

ATINER CONFERENCE PRESENTATION SERIES No: LIT2017-0022

**ATINER's Conference Paper Proceedings Series**

LIT2017-0022

Athens, 22 August 2017

**Portuguese Literature and romanced Stories of Smuggling and  
Illegal Emigration at the Luso-Spanish Border:  
Imaginaries and Social Representation**

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8 Valaoritou Street, Kolonaki, 10683 Athens, Greece

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**ATINER's Conference Paper Proceedings Series**

LIT2017-0022

Athens, 24 August 2017

ISSN: 2529-167X

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and Social Representation<sup>1</sup>**

**ABSTRACT**

In the present paper, it is aimed to establish the context in the Portuguese contemporary literature area, a romanced story of smuggling and illegal emigration on the luso-spanish boundaries, before the border opening within the framework of the European Union, in the early 1980's. The border, a geographical line, sometimes physical, others just intellectual, but always political, was the protagonist of many cold and harsh stories of smuggling and illegal emigration, whose echoes set in the modern Portuguese romance. It was the literary fiction that first had the audacity to describe the living and the feeling of the population and its protagonists during an historical time where those realities were still immersed in secrecy. More recently, historians, sociologists and anthropologists have been investigating and producing certified scientific studies to build a more solid interpretation of facts, resorting to the contributions of literary studies. It is deemed that an intensive approach should not be disregarded and a very special reference in the literary domain of border phenomena, which even before of its opening were already significantly traced in the Portuguese contemporary romance. It is aimed, then to denote, interpret and analyse, in a cross point of view of "imaginaries" and "social representations", some modern Portuguese romances fragments, all from known Portuguese author and some of them established, that had the opportunity, even with the border phenomena still active and its contradictory complexities, to describe and to create fiction with these facts and preserve its memories alive fictionalised through the romanesque writing and literary art.

In this case and context, the study of the literary corpus is as follows: *Terra fria* by Ferreira de Castro (1990, 13th edition) ; *Mariam Mim* by Nuno Montemor (2003, 4th edition); *Novos Contos da Montanha* by Miguel Torga (2013, 6th

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<sup>1</sup> Ἰδομενεὺς Λαμψακηνός - Idomeneus of Lampsacus ca. 325-270 BCE - *apud* Athenaeus of Naucratis, *Deipnosophistai* 13.37.1-4.

edition); *A noite e a Madrugada* (1994, 12th edition) and *As Minas de São Francisco* (2003, 11th edition) by Fernando Namora; *A Fátima* (2010, 2th edition) by Bento da Cruz; *Longe do meu coração*(2010, 1th edition) by Júlio Magalhães.

Keywords: Contemporary Portuguese Literature; Smuggling; Illegal emigration; Social representations; Imaginaries

## **Introduction**

This study analyzes a representative set of Portuguese novels that, intertwining history and fiction, narrate through imagined characters in concrete geographical environments, phenomena of our contemporaneity as smuggling and clandestine emigration on the Luso-Spanish frontier. The considered period is between 1940 and the 1980s, the opening of the borders' date, with the entry into the UE of the two neighboring countries, and covers a temporal arc of dictatorship, ideological censorship and legal prohibition of these two phenomena.

Fiction and imagination run parallel to historical-social realities addressed in these historicized novels whose authors have had (in)direct knowledge of the actual romanticized events. It does not mean, however, that literary writing and historical narrative are the same thing, since "writing stories is not making History, because fiction is imagination fantasy and dream (...)" (Tiago, 1998)

Re-modernizing the historical-social meaning of these novels that have fallen into oblivion, we aimed to identify popular imaginaries and social representations of the population that lived the narrated phenomena and still keeps alive the collective memory.

## **Literature Revision**

As an expression of contemporary culture, the images, forms, the representations and social meanings of smuggling and clandestine emigration begin by sharing an historical, anthropological and sociological investigation of these phenomena, of the traditional deviations proper to the study of the daily lives of the populations and other images, which are constantly changing and miscegenation forms of cultures and sub-cultures that need to be analyzed and understood in their complexity and in the light of recent interdisciplinary studies.

It was in this context that the most important works of authors of different specialties, considered of reference on this matter, were evaluated.

Thus began, then, this evaluation by the PhD Thesis of Maria Otilia Pereira Lage, which transports us to the world of exploration of the wolfram mines, giving a very concrete description of the way of life of the miners, approaching several mines in Portuguese territory, which includes Borralha Mines and Panasqueira Mines, which became very useful for the interpretation of the novels that took place there (Lage MP, 2002). The Portuguese and Galician novels produced through this historical reality in the 1940s, which this author investigated and analyzed deeply in her article "Memories of the Wolfram: A Portuguese-Galician Sociolect" (2001), was a mandatory reference study for our work which served as a starting point, but also as an essential basis.

The investigation proceeded with Luís Cunha, an author who, in his work on contraband in Campo Maior, gives us an overview of this economic-social

and cultural reality characteristic of the border zones, which was understood and perceived in different ways according to the perspective of those who feel it (Cunha, 2003).

It was also useful to go deep in the border of Sabugal, where the village of Quadrazais and many other villages in Beiras became known. For this, we have two excellent works that deepen the knowledge about how the contraband networks worked and how the tax guards worked, which became important for the understanding and interpretation of the literary corpus (Amante, 2007), (Godinho, 2009).

In order to interpret and analyze the clandestine emigration, it was also necessary to deepen knowledge, that was why journalistic sources of the time about clandestine Portuguese emigrants in France were consulted (Rocha, 1965). The ever timely work Marta Silva, which describes in detail how the transportation networks of the emigrants were assembled and how the trips of destination were, was also essential (Silva, 2011).

The fieldwork of interviews with smugglers and clandestine emigrants, supports the empirical study of Lídia Aguiar's PhD Thesis, which has become fundamental for understanding the vast majority of the imaginary of this people as well as their own social representations about facts and events experienced (Aguiar, 2015).

