



‘Finally, we have our own nouvelle vague.’ António da Cunha
Telles Productions and the Cinema Novo Português (1963-1967)

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‘Finally, we have our own *nouvelle vague*.’ António da Cunha Telles Productions and the Cinema Novo Português (1963-1967)

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While critics in Portugal and elsewhere routinely drew comparisons between Portugal’s new cinema and the French *nouvelle vague*, there was little in the way of a shared aesthetic between the two new cinemas.¹ With regard to production methods, however, there is much to compare, specifically with respect to the vital role of António da Cunha Telles in shaping the history of the Cinema Novo Português (New Portuguese Cinema). His self-financed company, Cunha Telles Productions, not only bankrolled the making of many of the movement’s key films, but his enthusiastic efforts to promote Portuguese cinema internationally was a major factor in the transformation of the national film industry during the 1960s. Telles’ involvement with the French New Wave as a producer marked a new stage in a history of film-industrial collaboration between the two countries dating back to the silent era. It is in this context at the level of production practice, where the French New Wave, via Telles, can be observed to have had a tremendous impact upon the Cinema Novo Português.

This article will focus on the figure of António da Cunha Telles and his role as producer of Cinema Novo Português films of the mid 1960s. It begins with a general introduction to the Cinema Novo Português, focusing particularly on the movement’s

¹ This article is a revised version of a chapter in my MA thesis, *Cinema Novo Português / The New Portuguese Cinema: 1963-1967*, completed in 2004 at Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada. I wish to thank Charles O’Brien for his supervision and support.

connection to the growth of new cinemas internationally. Emphasis is also placed on the Cinema Novo Português' interaction with the French New Wave – at the level both of production techniques and of film-critical institutions such as film journals. Finally, the importance of António da Cunha Telles as producer and spokesperson for the Cinema Novo Português will be directly addressed, along with specific production strategies he implemented.

Cinema Novo Português as a new cinema

With the premiere of Paulo Rocha's *Os Verdes Anos / The Green Years* in 1963, Portuguese critics, after years of declaring their hope for the arrival of a 'new' cinema in Portugal, embraced this film and its director. At twenty-eight years old, Paulo Rocha, trained in Paris and a regular fixture in the cine-club culture in Lisbon, easily invited comparison to certain leaders of the *nouvelle vague*. Rocha's film was followed by *Belarmino* (Fernando Lopes 1964), *Domingo à Tarde / Sunday Afternoon* (Antônio de Macedo 1965), and Paulo Rocha's second film, *Mudar de Vida / Change of Life* (1967).

From 1963 to 1967, Paulo Rocha, Fernando Lopes, António de Macedo, and António da Cunha Telles, demonstrated that Portugal could be a site of artistically relevant film production through a series of ambitious films that effectively reintroduced Portugal to the international cinema community. Indicative of the many 'new' cinemas of the 1960s, and of film movements in general, the Cinema Novo Português declared a break from the 'old' established cinema – a break actualized by the arrival of a series of innovative films made by these young, first-time filmmakers.

The emerging critical dialogue played a major role in the materialization of the new cinema movement in Portugal. As far as the Portuguese critics of the early 1960s were concerned, filmmakers such as Paulo Rocha, Fernando Lopes, António de Macedo, and

António da Cunha Telles, fulfilled the period's requirements for a new cinema. Chief among these reasons were the ways in which these films signalled their difference from the Portuguese cinema of the previous decades. In its review of *Belarmino*, *Celuloide* magazine highlighted this particular point:

This first feature film, *Belarmino*, by the young documentary director, Fernando Lopes, has opened a new chapter in the new cinema. Those who feared that the example of Paulo Rocha's *Os Verdes Anos* would not be continued, now have hope. The Portuguese cinema, no longer settling for compromises, is firmly announcing its distinction from the commercial cinema of fado and concert halls, of melodramas, comedies, and canned theatre ([anon.] 1964a, p.11).

