

“From Britannic Heroes to the Glorious Alliance”: (Re)Configurations of the British in Portuguese Peninsular War Poetry (1808-1814)*

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Introduction

Between 1808 and 1814, scores of poems on the Peninsular War were published in Portugal, all of which conveyed an extremely favourable and often stereotyped view of Britain, its soldiers and their commanders. The verses were published in several different forms: as broadsheets, in periodicals, in anthologies of the work of particular authors or in collections of poems on the Peninsular War.

Certain publications are worthy of mention due to the number of poems of this kind which appeared in them: *Telegrafo Portuguez*, *Observador Portuguez Historico e Politico de Lisboa*, *Jornal Poetico*, *Diário Lisbonense*, *Correio da Península ou Novo Telégrafo*, *O Patriota*, *Semanario de Instrução e Recreio* and *Jornal de Coimbra*.

As far as anthologies are concerned, the poets who were most prolific in evoking British intervention in the Peninsula were Tomás António

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dos Santos Silva (“Tomino Sadino”), Nuno Álvares Pereira Pato Moniz (“Olinho”), José Agostinho de Macedo (“ElmiroTagídio”), João António Neves Estrela (“João Scalabitano”) and Felisberto Inácio Januário Cordeiro (“Falmeno”), all of whom belonged to the Nova Arcádia, an institution which will be dealt with in greater detail, further on.

Foremost amongst the collections of verses on the Peninsular War is, without doubt, the *Collecção dos Versos, e Descripções dos Quadros Allegoricos, que em todas as Solemnidades Publicas desta Capital Mandou Imprimir, e Gratuitamente Distribuir José Pedro da Silva por Occasião das suas Illuminações na sua Casa na Praça do Rocio* (1812) in Lisbon. In fact, many of the poems were commissioned from his more gifted customers, when news arrived of allied victories, by José Pedro da Silva (1766-1862), better-known as José Pedro das Luminárias. He then had them printed in different collections for distribution, free of charge, around Lisbon, coinciding with the illuminations of the Botequim das Parras, (Fig.1) his well-known hostelry in Rossio. After the literary clubs such as the Arcádia Lusitana or the previously-mentioned Nova Arcádia closed down, literary gatherings generally took place in salons or taverns. The Parras tavern and its owner were typical of the genre, celebrating battles or dates associated with leading figures of the day.



Fig.1 Botequim das Parras

Focussing on Portuguese poems written and published at the time of the Peninsular War, this paper will examine the way their authors, inspired by the spirit of the times, viewed Great Britain and its role in the war on Portuguese soil, and how they created imagotypes of the British army, its principal commanding officers, Wellington and Beresford, and King George III, the sovereign of the allied nation.

In studying the representation of the Other, imagology deals with what is foreign raising in its wake the question of the image as a historical construction. It is true that the British presence in Portugal was not without vicissitudes during the period. It is worth recalling the sadly notorious "Sintra Convention" (1808), the overbearing attitude of the British officer-class in the re-organisation of the Portuguese Army (from 1809 onwards), the tense relationship between British commanding officers and Portuguese Government officials, the looting and destruction during the pursuit of the retreating French Army (1809 and 1810) and, above all, the scorched-earth tactics carried out under Wellington's orders. In spite of all of this, the poems convey an image of *philia* towards the Other, bordering at times on veneration, and this regarding a nation which was not always a loyal and generous ally, an idea which is supported, in part, by the memoirs of the British soldiers, themselves.¹ This phenomenon was the product of several factors which will be analysed in this paper, notably the influence of neo-classicism, with its tendency to inflate great feats and heroes.

The article is divided into two parts: firstly, a brief introduction to the poetry and poets of the first two decades of the nineteenth century, and secondly, an analysis of the poetic images of Britain, including the alliance, the soldiers and their commanding officers and, finally, King George III and his son.

1 Cf. Terenas 2000/2010, 55-106.

I) Portuguese Poetry and Poets of the First Decades of the Nineteenth Century²

In Portugal, the poetry of the first decades of the nineteenth century was inspired by neo-classicism and by the ideas shared by the Arcadians. In effect, the spirit of neoclassicism took shape, in part, through literary salons, where the latest ideas from abroad were discussed, whilst poets presented their latest creations for their colleagues' appreciation. Founded in 1756, a year after the earthquake, the Arcádia Lusitana was similar to the literary academies which had proliferated in Portugal in the seventeenth century, but in accordance with the model of the *Academmmia dell' Arcadia* of Rome, which had been established in 1690 to oppose Marinism and to restore the taste for "noble simplicity". Hence, though sharing the same vocation for the presentation of its members' work, Arcádia Lusitana, unlike its seventeenth century predecessors, was opposed to the Baroque style, in accordance with the ideas of the Portuguese Enlightenment in the first half of the eighteenth century. Its motto, *Inutila truncat* ("away with excess"), revealed a desire to eliminate the stylistic excrescences of the Baroque and exclude the superfluous, a tendency shared by its members in a move towards the criterion of utility in the assessment of literary works. This aspect becomes apparent in the Portuguese poetry of the Peninsular War, especially in the recourse to the lyrical first person who often goes into combat against the enemy: "Into battle let us go, / To arms/ arms, war, war! / (...) Onward, loyal Comrades, / (...) Our Brothers let us save / In Arms, in Faith, in Law:/"³ (Anonym 1808, 1)

In the second half of the eighteenth century, other institutions were set up along the lines of the Arcádia Lusitana, foremost amongst them the short-lived Nova Arcádia, founded in 1790 under

2 On this subject see Peralta García and Terenas, 2015.

3 "Á batalha vamos todos, /Armas, armas, guerra, guerra! / (...) Vamos, fieis Camaradas, / (...) Vamos socorrer Irmãos/ Nas Armas, na Fé, na Lei:/"

The author bears sole responsibility for the English translations of the poems from the original Portuguese.

