as attributed by Zurara, Cadamosto, and Gomes, placed him as a central symbol to the regime. The many manifestations of the discoveries and of Henry present during the Estado Novo carved a large role for him in the construction of the nation's identity.

The Padrão dos Descobrimentos or Monument to the Discoveries in Lisbon, Portugal is a visually moving, massive carving that faces the Tagus River.⁴⁵ It was originally built as part of the Lisbon World Exhibition of 1940, an exhibition that was completely devoted to the discoveries and the Portuguese colonial empire.⁴⁶ The Monument to the Discoveries showed thirty two figures, sixteen on each side of the statue, facing upwards towards the peak of the monument. Among the ranks of these figures were Gomes Eannes de Zurara, Gil Eanes an explorer under Henry, King Afonso V who ruled the Kingdom of Portugal during part of Henry's

⁴³ Hobsbawm, 72.

⁴⁴ Unknown, "Portugal: The War Has Made it Europe's Front Door," *Time Magazine*, July 29 1940, 67.

⁴⁵ See Appendix 1.

⁴⁶ Stewart Lloyd-Jones, *Contemporary Portuguese Political History Research Centre*, Official Guide to the 1940 Exhibition of the Portuguese World, in Fragments, accessed September 1, 2013, <http://cphrc.org/index.php/fragments/116-1940-exhibition-of-the-portuguese-world-a>.

life, Luís Vaz de Camões, Vasco da Gama and others. The monument slopes upwards towards the peak where Prince Henry stood. Holding a small ship in his hands, his gaze was directed outward towards the water. The reverence the other figures show to the figure of Henry was deliberate, many of them have their heads bowed, those who don't look up towards him for leadership.⁴⁷ There were few representations as important as the Monument to the Discoveries, the symbolic value of this monument was apparent. The symbolic importance of Henry as the focal point and apex of the monument suggested his rank among the discoverers was also at the top.

The Monument to the Discoveries may have been the clearest use of Henry as a symbol but it was far from being the only attribution to the discoveries. The connection to Henry was furthered by the same *Time* magazine article written on Portugal. The author wrote about Salazar saying, "By far the world's best dictator, he is also the greatest Portuguese since Prince Henry the Navigator, father of the explorations."⁴⁸ This bold claim linked Henry and Salazar as two figures that helped Portugal reach its destiny. Henry is perceived as the one who created the empire through exploration and Salazar as the one who reclaimed what was glorious about Portugal when it had gone unrealized. The article's continued characterization of Salazar as a kind leader and an ideal catholic statesman, similar to the virtues attributed to Henry by Zurara.⁴⁹ Political documents including the constitution, national anthem⁵⁰, and speeches by Salazar are evidence of a conscious attempt to symbolize the discoveries to construct national sentiment.

⁴⁷ Joaquim Alves Gaspar, *Monument to the Portuguese Discoveries (Padrão Dos Descobrimentos)*, 2009, Lisbon, Portugal.

⁴⁸ Unknown, "Portugal: The War Has Made it Europe's Front Door," 65.

⁴⁹ Unknown, "Portugal: The War Has Made it Europe's Front Door," 67.

⁵⁰ "A Portuguesa" was composed in 1890, well before the Estado Novo. Its importance to the construction of a national consciousness based around the discoveries can't be understated. The discoveries were obviously not forgotten before the Estado Novo. But the use of the anthem, along with many other pre-regime symbols, was taken to a higher level during the years of the regime.

