

Marijn Brouckaert  
marijn.brouckaert@gmail.com  
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

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# ‘Drowning Ideology’: The Rewriting of 18<sup>th</sup> Century Shipwreck Stories for the 20<sup>th</sup> Century Youth

*‘DROWNING IDEOLOGY’: LA REESCRITURA  
DE HISTORIAS DE NAUFRAGIOS PARA LOS  
JÓVENES DEL S. XX*

## Resumen

En 1934 António Sérgio publica la *História Trágico-Marítima* que alcanza la 11ª edición en 2008. El libro –ahora adaptado para la juventud– consiste en una compilación de historias sobre naufragios escritas originalmente durante la época de los descubrimientos portugueses. La fuente directa de Sérgio fue el historiador (y adaptador) del siglo XVIII, Bernardo Gomes de Brito, cuya compilación de aquellos manuscritos de los siglos XV y XVI aspiraba a formular normas ideológicas, indicando al lector la omnipotencia de Dios. Una comparación estructural entre ambos textos, basada en la teoría de adaptación de Linda Hutcheon (2006), revelará una transformación fundamentalmente ideológica a través de los siglos. Si nos centramos en los extractos eliminados o reescritos por Sérgio, en el cambio del papel de los personajes alegóricos y en las alteraciones al nivel del narrador se revela una tendencia secular y nacionalista. El hecho de que la representación de la era de los descubrimientos portugueses hacia los lectores jóvenes de la 11ª edición no ha cambiado torna estas conclusiones muy actuales.

Palabras Clave: naufragio, António Sérgio, *história Trágico-Marítima*, descubrimientos, adaptación.

## Abstract

In 1934 António Sérgio publishes *História Trágico-Marítima (Tragic Maritime History)* which attained its 11th edition in 2008. The book contains a compilation of shipwreck stories that were originally written during the Era of the Portuguese Discoveries, and are now adapted for the youth. Sérgio's direct source was the 18<sup>th</sup> century historian (and adaptor) Bernardo Gomes de Brito, whose compilation of those 15<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century manuscripts was to form an ideological precept for his readers by reminding them of the almightiness of God. A structural comparison between both texts, reinforced by the theory of adaptation of Linda Hutcheon will reveal a fundamental ideological transformation over the centuries. By focusing on the extracts that were eliminated or rewritten by Sérgio, on the change in the role of the allegorical characters, and on the alterations on the level of the narrator, a secular and nationalistic tendency is revealed. The fact that the representation of the Era of the Portuguese Discoveries towards the young readers of the adaptation's 11<sup>th</sup> edition remains unchanged makes these conclusions a very topical subject.

Key words: shipwreck, António Sérgio, *história Trágico-Marítima*, discoveries, adaptation.

# 1. Introduction

"*Tragic Maritime History – which describes chronologically the Portuguese ships that were wrecked since the beginning of the Indian trade route*"<sup>1</sup> is the extensive title of an equally extensive work, published in 1735 in the then-kingdom of Portugal. This *História Trágico-Marítima* (from now on 'HTM') holds various adaptations<sup>2</sup> of 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century shipwreck stories that introduce the reader to a both unknown and horrible *tranche de vie* on board the ships. The 18<sup>th</sup> century adaptor Bernardo Gomes de Brito is absent in the archives, so the only historical facts known about him are that he was a historian at the Royal Academy of Portugal, and that in 1736 an additional work was published (Madeira, 2005: 25).

Two centuries later, anno 1934, a children's adaptation of the work of Gomes de Brito is published in Portugal. The dictatorship that had been installed eight years earlier directly affected the life of the adaptor, António Sérgio, who was considered a political enemy. Accordingly most of his writings were blacklisted during the Salazar regime. However, his children's adaptation of the HTM underwent five reissues until the death of the dictator, and reached its 11<sup>th</sup> edition in 2008. Until now a clear explanation for this paradoxical success has not been formulated, given that Sérgio's production of children's literature has hardly received any attention from researchers even though he wrote and translated a total of eight books for the youth. Although this study will not lead to an answer on this paradox, the attention paid to Sérgio's work for children will illustrate an interesting ideological transformation that occurred in two hundred years. The 18<sup>th</sup> century religious connotation of the text is secularised to underline the power of the Portuguese nation.

To illustrate this transformation the children's adaptation of the HTM will first be positioned in Sérgio's youth-oriented literary production. Thereafter the children's adaptation will be submitted to comparative textual analyses, based on *A Theory of Adaptation* by Linda Hutcheon (2006). Above all Hutcheon's definition of an adaptation that takes into account the text as a formal entity, as well as the creation and reception processes, offers the opportunity to trace Sérgio's ideological influence and its effects.<sup>3</sup> For this textual comparison the 11<sup>th</sup> edition of the children's adaptation the HTM will

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1 "História Trágico-Marítima – Em que se escrevem chronologicamente os naufrágios que tiverão as naus de Portugal, depois que se poz em exercício a Navegação de Índia" (Brito, 1735: n. pag.).