the title of the Academia das Belas Artes, to which several of the poets under study belonged. Its members were also encouraged to adopt a neo-classical style, excluding everything which might be considered offensive to good taste, restricting themselves to the classics whilst employing greater freedom in their poetical creation, particularly as far as rhyme was concerned, which, however, rarely occurs in the poems analysed later on. The odes of Horace and Pindar continued to be the favoured models, even for their structure of strophe, antistrophe and epode. As in the poetry of the *Arcádia Lusitana*, the (relative) novelty of these odes lies in their historical content, particularly in the celebration of heroes and great events of the Peninsular War, as can be seen straight away from the "Warning" ("Advertencia") before the *Collecção dos Versos*. Here it can be read that the "poetry was especially created to sing the praise of warlike and glorious feats; [and] to celebrate the birthday of the Princes". (Silva 1812, III-IV)

The poets not only sang the praises of Portuguese heroes but also of their British allies, and more particularly of their commanders and their King. Literary imagology deals with the study of the relationship between the Self and the Other, and thus with the construction of images which do not necessarily correspond to the historiography or even to other fictional sources (such as historical novels), a situation which is deserving of further examination. By so doing, I intend to comply with the fundamental requirements of imagological research, as set down by Manfred Beller and Joep Leersson (2007) (amongst others), which implies the deconstruction of strategies of formation of the literary representation (poetic, in this case) of the characteristic, salient features of a given nation or people.

II) Poetic Images of Great Britain

1. “The Noble Assistance of the Mighty Britons” or the Loyal Anglo-Portuguese Alliance

No need have artful British poets
 For the feeble hand of a foreign Bard:
 But Glory’s love,
 And Virtue’s impulse
 Do not let, in Lysia, the elusive breast,
 Take Silence, when what in Song is worthy⁴
 (Nuno Álvares Pereira Pato Moniz)

At the time of the Napoleonic wars, there were two opposing factions in Portuguese society, one favourable to France and the other to Great Britain. This explains, up to a certain point, the attempt by the D. João, the Prince Regent, to sustain a policy of neutrality, particularly at the time of the Continental Blockade of 1806, decreed by Napoleon, a situation which lasted for almost a year. In spite of this, the poems under study conveyed the idea that the loyal allies had reacted to the blockade immediately, hastening to the Peninsula to Portugal’s aid:

Neptune groans ‘neath British timber
 From the undulating Forest, from the Naval Blockade
 (More heroic than the Dardanic seige)
 See, the Noose now tightens:
 Heroic, warlike England joins the fight
 And the Gauls, by fire and sword are drove aground!⁵ (Estrela 1808, 11)

4 “Vates Bretões eximios não carecem/O auxilio ineficaz d’estranho Vate:/Porém o amor da gloria,/ O ímpeto da virtude/Não deixa em Lysia, que no esquivo seio/Tome o Silencio, o que do Canto he digno.”

5 “Geme Neptuno c’os Britanos Lenhos/Do Bosque undoso, do Naval Bloqueio;/ (Mais Heroico, que o Cêrco de Dardânia)/Eis o Cordão se aperta:/Combate a Heroica, Bellica Inglaterra/E a fogo, e ferro os Gallios põem por terra!”

It was far from simple generosity towards its centuries-old ally which led the British Government to intervene in the War, however. The historiography of the period of the French Invasions shows that Great Britain not only hesitated regarding military action in the Peninsula, but also, when it finally decided to intervene, it was to safeguard its own interests on the international political scene, rather than to defend its small and loyal Iberian ally. In spite of this, the Portuguese poetry of the time spared no praise for the attitude of the British who, in the name of the “old alliance” had come once again to help the Portuguese, this time to free them from the Napoleonic yoke. By evoking the different episodes of the long history of the alliance – the conquest of Lisbon or the reconstruction of the capital after the earthquake of 1755 – the lyrical *Self*, in an ode by Nuno Álvares Pereira Pato Moniz, projects a model image of the allies behaviour, whenever the Portuguese needed their help, for example in the conquering of the city of Lisbon from the Moors:

As when Affonso stretched forth the bounds
 Of the Portuguese Empire, ousting
 Intruder Lords,
 To redeem Ulysseia
 A hundred mighty ships upon the Tagus
 Did proudly fill with Albion's legions:

And trembling at the sounds of war
 Soon the Moorish hordes would sense
 That they, within five moons
 To their cost would see
 Conquering Lusitania force the walls
 With the Mighty Britons' noble aid.
 (...)

And where the valiants from Lusitania
 First dared to force a way
 Triumphantly the waving English flags
 Shall ever grow in strength
 Until on high they fly
 As indomitable Masters of the Seas.⁶ (Moniz 1812, 153-154)

This model image of the alliance was also projected into a glorious future in which both nations, united by their magnificent Empires, would advance side by side, ready to provide assistance to each other, were it required. This, as is well-known, was not the case, with the British *Ultimatum* of 1890 offering sufficient proof of the fact:

So firm and so loyal among nations
 No such noble Alliance ever existed
 Shrewd, subtle in understanding,
 Steadfast in perilous endeavours,
 Strong in arm and generous in Spirit
 English and Portuguese, an alliance
 Founded on the similarity of virtues:
 (...)
 From the two Empires, Britannic and Lusitanian
 The world will see the creation of one Empire alone,
 (...)⁷ (Moniz 1809, 6)

Considered by many to be a “shameful flight”, the departure of the royal family to Brazil, a few days after Junot’s invasion of Portugal, was a widely debated decision which was seen by several observers

6 “Já quando Affonso as métas alongava/Do Imperio Portuguez, desapossando/Intrusos Senlitorios,/ A remir Ulysséa/Cem pujantes Baixeis no Têjo arfarão/Das Albiónias legiões pejados:/E, ao bellico ruído estremecendo,/A Maura multidão teve o presagio./Que dentro em sinco Luas/Veria a seu despeito/ O Luso Vencedor forçar-lhe os muros,/Co’ a nobre ajuda dos Bretões Mavortes./(...)E, por onde os de Luso valerosos/Ousáram de romper primeiro a estrada,/Ovantes tremulando/As Anglicas Bandeiras,/ Medrãram sempre em força, até se alçarem/Indómitas Senhoras do Oceano.”

