

“Lysia y Iberia Libertadas”: Britain and Portrayals of the Liberal Triennium in Portuguese Poetry (1820-1823)*

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“Ibéria o trilho mostra da ventura
Lysia não mais hesita;
Nella a paz, e a fortuna agora habita,
E perpetua opulência o Fado augura.”
(Fernandes 3-4)

1. Introduction: Portuguese Journalism and Poetry in the Early Part of the 19th Century

The main aim of this paper is to examine the way the Spanish Liberal Triennium was portrayed in the Portuguese poetry of its day and the role played by Britain in this process. Before analysing the poems which focussed on Spain and the Spanish people, it would be useful to point out the principal characteristics of the poetry written in Portugal during the first few decades of the nineteenth century together with those of the periodicals in which most of the poems appeared.

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After the Revolution of 24th August 1820, and more particularly in the period which followed the establishment of the Liberal Regime, there was an exponential increase in the number of periodicals, which, freed from previous constraints, were now able to support and promote the revolutionary movement. The surge was unprecedented in the history of Portuguese journalism, not just in terms of volume but also in a new identification between the press and its readership as far as politics and public opinion was concerned. According to José Tengarrinha, between the 24th August 1820 and the counter-revolutionary coup known as the Vila-Francada (May-June 1823), no fewer than 112 new newspapers were launched, in mainland Portugal alone. (320)

Unreservedly liberal in character, such newspapers, which were published essentially in Lisbon and Oporto, strove to encourage open debate whilst promoting the Constitutionalist cause and stimulating the political awareness of their readers. In fact, for the liberals of the day, freedom of expression and the unrestricted flow of ideas through a free press were crucial to the containment of despotism and the survival of the Constitutional Regime.

Whilst advocating education as a way to free citizens from what they saw as absolutist obscurantism, they propagated liberal ideals which emphasised the role of tolerance and concord in society. This concern with moral and humanistic values was almost always accompanied by liberal propaganda which originated in the Patriotic Associations.¹

One of the hotbeds of liberal ideas, for both Portugal and Spain, was situated abroad, in England. In fact, two of the principal periodicals in which poems allusive to the Triennium are to be found, were published in London: *O Campeão Português ou o Amigo do Rei e*

1. Without doubt, the most important (and also the most numerous) of the Patriotic Associations during the Liberal Triennium was the Sociedade Literária Patriótica de Lisboa. Founded in January 1822, its main aim was to influence public opinion in favour of the Constitutional system through a wide variety of publications. Civic values and patriotism were considered essential qualities for those who wished to be admitted. The Association boasted Almeida Garrett amongst its members as well as other poets who celebrated the Liberal Triennium, such as José Liberato Freire de Carvalho, Nuno Álvares Pereira Pato Moniz e Joaquim Alves Maria Sival.

do Povo: Jornal Político, Publicado Todos os Quinze Dias para Advogar a Causa e Interesses de Portugal (London, 1819-1821) and *O Padre Amaro ou Soveia Política, Histórica e Literária* (London, 1820-1826) (Fig. 1):

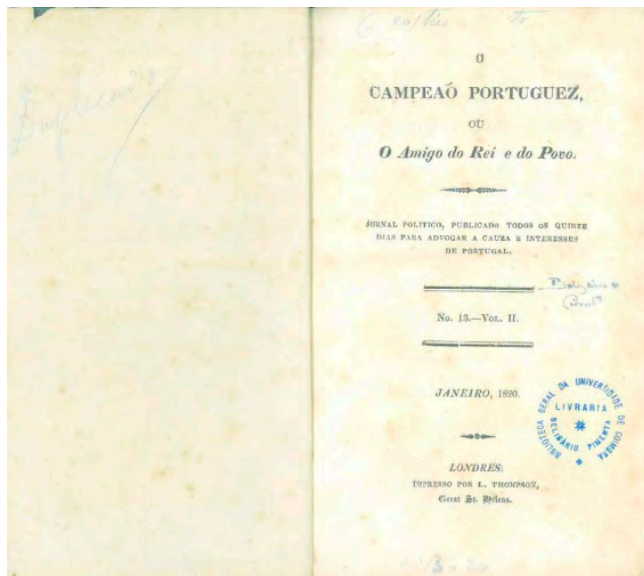


Fig. 1

The former, edited by José Liberato Freire de Carvalho,² played an important part in preparing public opinion for the 1820 movement whilst defending the need for an Iberian Union in the struggle against absolutism. The latter carried out a vital role both in the creation of other liberal periodicals as well as in the resistance to censorship which was introduced in Portugal after the Vila-Francada.³ Edited by Father Joaquim Ferreira de Freitas,⁴ *O Padre Amaro* enjoyed a certain degree of benevolence on the part of the Censor, and published poems which exalted the victory of Constitutionalism in Spain.