When translated, the first line of the Portuguese national anthem: “A Portuguesa” reads “Heroes of the Sea, noble people.”⁵¹ The theme of the Portuguese people as the heroic people of the sea resonated throughout the piece.⁵² Written in 1910, it clearly qualified as a symbolic representation of the discoveries. It was created in an effort to maintain Portuguese claims in Africa after the British issued an ultimatum to the nation.⁵³

In a speech to the first congress of the União Nacional, Salazar discussed Portuguese nationalism. In this section he outlined a type of Portuguese exceptionalism based on the discovering tradition of the nation. Salazar’s clear motive was to use nationalism and the discoveries as a legitimate basis for maintaining the colonial empire. He did this under the guise of maintaining the “colonizing aptitude” that had been present in the soul of the nation for centuries, as well as linking colonization to the Christianizing efforts of the Portuguese that dated back all the way to Zurara’s depiction of Prince Henry.⁵⁴ To further legitimate the colonial empire and maintain the territories held within it, Salazar and the Estado Novo crafted their constitution with that goal in mind. In article 1, the constitution clearly established all territories that were under Portuguese sovereignty and made clear that Portugal would not give up their right to these territories. In articles 2 and 3 they further these claims as well, applying citizenship to the members of these territories and ensuring the protection of invasion of all the territories.⁵⁵ These were just some of the many examples that can be found from the Estado Novo period that

⁵¹ “Portugal Anthem,” Portugal.com, accessed October 7, 2013, <http://www.portugal.com/information/anthem>.

⁵² See Appendix 2.

⁵³ Portugal.com, “Portugal Anthem.”

⁵⁴ Stewart Lloyd-Jones, *Contemporary Portuguese Political History Research Centre*, 1934-05-26: Salazar’s speech to the first congress of the União Nacional, in Documents, accessed September 1, 2013, <http://cphrc.org/index.php/documents/docnesta/84-1934-05-26-salazars-speech-to-the-first-congress-of-the-uniao-nacional>

⁵⁵ Stewart Lloyd-Jones, *Contemporary Portuguese Political History Research Centre*, 1933 Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, in Documents, accessed September 2, 2013, http://cphrc.org/index.php/documents/docnesta/167-1933-02-22-political-constitution-of-the-portuguese-republic-part-1#section_1

emphasized the discoveries and incorporate them into the ideological construction of the nation. The social commentary and poetry of Fernando Pessoa also provided interesting insights into the symbolic representations of the discoveries.

Fernando Pessoa was a poet active in Portugal during the early twentieth century. In his poem *Mensagem*, Pessoa focused on Portugal's past and used a great deal of symbolism to develop a poetic look into the country's history. Prince Henry was the subject of two of the subsections of the poem, O Infante D. Henrique and O Infante.⁵⁶

In "O Infante D. Henrique", Pessoa wrote, "Em seu throno entre o brilho das esferas,/Com seu manto de noite e solidão."⁵⁷ When translated the poem reads, "On his throne amidst the glint of the spheres/ With his mantle of night and solitude."⁵⁸ Pessoa invoked strong imagery in these first two lines of the five line poem, which symbolized Henry as a King among the heavens. The last two lines furthered this depiction, "O unico imperador que tem de veras,/O globo mundo em sua mão."⁵⁹ When translated the poem reads, "The only emperor who truly holds/ the globe of the world in his hand."⁶⁰ Pessoa called Henry an emperor who held the earth in his hands, no doubt this was a reference to Henry's opening of the world for exploration. It also ties into the luso-messianism Polanah discussed, Henry as the emperor who held the world almost plays as an allusion to the divine. Henry held the earth in his hands just as God would.

⁵⁶ Fernando Pessoa, "Mensagem," in *Obras Poéticas*, (Rio De Janeiro: Companhia José Aguilar Editôra, 1969), 76-78

⁵⁷ Pessoa, 76.

⁵⁸ "Prince Henry, The Navigator," MENSAGEM de Fernando Pessoa; Primeira Parte-BRAZÃOV- O Timbre: A Cabeça do Grypho O INFANTE D.HENRIQUE, last modified December 20, 2003, accessed December, 7 2013, <http://www.historia.com.pt/Mensagem/Brazao/infantetimbre.htm#ingles>

⁵⁹ Pessoa, 76.

⁶⁰ MENSAGEM de Fernando Pessoa; Primeira Parte-BRAZÃOV- O Timbre: A Cabeça do Grypho O INFANTE D.HENRIQUE. "Prince Henry, The Navigator."