The explosion of 'young' cinemas worldwide inspired them to make personal films as distinct from those of their Portuguese forbears, as they were similar to the various national new cinemas. In keeping with the style of new cinemas, the Cinema Novo Português utilized the lightweight camera equipment and faster film stock to shoot on location with minimal lighting effects, and experimented with editing, sound, and colour. They focused their cameras on the youth culture of Portugal, preferring the underground jazz clubs of Lisbon to the gardens and idyllic representations of the 'old' cinema. They favoured moral ambiguity in their narratives of disaffection and alienation, tackling highly sensitive social and political issues such as unemployment, the colonial wars, migration, and the power of the Catholic Church. Like their contemporaries, the young cinephiles of Portugal were active in the cine-club culture, had studied filmmaking, and drew inspiration from various world cinema figures, most notably Visconti, Rossellini, Renoir, Cassavetes, Mizoguchi, Bergman and Antonioni.

For the critics in the country, the films allowed discussions of Portuguese cinema to culminate in declarations of hope and promise

after years of uninspiring formulaic genre pictures. According to Alberto Seixas Santos, '[w]ith the release of *Os Verdes Anos* this past year, we have been introduced to a new name in the history of Portuguese cinema – Paulo Rocha. Made by a genuine auteur, *Os Verdes Anos* signals our cinema's resurgence' (Braganca et al 1964, p.134). In its review of *Os Verdes Anos*, *Filme* declared that this first film from a new generation of filmmakers had brought 'Portuguese cinema to the level of European cinema' ([anon.] 1964b, p.33). A similar sentiment was expressed by Fernando Duarte in *Celuloide* in an article titled '*Os Verdes Anos* and the New Portuguese Cinema': '[Portugal's new cinema movement] compares to the New Wave born in France, and the New York school of independent cinema, as well as the British *free cinema*' (1964a, p.1). Duarte goes on to suggest that this burgeoning Portuguese movement exemplifies a 'Film Culture' whose influence can be felt in Japan, Russia, Brazil, Argentina, Italy, Poland, Sweden, and Spain (1964a, p.1). The admiration expressed for the emerging 'young' cinemas of these countries could now be applied to films from Portugal.

The critics rejoiced in witnessing the emergence of a group of films and filmmakers that seemed part of an international trend. Proclaiming a 'new wave' of their own, the critics put to rest the myth associated with the country's established directors and perpetuated by the industry that cinema, as practiced in Portugal, was entertainment rather than art. Writing about *Belarmino*, Gérard Castello Lopes, proclaimed: 'Fernando Lopes' film has set the standard. No one can say, not a critic, director, producer, or distributor, that it is impossible to make cinema in Portugal' (Braganca et al 1964, p.131). After nearly two decades of lamenting the state of the national film industry, critics suddenly became effusive in their praise of the Cinema Novo Português.

The films of the Cinema Novo Português were also garnering critical attention at international film festivals alongside the films of celebrated new cinema directors, much admired by the Portuguese critics. In particular, *Os Verdes Anos*, proved a high point. It was shown at the Locarno Film Festival in 1964 where it received plaudits from the foreign press. In particular, Jacques Bontemps, in *Cahiers du Cinéma*, singled out the film as the exception in a year when many films seemed mediocre (1964, p.39). At Locarno, Paulo Rocha received the 'Silver Sail' award for a first-time director, an accolade that no Portuguese director or film, up to this point, had managed at an international festival. Furthermore, these credentials were similar to those of the filmmakers associated with the French New Wave and therefore, were exactly what had been longed for in Portugal – a Portuguese cinema whose artistic and cultural worth could attract international acclaim, equal to that of the young cinemas of numerous other nations in Europe, and increasingly in Latin America.

Although an ostensibly national movement, the Cinema Novo Português was, at the same time, profoundly conditioned by a world cinema culture. This sort of national/international dialectic was evident in the history of Portuguese cinema as early as 1930, with the emergence of two young directors, Leitão de Barros and António Lopes Ribeiro, noted for their admiration of the soviet montage cinema. The films that so impressed the critics of the day were two silent documentaries and a silent feature all made by Barros between 1927 and 1930. The first of these was *Nazaré* (1927), a short documentary about the life and work of fishermen in the village of Nazaré. Inspired by the films of Sergei Eisenstein and V.I. Pudovkin, *Nazaré* exhibited an approach to montage and close-ups that mimicked the style of the Russian filmmakers in a manner

unique to Portuguese cinema at that time (Costa 1991, p. 44.). Barros then went to France, Germany, and Russia to study filmmaking practices in those countries – an effort he put to use when he returned to Portugal two years later to make another documentary.