For a solid theoretical framework, it was necessary to have a good definition of concepts and notions such as "imaginary" and "social representation", that allowed its operationalization with a view to the conceptualization of the realities under study and the correct interpretation of its literary dimensions. Some academic studies of Maria Otilia Pereira Lage were more relevant and pertinent at this level. Through these and other studies and works of authors and scholars of obligatory reference in these matters, it was possible to obtain the perception of what was contraband and what led us to the possibility of identifying, interpreting and analyzing the imaginaries and social representations in each literary work studied and which we propose here to present.

The literary corpus constituted resulted from a systematic documentary research and careful selection where, although the stories are not History, the reader can realize facts that do not deviate from the true reality, that are inserted in the landscapes described, that carry us to the social microcosm of the social and smuggling streaks, of their sociabilities and mentalities, and finally of a daily life that was inherent to them, and of which the novels are echoed, evoking cunning, passions and tragedies.

The analytical interpretation of the selected novels beyond the plot, argument and fictionally constructed characters, allows us to perceive fundamental singularities of the verge of Luso-Spanish: the micro societies, their traffics, experiences and transformations, the mobility of people, the movements of goods, modalities and conditions of work, all inserted in a space and time, in short, a whole day-to-day history of those (earn a)living through it well across borders.

The characteristics of a peripheral society and some of their realities, living as a community and individuals that each author wanted to rebuilt literally, transports the reader to a real lived world, even though recreated in a fiction language more or less realistic, deeply rooted in and on the popular imaginary.

At last and through a specific research and bibliographical-documented revision centered on the Portuguese literary production, where contraband and clandestine emigration are better portrayed, themes of which such study gains a special cutout and density with the mobilization and analysis of these literary sources and specific documentary, it was able to compile a significant Literary Corpus made of six authors and seven romances, whose bio-bibliography unfolds next.

**Ferreira de Castro** (1990), 13th edition, **Terra Fria**, Lisboa, Guimarães Editora LDA. Ferreira de Castro (1898-1974), was born in Ossela, Oliveira de Azeméis. At the age of 12, he emigrated to Brazil, residing in Belém, in Pará, following to Amazônia as a rubber tapper. He wrote his first romance in 1916, which would be published as booklets when he returned to Belém. He collaborated in several journals and magazines. In 1919 he returned to Portugal where he faced hard times. He collaborated with different journals and magazines and had his first son in 1923.

Ferreira de Castro fiction characterises for its strong social realism. All his work portrays contemporary life of those in need, through a direct and realistic narrative, with a taste for the everyday and the harsh and crude lives.

**Terra Fria**, had its first edition in 1934. The drama unfolds in Serra do Larouço, in the village of Padronelos - Montalegre. In this village, survival was only due to agriculture, pasture and contraband. It portrays the life of a young couple, where the main livelihood is fur smuggling. The young wife to help the family, accepts to work as a housekeeper in the house of an ex-emigrant from America, with a great fortune. This will seduce her and soon she is pregnant. As she is aware that the emigrant keeps abusing other girls, she entraps and kills him. She tells her husband that it was in self-defense, for that he, won by honour assumes the crime and tries to escape to Spain, with no results. The young girl then tells the truth. She is arrested and serves the sentence. The husband, drowned in shame, goes to Spain (Castro, 1990).

It is a romance that refers to the social reality, through well detailed descriptions. Equally, the landscape descriptions, colors, smell, the weather makes us closer to the truthfulness of the facts of that period.

**Nuno Montemor** (2003), 4th edition, **Maria Mim**, Sabugal, Câmara Municipal do Sabugal. Nuno Montemor is the pseudonym of Joaquim Augusto Alvares de Almeida (1881 - 1964). He was born in Quadrazais, in the county of Sabugal. He was ordered priest in 1904. His literary works stands out for the social realism of his romances, each and one of them located in Beiras. It portrays the people, whom he knows well, in a simple way, but with great detail. He frequently uses the description of the surrounding nature to the plot of the romance.

In Maria Mim, he describes with a deep realism the life of smugglers and their escapes to the Fiscal Guard, in village of Quadrazais. The love life of an ensign for a smuggler for a quadrazenha<sup>2</sup> “Marim Mim, but engaged, are the backstory where the plot of the romance unrolls. The author presents honour and the smuggler’s values, the life form of the people of Quadrazais (similar to other villages from La Raya) and the beauty of the landscapes of the border. All of this wrote with great simplicity, and yet at the same time with exact details (Montemor 2003).

**Miguel Torga** (2013), 6th edition, *Novos Contos da Montanha, Conto Fronteira* (Tales and more tales from the Mountain) (pp.21-29), ALfragide, Leya, SA

Miguel Torga (1907-1995) is the pseudonym of Adolfo Correia da Rocha, born in Trás-os-Montes, in the village of Anta, in the county of Sabrosa. He studied in the seminar of Lamego for one year, he then travelled to Brazil, where an uncle welcomes him. He returns to Portugal then, where the uncle pays for his studies. After three years, he finishes school and enrolls in the Medical Course. He holds the office in his homeland, however soon he radicalizes in Coimbra. Clearly against the Salazar dictatorship, he was arrested in 1939. After his release, he thought about emigration, quickly dismissing the idea as he was too close to his country.

All his work characterises for its social critic, description of the simple people’s culture and for the magnificent narration of the landscapes he describes. In the short-story “Fronteira” he transports the reader to the north frontier of Portugal, where between Castro Laboreiro and its rocky mountains that extend to Serra do Lindoso, practically making agriculture impossible.

This short-story unfolds around the love story of a soldier, destined to fulfil his mission to his country. He then has a romantic connection to a beautiful smuggler whom he gets pregnant. Punished by his own honour and law, he abandons his job and works in the only job that there is in the village: smuggler (Torga, 2013).

**Fernando Namora**, was born in Condeixa-a-Nova (1919-1989). He graduated in Medicine and held office for some years in the village of Monsanto, at Beira-Baixa, which led him to have contact with a social reality completely different from the city, made of simple people who fought for survival. Having returned to Coimbra, he collaborated with renowned magazines such as *Seara Nova*, *Mundo Literário e Presença*, among others. In his romances, that are presented in this *literary corpus* “A Noite A Madrugada” and “As minas de São Francisco” display a cycle where the author dedicated to represent the rural world (1943-1950). Without scorning the social analysis, his writing is deeply marked by the burlesque and nature observation.