7 “Tão firme, e tão fiel entre alguns Póvos/Não presistio jamais nobre Alliança./Perspicazes, subteis no entendimento,/Constantes nas empezas arriscadas,/Fortes no Braço, e generosos n’Alma/Anglos, e Lusos, a aliança encontrão/Na similhaça das virtudes suas:/(...) Dos dois Imperios, o Britano e o Luso,/Virá o mundo formar-se hum só Imperio,/(...)”

as a plan devised by the British to impose their dominion in South America and influence Portuguese policy. According to this interpretation, Lord Strangford, London's representative in Lisbon, played a decisive role in the decision of the Prince Regent to flee and abandon his subjects to the mercies of the fearsome enemy. In the poems under study, however, the departure of the royal family is seen as a landmark for the future of Portugal, and a moment when the British gave support and protection which helped to save the Portuguese monarchy from a destiny which was foreseen as fatal and perhaps identical to that of the Spanish monarchs:

Such was Britannia's high endeavour
 Loyal Great-Britain, which Providence
 Put forward as an instrument at its orders.
 Constant in friendship, which from olden days
 Links the Tagus with the chill Thames;
 Constant in alliance, which joins the Lusitanian court to Albion proud,
 Opens its arms to save the dear Prince
 From the perfidious ambush, that his terrible
 And vile enemies, under the guise of affectionate
 Friendship would prepare.
 Now the knot in the fatal cord is undone,
 That to cruel plans the New World would subject.
 America now ministers to the God of the seas.
 New resources, new strengths which resist
 In Europe against the interfering Monocrator.
 (...) ⁸ (Carneiro 1808, 6)

8 "(...)/Tanto foi de Britania o alto esforço;/Grã-Bretanha fiel, que a Providencia/Propoz das Ordens suas instrumento./Constante na amizade, que d'antigo/Une os laços do Têjo ao Tamisa frio;/Constante na aliança, que ligara/À Lusa Corte a d'Albiaõ soberba,/Os braços abre, e salva o charo Príncipe/Da pérfida emboscada, que os terríveis,/Os vís inimigos seus, sob os carinhos/De fingida amizade prepararão./He nesta hora, que o nó se despedaça/Da cadêa fatal, que o novo mundo/Às cruéis tramas ia sujeitar./Já America ministra ao Deos do mar./Novos recursos, novas forças, que resistão/Da Europa ao Monocrator ingente. (...)"

Although the diplomatic negotiations concerning the long-awaited allied landing had been somewhat complicated, the poems convey a mirage-like image of a loyal and fearless nation which had immediately come to the assistance of the Portuguese people, who, though weakened by the absence of the Prince Regent, were fighting to the death to free Portuguese soil from the foreign yoke.⁹ Instead of being perceived as working together with the Portuguese leaders of the national rebellions, as they were in several Portuguese historical novels, the members of the British Expeditionary Force were seen as saviours of the nation:

And as the waves give way 'neath the colossal burden
Of the British ships, how resolute
They fly to defend their absent Friend!...
The Sun glints on the polished weapons
As shining, they aspire
For a field of fire without delay:
Drums and trumpets sound, and the earth trembles
Beneath the sound of hooves and wheels
Imitating thunder as they roll.¹⁰ (Silva 1812, 14)

In the previously-mentioned “Warning” (“Advertência”) to the *Collecção dos Versos*, for example, it can be read that, with Great Britain’s help, the Portuguese gave expression to their patriotism, whilst at the same time Portugal was instantly restored, and “the Portuguese Muses (...) would sing the prodigious feats of the Valiant Anglo-Portuguese warriors, Companions in Glory, Brothers-in-Arms.”¹¹ (Silva 1812, III) Clearly, it would be difficult to affirm that the kingdom had been “instantly restored”, as the population had suffered greatly under the

9 Cf. Terenas 2012, 223.

10 “Mas eis vergando o mar ao pezo imenso/Dos Baixéis dos Britanos, que briosos/Voão a defender o Amigo ausente!.../O Sol nas limpas armas,/E fulgindo, s’antolha/Logo campo de fogo:/Soão clarins, tambores, treme a terra/Com som quadrupedante, e c’o as carretas/Q’o fragor do trovão rolando imitam.”

11 “as Musas Portuguezas (...) cantarão os prodigiosos feitos dos Valentes Guerreiros Anglo-Lusos, companheiros na Gloria, e Irmãos nas Armas”.

Junot's rule, and any sign of rebellion had been violently put down. The attempted rebellions in the Minho, Douro, Trás-os-Montes, Alentejo or the Algarve are worth recalling at this point. On the other hand, after the allied landing at Lavos, there were two important battles – Roliça and Vimeiro – followed by the signing of a Convention which was widely considered disfavourable to Portugal's interests. In fact, the armistice, as it is well-known, became sadly notorious, due to the dishonourable outcome both for the Portuguese people and for the British Army. The departure of the French was complicated by the terrible thirst for vengeance of the population of Lisbon which led to lynchings, threatening the lives of the British soldiers themselves. Despite all of this, at the time of "the restoration of the Kingdom", which was celebrated with great pomp on September 15th, 1808, the poems under study suggest that freedom from French dominion depended upon a solid union between two friendly, allied nations, whose cooperation, on an equal basis, was never in question:

A thousand congratulations, o Lysia, o beloved Homeland,
 Slavery is dead, end your mourning:
 In Oporto, in Torres your pendant flutters,
 Your loyal Allies, your noble sons,
 Crown with green laurel
 With Jasmine and Roses
 Among festive salvos!¹² (Silva 1812, 16)

The idea of cooperation between equals was rarely confirmed by events, as the positions of command were almost always in the hands of the British. The poems, however, often convey a different story. So, for example, in a verse by an anonymous author which served as the title for illuminations commemorating the third anniversary of the restoration of the Kingdom, on September 18th, 1811, the following is written:

12 " Mil parabens, ó Lysia, ó Patria amada,/Findou-se a escravidão, despoja o lucto:/Em porto em torres teu pendão tremólla,/Teus Aliados fiéis, teus nobres filhos/De verde louro enrama/De Jasmins, e de Rosas/ Entre festivas salvas!"