Praise for their work was couched in terms that, decades later, would be echoed in critical commentary on the directors of the New Portuguese Cinema. For instance, Alves Costa, writing in 1930 in the British film journal *Close-Up* on the situation in Portuguese cinema, was disappointed with the lack of artistic ambition in many of the films. However, he recognized that a group of ‘young *cinéastes* [...], full of courage and faith, have made their debut in the difficult craft of creating images in movement (and in sound too, now...)’ (Costa 1930, p.382). Just as during the 1960s, declarations of revitalization were commonplace during the early 1930s. The declarations, however, were premature and these two directors, who initially inspired great hope, ultimately became the leaders of a cinema that by the 1950s was dismissed as hopelessly mediocre. Nonetheless, despite the history of failed promise, the critics and cine-clubs throughout the country once again took up the call for a new cinema in the late 1950s.

The desire for a new cinema to emerge in Portugal was articulated as early as 1957, when cine-club enthusiast and eventual film director, José Fonseca e Costa, argued for a fundamental change in the national film practice in an article titled, ‘Cinema Novo’ (‘New Cinema’), and published in the first issue of the magazine, *Celuloide*. In this manifesto-like article, comparable in stance to Truffaut’s scandalous 1954 article, ‘A Certain Tendency in the French Cinema,’ Costa declared that the intention of the magazine was to champion a ‘Portuguese cinema made for a new audience,

with new themes' (cited in Duarte 1972, p.6). As Fonseca e Costa saw it, Portuguese cinema had to break away from the malaise of the established national film industry and enter into a phase of renewed vitality – a renewal marked in part by participation in critical debates and dialogues on the future of world cinema. The degree to which the spirit of Costa's plea affected the criticism and sheer enthusiasm for film on the part of intellectuals within the country can be seen in the many declarations in the film and cultural press concerning this new cinema.²

The Cinema Novo Português can be examined as part of a greater, international current in world cinema that developed during the late fifties and early sixties. This transnational current was profoundly youth-oriented, and is today widely regarded as formative for the subsequent history of film. In France, Germany, Brazil, Poland, Japan, to name but a few countries, the audacious talents of young filmmakers were in evidence at major film festivals.

An inevitable point of reference for the Cinema Novo Português is the most heralded new movement in film history, the French New Wave, whose tremendous impact on contemporaneous film movements has been documented by numerous film scholars. For instance, according to Richard Neupert, '[t]he New Wave dramatically changed filmmaking inside and outside France by encouraging new styles, themes, and modes of production throughout the world' (2002 p. xv). In addition to the influence of the New Wave directors on Portugal's aspiring filmmakers, the sort of critical discourse and media attention associated with the French movement helped stimulate calls for a similar movement to emerge

² See [Anon], 1960. 'O novo cinema português', *Filme*, 20, pp.17-20; [Anon], 1964. 'Cronologia do cinema novo português', *Celuloide*, 73, pp.3-4; Duarte, Fernando, 1964. 'Dicionário da nova vaga portuguesa', *Celuloide*, 81, pp.4-10; Duarte, Fernando, 1965. 'O novo cinema português continua', *Celuloide*, 86, pp.2-3.

in Portugal. Indicative here is a review written by Fernando Duarte on the first of the Cinema Novo Português films, *Os Verdes Anos / The Green Years* (Paulo Rocha 1963). Duarte wrote:

In Portugal, a new wave has arrived. These young men who studied cinema in London and Paris,[...]and immersed themselves in the cine-club culture, have begun to revitalize our national cinema. A Portuguese New Wave is emerging (Duarte 1964a, p.1).

The example of the French New Wave, both as a film critical phenomenon, and as a template for a new auteur-oriented mode of production is key to my investigation into the Cinema Novo Português.

The influence of the French New Wave is yet another example of the co-operation between the French and Portuguese film industries. This historical relationship can be traced back to 1918, when the Invicta Film Company, a Portuguese firm that had been founded in 1910, was revived with the intention of becoming a major producer of Portuguese films. To facilitate the revival, the company owners looked to France for support from the Pathé Company. Director Georges Pallu, art-director André Lecointe, camera operator Albert Durot, and editors Georges and Valentine Coutable, were hired as the production team and for six years their work gave a new direction to the Portuguese film industry.³ Some twelve years later, when the industry converted to sound, it was to the Paris-based firm Tobis Films Sonores and René Clair that

³ Following the example of Invicta, two rival film companies also contracted French directors. In 1922, Caldeville Film hired Maurice Mariaud, while Fortuna Films hired Roger Lion. A retrospective of the films of these three French directors took place at the Cinemateca Lisboa in May 2003. An edited book accompanied the festival. See [Anon.], 2003. *Lion, Mariaud, Pallu: Franceses Tipicamente Portugueses*. Lisbon: Cinemateca Portuguesa - Museu do Cinema.

director Leitão de Barros turned for assistance.⁴ Finally, during the 1960s there were the New Wave films that António da Cunha Telles co-produced with France as part of his overall strategy for Cunha Telles Productions and the Cinema Novo Português.