Similar themes arose in “O Infante”, the other poem that Pessoa wrote about Henry. The first stanza declared “Deus quiz que a terra fosse toda uma,/Que o mar unisse, já não separasse./Sagrou-te, e foste desvendando a espuma,”⁶¹ When translated this reads, “God wanted the world to be whole, The sea to connect, and no longer divide. He chose you and you went forth unraveling the foam,”⁶² In this, both primacy and luso-messianism were present. God chose Henry as the one to discover, and by doing so Henry became the one responsible for making the world whole. In the last stanza Pessoa concluded, “Quem te sagrou creou-te portuguez./ Do mar e nós em ti nos deu signal.”⁶³ When translated the poem read, “He who hallowed you, made you Portuguese. Of the sea and us, in you he gave us a sign.”⁶⁴ Pessoa was concluding that God made Henry Portuguese for a reason and that Henry could be a sign to all the Portuguese. Pessoa felt that the Prince was worthy of reverence and admiration by the Portuguese. The imagery that Pessoa used when he described Henry in these popular poems furthered the symbolism of the regime. Though it was less political and more cultural, this symbolism still played a vital role. The Estado Novo’s mobilization of history to their political ends was a clearly structured plan. They used Henry as the focal point around which the discoveries could be glorified. Similar to how Zurara built an image of Henry for political and personal motives.

While the discoveries have lost some of the importance attributed by the Estado Novo, they are still an important part of Portuguese identity. The emphases on the discoveries have changed as the colonial empire is no longer a political concern and the fascist government is no longer in power. The Monument to the Portuguese Discoveries still stands, the primary source

⁶¹ Pessoa, 78.

⁶² “Prince Henry,” MENSAGEM de Fernando Pessoa; Segunda Parte- MAR PORTUGUEZ- O INFANTE, last modified January 13, 2004, accessed December 7, 2013, <http://www.historia.com.pt/Mensagem/MarPortugues/infante.htm#ingles>

⁶³ Pessoa, 78.

⁶⁴ MENSAGEM de Fernando Pessoa; Segunda Parte- MAR PORTUGUEZ- O INFANTE, “Prince Henry.”

texts about Henry's life are still circulating, and his legacy seems to still be intact. This furthers the notion that the nationalist representations and symbolic manipulation of Henry were comprehensive and resilient. There were even commemorative Prince Henry coins⁶⁵ minted in 1960, on the five hundredth anniversary of Prince Henry's death.⁶⁶ This date occurred while the Portuguese colonies began their struggle for independence. Perhaps it was a last ditch effort by the regime to unify the nation and empire under their central protagonist, Prince Henry.

The question that is naturally raised from this manipulation is: how can we trust the historical representations of figures and events when there is evidence that the historical evidence is being manipulated or is simply not being analyzed critically. Assuming that the use of Henry as a nationalist symbol and identity builder was not an isolated event brings into question the legacy of other pre-modern discoverers like da Gama, Columbus, Magellan, and others. If we cannot trust the historical standards of chroniclers like Zurara, can we really be certain we know the histories of these and other figures?

The manipulation of historical figures by nationalism and the questionable standards of historians who recorded the lives of these figures leave a great deal of uncertainty on the reliability of information written about them. Zurara could have had political motivations, the hagiographic nature of his chronicle also meant that he was relying heavily on Prince Henry to create his own history. The feudal aspects of Gomes and Cadamosto also must be taken into account, Prince Henry was their lord and this was likely represented in their accounts. Perhaps it was the uncertainty that surrounded these pre-modern sources that allowed for their manipulation by nationalist ideological constructions. The parallels between the nationalist symbolic

⁶⁵ See Appendix 3.