On this day the Heroes of the Tagus
 In bold exploits, along with Britannia
 Among amazing feats of valour
 Earned their places in Eternity.
 (...) ¹³ (Silva 1812, 16)

The Alliance and the allies are portrayed, in this way, through collective character imago-types which demonstrate scant respect for the predominant role of asymmetrical power relationships in the European theatre of war. Deconstruction allows an analysis of the political, social and military relationships between two nations, which were aspired to, over a particular historical period. The same phenomenon becomes apparent from the examination of the imago-logical (con)figurations of British soldiers and their military leaders, as we shall now see.

2. “Valiant Warriors”: the Heroic and Fearsome British Soldiers

Valiant Englishmen
 Always redoubtable, always generous,
 In the Temple of Memory
 I see the raising of an Altar to your glory;¹⁴
 (António Joaquim de Carvalho)

Historiography, memorialism and narrative fiction on the British role in the War reveal that the behaviour of the British Army was not always irreprehensible. Incidents of disrespect for the Portuguese authorities, of excessive protection towards the French, of arrogance regarding a people whom they considered to be inferior, and even acts of looting and vandalism, all occurred during the presence of the

13 “He este o dia em que os Heróis do Têjo/Co’á Britanna, guerreira actividade,/Por entre assombros de valor sobejo/Se forão collocar na Eternidade./ (...)”

14 “Inglezes valerózos/Sempre temíveis, sempre generózos,/No Templo da Memória/Vejo erigir-se Altar à vossa glória;”

British on Portuguese soil.¹⁵ Nevertheless, in the poems under study they were portrayed as valiant and redoubtable protectors of the people of the Peninsula against the terrible French invader:

O, under the skies of Lysia
 How many boast your Fame
 Britons, in praises for all to hear!
 And O, in the fields of Lusitania
 How many abound with Mars-like lustre
 Palm fronds for the Sons of Albion!
 How many will be cut
 From proud trees to crown you!¹⁶ (Moniz 1812, 185)

Contrary to what usually happens, and despite the fact that they are projected by members of a group (of poets, in this example) who act to coordinate behaviour and feelings in a situation of conflict, as Craig McGarty explains, (2002, 5) these stereotyped images of the heroic “Sons of Albion”, have a positive, rather than negative, connotation. Stereotypes play a fulcral role in intercultural relations and as they are not static entities they would appear to vary according to the situation – the War, in this particular case. The use of a (positive) stereotype, simplifying and labelling the Other, in this way, elicits an immediate response and acts as a disseminating factor. The positive stereotypes or imagotypes enshrined in the poems carry out a pragmatic role within the conflict, creating and disseminating an image of the Other which ultimately exposes the narrow ideological space in which the poets are situated.

Foremost amongst the heroic “Sons of Albion” are Wellington and Beresford who will be examined next.

15 Cf. Terenas 2000/2010, 94.

16 “Oh! polos Ceos de Lysia/Quantos a Fama espalha/Britannos gabos com rotunda boca!/E oh! nas campinas Lusas/Quantas vicejão com Mavorcio lustre/Palmas, aos Filhos d’Albion votadas!/Quantas para enrama-los/Mostrão cortadas os soberbos Troncos!”

2.1. “The Undefeated Hero”: Sir Arthur Wellesley, Lord Wellington¹⁷

Whilst recognising the undeniable qualities of the leader of the British Expeditionary Force, both historiography and narrative fiction (particularly that written by Portuguese authors) do not fail to criticise certain attitudes and events which had extremely negative consequences for Portugal. First and foremost, the total lack of respect for the opinion of the Portuguese military leaders, such as Bernardino Freire de Andrade, with whom he never reached an understanding as to the best strategy to adopt after the landing at Lavos; and the dramatic consequences of the “Sintra Convention”, allowing the French to evacuate their troops with the valuables they had looted, under the protection of the English Navy. During the third invasion Wellington was considered to be responsible for the fall of Almeida due to the lack of timely reinforcements, and he was also accused of connivance with Beresford in the death sentence of Col. Costa e Almeida. During the time of Masséna’s invasion, the British General had to face the opposition of the Council of Regency concerning his “scorched-earth” policy, which left the country devastated and obliged the population to destroy their property and crops, abandon their lands and take refuge behind the Lines of Torres. In addition Wellington took the credit for the idea of the construction of the Lines, although, according to certain Portuguese historians, it was no more than the implementation of a plan which was first drawn up by the Portuguese Major José Maria das Neves Costa.¹⁸

However, in the texts of the poems these incidents are not even touched upon and the authors focus on the “golden” episodes of the remarkable career of the distinguished General in the Peninsula, describing him as the “Saviour of the Homeland”, the “Undefeated Hero” and the liberator of oppressed nations. His praises are sung to the victories obtained under his command in battles such as Vimeiro, Oporto, Buçaco, Badajoz or Talavera, as can be seen, for example, in

17 On the image of Wellington in the Portuguese poetry see Bello 2003, 59-71.

18 Cf. Terenas 2012, 53-56, 333 and 359.

the following sonnet by João Bernardo da Rocha Loureiro, distributed during the celebrations in Rossio on the retreat of the French Armies, in April 16th, 17th and 18th, 1811:

Mars, whom the Lusitanian esteems a warrior
And the Portuguese Spirit, the protective talisman
Demand from Memory the golden temple
Where Fame awards the entire prize:

Mars to the Goddess spoke up first:
'WELLINGTON deserves the eternal laurels;
'For him speak Bussaco and the Douro,
'Talavera la Real and gentle Vimeiro.

Whence replies the Goddess:
'Mars, it is just, I will crown him
'In green laurel, Glory's head-dress:

His name, O Portuguese Spirit, will vanquish Time
Next to his name I will engrave in History
*As Valiant in Lysia, as Fabius in Rome.*¹⁹ (Loureiro 1812, 31)

Wellington also stands out as an exemplary commander, gifted with exceptional qualities, who was capable of leading to success the Portuguese soldiers who fought under his orders:

Destined to wear the laurel crown,
Once again the Lusitanians will triumph;
On WELLINGTON's command they will eagerly march,
For his voice is the talisman of victory.