2 Some researchers consider Gomes De Brito as a copyist or transcriber. Nevertheless, enough evidence is available to prove that the original texts were thoroughly revised by the 18<sup>th</sup> century historian to appear in the HTM. Giulia Lanciani analysed 19 original manuscripts, comparing them with their textual appearance in the HTM, and concluded that the manuscripts are "frequently subject to considerable textual alterations and reductions, on the verge of re-writing" (Lanciani, 1979: 8). Leal traces three antecedents of a story that appears in the HTM and points out that Gomes de Brito inserted a new ending (Leal, 1996: 111). Koiso organises the alterations in eight categories: words and expressions that not appear in the first edition; extracts where the first edition contains more descriptions; the use of other words or expressions without losing the original meaning; the use of words or expressions changing the original meaning; changes considering the wind direction, changes regarding the numbers, differences in the use of dates; and finally differences in gender, subject and object (Koiso, 2004: 65-158).

3 Linda Hutcheon supplies in her *A theory of Adaptation* three angles to approach the adaptation: from a formal point of view, seen as a process of creation, and as a process of reception (Hutcheon 8). To see the adaptation as formal entity refers to an analysis of the text by means of the terms formulated by structuralists like Gérard Genette, Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan, and Mieke Bal. As confirmed by Herman and Vervaeck in their manual for narratology: "this way of narratology [the structuralist way] remains an indispensable step" (Herman and Vervaeck, 2005: 50). To see the adaptation as a creative and as a receptive process Hutcheon does not offer a direct course, but maps a detour past three elements that influence these processes: the adaptor, the public and the context. Explaining her idea of *adaptors* Hutcheon appears to contradict the statements of New Criticism and the post-structuralists, since Barthes declared *La mort de l'Auteur* (1968). Hutcheon aspires to trace the intentions of the author by analyzing the structural changes in the text in comparison to the originals,

be used. A comparison between three editions (1934, 1974, 2008) proves not one letter was changed in the body of the text since 1934.

### 1.1 Positioning the adaptation of the HTM in the life and work of António Sérgio

António Sérgio de Sousa was born the third of September 1883 in the Portuguese colony Daman. He entered military college, but in 1910 when the Portuguese republic was formed, he left the navy. Mota states that this decision is a first example of the continuous dialogue between Sergio's life and the political context that surrounds him (Mota, 2000: 9). The most remarkable examples of this interaction are his three months as Minister of Education; his voluntarily exile to Paris and to Santiago de Compostela, when the 28<sup>th</sup> of May 1926 Salazar achieved power; his obligatory exile to Madrid after a short period of amnesty; his four confinements during the dictatorship; his life as a "*autor de combate*" writing to reform the pedagogy, politics, and culture in Portugal; and therefore the blacklisting of a big part of his oeuvre. As a consequence of his agitated career as a political writer a lot of legends surrounded the person of António Sérgio at the moment of his death the 24<sup>th</sup> of January 1969. Only two months later Eduardo Lourenço felt the necessity to publish *Sérgio como mito cultural*, an attempt to separate myth from reality and to define the role Sérgio played in the Portuguese society during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Pinho, 2008: 8). Sérgio himself had a great share in the mythologization of his person. Famous among researchers is a 1958 interview, where Sérgio is asked whether he considers himself a professor, writer, economist, or sociologist. His answer follows without hesitation: "*maybe a philosopher, a sociologist, and a social reformer... and a pedagogue*" (Nòvoa, 1994: 501). Now, half a century later, most researchers agree that Sérgio was above all an idealist: "He was it [an idealist] in a very convinced way: not only on an epistemological level, but also because he pursued his ideals like no other" (Mota, 2000: 55).<sup>4</sup>

A general look at his youth-oriented literary production proves his idealism accompanied him in all his projects. So far not one study has been dedicated to Sérgio's apparent passion for this very specific literature. In 1983 in the national *Diário das Notícias*, Raul Rego wonders already: "*Does anybody remember Sérgio as a writer for children?*" (Rego, 1983: 14).<sup>5</sup> Seventeen years later Mota mentions in his article various children's novels from the pen of Sérgio; however the children's adaptation of HTM does not appear on the list. Nor does Sérgio's translation of Ruyard Kipling's *Captains Courageous* (1897), or the children's story *O navio dos brinquedos* (1914). Mota registers *Os Dez Anõezinhos da Tia Verde-Água, Na Terra e no Mar, Contos Gregos*, and *Os Conselheiros do Califa*, all published by Sa da Costa Editora. The investigator concludes that this entire oeuvre reflects a clear moralizing intention, and he quotes *Os Conselheiros do Califa* as a criticism against authoritarian regimes. Also the so-far ignored translation of *Captains Courageous* and the story *O navio dos brinquedos* contain a clearly moral intention. Kipling's novel tells about Harvey Cheney, the son of a multimillionaire that falls off a transatlantic steamer and is saved by a Portuguese fisherman. He is

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and additionally taking into account extra-textual comments of the author on his intentions (e.g. the preface). However, also Hutcheon sticks to the text: "*Off course these statements can and must be confronted with the actual textual results*" (Hutcheon, 2006: 109). A second way to discover the creative process behind an adaptation is to focus on the *context* including the historical, the material, the cultural context, and the reception of the adaptation (e.g. was the work a 'hype'?). Thirdly the *public* of an adaptation can be traced using the 'Rezeptionästhetik' as Iser and Jauss defined it.

4 "*António Sérgio, que sempre se afirmou idealista era-o no sentido total do termo: não só no plano epistemológico, mas igualmente porque perseguiu, de forma impar, os seus ideais*" (Mota, 2000: 55).