Fernando Namora (1994), 12th edition, **A Noite e a Madrugada**, Lisboa, Publicações Europa-América. A romance that portrays the contraband and the struggle of classes and social structure (the owners of smuggled goods and those who were paid just to pass them through the border). The struggle for

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<sup>2</sup> Quadrazenha was the slang term for smuggler. The term was mostly used until the 60’s.

power in the land is also represented, in the figure of António Parra that prefers death rather than to give away a piece of land, where all his life he was a caretaker (Namora, *A Noite e a Madrugada* 12ª edição, 1994).

Fernando Namora (2003) 11th edition, **Minas de San Francisco**, Lisboa, Publicações Europa-América. In this romance, it tells the saga of many farm workers, that in World War Two, leave the farm land to work in the mine of wolfram. This ore was in high demand in times of war and was the hope of the best income for numerous families. However, the work was hard and dangerous. Men descended to the mines without safety and accidents happened. Daily, they would breathe the black dust that was formed with the continuous drilling, making way for incurable pulmonary diseases.

This romance portrays with great detail the hope of those who aim to have a better life, making better money. The social critic is also present, through the amazing statement of social structure: the miner that submits himself to harsh and dangerous jobs and those who have the rights to explore the mine, that get most of the profits. For its strict nature descriptions, it is possible to realise that the plot takes place in the Mines of Panasqueira, county of Fundão, at Beira-Baixa (Namora, 2003).

**Bento da Cruz** (2010), 2th edition, **A Fárria**, Lisboa, Âncora Editores. Bento da Cruz (1925-2015), was born in Peirezes, county of Montalegre. He attended the School of Claustral de Singeverga (1940), but he would not keep on his religious life. He courses in medicine in the city of Coimbra. After concluding his degree, he holds office in some villages in Montalegre, but in 1971 he begins to reside in Porto. He celebrates his literary career with the releasing of his book “Fária”. In his romances, he represented essentially the people, he did not know so well, the people from Terras do Barroso, in Montalegre). In the romance Fária, he portrays the Mines of Borrallha (located a few miles from Montalegre). Due to the great amount of wolfram, Borrallha was the main employer of that time (World War II), in that area. Bento da Cruz, describes with great simplicity, but with more details, the life in the mines. He narrates the maneuvers of wolfram contraband. Great fortunes soon were achieved, but soon were gone in ridiculous expenses. hence, the name “farristas”, because this was how the Borrallha wolfram smugglers were known as (Cruz, 2010).

**Júlio de Magalhães** (2010), 1st edition, **Longe do meu coração**, Lisboa, Esfera dos Livros. Júlio de Magalhães was born in the city of Porto in 1963. At the age of 16 he started to collaborate in the sport section of the journal Comércio do Porto. In 1990, he starts working as a journalist for RTP as a reporter and newscaster.

Disagreeing upon the orientation provided by this channel, he moves, ten years later, to TVI. In this channel in 2009 he would assume the position of Director of Information. In 2012, he returns to Porto as a Managing Director of Porto Canal.

Through this romance, the author, that was still a child in an early age when the narrated phenomenons took place, after an exhaustive investigation, he describes them with great precision. He transports the reader to the depth of



the most clandestines transportation of illegal emigrants to France. He narrates with unprecedented realism the journey and the harsh conditions that were established to those who travelled first and initiated it.

In no other way, he is able to transmit the feeling of anguish and despair in the arrival at France and consequent realisation of the harsh lives that awaited them. Maintaining the same precision and realism, he narrates the life of two Portuguese men, Joaquim and Albano.

Working his way up in the economical and social ladder, Joaquim falls in love with a middle class French woman and is able to make two dreams come true: open his own company and marry the woman he fell in love to (Magalhães).

The thoroughness of the research is emphasized in this romance, in which he based on testimonies which can explain all its realism.

## **Methodology**

The following methodology consists in a theoretical and practical part. In the first part, the useful concepts for the scientific work in the branch of Historical and Cultural Literary Studies were defined and exposed. The canonized literary corpus was presented and commented, focusing on methods and techniques of developing academic research works with public disclosure.

In the practical part, interviews with the population of the geographical areas were contemplated by the studied literary works and reviews of specialized works of smuggling and clandestine emigration were elaborated - general themes in focus - and a descriptive and detailed analysis in a documental point of view of the literary corpus was made.

The exhaustive revision of literature in which a compiling and building of a selective literary corpus stands out, it became necessary to understand the romances, identify them with the places, the goods and local societies. That demanded a resource to authors that have been studying systematically and scientifically in different areas of knowledge, the two historical phenomenons of the border in the national literary production in question here.

It was then able to get to the descriptive, interpretative and analytic presentation of the studied literary works, where the most expressive fragments of each romance was transcribed, marking the imaginary and the social representation, ideas that are considered two variables (Quivy & Campenhout, 2008) of the made investigation, about a very closed society, whose comprehension only becomes possible after a thorough study.

It became then necessary to clarify these two variables: social representation and popular imaginary that constitute the common thread of the analytical interpretation made.

It can be understood by the following line (Lage, 2013:7) that the social representations are: *“symbolics elements, can also be understood as a mental content, meaning, cognitive, evaluative and affective regarding a relevant social phenomenon, taking shape of images or metaphors, messages mediated*

*through language, built socially and anchored in a real and concrete situation of individuals who issues them, being that these share, consciously, content with other members from different social and cultural groups. Thus, and how the same author urges: “in the studies of social representation it is essential a more careful “contextual analysis”: it is required to know the different spacio-temporal in which these are produced historically and they relate, as well as the economical and social and cultural conditions where the individuals are inserted. And it should studied articulating it with affective, mental and social elements, integrating them to the cognitive, language and communication side, to the social relations that affect the representation and material, social and ideal about which they will intervene.” (Lage, 2013:7,8).*

When at the second interpretation and analysis variable, the popular imaginary, it was taken in consideration particularly the expression of myths and beliefs, that started to be understood by the communities as a practise of their society, given that through them the subjects build theirs truths when they made their stories (Beszerra, 2009).