From 1821 onwards, however, many of the newspapers which had had liberal origins began to adopt a critical attitude towards the Government, contributing to the growing rift in political life represented by periodicals of different factions, which not only affected the liberal camp, but also created favourable conditions for the expansion of the absolutist press, notably in 1823.

The political, social and propagandistic content of these newspapers was also a feature of the Portuguese poetry written in the first

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2. After the French invasion, José Liberato Freire de Carvalho (1772-1855), a journalist, member of Parliament and author, lived in exile in London, where he became the editor of the *O Investigador Português em Inglaterra ou Jornal Literário e Político* (London, 1811-1819). The periodical was highly influential, not merely amongst the local Portuguese community but in Portugal, itself, as the *Campeão Português* would also be. On his return to Lisbon he founded the *O Campeão Português em Lisboa: ou o Amigo do Povo e do Rei Constitucional* (Lisboa, 1822-1823), a paper in which he published a number of politically-inspired articles. After the Vila-Francada he was banished to Coimbra, returning to the capital only after the proclamation of the Constitutional Charter. Selected from a vast body of work, the present study focusses on his *Discurso Pronunciado na Sessão da Sociedade Literária Patriótica de Lisboa em 24 de Julho de 1822, Comemorativa dos Espanhóis Mortos em Madri de a 7 de Julho do Dito Ano em Defesa da Constituição* (Lisboa, 1822).
 3. On May 27th 1823 at Vila Franca, near Lisbon, D. Miguel led a revolt against the Liberal Regime with the support of his mother, D. Carlota Joaquina and the military commanders Bernardo Correia de Castro e Sepúlveda and Manuel Inácio Martins Pamplona Corte Real. Ultimately intended to overthrow D. João VI, the so-called Vila-Francada, also known pejoratively as the "Dust Campaign", was, first and foremost, a demonstration of the military strength of the political opposition to Liberalism. Having been warned of the coup by his advisors, the King also marched to Vila Franca, where he forced the Prince to submit to his authority. It was there that he appointed a new government and, in a gesture of appeasement, gave the command of the army to D. Miguel, restoring, at the same time, the royal prerogatives which had been withdrawn from the Queen and ordering the release of political prisoners.
 4. From 1820 until his death, the journalist Joaquim Ferreira de Freitas (1781-1831) lived in exile in England, where he frequented the Portuguese immigrant community, published the periodical *Padre Amaro*, and became a celebrated figure in the local political sphere. In 1826, the periodical was suspended and relaunched under the title *Apêndice ao Padre Amaro* (London, 1826-1830). The series, which consists of twelve volumes of the former title and six volumes of the latter, are a valuable resource for the Portuguese history of the day.

decades of the nineteenth century. Alive to the events taking place around them, both in Portugal and Spain, many of the poets became involved in the struggle (sometimes in person), often propagandizing in favour of one or other of the two factions (liberal or absolutist).

It was in this environment that revolutionary poems acquired an important role, leading to the appearance, especially in the major cities, of a flood of poetry which quickly spread across the whole of the nation. Poets sang the praises of Liberty, the Constitution and the Fatherland, whilst exalting the examples of the heroes of the Revolution and the role of the Parliament (*Cortes*) and its members. In theatres, Patriotic Associations and political banquets, poetry invariably accompanied the music and speeches. Indeed, it can be argued that it is here that the origins of Portuguese Romanticism are to be found, although, at this time, many of its defining features were associated with neoclassicism – mythological figures, allegory, imitation, the adoption of Greco-Latin and sixteenth century models – in a conjugation which I would define as “pre-Romantic arcadism”.