5 "*Quem se lembra do Sérgio como escritor para crianças?*" (Rego, 1983: 14).

obliged to enroll in the ship's company led by the firm Disko Troop, and discovers a life with different values than his existence as a rich boy. In *O Navio dos brinquedos* Sérgio communicates the moral directly at the end of the story:

The Americans are hardworking people, well-groomed, and very helpful. For this reason the Portuguese children have to be hard workers, organized, and friends with each other, so that one day when they are grown-ups, they can have children capable of doing the same as those American children; and Portugal can resemble that strong, hardworking, well-organized country, from the land that Columbus discovered a long time ago (...)" (Rego, 1983: 14).<sup>6</sup>

Not only is the importance of moral confirmed in these two works by Sérgio, but together with the *História Trágico-Marítima* and *Na Terra e no Mar* a predilection for the maritime theme can be assumed in his children's literature production.

## 1.2 Sérgio's textual treatment of the HTM

The limited attention paid by investigators to Sérgio's production of children's literature can partly be explained by the absence of sources where the author exposes his ideas on the matter. In this respect there is no source available where Sérgio expresses the reasons why he adapted the HTM. However, following Hutcheon's theory a thorough comparison between the adaptation and its source can reveal displacements of meanings and maybe some of the adaptor's intentions.

The clearest difference between the HTM and its children's adaptation is that the original 1017 pages bound in two volumes have been downsized to 159 pages. António Sérgio selected five narratives out of the 12 compiled by Gomes de Brito: *Naufrágio de Sepulveda, A tragédia dos Baixos de Pêro dos Banhos, O triste successo da nau S. Paulo, As terríveis aventuras de Jorge de Albuquerque Coelho, and A catástrofe da nau Santiago*. Every one of them was subject to eliminations of passages and rewriting of the content. In an attempt to make some of the adaptation mechanisms perceptible, the following textual analysis is divided in three topics: the eliminated or rewritten passages, the modification of the role of the allegorical characters, and the changes on the level of the narrator.

### 1.2.1 Eliminated or rewritten extracts

#### 1.2.1.1 The prefaces

In his preface Gomes de Brito first of all thanks the king Don João V for the "royal asylum" he and his colleague historians receive in the recently founded Royal Academy for Portuguese History.<sup>7</sup> Thereupon the historian declares with bravado that through his book the shipwrecked vassals arrived at a more fortunate harbour.<sup>8</sup> "Ja perdem o horror de lastimosos, na fortuna de dedicados" expresses

6 "Porque os Americanos são pessoas muito trabalhadoras, muito aranjadas e que gostam de se ajudar umas às outras. Por isso devem os meninos portugueses ser trabalhadores, ordenados, amigos uns dos outros, para que um dia quando forem homens possam ter filhos capazes de fazer o que fizeram os meninos americanos e Portugal se venha a parecer com aquele país forte, trabalhador, bem arranjado, da terra que Colombo descobriu há muito tempo (...)" (Rego, 2983: 14).

7 "Como V. Magestade, por sua Real grandeza, se fez Augusto Protector da Historia erigindo a sua Preclara Academia; parece que permittio aos afortunados Historiadores deste Seculo a gloria de recorrer ao seo Real azilo (...)" (Brito, 1735: n. pag.).

8 "ja perdem o horror de lastimosos, na fortuna de dedicados; conseguindo eu para aquelles Vassallos desta Coroa (que agora o saõ de V Magestade com melhor estrella) nos seos naufragios o mais felis porto" (Brito, 1735: n. pag.).

Gomes de Brito: the fact that a text is dedicated to the vicissitudes of the shipwrecked crew turns their fortune less miserable. The preface is followed by comments of the censors of the Crown and of the Santo Officio.<sup>9</sup> Given that without these bureaucrats the work could not be published, the compilation of Gomes de Brito had to match their ideology. The principal representative of the Crown is Fr. Francisco Xavier de Santa Tereza, a Franciscan academic at the Royal Academy, who approves the printing of the manuscript because he discovers nothing against the "spirit of the prudent Royal Laws, and the effective decisions of Your Highness".<sup>10</sup> The principal representative of the Santo Officio is José Troyano, who approves print because he finds in the narratives traces of the Divine mercy.<sup>11</sup>

However no prefaces appear in the adaptation of Sérgio, and neither do the comments of the censors. Following the theory of Hutcheon it can be assumed that Sérgio silences the objectives of the 18<sup>th</sup> century historian, allowing the narratives to acquire a new purpose in his version.

### 1.2.1.2 Religious extracts

Numerous interventions of António Sérgio illustrate his relationship with religion. In 1927 Sérgio published an essay titled *Sobre cristianismo e cristãos, verdadeiros e falsos* (On Christianity and Christians, genuine and false ones), where he questions the interference of politics in religious matters.<sup>12</sup> He criticizes the organizational structure of the Church that is based on the administrative organization of the Empire (Sérgio, 1976: 186); the way power is abused to Christianize (Idem 184); and the conviction that there exists a political power granted by God (Idem 184). To Sérgio true Christianity lies in moral awareness:

The only process that is not arbitrary, the only way not entirely fantastic, the only honest way (...) to get to a legitimate conception of God is based on Socratic humanism; our species' most valid and most pure of all western contributions to religion. (...) We can only speak of an intellectual religion when (...) our rigorous critical intellectualism can tune the social organization to the prospect of charity, which is a characteristic of true religion (Idem 187-188).<sup>13</sup>

To Sérgio religiosity is inherently connected to a critical and intellectual posture, based on his interpretation of Socrates' philosophy. However, the HTM is filled to the brim with what Sérgio would call "*cristianismo falso*". The 18<sup>th</sup> century narratives promote a religious doctrine controlled both by the state and by an administrative organ of the Church (i.e. the Santo Officio), and urge the reader not

9 The Santo Officio was a juridical inspectional organ without penalization right (as opposed to the inquisition). During the 16<sup>th</sup> century king D. João III of Portugal (1521-1557) added various duties to the office of the Santo Officio. One of those assignments was the monopoly to issue a license to print with as final objective literary censorship: this way the divulgation of pagan books was controlled and impeded (Farinha, 1989: 101-163).