⁶⁶ Chester L. Krause and Clifford Mishler, *Fifteenth Standard Edition Catalog of World Coins* (Iola, Wisconsin: Krause Publications, 1989), 1400.

interpretations of Henry and the character of Henry constructed by Zurara are stunning. The emphasis on extreme virtue of Henry, and by relation the entire Portuguese people, and the Christianizing motives present in the Estado Novo's attempt to hold on to the colonial empire were direct parallels to Zurara. The symbolic characterization of Henry by the Estado Novo was simple and convenient because the chronicler practically attributed to Henry a character fitting of a national hero; at the end of his work, Zurara wrote,

And because you, most high and excellent Prince, among mortals, and according to my thinking, most virtuous lord, chiefly for the sake of thanksgiving didst order me, Gomes Eannes de Azurara, your servant and creature, and through your munificence, Knight and Commander in the Order of Christ, to compose this book, with good reason it seemeth fit that in thanksgiving I should make an end of it.⁶⁷

With so much uncertainty around these sources, it is difficult to discuss the Prince in any more concrete terms than as an ideal of what it meant to be Portuguese.

⁶⁷ Gomes Eannes de Azurara, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea Vol. II.*,

Annotated Works Cited

Primary Sources

Cadamosto, Alouise, trans. *“The Voyages of Cadamosto” In The Voyages of Cadamosto; and Other Documents On Western Africa in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century*
Reprinted, 1.-84. Translated by G.R. Crone. Germany: Kraus, 1967.

This source provides a first-hand account of West African exploration through an Italian ship captain sent out by Prince Henry.

Contemporary Portuguese Political History Research Centre. Edited by Stewart Lloyd-Jones. <http://www.cphrc.org/>

I have multiple sources from this collection including a speech by Salazar, the Portuguese Constitution of 1933, and photos and descriptions of the World Exhibition in Lisbon in 1940. They provide context for Portuguese nationalism and the importance of discovery to the regime.

De Azurara, Gomes Eannes. *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea Vol I.*
Translated by Charles Raymond Beazley and Edgar Prestage. Vol. 1. New York: Burt Franklin, 1896.

De Azurara, Gomes Eannes. *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea Vol II.*
Translated by Charles Raymond Beazley and Edgar Prestage. Vol. 2. New York: Burt Franklin, 1899. Accessed November 10, 2013. Project Gutenberg.

These are the most relevant and in depth primary sources I have. Zurara’s two volume chronicle provides a wealth of information about Henry that I have analyzed in depth. Because of their centrality to my paper, they constitute a large percentage of my footnotes.

Camões, Luiz de, trans. *The Lusiads of Luiz de Camoes*. Reprint ed. Translated by Leonard Bacon. New York: The Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1966.

The Lusiads is Portugal's self-proclaimed national epic, it was published in 1572 around one hundred years after Henry's death. The story centers on Vasco da Gama and Henry is barely mentioned. I will use this source to develop an argument that Henry's place in history has changed over time.

Gomes, Diogo, trans. "*The Voyages of Diogo Gomes.*" In *The Voyages of Cadamosto; and Other Documents On Western Africa in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century*. n Reprint ed, 91-102. Translated by G.R. Crone. Germany: Kraus, 1967.

Diogo Gomes was another captain during West African expansion, he provides another first-hand account of the voyages. Particularly a story he tells about King Nonymans is relevant.

Krause, Chester L., and Mishler, Clifford, *Fifteenth Edition Standard Catalog of World Coins*. Iola, Wisconsin: Krause Publications, 1989.

The Krause Catalog of World Coins is considered to be the most legitimate catalog of this type. In this volume, there is a copy of the 1960 commemorative Prince Henry 20 escudo coin. This source shows Prince Henry was revered enough to be minted as legal tender. I counted this as a primary source because it is cited for the image of The Prince Henry coin that it contains!

Mimoso, João Manuel. "Prince Henry." MENSAGEM de Fernando Pessoa; Segunda Parte-MAR PORTUGUEZ- O INFANTE. Last modified January 13, 2004. Accessed December 7, 2013. <http://www.historia.com.pt/Mensagem/MarPortugues/infante.htm#ingles>

This is an English translation of Pessoa's poem. I used to add clarity to the sections which have the poem in Portuguese.