In this context, it is a curious fact that to celebrate the victory of liberalism in Spain, the editors of London-based papers turned, on several occasions, to the verses of Luís Vaz de Camões (1524-5?-1580), generally considered to be Portugal’s greatest poet. Such is the case of Canto 3 of *The Lusiads* (1572) in which the following example is paradigmatic:

Ouvido tinha aos fados, que viria
 Huma gente fortíssima de Hespanha
 Pelo mar alto, a qual sujeitaria
 Da India tudo quanto Doris banha;
 (...)
 Eis aqui se descobre a nobre Hespanha,
 Como cabeça allí da Europa toda;
 Em cujo senhorio, e gloria estranha
 Muitas voltas tem dado a fatal roda. (Camões, *apud* [Carvalho] 133-134)⁵

5. See also Camões *apud* Freitas 188; Camões 1572; and Camões *apud* Carvalho 56.

On the other hand, the absolutist periodicals, the majority of which appeared in 1823, tended to adopt a more satirical stance. Hence, irrespective of their literary merits, the texts under study are of significant historical and cultural value, as, up to a certain point, it is possible to reconstruct the chronology of the two Triennia through their poetic evocations.

Thus, the poetry of the period, whilst conjugating neo-classical taste and new pre-romantic trends with the social and political impact of the Revolution, either praised the Spanish heroes in markedly liberal terms, or adopted a critical attitude towards them, as I will demonstrate.

2. Poetic Portrayals of Spain and the Spanish People during the Liberal Triennium

Given that the Spanish Triennium occurred at the same time as the Portuguese Liberal Revolution, it is not surprising that the evocation of Spanish figures and events in the Portuguese poems under study was accompanied by and, not infrequently caused by developments in Portugal. It should be remembered that the Constitution of Cadiz was proclaimed for the second time in January 1820, the same year as the Liberal Revolution broke out in Oporto on August 24th. The revolutionary movement gained the support of the capital on September 15th 1820, and was followed by religious and secular celebrations which led to the publication of numerous poems, in which the situation in Portugal was equated with that of Spain.

In January 1821 the Constitutional Assembly (*Cortes Constituintes*) was inaugurated, and discussions concerning the foundations of the Constitution began, leading to its promulgation in November 1822 and to the sworn allegiance of the King, D. João VI, who had returned from Brazil in July 1821. Spain was now seen by the Portuguese liberals as a model worthy of emulation. The poems not only praised the fact that, like their neighbours, the Portuguese people had shown courage in their struggle for the proclamation of a Constitution, but even raised the possibility of an Iberian union.

2.1. Spain and its Heroes: Models to be Emulated

A significant number of the poems glorified neighbouring Spain and its heroes, where the liberal revolution had succeeded, was published as an example to be followed by Portugal. Outstanding, in this context, is a memorial tribute entitled “Aos Mortos no Campo d’ Honra em Madrid (1822)” (Fig. 2) written by one of the best-known Portuguese writers, Almeida Garrett.⁶



Fig.2

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6. João Baptista da Silva Leitão de Almeida Garrett (1799-1854), a leading name in Portuguese Literature, was a pioneer of the great technical and formal changes which gave substance to Portuguese romanticism, though in the early phase of his poetry there are still traces of arcadic conventions. At the time of the Liberal revolution he was a law student at Coimbra University, where, from the outset, his Liberal convictions were apparent. Garrett composed odes, narrative poems, tragedies, farces and enthusiastic essays in favour of Liberalism and against obscurantism and tyranny. The majority of these poems, which are arcadic in form but with touches of romanticism, are to be found in *Lírica de João Mínimo* (1829). He saw the Liberal revolution as a sign of hope for the rebirth of the nation, particularly as far as culture was concerned. In 1824, after the ascension of D. Miguel to the throne, Garrett was forced to seek exile in France and England. It was on his return to Portugal in 1836, however, that he truly began to leave his mark in the fields of literature, journalism and politics. Whilst still in exile, however, he had already published the lyric-narrative poems *Camões* (1825) and *Dona Branca* (1826), which are generally considered to be landmarks in the development of Portuguese romanticism, despite the fact that they still contain many arcadisms, as mentioned earlier. Whilst in England he “discovered” Shakespeare and ancient ballads, developing a particular liking for Byron and Walter Scott, who would influence his writing.