10 "*espírito das prudentes Reaes Leys, e determinações acertadas de V. Magestade*" (Brito, 1736: n. pag.).

11 "*Que outra couza lemos nas amargolas folhas deste livro, senão os despojos de hum naufragio, que são avisos da Divina misericórdia, para escaparmos dos rigores da sua ira*" (Brito, 1736: n. pag.).

12 "*(...) é a união com a política (...) que perverte a religião dos Ocidentais. A subordinação a César (e a mamom) do que deve ser de Deus*" (Sérgio, 1976: 180).

13 "*(...) o único processo que não é arbitrário, a única maneira não apenas fantástica, a única honesta, (...) de chegar a uma legítima concepção de Deus residirá portanto no humanismo de um Sócrates, a mais válida e a mais pura das contribuições do Ocidente para a consciencia religiosa da nossa espécie. (...) Será uma religião de carácter intelectualista, quando (...) o nosso rigoroso intelectualismo crítico conseguir aperfeiçoar a organização social consoante o anseio de amor fraterno que é próprio de verdadeira religião*" (Idem: 187-188).

to question God's will.<sup>14</sup> The first sentence of the preface of captain Sepulveda's shipwreck illustrates this point clearly:

What is being told in this Shipwreck, is to make men fear the punishment of the Lord, and to be good Christians, bearing in mind the fear for God, so they do not break his Commandments.<sup>15</sup>

Sérgio not only eliminates the prefaces, but also biblical terminology, sermonizing monologues, and demonstrations of faith of characters. Where he cannot simply eliminate the excerpt, Sérgio secularizes the phrases. In *A tragédia dos Baixos de Pêro dos Banhos* Sérgio is interested in a phrase that states nobody died until they start to lose hope: "Because of the mercy God showed to us we had hope we would be saved; and that is why everybody lived until January; and not one person died during five months. And seeing that time was passing by and nobody came to help us, people started to get sick and died."<sup>16</sup> Sérgio summarizes: "Once faded the hope, the bodies were on the wane: they started to get sick and died."<sup>17</sup> Another example is "with God's will we passed the canal"<sup>18</sup>, changed by Sérgio in "because of luck they passed the canal."<sup>19</sup> God's will is transformed into his secular alter ego: luck, destiny. Even the extracts where Sérgio does mention God or applies 'catholic language' are less religious than they seem. In the story of Jorge de Albuquerque Coelho the captain refuses to surrender saying that "God would never want, nor allow that the boat he travelled with would give up without a fight."<sup>20</sup> Sérgio reduces this religious answer to "No, for God's sake!"<sup>21</sup> Turning the captain's exclamation into a popular oral expression Sérgio reduces the presence of God in the sentence.

### 1.2.1.3 Past pastiche

More than once the creative touch of the adaptor is visible in the children's version. A first example is the insertion of direct speech. In the children's adaptation a lot of dialogues appear, as well as desperate exclamations, orders, and aural effects. "Reef down the sail, quickly! Take down the sail!"<sup>22</sup>; "Bang! Bang! Bang! , three loud blows resounded and shook up the ship."<sup>23</sup>; "Unload! Unload! Unship the cargo! Unload!"<sup>24</sup>; "Man overboard!!"<sup>25</sup>; "We are lost, Holy Mary help us all!"<sup>26</sup>; etc. In structuralist

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14 Madeira argues that this doctrinal message was already present in the 15<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century stories as they were bound to the Counter Reformation (Madeira, 2005: 151).

15 "*Cousa he esta que se conta neste Naufragio para os homens muito temerem os castigos do Senhor, e serem bons Christãos, trazendo o temor de Deos diante os olhos, para não quebrar seus Mandamentos*" (Brito, 1735: 3).

16 "*Assim que com estas misericordias que Deos conosco uzava, tihnamos esperanças que nos salvariamos; e assim viveo toda a gente até Janeiro; e não falleceo pessoa nenhuma em cinco mezes. E vendo nós que passava o tempo e ninguem vinha por nós, logo a gente começou a adoecer, e morrer*" (Brito, 1735: 202).

17 "*Minguado a esperança, decaiam os corpos: começaram a adoecer e a morrer*" (Sérgio, 2008: 72).

18 "*Quiz deus levarnos pelo meyo do canal*" (Brito, 1735: 209).

19 "*Seguiram por sorte pelo canal*" (Sérgio, 2008: 75).

20 "*Nunca Deus quizesse, nem permitisse que a Nao, em que elle vinha, se rendesse sem pelejar*" (Brito, 1736: 15).

21 "*Não, por Deus!*" (Sérgio, 2008: 129).

22 "*Amaina, amaina rápido! Amaina tudo!*" (Sérgio, 2008: 62).

23 "*Pum! Pum! Pum!, três fortísimas pancadas estoiraram, retremendo a nau.*" (Sérgio, 2008: 28).