Mimoso, João Manuel. "Prince Henry, The Navigator." MENSAGEM de Fernando Pessoa;

Primeira Parte-BRAZÃO V- O Timbre: A Cabeça do GryphoO INFANTE

D.HENRIQUE. Last modified December 20, 2003. Accessed December 7, 2013.

<http://www.historia.com.pt/Mensagem/Brazao/infantetimbre.htm#ingles>

This is an English translation of Pessoa's poem. I used to add clarity to the sections which have the poem in Portuguese.

Pessoa, Fernando. "Mensagem," in *Obra Poética: Em Um Volume*. Rio De Janeiro: Companhia

José Aguilar Editôra, 1969.

Pessoa was a poet in twentieth century Portugal. His poem, *Mensagem*, has two subsections titled "O Infante Dom Henrique" and "O Infante". Both refer to Prince Henry.

"Portugal Anthem." Portugal.com. Accessed October 7, 2013.

<http://www.portugal.com/information/anthem>.

The national anthem emphasizes oceanic exploration as central to Portuguese identity. Though it was composed in 1890, it was obviously still relevant during the Estado Novo period.

Unknown. "Portugal: The War Has Made it Europe's Front Door." *Time*, June 1940.

Secondary Sources

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections On the Origin and Spread of*

Nationalism (Revised Edition). New Edition. New York: Verso, 2006.

Anderson provides a theoretical examination of nationalism which was very useful. I will apply his work to Portugal's "imagined communities" and the things that bind them. For Portugal in the Estado Novo period, the discoveries bound the nation together.

Freeland, Alan. "The People and the Poet: Portuguese National Identity and the Camões Tercentary (1880)." In *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula: Competing and Conflicting Identities*, edited by Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith, 53-68. Washington, D.C.: Berg Publishers, 1996.

Freeland's chapter about Portuguese identity in 1880 lays a solid foundation for the nation's construction of identity around the discoveries. This source was relevant because it directly dealt with Iberian nationalism.

Hirschi, Caspar. *The Origins of Nationalism: an Alternative History from Ancient Rome to Early Modern Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Hirschi's work looks at the foundation of the nation as the key to nationalism. I will apply his argument that symbolic heroes are useful to crafting national identity to Henry and Portugal.

Hobsbawm, E. J. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Hobsbawm's analysis of nationalism and the different stages in its development were particularly useful to understanding the state's function. How the state built identity and how it strengthened the nation through ritual, remembrance, myth, etc.

Mar-Molinero, Clare, and Angel Smith, eds. *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula: Competing and Conflicting Identities*. Washington, D.C.: Berg Publishers, 1996.

These essays focused on Portuguese nationalism and were thus extremely useful for understanding what made up national identity. Their conclusions support the importance of discovery to Portuguese identity. The individual essays used are also listed.

Mar-Molinero, Clare, and Angel Smith, "The Myths and Realities of Nation-Building in the Iberian Peninsula." In *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula: Competing and Conflicting Identities*, edited by Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith, 1-32. Washington, D.C.: Berg Publishers, 1996.

Marques, A.H de Oliveira. *History of Portugal*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1972.

Oliveira Marques work provides a thorough and general history of Portugal, including a critique of the myth of Henry as a superhuman figure. He views Henry in the context of medieval Europe, which provides a much more realistic picture.

Polanah, Paulo. "The Zenith of our National History!": National identity, colonial empire, and the promotion of the Portuguese Discoveries: Portugal 1930s." *E-Journal of Portuguese History* 9, no. 1 (Summer, 2011): 39-62. Accessed August 10,2013.

http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/html/issue17/pdf/v9n1a03.pdf.

Polanah examines the importance of the discoveries to national identity in the Estado Novo. This work is the closest scholarly work to my subject, the general analysis Polanah provided was extremely useful for my more specific study of Henry.