The poem was first presented at an extraordinary session of the Sociedade Literária Patriótica de Lisboa on July 24th 1822 and later published in the Society's journal.⁷ In these verses, which were drawn up as a tribute to the Spanish citizens killed on July 7th of that year in a clash in the Plaza Mayor between the Guarda Real and the Milicia Nacional (as can be seen in Fig.2), Garrett laments the tragic events caused by the failed absolutist coup, whilst celebrating the heroic acts of the liberals and the citizens of Madrid who had taken up arms against the rebels:

E sois escravos, Hespanhoes briosos?
 Não, que forças não ha que valhão tanto.
 Como ousa pois, como se atreve a norte
 A hastear a fouce nos terrões da Hesperia? (Garrett 420)

The poet also recalls the fact, which gives the poem its title, that, after a truce had been agreed, the Guarda Real had treacherously and cowardly opened fire upon the militia, and that many of the wounded were stabbed to death, becoming martyrs to the liberal cause:

He bem duro morrer por mãos de escravos,
 Mas pela pátria, sobre o campo d'honra,
 Martyres della... Oh! Gloria, e gloria excelsa! (Garrett 423)

In this poem Garrett also evokes the celebrated figure of Rafael del Riego y Flórez (1784-1823) who rebelled in Cabezas de San Juan, on January 1st 1820 and proclaimed the Liberal Constitution of 1812,

7. It should be noted that other texts alluding to the incidents appeared in the *Jornal da Sociedade Literária Patriótica de Lisboa*, as, for example, a speech by José Liberato Freire de Carvalho or correspondence with the *Sociedade Constitucional de Madrid* and with the Spanish chargé d'affaires in Lisbon, which demonstrates just how attentive the Portuguese were to events in neighbouring Spain.

which became known as “A Pepa”.⁸ The new, liberal Government demanded a new oath of allegiance to the Cadiz Constitution and conferred the rank of Field Marshal upon Riego who later held a series of important military and civilian posts, his name becoming a symbol to all liberals.

As a consequence, Riego had become a popular hero and a symbol for the liberals. Notwithstanding the fact that on July 7th it was General Ballesteros⁹ who had led the militia in the defence of the Constitutional Regime, in this poem, Garrett chooses to place the laurels for the resistance against the outrageous absolutist attack, upon Riego’s head:

Onde, ó monstros? Onde ó gente indigna?
 Ao alcáçar da augusta liberdade?
 Que! Pensaes que de assalto heis-de tomallo?
 Julgais que dormem os heroes que o guardão?
 Tem mil Camillos por um Brenno a Hespanha,
 E por cem vis punhaes milhões de espadas,
 Que alerta velão, que rompentes correm,
 “Alerta, alerta” de Riego soa
 Brado libertador, a voz d’honra, e gloria:
 E à voz de Riego batalhões se apinhão,
 E de Morillo á voz campeões se adunão,
 Crescem, redobião co’frequente povo. (Garrett 422)

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8. The “Hino de Riego”, which was sung at the time by his comrades, became the anthem of the Spanish liberals, and was reproduced much later by Alberto Pimentel, in Spanish, in *A Musa das Revoluções* (1885). It is curious that, at the time (1820-1823), there was no Portuguese translation or publication of the song. This may be due to two factors: either the Portuguese were more interested in their own affairs at the time than in patriotic songs from other countries or, as referred to in note 1, contemporary Portuguese poetry continued to be inspired by a preference for neo-classical themes whilst the romantic taste which might have appreciated the popular tone of the anthem had still not developed. Hence, it was only in 1885, when a taste for the romantic was widespread amongst Portuguese readers, that Alberto Pimentel (1849-1925) published the “Hino de Riego” in his anthology of popular, political-ly-inspired poetry. V. Pimentel 34-36.
9. After refusing to accept Wellington as the supreme commander of the Spanish Army during the Peninsular War, Francisco Ballesteros (1770-1832) was arrested at Ceuta. However, when the Liberal Revolution of 1820 broke out, he was called to Madrid, where together with his comrades he forced Fernando VII to sign the Constitution. During the Triennium he was vice-president of the *Junta Provisória*, closed down a number of the prisons of the *Santa Inquisição* and on July 7th 1822 he defeated the Guarda Real, so preventing a coup against the Constitution. In 1823, he fought against the Duque de Angoulême’s forces in Navarra and Aragon but was forced to surrender, later fleeing to Paris, where he died.