### **Analytical Argumentation and Main Results**

In this rubric, some selected fragments of the analyzed "documentary corpus" are evidenced. All authors consecrated in the literary canon and mostly written and published at a time when the frontier phenomenon was still active in its contradictory complexities, approach economic and social facts and cultural here in observation, managing to recreate fictionally and fix in literary writing, essential elements of smuggling and clandestine emigration that marked indelibly the history of Portuguese border population.

There we can identify a certain space-temporality in which history and romance almost coincide, juxtaposing "reality" and fiction, which allows us to trace a social representation of the narrated events. If it is true that the actors were not the same, there are, however, similar places, commodities, daily life, and particularly the motivations that led the people of the “raia” to practice such activities.

In addition to this global observation, the following detailed approach to each of the novels and inventoried authors allows to identify other interpretative topics.

Both allow, as an outline, to demonstrate and also to illustrate the main results of the present documentary and literary study.

#### **Terra Fria** of Ferreira de Castro

This novel describes the Serra do Larouco, very close to the border with Galicia. It narrates the dramatic history of a returned rich ex-emigrant from America, who ends up murdered by the woman he raped and of whom she had a child. It is a novel of great humanity, but very impressive and quite tragic.

In these border lands, smuggling is necessarily present as a means of subsistence, and lambskins are the ones that appear as the main smuggled product, in addition to other goods.

The social environment is characterized as extremely poor, with miserable huts, muddy roads where pigs turn aside and hide the few stones that the men put to made their walk easier.

*"It could not be! The Galicians ruined everything, either by paying as many rights as the guards demanded, or by walking in the dead of night, smuggling fur"* (Castro, 1990:19).

It is common in the popular imaginary the perception that "galician ruin everything", a sign that in portuguese villages they were not welcome, where sometimes they were competitors to the local labor. This image, till this day persist "you're really a galician" used in the sense of diminishing the expertise of someone.

*"There are other ways to make a lot of money without needing this (...)  
"The silks - do you understand? - They're very cheap in Spain. No only silks, but other things. Goods that are profitable... That are very easy to pass..."*

*"Without paying any royalties?"*

*"Of course, man! Why do you think furs don't give us enough money? Because we pay the royalties. It wasn't worth it to smuggle something so cheap anyways. But with silks... (...)"*

*"It's all a matter of knack and smart. In Pitões they have eggs, cattle, sugar, everything!"* (Castro, 1990:77)

It is implied in this dialogue that social self-representation of the smuggler as bold, smart, and is able to take advantage of the frontier.

But the drama of adultery will dismantle the whole contraband plot crossed by the traditional, social representation of the condition of women in rural areas. When the child is born, the American lends money to the husband of the woman he raped without soliciting interest, for him to open a business, a stratagem to which the social representation where the most powerful economically tries to dominate the woman. Without distrusting the husband, contended she makes plans for the works. The business is opened, but Ermelinda, the raped woman, never forgives the betrayal and in a fit of anger, desperate commits the crime. She goes home and tells her husband the truth. She will be arrested and he takes refuge in Spain very close to the border where he remarries and open a new business. There opposite social representations emerge: the woman, undervalued, victim of the rich emigrant, and that of the successful man.

**Maria Mim** – Nuno Montemor

The main character of the novel *Maria Mim*, a quadrazenha, is "caught" in her usual transport of fabrics from Spain to Portugal. The second lieutenant, intends to paint her if she undresses, and in return proposes to let her leave with all her contraband:

*And, after this dress, the quadrazenha unpinned the others, slowly. Yellow apricots, bright red handkerchiefs, lace of snow, ribbons and luxurious ornaments, made a flowered throne around her feet.*

*One moment, stay like that for one moment! - He yelled (...)*

*Keep going - he ordered.*

*But laid was the robe leaving only the flesh, that was in all shapes, a long white linen shirt.*

*So? - insisted the officer.*

*I can't take it anymore... moaned the girl bewildered.*

*(...) I will not touch you, but I want to draw you on the canvas.*

*Never! (Montemor, 2003:63;64)*

Clearly the author intended to represent socially the two sides in comparison: the border guard with his strength and the smuggler woman, who was clearly weaker.

The quadrazenha kept her honor, and the lieutenant was denounced. The authorities had laws to enforce, and they could not, no longer respect the honor of women smugglers. Now, what has happened is that a group of smuggler men had used *Maria Mim* to entertain the authority and thus pass with their cargoes. Within this group was *Maria Mim*'s boyfriend. The use of women to deceive the authority by men was a constant of this social reality, which the novelist thus wanted to portray and implicitly censor.

The Lieutenant was accused for his attitude against the law and denounced to his superiors. In the village, opinions were divided, between those who supported the quadrazenha and who disowned her. But the heart of *Mary* would remain with the lieutenant and she still tries to save him from jail. The lieutenant left for exile in Angola. Forty years have passed:

*"For that time, she was selling linen and Portuguese silks with her widowed brother, José Mim, in the outskirts of Évora. (...) as the profits of smuggling barely covered the costs of the lenders, those who were most passionate did not give up, working in farming, they spreaded throughout the country, negotiating fabrics from Portugal (...)*

The smuggler and the quadrazenho have the roots of a smuggler, one can understand here, as one overlooks the means to an end to obtain greater profits, which represents a social representation of the smuggler, generalized in common sense.

*Sometimes it was the wife and daughter of the merchant, who hasty, rush to slide their hands on those forbidden and foreign fabrics, presented by men with a strange accent, that risk their lives for this (...) And the quadrazenho tells the audacities, where there are biddings with blood, memories of a past, that only know because of their parents and grandparents (Montemor, 2003: 272)*

This ending shows a reality of the Quadrazais society, in which many became street vendors, running the whole country and selling the greatest variety of goods, among them Portuguese fabrics that sometimes they mixed with some of Spanish origin, thus gaining more profit. Maria Mim is presented in the novel, as an example of an honored woman who has always fought in smuggling like the men, after having worked with her brother, but also as a victim in the hands of those who accused her to the authorities, thus passing on their smuggling. Maria Mim represents a social actor, because in fact she, besides being a smuggler, was always presented by the author as a victim of the abuse of men, smugglers and elements of authority. The social representation of women appears here in their role of subjugation to man, while maintaining the integrity of character.