Russell, Sir Peter. *Prince Henry the Navigator*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

Russell's biography of Prince Henry is a recent scholarly work that investigated Henry in a new light than most previous historians. (I did not actually cite Russell in a footnote. However, his work certainly contributed to my understanding of the topic.)

Vakil, AbdoolKarim A., "Nationalising Cultural Politics: Representations of the Portuguese 'Discoveries' and the Representations of Identitarianism, 1880-1926." In *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula: Competing and Conflicting Identities*, edited by Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith, 33-52. Washington, D.C.: Berg Publishers, 1996.

Vakil's chapter focused on the development of identitarianism and the discoveries in the 45 years immediately preceding the Estado Novo. His analysis helped to contextualize the themes that were at play in Portugal before the Estado Novo, and how the regime used and transformed these themes for their own purposes.

Appendix 1

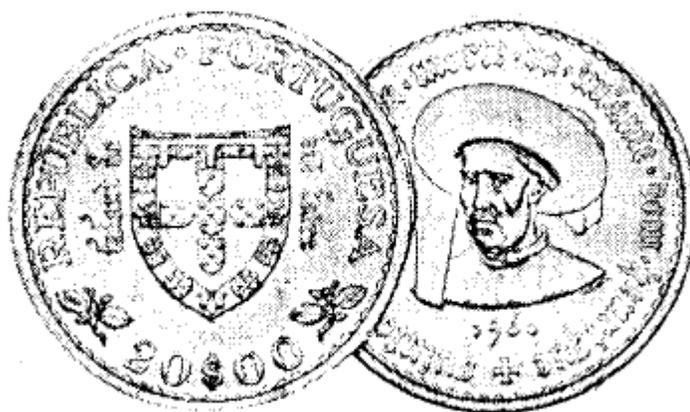


Appendix 2

English	Portuguese
<p>Heroes of the sea, noble race, Valiant and immortal nation, Rise up once again The splendor of Portugal. Out of the mists of memory, Oh Homeland, we hear the voices Of your great forefathers That shall lead you on to victory!</p>	<p>Heróis do mar, nobre povo, Nação valente, imortal, Levantai hoje de novo Os esplendor de Portugal Entre as brumas da memória. Ó Pátria sente-se a voz Dos teus egrégios avós Que há-de guiar-te à vitória.</p>
<p>CHORUS: To arms, to arms On land and sea! To arms, to arms To fight for our Homeland! To march against the enemy guns!</p>	<p>CHORUS: Às armas! Às armas! Sobre a terra, sobre o mar! Às armas! Às armas! Pela Pátria lutar! Contra os canhões marchar, marchar!</p>
<p>Unfurl the unconquerable flag In the bright light of your sky! Cry out all Europe and the world That Portugal has not perished. Your happy land is kissed By the Ocean that murmurs with love. And your conquering arm Has given new worlds to the world!</p>	<p>Desfralda a invicta bandeira À luz viva do teu céu Brade à Europa à terra inteira Portugal não pereceu! Beija o solo teu jucundo O oceano a rujir d'amor; E o teu braço vencedor Deu mundos novos ao mundo!</p>
<p>CHORUS</p>	<p>CHORUS</p>
<p>Salute the Sun that rises On a smiling future: Let the echo of an insult be The signal for our revival. The rays of that powerful dawn Are like a mother's kisses That protect us and support us Against the insults of fate.</p>	<p>Saudai o sol que desponta Sobre um ridente porvir; Seja o eco d'uma afronta O sinal de ressurgir. Raios d'essa aurora forte São como beijos de mãe Que nos guardam, nos sustêm, Contra as injúrias da sorte</p>
<p>CHORUS</p>	<p>CHORUS</p>

Appendix 3

KM#	Date	Mintage	VF	XF	Unc
585	1953	1.000	5.00	7.50	10.00
(Y62)	1953	—	Matte Proof		—

6
0

500th Anniversary Death of Prince Henry the Navigator					
KM#	Date	Mintage	VF	XF	Unc
589	1960	.200	10.00	15.00	20.00
(Y66)	1960	—	Matte Proof		—