Still on the subject of eulogies of Spain and its heroes, reference should be made to poems in Spanish and to translations of poems originally written in English, which appeared both in Portuguese periodicals published in England, such as *O Padre Amaro*, and in Lisbon papers. The following two examples are paradigmatic.

On April 26th 1820 a group of Spanish emigrés, apparently met in a London tavern to celebrate the successes of the movement in their home country. One of the members of the group, Hilario Ramon, about whom little is known, ended his speech with a patriotic anthem which was warmly applauded by those present and was later published in the previously-mentioned Portuguese periodical. The anthem begins as follows:

Sonó la voz: en las Españas
Resuena; Libertad, Amor!
Despavoridos los malvados,
El reino fina del error. (Ramon 286)

In a news item concerning a banquet which took place in London on March the 8th 1823, in honour of the Portuguese and Spanish Legations, an anonymous contributor to *O Censor Lusitano*, relates that the Spanish Minister had concluded that the gathering represented a happy prelude to a cordial friendship between Spain and Britain. It was followed by the well-known "Patriotic anthem":

Soldados, la Patria
Nos llama a la lid!
Juremos por Ella
Vencer, ó morir. (Anonymous 584)

A note followed which added that, inspired by the words of the song, the Spanish people would resist every challenge. The publication of these poems, which were written originally in Spanish and not translated, is of great interest, as, on the one hand, it demonstrates how Spanish and Portuguese liberal emigrés in England identified

a common cause, and on the other, how closely Portuguese journalists followed events in Spain, a concern which undoubtedly corresponded to the expectations of their target readership.

As regards those poems originally written in English and later translated into Portuguese, an aspect which is of great importance from the viewpoint of Anglo-Iberian relations, the translation of the verses written by General Sir Robert Thomas Wilson (Fig.3) is of particular significance.



Fig.3

Well-known in Portugal as the commanding officer of the *Leal Legião Lusitana*¹⁰ during the Peninsular War, in May 1823 Wilson enlisted in the National Militia of Vigo to fight on the side of the Liberals against the Absolutist forces. To commemorate the occasion, he wrote a poem which offers an extremely positive image of Spain and the Spanish, who are portrayed as demonstrating great

10. Originally constituted by Portuguese immigrants in England, the Legion was made up by 2500 Portuguese volunteers commanded by Sir Robert Wilson. For more on the subject see Terenas 217-219.

heroism in their resistance against tyranny and, as such, a model to be emulated by other nations:

Filhos da Iberia, não ouvis de perto
 Esse clarim de guerra, que vos chama
 Os ferros empunhai, correi velozes,
 Se inda prezaes as liberdades vossas.
 (...)
 Valentes Hespanhoes, olhai, que a sorte
 Occasião vos presta, em que o Universo
 Pasmе de vossas ínclitas façanhas.
 Mostrai-lhes que jamais se ataca impune
 A dôce Liberdade; (...)
 A Nação, que *não quer viver escrava*,
 Sempre *livre* será. Depressa Hespanha,
 A generosa causa que defendes
 Há de inflamar de um polo a outro polo
 A quantos prézão a liberdade, e honra.
 Essas Nações, que ao jugo inda se acurvão
 Da tyrannia atroz, suas cadêas
 Em breve quebrarão; e ao teu heroísmo
 O mundo deverá ser sempre livre. (...) (Wilson 918)

2.2. In Favour of an Iberian Union

On the subject of the two Triennia, certain of the poems speak out in favour of the union of the two Iberian nations under the flag of Liberal Constitutionalism, describing them as two valiant and fortunate brothers-in-arms or “two heroic nations, two free nations”. (Anonymous, 1821) The idea echoed what those countries in favour of “liberal regenerationism” had decided in 1822, or that there should be an alliance between the nations against their rulers and that this should start in the Iberian Peninsula, which had been considered the land of freedom since the Napoleonic Wars.