#### **Novos Contos da Montanha – Conto Fronteira – Miguel Torga**

Inserted in this literary collection of short stories "Fronteira" is a short-story in which the lovers between a smuggler and a guardian are fictionalized. From the landscape that is outlined there, everything leads us to believe that it will be located very close to Castro Laboreiro, where stony hills and inhospitable places where no cultivation is possible, are places that are easily found and extend to the Serra do Lindoso:

*When the night falls and buries inside a mantle the silhouette of the stern castle of Fuentes, Fronteira awakens. (...) Only when there is not an adult body and validated by the people, Fronteira soothes. (...) Who will return first? (...) And when the Addam's apple of Sabino rises and descends and the bowl of broth empties, the replies given and the magic womb of the night, before the anguished eyes of Joana and Fronteira, those who are still missing arise (...) (Torga, 2013: 21, 23)*

In this small village, where no other sustenance was possible, the guards did their duty, although they knew this reality. Everything complicated with the arrival of a new reinforcement, Robalo:

*"These people do what?" he asked to a fellow who knew about his job.*

*"Smuggling.*

*"Smuggling!? Everything!? What about the lands and farming?"*

*"Lands!? These rocks!?" (Torga, 2013: 24)*

*But for Robalo there had to be another way of earning a living. On his first day as a guard there he was walking the stream.*

*But Fronteira had to win. First because the heart of men, as tough as it may be, always has a weak spot where tenderness enters; second, because what the Devil can do, God can undo.*

*This is what happened:*

*Robalo was on his day off and he didn't resist and got to the goods. And who else to enter his eyes, all natural and covered in the golden light of sun? Isabel.*

*Some time later even though the sweethearts were sailing, in the sheets and all, still the thief says the following:*

*I like you a lot, in everything, but if I see you passing the cargo and if you don't stop, I'll throw you like any other (...)*

*They untangled each other arms gloomily. In the next day, Robalo came to the nest, the door was closed. (Torga, 2013:25)*

The loves between the smugglers and the guards who remained in the popular imaginary were very common; yet the opposite rarely happens.

As Fronteira makes life at night, some months were spent without further encounters, until Christmas night where Robalo was on duty:

*"Tchap, tchap, tchap .... through the snow, someone from another part was walking up (...)*

*Alt! (...)*

*It's me!*

*You!?*

*Yes, me. But I don't bring any smuggling, and I can't take long.*

*Alt, I said!*

*Don't yell, it's not worth it. This volume is all people (...) If I don't hold to the legs with all the strength that I had, a galician boy would be born. Would you want one?*

*A child inside the womb of a smuggler?*

*And, as the midwife got him the first real scream, Robalo laughed.*

*Dismissed, Robalo got together with the girl. As the farming in Fronteira is not.*

*Dismissed, Robalo coupled with the girl. Now as the farming of Frontier is not another, and the mouth tightens, what other way but to enter into the law of the Earth! Smuggler "(Torga, 2013: 27,28)*

In this short-story, whose title immediately positions us in the frontier space, once again the loves between a smuggler and a tax guard are the main theme of the story, where smuggling, in this case, dominates and even dominated the law of men. It shows how in certain places there was no other way of subsistence than smuggling, or the profession of tax guard, while not being able to be in office, the character of Robalo had to submit to the law of the Fronteira life. Thus was represented the reality of many raiana villages.

**A Noite e a Madrugada (Night and Dawn) – Fernando Namora**

The novel is strongly highlighted not only for the smuggling, but also for the class struggle. The fact that its author had lived in the social environment in which the whole plot unfolds, provided him with a very clear knowledge of the social reality of Beira-Baixa.

The place-name of Montalvo, used to designate the village where the plot of his novel takes place, does not raise doubts as to its geographical location by the proximity of the Spanish towns of Valverde del Fresno and Pelares del Porto, with the Erges river as the background. Without a doubt, it positions us near Penha Garcia.

*"In the isolated border with the river Erges crushed among the granite walls, the house is born of the mills drowned in the floods, it ascends painfully in the edge of the streams, it crouches in the shadow of the rocks and spreads itself in petty hamlets. Then comes the plain, sad as an open place, devastated by the wind of Spain, which saturates the air of dust and solitude "* (Namora, 1994:75).

The struggles to cross the river Erges are always present throughout the novel and will be the subject of dispute between the cargo boss and the cargoes.

*"The tin cargoes would be traded at the Spanish mine of Pelares del Porto, and men when they returned would have to carry the farm loads. If things would to be arranged without shots and without leaks, the doubled effort of a couple of nights would be worth a month of hoeing in the estates "(Namora, 1994: 76).*

*"That is not easy, guys. - He paused, gasping with exhaustion, and leaned back in the bushes. On the guard's part, I think we can get away with it; they are not very willing to wet their bones. But the flood is serious business. (...)*

*"We should have been back a long time - he said.*

*"Maybe you can go now, if you like the dogs chewing on your shins."*

*- This is just way up ahead! Finally, Camarão intervened in a sudden and unexpected burst. It is just ahead and right now! I shall pass with the cargo that is mine (...)* (Namora, 1994: 114)

*That's not easy, boys. - He paused, gasping with fatigue, and leaned back in the bushes. On the guard's side, I think we can get away with it; they are not very willing to wet the bones. But the flood is a serious affair. (...)*

*We should have returned long ago - sentenced the handicapped.*

*Maybe you can go know, if you enjoy dogs biting your shins.*

*-That is only ahead! - intervene Camarão, at last, in a harsh and unexpected burst. - Move ahead and go now! I shall pass with the cargo that is mine (...)* (Namora, 1994:114)

The power of influence and dominance of the errand boys, smugglers bosses emerge frequently in the social representation of the border.

It is possible to determine the domination of the master of the cargo, even if the conditions were not met, neither safety in the river, which was dangerous, nor security in front of the police guard who was scanning the area. The power of influence and mastery of the smuggling patterns of bosses often emerges in the social representations of the frontier.