24 "*Alija! Alija! Alija carga! Alija!*" (Sérgio, 2008: 134).

25 "*Homem ao mar!*" (Sérgio, 2008: 94).

26 "*Estamos perdidos! Valha-nos Nossa Senhora*" (Sérgio, 2008: 61).

terms Sérgio modifies the time in the narration: the duration of the events converge with the duration of their representation. The effect is that the reader has the feeling he/she is living those 'scenes' (Herman and Vervaeck, 2005: 66). The use of direct speech also accelerates the rhythm and intensifies the action of the narrative. In some cases the direct speech inserted by the adaptor is addressed to the (implicit) reader. In the story about Jorge de Albuquerque Coelho the captain conspires with his officers against the French that captured them. After the narrator informs the reader through indirect speech that the captain explains the plan, he continues in direct speech and subsequently asks himself (and the reader) a question:

"It's secret, did you hear me? Very secret! Trust me!  
What if they succeeded? What would happen then?"<sup>27</sup>

The creative touch of Sérgio also shows comparing extracts in indirect speech. In some cases Sérgio pursues a 'pastiche': he imitates the original text, but does not copy it entirely. A characteristic example appears in *A tragédia dos Baixos de Pêro dos Banhos*: "In great peace everybody retired to their cabins: the night was very serene, and there was a clear moon and little stern wind".<sup>28</sup> The children's adaptation narrates: "One by one the passengers retired in great peace to their cabins. The night was beautiful and serene, full of silvery lustre because of the clear moon, and the ship navigated with a stern wind".<sup>29</sup> Sérgio does not always aim for a 'pastiche'. In some cases his rewriting of the text comes along with a reinterpretation, as illustrated with the religious passages. In such a way the next extract is not only an example of the secularization of the text, but it also illustrates the literary intention of the adaptor. The captain of the São Paulo believes to be close to land. The crew starts to celebrate, but many of them will never see the coast. The narrator warns the implicit reader this will happen, and gives a divine reason for it: "But nothing happened, and God punished our sins, and interfered with our thoughts because they were totally against his Divine Will".<sup>30</sup> Sérgio does a big literary effort to maintain the prevision of the disaster without mentioning God: "spume on the waves, clouds on the wind, nothing, swaying dreams on a fragile ship".<sup>31</sup>

### 1.2.2 The role of the allegorical characters

A typically narrative characteristic of Gomes de Brito's HTM is the use of allegorical characters. The protagonists find themselves unable to escape horrifying situations or solve their life-threatening problems because they are caused by God's will (Madeira, 2005: 195). Also Moniz detects this impotence of the characters<sup>32</sup>, and according to Custodio it is exactly this powerlessness that turns them into 'martyrs'<sup>33</sup>. Madeira agrees that there only exists one way out of the impasse: to ask forgiveness and

27 "Segredo, ouvistes?... Muito Segredo! Confiai em mim! Se teriam êxito? Que daria aquilo?" (Sérgio, 2008: 134).

28 "Foi-se cada hum recolher a seo gazalhado: a noite era muito serena, e fazia luar claro com pouco vento a popa." (Brito, 1735: 173).

29 "Os passageiros, um a um, foram-se recolhendo ao seu gasalhado, numa grande paz. Era a noite bela e muito serena, toda prateada pelo luar claríssimo, e singrava a nau de vento em popa." (Sérgio, 2008: 60).

30 "Assim ficou tudo no ar, e castigou Deos nossos peccados, e atalhou nossos pensamentos, por serem estes contrarios em tudo à sua Divina vontade." (Brito, 1735: 413).

31 "Espumas nas ondas, nuvens ao vento, nada, sonhos baloiçados num madeiro frágil." (Sérgio, 2008: 96).

32 "Por mais importante que seja, não basta a competência para dirimir todos os problemas emergentes em viagem realizada em tão precárias condições" (Moniz, 2001: 245).

33 "Reduzido a um mártir, este homem, atingido de morte, entrega-se à benevolência divina, expressando a sua Fé, de forma pungente e aflitiva" (Custodio, 1992: 142).

help from God. For this reason it can be concluded that the characters are allegorical: at the same time they represent both the inherent culpability of the human being and the correct way to reach salvation (Madeira, 2005: 190).

A good example is Jorge de Albuquerque Coelho, who suffers an attack of French Lutheran corsairs. The captain decides to defend himself with the argument that "God would never want, nor allow that the boat he travelled with would give up without a fight."<sup>34</sup> Once captured, Albuquerque is allowed to have dinner with the French officers, but when they prohibit him to bless the food with a Christian cross, the Portuguese captain prefers to have dinner with his incarcerated crew. Another moment he is offered liberty under the condition his crew stays behind on a piece of wreckage. The narrator uses this situation to expose a good answer of a true Christian, using three expressions to define the French: "Albuquerque did not want to accept (...) and leave his Christian companions behind; he preferred to die then escape from them accompanied by Lutherans, enemies of God, and heretics".<sup>35</sup> Sérgio only mentions that the captain would never abandon his crew and attenuates the offence of the other religion: "*because he would never abandon his people*".<sup>36</sup> After they escape, their ship is heavily damaged facing a storm, and during the agony that follows Albuquerque reveals himself to be a truly messianic figure: he eats less than the rations of the others<sup>37</sup> and he even proposes to consume his body in case he dies<sup>38</sup>. However Sérgio maintains this elements of the narrative, he adds a conclusion in his adaptation, absent in the 18<sup>th</sup> century manuscript: "A man that commands in a liberal way, employing goodness and persuasion, is admirable in every way".<sup>39</sup> This liberal way of depicting the captain strongly opposes the ideology of the HTM, where the captain makes his decisions to execute God's will. When Sérgio states that the captain's posture is liberal, he guides the attention away from the original exemplary Christian behaviour.