2.3. Spanish Heroism, on the Subject of Portuguese Heroism

Although, as I have endeavoured to show, the revolution in Spain, which would inaugurate the Triennium, was put forward as a model to be emulated in Portugal, it should be noted that in the great majority of cases the poems were dedicated not to Spain and the Spanish, but rather to Portugal and the Portuguese people. However, at the same time as they praise the Portuguese heroes and their struggle for freedom, the poets recognise that Spain had first shown the way to their neighbours and to the rest of the world, as can be seen in the excerpt from “Ode Pindárica, Quando os Bravos Heróis do Mundo Espantam”, written by Francisco Senna Fernandes (at the time, a law student at Coimbra University) as well as in an epodic ode dedicated to the first members of the Parliament (*Cortes*) – Francisco Simões Margiorchi, Francisco Xavier Monteiro, Alves do Rio and Borges Carneiro – which was published anonymously (but attributed to José Pinto Rebelo de Carvalho) in the Coimbra literary paper *O Cidadão Literato. Periódico de Política e Literatura*. In his eulogy of the great Portuguese heroes of the Liberal revolution, the poet recalls that the cry of freedom was first heard in Spain, where there were those who had tried, in vain, to silence it:

(...)
 Dessa *Arvore* celeste, que primeiro
 Brotou no chão d’Hesperia
 Tentou de balde derruba-la inteira
 Astucia cavilosa,
E dar-te a nuvem a abraçar por Juno...
 Tentou com vão fantasma
 Tuas esp’ranças iludir, ó crime!
 E de novo entregar-te
 A Aritocratas vís, á Tyrannia...
 (...) (Carvalho [?] 102-104)

Whilst a picture is painted of the heroism and courage of the Spanish people in their fierce struggle against tyranny, the pretext for the portrayal is to be found in the events taking place in Portugal or in a comparison with leading figures at the time of the Portuguese Liberal revolution. Consequently, the Spanish Liberal triennium was seldom the principal motive or fundamental justification for the existence of the poems, but rather what was going on at home. Spain and the Spanish people were introduced whenever it was appropriate, precisely because they were facing the same situations.

In an eminently patriotic poem entitled “Elogio. Por Ocasião da Feliz Restauração de Portugal em 1820”, written by João António dos Santos on the occasion of the establishment of the Liberal regime in Portugal, there is a brief reference to Spain, which shared with Portugal the same sense of jubilation. A poem by Gonçalo José de Araújo e Sousa,¹¹ dedicated to the Junta Provisional do Supremo Governo do Reino, which was instituted in 1820, also carries a brief reference to Spain, which, like Portugal, had freed itself from the absolutist yoke.¹² In his poem dedicated again to the members of the Junta, João António Neves Estrela¹³ rejoices in the new Constitution and compares the courage of the Portuguese with that of the Spanish, whilst a poem by an unidentified author celebrates the Portuguese Constitution at the same time as that of Spain.¹⁴

11. After abandoning his intended ecclesiastical career to join the army, Gonçalo José de Araújo e Sousa (1769-1839) would attain the rank of Brigadier-General.

12. V. Sousa 1820. A single poem.

13. A poet and member of the Academia das Belas Artes or Nova Arcádia who wrote under the pseudonym of Jónio Scalabitano (due to his having been born in Santarém), João António Neves Estrela (1755-1823-24?) was the author of several poems in the neo-classical style, at times in favour of Liberalism, and at others of Absolutism.

14. See Estrela 1820, a single poem; and Comunicadas [?] [4]. See also Forjô [4].

2.4. Defending Absolutism: The Attack Against the Spanish Liberals and Praise for the Restoration of Absolutist Spain

As previously mentioned, the period under study was also characterised by the opposition between liberals and absolutists, an aspect which is apparent in the Portuguese poetry and in its portrayal of Spain. In effect there are poems, written by liberals, which are highly critical of the Spanish absolutists, whilst at the same time there are others, written by supporters of D. Miguel and D. Carlota Joaquina de Bourbon¹⁵ which launch a fierce attack on liberalism, in both Portugal and Spain. These include texts published at the end of the Triennium in the period corresponding to the brief reign of D. Miguel, in 1823. Hence, in an antiliberal poem written by José Daniel Rodrigues da Costa¹⁶ and dedicated to D. Miguel, the poet laments the way the Portuguese and Spanish peoples had been contaminated by liberalism, which had only brought disgrace upon them, whilst praising D. Carlota Joaquina who had always refused to sign the Constitution and had always supported her absolutist son against D. Pedro and the