Another very strong social representation in this novel relates to land ownership. Not all of them claimed to be smugglers and lived as tenants, but the threats of losing their lands happened:

*"So what do we have now?"*

*They looked at each other and then they all looked at old Parra. (...) Parra surrounded by witnesses, could not retreat.*

*"We came here to talk to the boss.*

*"I'm the boss now." Come on, what do you want?*

*- It's about the rentings ...*

*The foreman tapped the short whip on his pants and laughed with cynicism.*

*- Are we back to the same thing? This will get you nowhere, poor souls!*

*"We can not consent." A voice came out from behind.*

*(...) We have rights - And old Parra rose his tone*

*- Rights? What rights are those?*

*(...) The foreman, with sloping eyes, threw one of the dogs at old Parra. His angered face had rifles of madness.*

*(...) At last he stopped feeling. (...) He was getting limp, insensitive, his conscience dissolving in the meadows, the wheat, the oaks, the soft earth ...*

*Life flowed softly. (Namora, 1994: 178, 179).*

The Old Parra, who was never a smuggler, had a son who devoted himself, against his father's will, to this activity. But old Parra had always lived in Pomar, which had been rented to his family by a nobleman. With the social changes, at the risk of losing their lands, he fought to the end, paying with his life for his convictions. The peasantry is socially represented here without any rights.

In this novel, the class struggle stands out, both within the peasantry and within the organization of contraband. The Parra family is the main center of the narrative, with old Parra, the father, representing the peasantry, Antonio Parra, the eldest son, the smuggler, guide, but never a boss. Through this family, a character of collective dimension, the reader is inserted in the society of the beira-baixa confronted with realities and facts experienced by fictitious characters.



**As Minas de San Francisco (The San Francisco Mines) – Fernando Namora**

Although there cannot be found many geographical references in this work, the San Francisco Mines are very close to the current Panasqueira mines, in the municipality of Fundão, district of Covilhã, where the author was a doctor and knew it well. Hence, it can be deduced from the use of certain linguistic terms typical of this zone in the novel, to designate who outside the mine concession area, caught wolfram, then sold it in counterfeit at very high prices. For example, in Panasqueira, these men were called "those of the kilos":

*"Up in there," those of the kilos" have sun, they can drink it as if they are drinking wine, gulping, they can get drunk in the outdoors, they can lay their bodies on the warm grass. They run behind a lode until it sneaks into the bowels of the ground. "(Namora, 2003: 39)*

*"For there are those who say that the mine bosses are more interested in the people outside, the kilo, ... they buy the ore at the most convenient prices and then send it to the foreigners. There are a lot of thieves mixing with the people of the kilo, but even still, a lot of ore comes in the Company's vaults. Everybody knows that there no guardian eyes to cover the candonga<sup>3</sup>, that the miners have a bewildering propensity to create new hiding places for the black ore every day "(Namora, 2003: 78).*

It is not, however, only the smuggling of Tungsten that is evoked in this novel, which is not surprising, as it was a transverse social phenomenon and that appears a little throughout the country given the shortages and intense demand for this mineral metal of this period.

*"Ti Cardo does not want to think about dirty business. His sorrow of having a son in the candonga is painful enough, he shows up in the house during the devil's time, with his fingers full of rings, city like suits, bragging his adventure with wild eyes". (Namora, 2003:78).*

The village business also prosper due to the money that wolframs makes:

*"Lately he broaden his business with gold. The goldsmith sniffed the people's money, they sold cords and earrings for the price that came up to their heads; a crazy man stumbling over a month's worth of well-paid ore, and he did not even choose weights or shapes: "I want a string of three contos!" Wrap it up." (Namora, 2003:87).*

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<sup>3</sup> Candonga can mean that the goods and food was smuggled usually in the black market. The word has lived on and these days, in Portugal, the Candonga market is where one can find many items sold at a very affordable price, usually people say they're stolen.

And the customer feels that he is harming the merchant ... he buys everything that Faustino wants: permanent ink pens to show off in his jacket pockets, perfumes, handkerchiefs and embroidered aprons" (Namora, 2003: 88)

These quotes carry us to a real popular imagination in mining centers and that it even extended to cities, where the known "wolframs" went to make the "ore business" boasting their sudden riches, making purchases of what they needed and of what they did not need it. Once again, through the historical romance, with fictional characters one can foresee or glimpse the historical reality.

### **A Fárria – Bento da Cruz**

In order for the reader to have a better understanding of the texts' excerpts here inserted, it is necessary to explain that in this mining concession, those who engaged in the collection of the mineral, on behalf of the company or on their own account, "apanhista" or "the catcher". These catchers reached such a level, that they organized themselves into groups, in which a single head served as an intermediary of the illegal sale among the great merchants, whether in the great Portuguese cities, or directly to Spain. The Farrista (leader of a group) is therefore the one that profits the most, particularly during the Second World War, for when this war ends the prices of this ore fall abruptly and its smuggling fades. Farrista was the local designation of those who steal the ore inside the mine and sell it to earn profits that it spends in "farras" (partying), popular term of celebrations, parties, amusements.

The ore is collected in many different ways:

*".. it was a generalized and tactically allowed cheat. Turn a blind eye. Women spent the day washing and picking up the ore found in a tin bowl. But not everything was going to the basin. The purest was taken to a snuff-coat concealed under her skirt or under any other equally secret place. When the time limit for the delivery of the wolfram to the Company was close, what did they make? First they hid the snuff. Then they made up the basin with earth and a few wicks of wolfram on the surface and they took it to the office. On their way back, they would collect the smoker's stuffing to a leather pouch attached to the strap under the skirts and move. "(Cruz, 2010: 72)*

The novel goes on describing various methods of diversion of the mineral, how it was possible to descend into the mines at night, and how even adventurous women managed to make it. But there is also the reference to methods used by the authorities themselves who participated in this illegal activity, which are mentioned much more rarely in the popular imagination:

*"Those were Afonso, the local PVDE chief (Police of Surveillance and Defence of State) and his sub-tenant, Costa. They asked: where can one drink water? (...) He took them to a house and gave them bread, ham and*

*wine. They talked. The meeting was not a coincidence. What chief Afonso wanted was that his friend would lend him a horse. Can you guess what for?*

*- To transport the ore between the PVDE station to the Monte da Maçã, in the border of Vieira. From there on, the beast would go once or twice to the local PVDE station.*

*- For wolfram?*

*- The agents would apprehend to the smugglers and then they smuggled for themselves.” (Cruz, 2010:102).*

It is also interesting that the marks that the farristas left well-defined in a civil society for their extravagant or ridiculous behavior, the result of an easy and fast economic rise.