Cunha Telles Productions

After returning to Portugal in 1961 from two years of study at the Institut des Hautes Etudes Cinématographiques (IDHEC) in Paris, Telles co-produced a number of films with French New Wave directors. Telles had recently received a sizable inheritance and, following the example of Louis Malle and Claude Chabrol, used his family money to form a production company.⁵ Seeking co-production possibilities with *nouvelle vague* directors, Telles hoped to gain foreign box-office receipts, which he could then channel into his production efforts in Portugal ([anon.] 1963, p.29). Moreover, as Telles later explained, the financing of ambitious French films offered a host of additional benefits, including high-quality film-production training:

Co-productions provide access to foreign markets that were principally closed to us. A co-production with a prominent director gives us contact with quality filmmakers and technicians – it's like a practical film school. Furthermore, Portuguese films that have big name foreign actors or experienced cinematographers make it easier to market worldwide. A co-production overcomes our national limitations (Telles 1964, p.6).

Telles' first effort as a producer was the documentary *PXO* (1962), co-directed by Pierre Kast and Jacques Doinel Valcroze. He followed this with *Vacances Portuguesas / A Portuguese Vacation* (1963),

⁴ At that time there were no facilities within the country equipped for sound. Sound production would come to Portugal in 1933 when Tobis opened a studio in Lisbon.

⁵ In the early years of the New Wave both men received inheritances, which they used to fund film projects. See Michel Marie (2003) and Richard Neupert (2002).

co-produced with the French company JAD Films and directed by Pierre Kast. Next, in 1964, came three co-productions: *Le Pas de Trois / The Step of Three*, directed by Alain Bornet; *Le Grain de sable / Grain of Sand*, another Pierre Kast film; and Francois Truffaut's *La Peau douce / The Soft Skin*.

In an interview published in *Filme* in 1963, Telles linked his goal as an international producer with his role as promoter of Portuguese cinema:

On the other hand, with the co-productions that I pursue, I hope to introduce an international climate for our cinema – one that integrates Portugal into European cinema. The foreign filmmakers are not coming here merely because of the beautiful scenery or the cheaper currency, but they are also pursuing great technical and creative conditions in collaboration with professionals in an exchange of ideas. With this kind of engagement, Portuguese cinema will no longer be a minor cinema. ([anon.] 1963, p.29)

Given Telles' interest in raising the level of filmmaking in his country, enough to draw attention from the international film community, it is understandable that he would turn to the French New Wave, which offered a director-centred mode of production suitable to the conditions under which he and the Cinema Novo Português would have to operate.

The goal then became the formation of an auteur-driven cinema where small budgeted films that explored personal themes would be made outside the established film-industrial system. In this respect, Jean-Pierre Melville's characterization of New Wave cinema as 'an artisanal system of production, shot in real locations, without stars, with minimal equipment and very fast film stock, without first worrying about a distributor, or official authorization, or servitude of any sort' is pertinent (cited in Marie 2003, p.50). As Telles had learned upon his return from Paris in 1961, there were no

opportunities for young, aspiring filmmakers within the tightly controlled Portuguese film industry. He had also come to regard the national film industry's traditional methods and genres as irrelevant to the cinema's current demands:

We must abandon the traditional concepts of studio filmmaking because it is not conducive to the financial conditions of our present state. Instead, we must look to a system of interior and exterior natural locations, and restructure the technical system to facilitate production with the best people in order to take risks ([anon.] 1963, p.29).

It is clear from this quote that Telles was arguing for a mode of production that closely resembled the New Wave and, in its rhetoric, echoed the statement made by Melville. The small budget film made outside the accepted studio system had been established, and mythologized, by the New Wave providing Telles with a model that he could replicate in Portugal. He admitted as much in 1964 when he remarked that '[t]he *nouvelle vague* demonstrated that the quality and interest of a film is not a condition of grand production style, but of the ideas of the auteur' (Telles 1964, p.7).