Something similar happens in the narrative on the *Sau Paulo*. Sérgio eliminates the preface where the narrator warns the 18<sup>th</sup> century reader for the upcoming stream of calamities, death, and hunger; and explains that all this could have been prevented by faith in God (Brito, 1735: 354). Sérgio knocks over what Barthes would call the 'cardinal function' of God in the narrative, and puts the blame mainly on the incompetent pilot. Indeed, the pilot commits some fatal errors, but the narrator of the 18<sup>th</sup> century text makes it very clear he does not want to blame anyone. He refers to an anecdote of Pliny, saying he does not want to make the same mistake as the cobbler of Apelles, who was immortalized in the saying 'Sutor, ne ultra crepidam': 'let the cobbler stick to his last' (Brito, 1735: 359). "Even if I knew" states the narrator: "it would cost me a lot to write something that would accuse somebody of such a serious matter; because I believe that what we should fear is actually the

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34 "*Nunca Deus quizesse, nem permitisse que a Nao, em que elle vinha, se rendesse sem pelejar*" (Brito, 1736: 15).

35 "*Albuquerque não quiz aceitar (...), e deixar seus companheiros cristãos, preferia morrer que escapar delles em companhia de Lutheranos, inimigos de Deus, e herejes* (Brito, 1736: 32).

36 "*pois jamais desampararia a sua gente*" (Sérgio, 2008: 138).

37 "*O mantimento repartia Jorge de Albuquerque por fua mão com todos, dando a cada hum mayor quinhão do que tomava para sí, couza que a todos nos fazia espantar, ver quaõ pouco comia, e quanto trabalhava de noite e de dia, (...)*" (Brito, 1736: 34).

38 "*Abriose a alma a Jorge de Albuquerque de lastima e compaixão, e arrazaraõse-lhe os os olhos de agoa quando ouviu este espantoso requerimento, por ver a que estado os tinha chegado sua necessidade, e lhes disse com muita dor (...)* que elle em quanto fosse vivo tal não havia de consentir, e que depois delle morto, podiaõ fazer o que quizessem, e comello a elle primeiro." (Brito, 1736: 47, 48).

39 "*Homem para comandar liberalmente, pelo bondade e pela persuasão, e de todo ponto admiravel*" (Sérgio, 2008: 139).

mysterious judgement of God".<sup>40</sup> Sérgio eliminates the passages on the anecdote of Pliny and the role of God's will, and reduces thirty pages with descriptions of hunger, illness, and storms, to focus mainly on the mistakes of the pilot. First he navigates too much due south, upon which he gets lost going east, while "all the others who knew about that [about navigation] judged it was time to go northwards".<sup>41</sup> The climax of his 'guilt' is illustrated when a girl falls into the water, but the pilot refuses to turn the ship and she drowns (Sérgio, 2008: 95). Besides emphasising the mistakes of the pilot, Sérgio also comments on them. When the narrator of the 18<sup>th</sup> century HTM mentions a second time that the pilot keeps going east, the narrator of the children's adaptation exclaims "What mania drives him?!"<sup>42</sup> In structuralist terms the role of the pilot changes from a passive allegorical character ('victim' of the "mysterious judgements of God") into an active character that makes mistakes, despised by the narrator. Again not only the power of God's will is eliminated, this time the character becomes an example of what happens when an incompetent man takes the lead.

### 1.2.3 A nationalist narrator

As mentioned before Sérgio's idea of democracy opposed Salazar's regime. However, Sérgio does not disapprove nationalism or patriotism (totally in accordance with the political tendencies of early-twentieth century 'Europe') but he aims at a more international attitude: Portugal as a metropolis.

We are a colonial country and I believe we should keep it that way; we always were a country of navigators, innovators, cosmopolitans and I believe we should keep it that way; if I am not mistaken, to reach this goal we should first organize seriously our metropolitan base (...). Let's say that Portugal is a 'parent company' with subsidiaries spread all over the world. This being said, what is now the idea I want to propose? That the parent company should be solid, a centre of labour and of strong creation, so that the organism made up of subsidiaries turns out profitable and consolidated.<sup>43</sup>

This patriotism of Sérgio reflects in his adaptation of the HTM, above all when a group of survivors encounters 'others': slaves, or an indigenous population. The text always remains respectful, but Sérgio is very adamant with the differentiation between the Portuguese and the 'others'. An explicit example is found in the story about the ship Sao Paulo. At one moment epidemics afflict the crew, and Gomes de Brito's text only mentions the outbreak of "many and big sicknesses"<sup>44</sup>. However, Sérgio inserts a body count that is absent in the 18<sup>th</sup> century version: "five Portuguese died, and four slaves".<sup>45</sup>

40 "(...) e ainda que o soubera, me pezará muito escrever couza que pudesse condenar alguém em materia tão grave; e porque na verdade cuido, que mais temos nesta parte que temer os occultos juizos de Deos" (Brito, 1735: 359).

41 "Todos os outros que disse entendiam julgavam que já era tempo de irem tomando o norte" (Sérgio, 2008: 92).