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15. Constantly taking part in conspiracies against her husband, the King, and against the Constitutionalists, D. Carlota Joaquina (1775-1830), was always one of the leading figures the counter-revolutionary movement headed by her son D. Miguel. In effect the Queen played a fundamental role in nineteenth-century Iberian politics, demonstrating, from very beginning, her ambition to rule in Portugal or Spain, or both. However, her daughter D. Maria Teresa de Bragança (1793-1874) was widely acclaimed upon her arrival in Lisbon and her passage through Elvas on her way to Spain in August 1822. On this festive occasion, D. Maria Teresa was presented with a copy of the Constitution and the *Diário do Governo* published two anonymous poems, in which the *Princesa da Beira*, was portrayed as a symbol of Portugal's newly-conquered freedoms, which she should take with her to Spain. After refusing to swear allegiance to the Constitution, D. Carlota was forced to retire to the Quinta do Ramalhão, in Sintra, which became an important gathering point for absolutists who were discontent with the liberal Government and it was there that she began to plan the counter-revolution.
16. Although trained as a soldier, José Daniel Rodrigues da Costa (1757-1832) followed a literary career from an early age, rapidly achieving widespread popularity. In view, of the political turmoil of the Liberal triennium in Portugal, the author revealed a remarkable ability to adapt to the changing circumstances, writing at different times in favour of the Liberal cause and in favour of Absolutism. In effect, his engaging character and above all his good humour – which is apparent in certain of the titles, such as *Pimenta para as Más-Línguas* ou *Papeis Contra Papeis*, or *Queixas de Apolo para Açoite de Mãos Poetas* – ensured that he enjoyed lasting friendships in the literary, social and political spheres. However, it was in the satirical theatre that his contribution was outstanding, demonstrating a unique ability to create lively dialogues between his characters whilst capturing the features of the most ridiculous personalities of his day. Curiously, this talent for the stage can be found in the poetry under analysis, particularly in “*Pimenta para as Más-Línguas*” (1822). Costa belonged to the Nova Arcádia, under the bucolic pseudonym “*Josino Leiriense*”, due to having been born in Leiria. Amongst the outstanding works published during this time, *Portugal Convalescido* (1820) is worthy of particular mention.

King. In the poem, Spain is criticised (like Portugal) for having sadly followed the path of liberalism whilst D. Carlota is praised for her character and firm resistance to the new regime:

Ao povo Portuguez chamado infame;
 Aos Hespanhoes o mesmo;
 Por não seguir-se o tal Liberalismo,
 Da doutrina do *novo cathecismo*
 (...)
 Oh Inclita Rainha, sempre sejas
 Do Ceo abençoada!
 (...)
 Hum Coração Magnanimo te alenta
 No centro dos desgostos:
 Tens hum character firme, és Heroína,
 A ter virtude assim he que se ensina.
 (...) (Costa [s.p.])

Within the same category are the poems which jubilantly celebrate the end of the Spanish and Portuguese Liberal Triennia. Such are the cases, for example, of “A Rebelião Fulminada. Ode”, by Joaquim José Pedro Lopes¹⁷ and “Na Queda de Cadiz” by José Daniel Rodrigues da Costa.¹⁸ Both celebrate the end of Liberalism and the restoration of the absolutist monarch, Fernando VII, associating the Portuguese people with the victory of absolutism over liberalism. Emphasis is given to the way the Spanish people, like the Portuguese, succeeded in freeing themselves from their oppressors (the liberals) and imposing peace, liberty and restoring the throne once again, with the help, in the case of Spain, of its former enemy, France:

17. Joaquim José Pedro Lopes (1781-1840), a journalist, writer, poet, translator and bibliophile, was the editor of *Semanário de Instrução e Recreio* (Lisboa, 1812-1813) and the *Gazeta de Lisboa* (Lisboa, 1715-1833) between 1813 and 1831 and the *Gazeta Universal* (Lisboa, 1821-1823), as well as other periodicals. His critical appreciation of the liberals, who are denounced as freemasons, is clearly demonstrated in his ode “A Rebelião Fulminada”, where they are portrayed as heinous impostors.