Without an opportunity to make films within the Portuguese system, Telles devoted his entire inheritance to the creation of Cunha Telles Productions, which enacted a production strategy capitalizing on recent trends in art-cinema production. The first phase of this strategy entailed investing in co-productions that might ultimately fund Portuguese films, as well as establishing links with international filmmakers. The second phase involved the rapid production of films by young Portuguese directors. Speaking about this approach years later, Telles explained that the financial situation dictated the course of action:

[i]t was pre-determined. We could not wait for the films to be successful. Therefore, when *Os Verdes Anos* opened, *Belarmino* was being filmed, and when it

premiered, *Domingo à Tarde* was in production ([anon.] 1985, p.51).

This ‘conveyor belt system’, to borrow a phrase by Claude Chabrol, had been invoked already as a desirable model for art-cinema production by members of the New Wave, but it was not actually practiced by them. Chabrol described the ‘system’ as follows:

To make films we came up with a sort of co-operative. It was understood that Resnais, who was one of our friends and whose short films we had praised, would direct his first feature with Rivette as his assistant director. Next, Rivette would direct his own first film with Truffaut as assistant. Truffaut would take his turn, assisted by Charles Bitsch. When Bitsch got his turn to direct, I would be his assistant, etc. This conveyor belt system was not without merit, but it never did get under way (cited in Marie 2003, p.58).

Chabrol’s concluding observation may be quite accurate with respect to the situation in France, but it does not extend to circumstances in Portugal, where it was precisely this ‘conveyor belt system’ that Telles put into practice in his role as the Cinema Novo Português’ pre-eminent producer. Telles provided opportunities to novice filmmakers to learn their craft. On *Os Verdes Anos*, Telles employed French cinematographer Luc Mirot and assigned Elso Roque, a young graduate of the newly formed Estúdio Universitário de Cinema Experimental (University Studio of Experimental Cinema) as assistant cinematographer. Roque then went on to photograph *Domingo à Tarde / Sunday Afternoon* (Antônio de Macedo 1965) and *Mudar de Vida / Change of Life* (Paulo Rocha 1967). As well, Fernando Matos Silva worked as assistant director on *Os Verdes Anos / The Green Years* (Paulo Rocha 1963) and *Belarmino* (Fernando Lopes 1964) before directing his own features.⁶

⁶ Elso Roque shared the cinematography duties on *Domingo à Tarde* with another University Studio of Experimental Cinema graduate, Acácio de Almeida. Roque

Histories of film movements often overlook the role of the producer, and instead focus exclusively on the achievements of the director-auteur. Telles, however, perhaps because of the force of his personality, his enthusiasm for film culture, and his longevity in Portuguese cinema, has figured prominently in the historiography of the Cinema Novo Português.⁷ Similarly, recent books written by Michel Marie (2003) and Richard Neupert (2002) on the French New Wave have discussed the contributions of the producers of those films. Writing about Pierre Braunberger, Anatole Dauman, and Georges de Beauregard, Richard Neupert argues that these '[t]hree bold entrepreneurs in particular helped launch many of the New Wave features with their clever strategies developed specifically for the new cinema culture of 1960' (2002, p.42). These three men had established careers as film producers prior to their involvement with the New Wave, but seized on the marketability of the young generation and their new style of film practice (Marie 2003, p.62). Telles, the former IDHEC student and devotee of cinema-club culture, similarly recognized the viability of a young cinema for Portugal. However, unlike the three French producers, Telles was part of the same generation as the directors, and, like them, he harboured his own ambitions as a director.⁸ His education at IDHEC, experience with the French New Wave, and desire to

and Almeida would become Portugal's most celebrated cinematographers. Fernando Matos Siva after working as assistant director received a grant to study at The London School of Film Technique in 1963. When he returned to Portugal in 1969 he was drafted into the military where he made training films. His first feature film, *O Mal Amado / The Ill-Loved* (1972) was censored and not released until after the revolution in 1974.

⁷ See [anon.]. (1975); Passek, J. -L. (1982); Coelho, E.P. (1983); [anon.]. (1985); and Costa, J.B.d. (1991).