42 "Que mania a sua!" (Idem: 96).

43 "Somos um país colonial e creio que devemos continuar a sê-lo; fomos um país de navegantes, de inovadores, de cosmopolitas, e creio que devemos continuar a sê-lo; simplesmente, se não estou em erro, para podermos sê-lo de maneira plena releva primeiro organizar a sério os nossos alicerces metropolitanos (...). Digamos que Portugal é uma casa-mãe de sucursais espalhadas pelo mundo inteiro. Posto isto, qual é a ideia que eu quis propor? A de que a casa-mãe deverá ser sólida, e um centro de trabalho e de criação pujante, para que resulte proveitoso e assegurado o organismo formado pelas sucursais" (Mota, 2000: 14).

44 "(...) com nos adoecer toda a gente; com que passámos muitas, e muy grandes enfermidades, e enfadamentos." (Brito, 1735: 359).

45 "Cinco Portugueses faleceram então, e quatro escravos" (Sérgio, 2008: 87).

Another example of the differentiation between the Portuguese and the "others" is Sérgio's intervention on the level of the narrator. A first example is the story *A tragédia dos Baixos de Pêro dos Banhos* where a shipwrecked crew meets a tribe on a beach (Brito, 1735: 209). In Gomes de Brito's text the narrator relates in first person and differentiates 'the others' defining them as "negros".<sup>46</sup> This differentiation separates the indigenous population from the 'I' that is narrating. In this moment, the reader has already been presented to the narrator: his name is M. Rangel, a survivor of the shipwreck and writer of the story (Brito, 1735: 190). In other words, the narrator is the fictitious author. This implies that when the narrator uses 'I' or 'we' he refers to himself and a group of survivors of the shipwreck, which *does not include the reader*. Sérgio changes the extradiegetic and homodiegetic narrator into an extradiegetic and heterodiegetic narrator. The third person in Sérgio's adaptation refers to a narrator who did not live the incident, and M. Rangel becomes a character of the story: "*Rangel, seeing this, took a rope and started to moor with his own hands*".<sup>47</sup> This narrator feels the necessity to admit he/she did not write the narrative: "*three persons were chosen to command: Diogo da Rosa, Gaspar de Barros, and Manuel Rangel, who wrote the history of this shipwreck*".<sup>48</sup> In other words, Sérgio's narrator positions him/herself after the events. A second effect is that this narrator offers the possibility to refer to the shipwrecked crew as an explicit subject of the verbs. Most of the time however, the narrator does not name this group. They are referred to via the third person of the verb (personal pronouns are not obligatory in Portuguese grammar), and in one occasion they are described as "*os sobreviventes*": "*the survivors*" (Sérgio, 2008: 72). However, the moment the tribe appears in the narrative, it seems that the narrator feels the necessity to categorize this group of survivors. He uses two terms to insert them as subject of the phrase: "the Portuguese", and "ours": "Four hours later, a group of black people with boats came to the place where ours were stationed".<sup>49</sup> This implies that both the narrator and the implicit reader have a Portuguese nationality. The use of "*ours*" connects the lives of the shipwrecked crew with the inhabitants of a nation. The aforementioned encounter in Gomes de Brito's text between 'us, the shipwrecked crew' with 'the others' changes in Sérgio's text into an encounter between 'us, the Portuguese' with 'the not Portuguese others'. The exact same situation appears in the stories about Jorge de Albuquerque Coelho and about the ship Sao Paolo. In the first Sérgio changes the 18<sup>th</sup> century extract "they started talking to us, saying that we should come down"<sup>50</sup> into "they came to speak with our people, intimidating them so they would surrender"<sup>51</sup>. In the history on the Sao Paolo, Sérgio copies the phrase "however they turned out to be bad people, one day they caught

46 "*Procurámos então de buscar couza que comessemos , e tomámos caranguejos , que cozemos , e assamos ; e estando nós assim dissêrão algumas pessoas que lhe dêssemos licença para hirem pelo mato a ver fe achávaõ alguma agoa para beber nas tocas dos pãos : e tanto que foraõ pelo matto viraõ alguns negros , e o primeiro que os vio no lo veyo dizer (...)*" (Brito, 1735: 209)

47 "*O Rangel, vendo isso, tomou uma corda, e começou a amarrar as suas próprias mãos*" (Sérgio, 2008: 79).

48 "*elegeram-se três pessoas para comandar: Diogo da Rosa, Gaspar de Barros e Manuel Rangel, que escreveu a narrativa deste naufragio*" (Sérgio, 2008: 69).

49 "*Passadas sobre isso umas quatro horas, veio uma parte dos negros dos barcos até o sítio onde estavam os nossos*" (Sérgio, 2008: 79).

50 "*Se puzerão a falla connosco, dizendo que nos dessêmos: (...)*" (Brito, 1736: 13).

51 "*(...) vieram a fala com a nossa gente, intimando-os a que se rendesse, (...)*" (Sérgio, 2008: 127).

some of ours, killed us and ate us".<sup>52</sup> The HTM tells that the shipwrecked crew was eaten, but the changed narrative focus in the children's adaptation implies they were eating us, the Portuguese.