19 "Marte, que o Luso estima por Guerreiro,/E o Genio Luso, tutelar agoiro,/Demandão da Memoria o templo de oiro,/Onde a Fama reparte premio inteiro:/Mavorte á Deosa assim fallou primeiro:/'Merece WELLINGTON sempiterno loiro;/'Por elle fallão o Bussaco, e o Doiro,/Talavera a Real, gentil Vimeiro,/ Então lhe torna a Deosa da Memoria:/ 'Gradivo, he justo, eu vou cingir-lhe a coma/ 'Do verde loiro, do cocár da Gloria:/'Seu nome, ó Genio Luso, os tempos doma,/ 'Junto a seu nome vou gravar na Historia'/ Vales em Lysia, quanto Fabio em Roma."

New to arms, pallid and tarnished
 The wicked were tested in Badajoz:
 The Corsicans will rue Portuguese steel
 Just as the Moor in days gone by.

(...)²⁰ (Moniz 1812, 115)

Respected and acclaimed by his subordinates, Portuguese or British both followed him unquestioningly, certain that they would triumph under his command. Trusting entirely in the capabilities of their wise leader, his men went into battle sure of victory. (Moniz 1812, 187) Wellington, therefore, appears as a military genius: bold, determined and fearless, the only one in the whole world who, victory upon victory, would defeat Napoleon and his legendary leaders: the “despotic and enraged Junot” at Vimeiro, Marshal Victor at Talavera and the arrogant and ambitious Masséna, Prince of Essling, first at Buçaco, then in front of the Lines of Torres and finally at Fuentes de Oñoro:

(...)
 Not even these are the greatest splendours
 Which will light the Lusitanian sphere
 ‘Brighter than all
 ‘Will shine forth WELLINGTON
 ‘Next to whom
 ‘The likes of Camillus, Fabius, Scipio and Marcellus
 ‘Lesser heroes perhaps will seem!

 ‘The despotic Junot, in vain enraged
 ‘Summons together in Vimeiro’s fields
 ‘The barbarous mob
 ‘Which trails behind and imitates him;
 ‘Trembling suddenly at the voice of WELLINGTON,
 ‘The faltering Eagles are dashed into the dust.

20 “Vezados a cingir na frente o loiro,/ Inda outra vez os Lusos triunfarão;/Á voz de WELLINGTON/férvidos marcharão,/E he da victoria a sua voz o agoiro./Novo por armas, pálido desdoiro/Em Badajoz os pérfidos provarão:/Cursos ao ferro Portuguez tomarão/ O medo, que lhe teve outr’ora o Moiro./(...)”

'Through the fields of famous Talavera
 'In eternal fame his Name shall live;
 'And atop the alp-like hills
 'Of formidable Bussaco
 'For his contempt, the despot d'Essling's cries shall
 'Ring out for ever in the echoes:

'Chasing after the happy delusion,
 'The one that brings the presumed laurels,
 'From Ullisseia before the walls
 'He in vanity takes position;
 'And there discovers, to his cost
 'The perils of audacity and the errors of ambition.

'He from the bold endeavour quits
 'On Scalabis' field he calls to flee:
 'Flee, he does, but pays the price,
 'Suffering loss and tarnished fame:
 'And in Fuentes de Oñoro more disasters
 'And summoning the heinous Bessieres, he suffers once again.
 (...) ²¹ (Moniz 1812, 157-158)

Wellington, moreover, is portrayed as a humane strategist who, contrary to what was said about the French Emperor, often spared lives because of the intelligent way he planned his military operations. Wellington is thus seen by the Portuguese poets as a father who conquers the love of the populace by protecting his children from

21 " (...) / 'Nem serão estes o maior Luzeiro / 'Que ha de ilustrar a Lusitana esphêra; / 'Maior que todos eles / 'Rutilará WELLINGTON, / 'Por quem talvez menos Herões pareção / 'Camillos, Fabios, Scipiões, Marcellos! / 'O Despota Junot, em vão raivoso, / 'Congregará nos campos do Vimeiro / 'A barbara cetera, / 'Que o segue, e que o imita; / 'A voz de WELLINGTON súbito tremendo / 'Róvão no pó esmorecidas Aguias. / 'Nos campos da lembrada Talavera / 'Com fama eterna viverá seu Nome; / 'E nas alpestres serras / 'Do difficil Bussaco / 'Do Despota d'Essling hão-de os clamores, / 'Por menoscabo seu, viver nos échos; / 'Correndo após o venturoso engano, / 'A que o conduzem presumidos lauros, / 'De Ulysséa antes os muros / 'Se postará vaidoso; / 'E alli conhecerá, com seu destroço, / 'Os erros da ambição, da audacia os p'rigos. / 'Da temerária empreza desistindo / 'De Scálabis no campo apella á fuga; / 'Foge, mas não sem custo, / 'E com desdoiro, e perda; / 'E inda em Fuentes d'Honor novos desaires / 'Soffrerá, convocando o atróz Bessieres. / (...) "

a terrible fate. (A.X.F. de A. 1811, 2) Hence, running through many of the poems under study, there is a sentiment of gratitude towards the Liberator of the Portuguese people (and all the oppressed nations under the Napoleonic yoke) whose name would be venerated for ever:

(...)

Lusitanians, in Gratitude be guided by the deity;
He who saved you from a terrible fate
Must perpetually honoured be.

Let us amongst the cheers and laurel branches
Pull the triumphal Chariot of the Numen
Who will be marvelled at for centuries to come."²² (Barros 1813, 12)

These are clearly idealised images, of favourable hetero-imagotypes which are intended not only to reveal *philia* towards the Other, but also a certain image of those who formulated them, characterised by the (supposed) respect, humility and gratitude of the Portuguese nation.