*“The “farristas” became the joke of Braga, Porto and Póvoa de Varzim. Everybody laughed at them, everybody explored them. They didn’t even need to make up jokes about the smugglers. They were themselves a joke. Not only did they make history they remained for history. Still not long ago, having gone to the Palácio da Bolsa to visit a jewelry exposition, there was the bracelet showcase, rings and similar, thick heavy and massive and the caption: “Farristas gold”. We already had a romantic, gothic and baroque style. Now we had a farrista one.” (Cruz, 2010:130).*

The description continues with the the behaviors’ details of the farrista that stayed in a popular imaginary of the wolfram:

*“They brought him five hundred escudos. - It’s enough - he said. He doesn’t want to try it on to see if it fits well? - turned the employee. No need to. This is just to carry around the arm... Or from another, which I heard, the best mattresses are from Sumauma, he went to a specialty house to make an order.” (Cruz, 2009:131).*

It is a novel full of very real situations, fruit of the author's experience in Montalegre, which allowed him to obtain testimonies of those who lived the events, but also what he researched, including studies and academic work on the exploitation of the wolfram in the Borralha Mines. This is a true social representation of what was the smuggling of the wolfram, the quick and easy riches it produced, and how these were disrupted in a way that forever marked these characters, commonly considered exotic, but who actually existed.

**Longe do Meu Coração (Apart from my heart) – Júlio de Magalhães**

*“I wrote this book for the memory to not be erased nor that time takes this memorable Lusitan mark that is to fly, dream, suffer and smile.”*  
(Magalhães, 2010:10).”

Júlio Magalhães, a current author, manages to transcribe to fiction, as few can, the crucial moments for a clandestine emigrant. From the moment he is contacted by the collector, to the anguish of his departure, to the critical moments of the journey until his arrival in France and his adaptation to his new life.

Finally, the novel approaches the dramas that took place in France and Portugal until the social rise of Joaquim, the main character of the whole plot of the novel. Joaquim and his best friend Albano will be lured by a gangmaster, for the first time, at the village party:

*“One day in the village party (...) a certain Zé showed up, with a beret on his head and a look who knew it all, (...). Some say he was a whisky smuggler, others that he was people canvasser for those who wanted to take the jump to France.*

*(...) The so called Zé approached Joaquim and Abano (...)*  
*-You boys want to go to France to find a good job and escape this misery? If you want to, and of course, here between us, nobody will know, I'll find a way for you to get there safe and sound.”* (Magalhães, 2010:14)

One can perceive here the social representation of the figure of the gangmaster always had as a smuggler, or connected to smuggling networks, a man with good speech, who approaches young men, who usually have the desire to emigrate.

*“- Here's our chance, friend! We will go together to France and will make our business.*  
*- Relax, Albano. You know what I most wish in the world is to get out of here, but we have to think about the trip. We can't risk being arrested or dying. And we have to think wisely with what we leave behind. Look at your family, aren't you sad to leave...”* (Magalhães, 2010:15).

Yet life sometimes takes care of solving many questions that fate poses. Two weeks later, Joaquim's father suffers a serious accident and is rendered unusable for work. Joaquim has to assume the livelihood of the household and since there was no work in the village, he had no choice but to go into emigration. Contacted by an uncle in Paris, he soon replies that he will give him guard and also he will have plenty of work.

As for the money for the trip, everything is solved, because Joaquim's mother surprises everyone when she opens a can with her savings, which she gives to her son. The day of departure is delayed.

*“My father, keep that photograph for as soon as I get to France, I will send you the other half as a signal that I arrived well and that you can buy the smuggler the half that is left to pay for the trip.”* (Magalhães, 2010:22).

All the levels transcribed illustrate the popular imaginary of who lived the clandestine emigration in this decade. From the drama of the departure, to the indebtedness of the family to the security of the torn picture, which only by sending the other half by the emigrant, would the family be sure that this was in France, proceeding to paying the trip. They are a set of popular imaginaries through which the real subjects can remake their history.

What had been promised as an easy trip to Vilar Formoso, where they would make the leap and leave by train to France, became a real plight, where the characters of Joaquim and Albano were systematically deceived by the various smugglers that appeared to them throughout the journey.

Still in national territory, they switched smugglers several times and they made sections of connection on foot, during the night, remaining hidden and without eating in several corrals. The group increased and when they arrived at the border there were already 30 people. They made the "jump" in Vilar Formoso, from where they continued on foot to Ciudad Rodrigo.

*“They remained there enclosed, without anything to eat or drink until the end of the following day, when the door opened and they listened to a dry: everyone out. They, as usual, obeyed. (...) Almost on their knees they made way to the road where the bus would be waiting. Joaquim still managed to read (...) Ganado Porcina, with the drawing of animal illustrating, so there were no doubts left. The bus was disheveled and too small to take in 30 men in a type of a double bottom that would keep them safe from any inspections from authorities.”* (Magalhães, 2010:29)

*“They took hours and day without stopping. (...) They would stop at night, but time was not for resting. Between a drink and some food that wasn't even enough for a lad.”* (Magalhães, 2010:29)

This trip to the Pyrenees is also a popular imaginary that reconfigures itself in reality, since many emigrants lived the same situations that still are told today, although with some difficulty.

When they dropped off the truck in Irún, Albano managed to understand, master in any language, their legs seemed to no longer walk straight. Joaquim was tired, with several days beard, sunken eyes with undereye bags that demanded a good night of sleep. But they were far from arriving. In front of them stood the Pyrenees. It was necessary to cross it to arrive to Paris. (Magalhães, 2010:30).

The journey to cross the Pyrenees is described with all the details so we will only remove those who by their human meaning present us more significant in the novel that we have been analyzing:

*“Courage Manuel, it won’t take us long - said Joaquim.  
- I don’t know if I will make it to the end, friend (...) You know they told me that there are smugglers who abandon the group in the middle of the mountain (...)  
- Don’t think about it (...)  
- If something happens to me, Joaquim you can write to my wife when you get to France. I’ll give you my address, send my wedding ring and some money I brought in my bag (...)* (Magalhães, 2010:33)

Manuel was right, he and his partner Antonio were victims of pneumonia, having died in the mountain. Joaquim fulfilled his promise.