18. V. Costa 1823. A single poem.

Se Hespanhoes generosos
 Armão leaes seu braço
 Contra o Bando oppressor, e ao Throno querem,
 E ao Altar acudir, potente auxilio
 Presta *Luiz* á honra,
 Contr'essa iniqua turba...
 Oh prodígio! O Francez, que perturbára
 Da Hesperia outr'ora a paz com vís algemas,
 Hoje a paz lhe assegura, a liberdade,
 E o legitimo Throno,
 E lhe firma de hum Deos o sacro Culto!
 (...) (Lopes 1724)

Riego, who was earlier described as a hero, is now identified as “a monster”. In fact, when confronted by the French invasion, “the one hundred thousand sons of St. Louis”, Riego attempted to resist but was betrayed and taken prisoner. Rodrigues da Costa dedicated two sonnets to his arrest and sentencing to death for treason, both in 1823. In one of them, the poet jubilantly proclaims the defeat of the liberal Government in Spain and the restoration of absolutism under Fernando VII, whilst ironically celebrating Riego’s demise:

Era huma vez Hum homem, que queria
 Subir a Dictador, como hum Romano;
 (...) Pobre *Riego!* Ficou na grande empresa,
 Qual Ratazana de lutar cançada,
 De sete Gatos, entre as unhas, a preza. (A Single Poem)

In the other, the poet, whilst defending Fernando VII, attacks all of Riego’s deeds, accusing him of treason and overambition and blaming him for all the evils which had fallen upon Spain. In these verses Riego is termed the “monster of Spain” and identified with one of the heroes of Portugal’s Liberal revolution, Luís do Rego¹⁹:

19. A hero of the Peninsular War, Luís do Rego Barreto, 1º Visconde de Geraz do Lima (1777-1840), was appointed Military Governor of the Province of Minho in 1822 and Commander-in-Chief of the forces which, in 1823, overcame the absolutist insurrection led by the Conde de Amarante.

Dize, louco Hespanhol, *Riego* infernal,
 Que mal Fernando Setimo te fez?
 Seria a escolha dessa tão má rez
 Para ser das Hespanhas General?
 Eu, que em bruxas não creio, acho fatal
 Juntarem-se dous *Regos* desta vez;
 Hum em Hespanha assolou, e de hum revez
 Outro perder queria Portugal:
 Se por tua maléfica ambição
 Fizeste do teu Rei hum Santo Job,
 Pondo os Vassallos seus em confusão:
 Quem de ti, *Riego* infame hade ter dó?
 Se nada vingar póde huma traição,
 Inda fazendo-se o traidor em pó. (Costa, A single poem)

3. Final Thoughts

In summarising, then, it can be said that, centred, as it was, on the Portuguese Liberal Triennium, the Portuguese poetry of the day rarely focussed upon the events which were taking place in Spain at the same time, or to be specific during the Spanish Liberal triennium. Having said that, it is clear that the Portuguese poets not only recognised the exemplary role of Spain in acting as a stimulus for the Liberal Revolution but also kept themselves informed about developments in Spain whilst singing the praises of the Liberals' deeds. Curiously, in the case of both Portugal and Spain, England was always in some way present in these poetic evocations, so doing justice to the theme of Anglo-Iberian(/Portuguese) studies. At the end of the two Triennia, particularly in 1823, when the absolutists celebrated poetically the counter-revolutionary rebellions in Portugal, they also referred with jubilation to the end of Liberalism in Spain. The country was thus portrayed as "a sister" of Portugal in the vicissitudes which had left their mark on the years from 1820 to 1823.

To conclude, the Portuguese poets commented simultaneously on events in Portugal and Spain, and their respective protagonists, expressing attitudes which were either favourable or antagonistic in accordance with their political leanings and/or the periodical in question, as well as the moment at which the piece was written. In either case, the relationship between the two Iberian nations, “Hespanha and Lysia”, was always very close, with England often in the background.

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