⁸ Telles would direct his first feature film, *O Cerco / The Circle*, in 1970. It made a star of Maria Cabral, who plays a model entangled in various affairs with men who vie for her attention. Much to Telles's delight, the film was well received in Paris. Also, that same year, Telles would establish a distribution company, Animatógrafo, dedicated to screening, in Portugal, the films of international directors, such as Nagisa Oshima, Alain Tanner, and Glauber Rocha.

revitalize the Portuguese cinema differentiated him from the Portuguese producers who clearly had no interest in exploring new trends in filmmaking, let alone opening new possibilities for a younger generation of directors.

Telles, whether intentional or not, also became the spokesperson for the Cinema Novo Português, and as such, it appears that for the critics he was the movement's chief polemicist. As the historiography of film movements suggests, a necessary condition for the formation of a movement is the designation of a particular individual as the movement's leader. Michel Marie describes this figure as 'a leader (such as the strongest personality or spokesperson of the group) and/or a theoretician (the so-called "pope" of the group) to represent the movement' (2003, p.28). Certainly, for critics in Portugal, Telles was the Cinema Novo's 'pope,' the leader whose vision of cinema defined the movement as a whole. Focusing on the role of Telles in an article titled, 'Três conceitos de produção' ('Three Concepts of Production'), Fernando Duarte stated that it was obvious who had set forth the 'principles' by which the Cinema Novo Português would operate:

The conception was clear from beginning to end: to produce superior art films in an industrial style; focus on themes similar to those explored by the French New Wave; to revitalize Portuguese cinema, not merely as a group of young men with new ideas, but through a rigorous professionalism without compromise. These are the general conditions, in my opinion, put forward by the young and irreverent producer, António da Cunha Telles (Duarte 1964b, p.1).

The outspoken Telles was frequently interviewed, offering strong, passionately stated opinions about the state of cinema in the country. Telles was particularly vehement in repudiating the national film industry's traditional system of production, and its extraordinary resistance to change. Just as Salazar, Portugal's totalitarian dictator,

distrusted modernization, preferring instead to promote old world values with a condescending paternalism, so too did the men of the established cinema regard the aspiring directors as impertinent youngsters. Telles voiced his frustration in an interview for *Filme* in 1963:

I tell you the old directors, many times, were distrustful of us, despite the sad state they had made of our cinema. You would think they would give us young guys a chance ([anon.] 1963, p.29).

The exasperation informing such statements was born, not simply, of a brazen desire to pursue a career as a filmmaker, but to change the perception of Portuguese cinema as chronically mediocre. This sense of a higher purpose was clearly what endeared Telles to the critics and enthusiasts of the film magazines and the cine-clubs. In their review of *Os Verdes Anos*, Bensaja Del Schiro and Maria Antoineta Sotto Mayor wrote admiringly of Telles:

When the young producer of *Os Verdes Anos* speaks about the Portuguese cinema it is with the concern of one who understands its problems. There is not anger in his voice, but a resolute determination to produce, finally, a proud national cinema (Schiro and Sotto Mayor 1963, p.9).

Conclusion

Enthusiastically supported by the film-critical community in Portugal, the Cinema Novo Português achieved the revitalization of the national film industry long hoped for. Capitalizing on the connections and friendships established during his time in France, António da Cunha Telles put into practice a mode of production that achieved success with modest financial resources and limited support from the national film industry. Inspired by the French New Wave, Telles recognized an opportunity to produce films by emulating a production system that proved successful by his friends in France:

I produce films with directors for whom the cinema represents a universal expression and not simply as a mass entertainment. Each director is free to explore, in whatever way they choose, ideas and authorial concepts within their films. In this way, I can help by bringing directors with diverse styles into a shared working relationship (Telles 1964, p.6).

All of this was accomplished without government subsidy, strictly on the basis of his personal finances, which in the end he exhausted.⁹ The new movement's three young directors – Paulo Rocha, Fernando Lopes, and António de Macedo, along with their producer, refused to accept the familiar defeatist sentiment and instead, invigorated by their interest and knowledge of world cinema, set out to revitalize the Portuguese cinema, and thereby shape the direction that film would take in their country to this day.

⁹ Given the relatively small budgets for the films – *Os Verdes Anos* and *Domingo à Tarde* cost approximately 800,000 escudos, while *Belarmino* cost 500,000 escudos – the films failed to turn a profit, partly due to the public's distrust in the quality of Portuguese films. See Costa, J. B. d. (1991, p.134).

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