The French smuggler left them at Hendaya station, where they went to buy their ticket to the Austerlitz Gare. After some incidents with the French police they go to Paris. In the train Joaquim asks Albano.

*“- Can I ask you something, my friend?  
- Sure, what is it?  
- We will never talk about this journey that brought us here, ok? I don’t know if you feel the same way I do, but I think that we saw and suffered is not to be told (...)  
- It is a promise, Joaquim. Don’t worry. (...)* (Magalhães, 2010:43).

In this small stratum there is another social reconfiguration, because in reality the emigrants who have made these trips do not want or personally it is difficult and painful to remember them.

Arriving in Paris, they headed for Champigny, one of the greatest slums in the city, a reality absolutely unknown to the two boys.

*“But what they had in front of them was a scenery of total desolation (...) one of the biggest slums of Europe. (...) The streets were more river of mud where the air was full of stench.”* (Magalhães, 2010:47).

The author places another social reconfiguration, expressed here in the reality of life of the majority of the Portuguese in France: the *bidonvilles* (slums).

However, in the midst of the confusion it was easy to find Joaquim's uncle house who had been waiting for him for days. Despite the conditions of the house, soon they ate well and the "soul warmed them", being decided that Joaquim would be living with the uncle and Albano would have to go to live in another tent. Everything was getting under control. A job, Uncle Adelino promised to arrange the next day and he accomplished it.

For the two young men the wage was a fortune, although it was half as much as a French worker would earn. This is another social reality to which the clandestine emigrant is subject.

Joaquim and Albano's life goes on, but Joaquim always has in his mind to open his own company. That's why he gets excited when rumors spread in the neighborhood that the Portuguese will have to legalize. He then decides to learn French, with the help of the parish that opens a French class for the emigrants.

Now begins the whole plot of the real romance. Between Joaquim and his French teacher, Françoise will emerge a great love, that after much struggle, persistence and years of work by Joaquim, he will finally open its own construction company. Finally he be able to marry his French teacher. A marriage that will be happy. At last, the last social representation, which corresponds to the social and economic rise of the protagonist, which suits the reality of a large part of the Portuguese emigrants, preserving that the majority will have married Portuguese woman and not as in this case with a French woman also of a class already so high.

The novel ends with his son who falls in love with a Portuguese girl from the village he had left many years before. João, son of Joaquim wants to live in Portugal, his father is enraged, but he immediately regrets seeing the image of his own father not wanting to let him leave. He decides to tell his story to his son:

*"I'm going to tell you a story. When I was 18, going 19, I told my father I wanted to come to work to France. He told me no. That that was my place and the place where I was born and that was the place I had to make the most of my life. Working even if I had no job. To live even if the country would not let me live there. I can't make the same thing with you, I'm sorry... you have to find your own way, even if that is hard for me."*  
(Magalhães, 2010:218)

This novel transports the reader to the world of many emigrants who left for France in the 60s of the 20th century with great realism and passion. Although it was the only novel corpus that was already written after the borders were opened, we cannot fail to consider it a tribute to all those who have had the courage to face painful journeys, prisons and mafias of smugglers to seek a better life for themselves and to theirs.

### **Final Notes**

As demonstrated by the analysis of this literary corpus, the two studied phenomena typical of the history of the frontiers, although officially and legally considered as clandestine and illicit, they were widely known and several Portuguese writers were not restrained to portray them in their novels, despite of the iron and dominant censorship of the dictatorship era. They represent, today, the real repositories of a popular imaginary that has been

socially and culturally built on smuggling and illegal emigration, being at the same time fictionally written portraits of a society and local communities in their social and cultural representations.

Most of the literary texts here presented were written and published under the dictatorship of the Estado Novo (1933-1974), and the few who were not, told stories related to that time, with an enormous realism due to research rigor.

In the literary corpus, mainly the poor rural environments that were predominated in Portugal are evoked, but of which the Salazarist state imposed, passed an official idea, of idyllic spaces, an image consonant with the dominant ideology of the Estado Novo (New State), for which ideological indoctrination of the younger was based on three basic pillars: God, Fatherland and Family. In schools in the villages, as in all other schools in the country, boys and girls were separated, since the pupils were from different children oriented: men were, at the service of the nation, to be heroes, fighters and at the same time, good leaders of the family, while the girls were assigned a totally passive sociocultural role as mothers, sisters, full of virtues and good housewives.

However, this model imposed by the totalitarian state and the repressive society of the time, is not what is reflected in the literary corpus presented. The men whom these novels speak of: fighters and heroes, were in contraband, tax evasion, and clandestine emigration abroad; and simply fulfilled, in the vast majority, the role of family support. Women were neither virtuous nor good mothers or housewives, but they were not limited to these roles, struggling as much as men to contribute to the sustenance of the house, most often under disadvantage, since they were taken as subaltern in the face of man's power. These are rather the social representations well expressed in some of the literary works incorporated and published in the midst of a dictatorship, such as the Ferreira de Castro novels *Terra Fria* (he abandoned the journalist career and lived precariously), and *Maria Mim* by Nuno Montemor or *Tales and more tales from the Mountain* by Miguel Torga (not only did he emigrate again, because such would be a treason to itself and to the mother country).

These examples, in addition to others that could be cataloged, show that the function of fictional literature rather than translating historical realities consists above all of representing them creatively, thus contributing to transforming the world and reality.

In the reconstruction of our social, economic, political and cultural past we cannot ignore the contemporary novel - that we have only selected some of the most emblematic authors and works - because it is an important documentary source, despite the weight of the imaginaries and social representations the fabric of fiction.

Spaces and conjunctures, geographic and chronological realities were identified that would allow comparisons and tests that scientific knowledge and historiography provide. History is made up of everything because it is dominated by the evolving human experience that constantly leaves marks in time and in its memories. The memory of men concerning the existence they



have or has lived is inexhaustible matter that continues to challenge the researchers of the past and the present.

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