2.2. "The Thunder is Britannia, the Lightning, Lysia": William Carr Beresford

And you, o Beresford, if you so overthrow,
And Victory travels with You where'er you go,
A hundred tubas are too few your Fame to blow,
And too small the Temple of Immortal Memory.²³
(Anonym)

Appointed with the rank of Field Marshal, William Carr Beresford was chosen to carry out the difficult mission of disciplining and

22 " (...) / Luso, da Gratidão vos guie o nume; / Quem vos salvou dos hórridos desdoiros / Deve adorar-se com tenaz costume. / Vamos por entre vivas, e entre loiros / Puchar o Carro triunfal do Numé / Que ha-de assombrar os Seculos vindoros."

23 "E tu, ó Beresford, se assim derrubas, / E onde vás em Ti levas a Victoria, / Ser-te-hão da Fama poucas as cem tubas, / E estreito o Templo da Immortal Memoria."

reorganising the dismantled Portuguese Army. However, shortly after having taken over the post, Beresford began to reveal a personal agenda, which became more apparent after the end of the War. A strict disciplinarian, Field Marshal Beresford severely punished even the slightest sign of insubordination, which led to growing resistance against his leadership. Moreover, he was extremely critical of the deplorable state in which he found the Portuguese Army and attributed many of the positions of leadership to British officers, later proving to be over-convicted (like virtually all his countrymen, in fact) that the improvement in the performance of the Portuguese troops was due to the training which was supplied by such officers, and by himself in particular.²⁴

Such facts are ignored in the poetic texts, and with the exception of Wellington, Beresford was the most celebrated military hero of the War. His name is evoked -- "Undefeated General", "Son of Mars" -- particularly due to the victory at the Battle of Albuera, fought on May 16th, 1811, and celebrated the following day in Lisbon, but also because of the battle of Salamanca in August 1812, where he was seriously wounded, and the occupation of Bordeaux in March 1814. Curiously (and perhaps not by mere coincidence) the three episodes occur outside Portuguese territory, which may have increased their mythical effect. Besides glorifying the British Field Marshal, the following sonnet on the Battle of Albuera emphasises, in revengeful terms, the defeat of Soult, who had invaded Portugal in 1809:

Bravo, undefeated Beresford, Britannic Mars,
Terror to the French, and to the Lusitanians, glory,
Ample victory in Triple Union,
Eagles and the Corsican standard prostrate before you:

To you goes Fame, to you the prize
At Albuera (Soult is part of history)
In triumph in the Temple of Memory,
An engraved Bust eternal in your name:

24 Cf. Terenas 2000/2010, 80.

Through the perennial vaults
 The voice of the Goddess echoes:
 'Albuera, Beresford, resounds:

'Soul defeated in bloody Battle:'
 And before the immortal Deities
 The Bust is crowned, your name engraved by Fame.²⁵ (Estrela 1811, 5)

On the occasion of the victory at Salamanca, Beresford, who would later oppress the Portuguese people, is portrayed by the short-sighted, myth maniacal bard, as a fearless hero who has made a brilliant contribution to Portuguese History with his triumph, his name being duly engraved for ever in the "temple of memory". The sonnet which follows is dedicated to the recovery of the authoritarian Marshal, who, as was mentioned previously, was seriously wounded in the battle:

Dry your tears, o Lysia tender,
 Stain not the laurels of Victory!
 The General is saved; whose life, for greater glory
 Fortune, who protects him, placed in jeopardy.

At the head of the enraptured Falange,
 Heroic feats you gave to Lusitanian History,
 Contented, you march into the Temple of Memory,
 Sharing with your sons, the same risk and struggle.

Crowned by Mars at Albuera:
 Spread the word, I saw him with sword in hand
 At Salamanca scattering horror, and death.

25 "Bravo, invicto Beresford, Britano Marte,/Terror dos Gallos, e dos Lusos gloria,/Que em Triplice União ampla Victoria,/Aguias te prostra, e o Córscico Estandarte:/Eis vai a Fama, eis vai o premio dar te Em Albuera (de Soutl escrita a historia)/E em triunfo no Templo da Memoria,/Hum Typo, hum Busto eterno levantar-te;/Nas perennes abobedas ressoa/A voz que do clarim a Deosa espalha:/Albuera, Beresford, retumba e soa:/Vencido he Soutl em hórrida Batalha:/Eis ante os Numes immortaes se c'roa O Busto, que Teu Nome a Fama talha."

Misfortune vanquished, a thousand triumphs I foresee;
 It is in peril that a man grows stronger
 The more audacious, the more victorious he shall be. (R.F.C. [?] 1812, 872)

3. “The God of Nations” or “the Hero Monarch”: George III

Great George, strong and industrious King,
 Of the Isle in everything, and of all the First,
 Admired almost everywhere on Earth,
 Revered on Land, and on the High Seas.²⁶
 (Tomás António dos Santos e Silva)

George III's (1738-1820) serious mental illness, which is confirmed by British historiography, would become more serious from 1788 onwards, culminating in the official recognition of his total incapacity to rule. The Regency was assumed by the Prince of Wales (the future George IV) in 1811.²⁷ However, in several of the texts studied here, the ultra-conservative George III symbolises the opposition to Napoleonic despotism, the defence of freedom and the extraordinary resistance to the dangerous enemy, when all the other European nations had bowed to oppression and Bonaparte's tyranny. (Moniz 1812, 155) Amongst the different poems dedicated to the “hero monarch”, those which were distributed on June 4th, 1811 and 1812, on the occasion of the royal birthday, are worthy of note, some being used as captions for the Rossio illuminations, in which the portrait of the “magnanimous monarch” (Silva 1812, 47) could be seen. In these poems, George III is represented as a feared, respected and model sovereign, a true Lord of the Seas, whose power, used as it was, in freeing his domains from evil brigands i.e. the French, is likened to that of Neptune in Santos e Silva's “Cantata”:

26 “Eis Jorge, eis o alto Rei, forte, e fecundo,/Da Ilha em tudo, e de todas a Primeira,/Que se preza de quasi a Terra inteira/Render-lhe culto em Solo, ou Mar profundo.”