A similar situation appears in the story on Manuel de Sousa Sepúlveda. The big difference with the other texts is that the 18<sup>th</sup> century version also uses an extradiegetic and heterodiegetic narrator. However, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century HTM the narrator does not show him/herself, while the children's adaptation starts with the words: "I will tell you the story of those who were on board the galleon S. João".<sup>53</sup> From then on the story goes on in third person, but every now and then the narrator shows him/herself through comments on the events: "They left the 3<sup>rd</sup> of February and crossed the Indian Ocean past the east side of the island of Madagascar, that went by the name of S. Lourenço in those days. Five weeks later they were 25 miles away from the famous Cape of Good Hope".<sup>54</sup> Once again the narrator reveals he is from a time posterior to the events, when S. Lourenço is already called Madagascar and when the Cape of Good Hope already is "famous". In Brito's text the island of Madagascar does not even appear. There the narrator helps the reader to locate the ship by referring to trading posts as "*Coulão*" and "*Cochim*" (nowadays Kollam and Kochi in India).<sup>55</sup> This change in Sergio's text implies that the narrator could perfectly be a contemporary of the 20<sup>th</sup> century reader, while the original narrator uses a geographical register of a by-gone era. In one occasion the narrator of the children's adaptation goes a step further. The next extract from the 18<sup>th</sup> century HTM is written in a heterodiegetic perspective: "When the locals saw the Portuguese removed from their weapons (...) they immediately started to separate them, to rob them and to drag them into the bushes. And once they arrived there, they let them naked, without leaving a single piece of cloth on them, and receiving a lot of strokes they were kicked out of the village".<sup>56</sup> In Sergio's text both phrases are turned into one and three times the 20<sup>th</sup> century narrator can't resist emitting a homodiegetic exclamation: "They divided us, they beat them, they robbed us, they carried us along the bushes, (...) and with a lot of beatings they were kicked out".<sup>57</sup> Three times the 20<sup>th</sup> century narrator dissimulates he/she took part in the events. Given the fact that this narrator already profiled him/herself as a contemporary of the reader, the use of the homodiegetic perspective allows the reader to feel *included* in the group of shipwrecked crew. This empathy-boosting writing technique turns the history of a group of shipwrecked sailors into a narrative on the vicissitudes of a nation.

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52 "Porém, revelaram-se gente má; apanharam um dia alguns dos nossos, mataram-nos, e comeram-nos" (Sérgio, 2008: 106).

53 "Vou contar-vos a história dos que embarcaram no galeão grande S. João" (Sérgio, 2008: 9).

54 "Partiram pois a 3 de Fevereiro, e atravessaram o Oceano Índico a leste da ilha de Madagáscar, que se chamava então de S. Lourenço. A cinco semanas da partida encontravam-se a vinte e cinco léguas do famoso Cabo da Boa Esperança" (Sérgio, 2008: 10).

55 "E partio tão tarde por hir carregar a Coulaõ, e lá haver pouca pimenta, onde carregou obra de quatro mil e quinhentas, e veyo a Cõchim acabar de carregar a copia de sette mil e quinhentas por toda com muito trabalho por causa da guerra que havia no Malavar" (Brito, 1735: 5).

56 "Tanto que os Cafres virão os Portugueses sem armas, (...) os começarão logo a apartar, e roubar, e os levarão por estes matos, cada hum como lhe cahia a forte. E acabado de chegarem aos lugares, os levãrão já despidos, sem lhe deixar sobre si cousa alguma, e com muitas pancadas os lançavão fora das aldeias" (Brito, 1735: 31).

57 "Apartaram-nos, bateram-lhes, robaram-nos, arrastaram-nos por esses matos, (...) e com muitas pancadas os lançavam fora" (Sérgio, 2008: 21).

## Conclusions

A general look at the youth-oriented literary production of Sérgio proves a predilection for both a maritime theme and for a clear moral message. However the textual comparison between the children's adaptation of the HTM and its source allows us to reveal more specific aspirations of Sérgio concerning this work.

Sérgio withdraws from the 18<sup>th</sup> century manuscript the catholic message that all flows from God's will. The elimination of the original prefaces and comments of Gomes de Brito's censors clears the way for a non religious reading of the narratives. Sérgio conducts a secular reading of the text through the rewriting of some passages, and the new role of the allegorical characters in the stories. The role of God's will behind the calamities is replaced by destiny or faith and the role of the allegorical characters is no longer passive, caused by God's will, but active. The actions of the allegorical characters become direct causes of the progress of the narrative. In the story on the S. Paolo the narrator blames the incompetence of the pilot as main reason for the disaster, while in the story on Jorge de Albuquerque Coelho it is the exemplary liberal attitude of the captain that brings the survivors home safely.

Secondly the 20<sup>th</sup> century adaptor provides the story with a new nationalistic connotation through adjustments on the level of the narrator. On the moments that the survivors meet 'others' the narrator of the children's version feels the urge to differentiate them from each other. He does so using the terms 'the Portuguese' and 'ours'. In combination with the change of identity of the narrator this modifies the subject of the action. The narrator no longer relates about a shipwrecked group where he was part of and that does not include the reader, but about the fortunes of a nation. Every reader that has the same nationality as the Portuguese implicit reader is now included in the group.

Considering both the removal of the religious denotation and the stimulation of a nationalist connotation, the HTM for the youth no longer tells stories that illustrate through countless disasters how almighty God is. Enhancing the empathy on a nationalistic basis, the narrator of the children's adaptation tries to make the young Portuguese readers experience the difficulties that their nation confronted, and the sacrifices they made to get home safely, and more generalised to accomplish the discoveries.

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