27 Cf. Kenyon 1988, 149-150.

(...)

But the God, who from the waves, rules o'er the Throne,

(...)

It was on that Day! The Phebeian light

On great GEORGE first shone,

A Model Sovereign, the Britannic King

With whom, if I have not entirely passed it on,

At least I have shared

My shining Trident, so I can rest

From my lengthy, perennial task

Of ruling the Seas, and keeping them free

From vile Brigands and Pirates,

Like the Corsican, and his cruel Ministers,

Who, not content with laying waste the Land,

Would in sacrilege divest me

Of my rights, my fiefdoms, my dominions.

Thanks be, however, to my powerful Ancient

Rival, who is feared and respected

(From Pole to Pole, and from Ursa to Ursa

All the more so, now his undefeated arms

Are united to brave Hispania, and brave Lusitania)²⁸ (Silva 1812, 148-149)

According to these poems, the insane George III was not just a virtual maritime God, he was also the sovereign of a nation of heroes, from which Wellington emerges as a “satellite of the auspicious” king (Silva 1812, 53) and the one who brings his designs to fruition. Moreover, the system of Government which is, ostensibly, associated with him, guarantees the preservation of freedom for all nations, and even the maintenance of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance:

28 “(…)/Mas o Deos que das vagas rege o Throno,/(…)/Em hum tal Dia! nelle a luz Phebêa/Vio pela primeira vez o grande JORGE,/O Modêlo de Reis, o Rei Britanno/Com quem, s’acaso o não cedi de todo,/De certo ao menos repartido eu tenho/Meu fulgido Tridente, a fim que folgue/De minha longa, perenal tarefa/Em dominar os Mares, e alimpalo/De vis Salteadores, vis Piratas,/Qual esse Corso, e seus crueis Ministros,/Que não contente d’assolar a Terra,/Esbulhar-me sacrilégio pretende/De meus foros, meus feudos, meus domínios./Graças porém ao Ancião potente/Rival meu, que temido, e respeitado/(D’hum Polo em outro Polo, d’Ursa em Ursa/Mórmemente depoisque seu braço invicto/Unio ao bravo Hispano, e ao Luso bravo)”

'A Nation zealous of its rights,
 'With wise Laws and an exalted King
 'Offers and ensures you
 'Unequalled shelter:
 'From here you shall dominate both Seas,
 'And give assistance to the Continent.

'From here Worthiness and Wisdom springs
 'Flowing to the affluents of the Tagus,
 'In triumph you shall dam
 'The fury of alluvium,
 'Which from the Pyrenees would rush,
 'Down to the walls of Ulysseia:
 (...) ²⁹ (Moniz 1812, 156)

Essentially due to the encomiastic and mirage-like tendencies of these servile writers, George III is portrayed as a British demi-god who has answered the prayers of the Portuguese people, an exalted angel, a sublime, admirable exterminator of world tyranny and the liberator of Portugal, a place where he spread joy and glory:

On the Tagus in full sail, a thousand swimming Keels
 Your festive BIRTHDAY, o August GEORGE,
 Shall honour, thundering, the glory with which you shine,
 Bringing pleasure to the Tagus and trembling to the Seine.

Far from Albion, the Islands' finest flower,
 Portuguese and Britons will revere your Bust,
 Such great wonders can only thrive
 Through Government, which is wise and free and just:

29 " 'Hum Povo zelador dos seus direitos,/Sábua Legislação, e hum Rei sublime/Te offerecem, te affianção/Guarida incontrastavel:/Daqui dominarás ambos os Mares,/E prestarás auxilio ao Continente./Daqui pólo Valor, pola Sapiencia/A's ribeiras do Têjo conduzida,/Represarás triunfante/A alluviação furiosa,/Que, desde os Pyrenéos precipitada,/Há-de correr aos muros de Ulysséa:(...)"

Thus is the glory great to be a Monarch;
 Hear what prayers Lysia offers to the Heavens,
 Great King, whose Name is known around the World:

'From tyranny GEORGE has saved us...
 'For us he has been like a God...O Fate,
 'Let this happy day live forever.³⁰ (Loureiro 1812, 380)

Hence, through a network of complementarities representing the Other, together with a process of generalisation and standardisation of imagotypes, the members of the House of Hannover became the supreme representatives of a remarkable lineage, the eulogies of which were to include the future George IV. (Moniz 1812, 159) There are, in fact, several poems exclusively dedicated to the Prince of Wales, "to the new GEORGE, Anglia's High Regent", (Silva 1812, 60) written according to the theme "from such a Father, such a Son is expected", for his birthday which was celebrated poetically on August 12th, 1811, and also on the same date, in 1812 and 1813. The poems in question were a saphic ode and two sonnets by Tomás António dos Santos e Silva; two odes, a sonnet and two quatrains by Nuno Álvares Pereira Pato Moniz; and a sonnet by Miguel António de Barros. It is significant that in this group of texts, the new Regent follows in his Father's footsteps as far as the maintenance of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance is concerned, whilst, at the same time, there is an illusory approximation between the two allied Regents, George of England and João of Portugal. Such wishful thinking had no correspondence with reality, except in as far as the responsibilities they held were due to the fact that both were the children of demented parents; but even so, the impact on the readership of the writers was considerable:

30 " No Têjo arfando, mil nadantes Qilhas/Ao teu fausto NATAL, ó JORGE Augusto,/Honrão, troando, a gloria com que brillas,/E ao Têjo dão prazer, e ao Sena susto./Remotos d'Albion, a flor das Ilhas,/Adorão Lusos, e Bretões teu Busto,/Que só produz tamanhas maravilhas/Hum Governo, que he sábio, he livre, he justo;/Assim he gloria extrema o ser Monarcha;/Ouve quaes preces Lysia aos Ceos envia,/Grande Rei, cujo Nome o Mundo abarca:/JORGE nos ha salvado á tyrannia.../Tem sido para nós hum Nume... ó Parca,/ 'Eterno deixa tão risonho dia."

If to Kings far greater brilliance the heavens exhale,
 And the Stars to your image add pomp,
 Phoebus, and Cynthia will be eclipsed by your light,
 Anglia and Lysia, Sisters for better and for worse!

Whilst One, and the Other are far away
 Your light cannot restore them to our vales
 From Brazil, that of the Moon the Prince surpasses,
 That of the Sun is surpassed by the PRINCE of Wales:
 (...) ³¹ (Silva 1812, 68)

Probably the future George IV (though accustomed to the flattery of spirits who were still neo-classical or romantic in inspiration, but undoubtedly superior in talent) had never been the subject of so much reverence. In effect, the figures who constitute the imagotypes under study cannot possibly coincide with reality, as the images presuppose the almost total absence of homology between the literary (poetic) and the extra-literary (political, social or historiographical).

Conclusions

By deconstructing the image of veneration of the British conveyed by the Portuguese poetry of the Peninsular War, one can conclude that it was essentially the product of the time in which it was written, from both the literary and historiographical viewpoints.

On one hand, lyrical poetry had become a vehicle of patriotic glorification and apologetic pedagogy, without totally succeeding in freeing itself from relapses into Baroque formalism. This can be seen, for example, in the mythological conventions which are present not only throughout the selected poems, in which the Gods of Classical

31 "Se aos Reis, bem mor brilho, oh Ceo, exales,/Astros faz ser pomposa imagem tua,/Phebo, e Cynthia eclipsarão a luz sua,/Em Anglia, e Lysia, Irmans nos bens, e males!/Entre tanto q'Hum, e Outro a monte, a valles/Seus raios outra vez não restitua,/Do Brazil suppre o Principe os da Lua,/Suppre os do Sol o PRINCIPE de Galles:/ (...)"

Antiquity are often evoked, but also in the titles, of which “Diana takes pleasure from the Briton’s Triumphs” (1811) by Pato Moniz, or “Nymphs of the Tagus, to the Songs of the Tripudiums” (1812) by Costa e Silva, are paradigmatic cases. In effect, the fascination with the grandiosity of the Roman Empire, with its pomp and imposing figures, its great exploits and elevated affairs, promoted the creation of positive imago-types which are identifiable with the great feats and exceptional heroes of Classical Antiquity. Thus, Great Britain’s military commanders, such as Wellington and Beresford, are compared to the magnificent leaders of Greco-Roman Antiquity, such as Scipio, Caesar or Ulysses, or the Gods of Olympus such as Neptune, Mars, Bellona or Pallas. In the same way, the battles of the Peninsular War are compared to the extraordinary exploits of History: “The walls of Badajoz and Rodrigo! The fields of Talavera! Bussaco! The Pyrenees! Adour and Nive! After the waters of the Lethe are drunk/ Hundreds of generations, to the astonished World, mindfully shall tell of our prowess.”³² (Silva 1814, 7) The employment of this kind of hyperbole meant that the laudatory excess of such poems precluded any kind of critical exercise which would have enabled the advantages, disadvantages, qualities and failings of the role of the British to be truthfully told.

Moreover, amongst the principal aesthetical norms which informed neoclassicism was the argument that all literature should pursue ethical, moral and social objectives. The moralistic tone which clearly transpires from the selected poems is founded on the premise that the French and Napoleon’s inflated ambition, in particular, would be duly punished, hence complying with the declared aims of morality and justice of the literature under study. In this dichotomy of Good and Evil, the former was inevitably personified by the Allies, i.e. the British, promoting in this way a clear *philia* towards the Other, which, as was demonstrated previously, corresponds neither with the historiography nor even with works of fiction on the Peninsular War. Thus Great Britain, King George III and the military commanders are

32 “Muros de Badajoz, e de Rodrigo! De Talavera oh campos! Bussaco! Pyreneos! Adour, e Nive! Após que sorva o Lethes/Centos de gerações, ao Mundo em pasmo/Memores contareis nossas proezas.”

seen as a unique and glorious component of the national identity of the Other.

On the other hand, the poems written and published during the conflict were often commissioned to accompany the festivities organised to celebrate allied victories by José Pedro da Silva, one of the prime movers behind the dissemination of the Anglo-Portuguese Army's exploits and heroics. Evidently, the tone involved was of celebration, praise and once again of *philia* towards the allies. The fact that the poems in question were encomiastic and designed to celebrate men who had carried out great feats, readily explains the laudatory and jubilatory tone of the writing and the reconfiguration of the British as "heroes of the glorious alliance".

Whereas the feeling of union and cooperation between the allies, which is so often sung in the poems, was indeed experienced on occasions during the time of the War (as is shown by the accounts left by the British soldiers), it was far from being a constant feature and cannot be interpreted as the natural and spontaneous result of a genuine friendship between two countries united by the struggle against a common enemy. In effect, this poetic idealisation of the Other was a passing phenomenon, limited to the period of the War and acting, in the texts under study, as a form of propaganda in favour of the Alliance. Indeed, the Portuguese political authorities instigated this sense of union, especially through the periodical press, as it saw it as indispensable condition for victory over the invader. It may be recalled that, according to Gilles Deleuze, the relationship between the Self and the Other is precisely linked to the exercise of power, with no ideological scope, whatsoever, being assigned to the voice which echoes it.³³ As soon as the French threat disappeared, criticism of British arrogance in Portugal began to increase, as did complaints regarding the unfair way peace negotiations had been conducted. Poems on the Peninsular War published after 1814 (sometimes by the same authors) rather than offering thanks to the Allies emphasise

33 Cf. Deleuze, 1977.

that the victory was exclusively due to the fundamental contribution of the Portuguese troops and population.

Taking an image, as a discursive representation of a nation, as did Beller and Leerssen, (2007, 342) it can be seen that, in the specific case under study, the construction strategies of the Other are not supported by a pre-existing reputation, but rather by the political and military circumstances of the time in which they were written. The result, however, ends up by being the same, in as far as such images are still constructions or textual figurations, whose importance does not derive from their supposed measure of truth, but from their function in a specific historical, military and political context, obliging the reader to subscribe to the narrative of an encounter between two happily-allied nations and peoples.

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