

DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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15 January 1929 saw the publication of the *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* (1929-1938) under Armand Colin, directed by Lucien Febvre (1878-1956) and Marc Bloch (1886-1944), both of whom were professors at the newly liberated University of Strasbourg. This title, however, would undergo variations during the years of its publication: *Annales d'histoire sociale* (1939-1941), *Mélanges d'histoire sociale* (1943-1944), *Annales d'histoire sociale* (1945), *Annales. Economies - Sociétés - Civilisations* (1946-1993), *Annales. Histoire, Science Sociale* as of 1994. Fortuitous changes, Lucien Febvre would say, of a journal that would always be known as the *Annales*. This publication became a reference for the methodological and thematic innovations that historians have since brought to history, architecture and historical discourse. It represents the birth of what would later be referred to as New History, perhaps an inaccurate designation, but nonetheless important as it marked the definitive abandonment of out-of-date positivism and eventualism.

What they sought - and this may be read in the presentation of the journal itself by its directors - was to put an end to the division between past and present and between the various studies of periods enshrined by historiographical practices. Moreover, knowledge of the past required (and demanded) the study of the present, just as knowledge of the present required (and imposed) the study of the past. The journal followed and intensified the path paved by Henri Berr, by the movement that took shape in the *Revue de Synthèse* (from 1900 onwards), by the work of Belgian historian Henri Pirenne (1862-1935), as well as that of companions such as Henri Hauser, Georges Lefebvre, François Simiand and Maurice Halbwachs - and of others, not necessarily historians, but also psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, economists, geographers, and in general scholars from all the disciplines of the Social Sciences.

In addition to the articles received or requested, the *Annales* conducted a detailed and attentive critical review of the books that were being published, and not only history books. This was indispensable to support the principle deemed crucial to the publication of widening the scope to the social sciences. In this section of the journal, above any other, its directors, editors and reviewers defended what they considered necessary to research or write for the sake of history.



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This was transmitted in a very concrete and combative manner, initially somewhat "polemic" and even "messianic", but later with a tendency to become less so (Revel and Charrier, "Annales", p. 28). The journal also disseminated congresses and other events believed to be of interest to its readers. In the very first issue, and to mark the difference, in addition to Marc Bloch's account of the Oslo Congress of Historical Sciences (of 1928), news of the International Geographical Congress of the same year was also published. Reading the abstracts of each of the issues, even those published during the gruelling war in which Marc Bloch was to be shot as a fighter against Nazi barbarism, even then, with the title shortened to *Mélanges d'histoire sociale* (to evade the censorship imposed on periodicals), the book reviews, critiques and broadened scope of the themes continued. Upon learning of his partner's death, Lucien Febvre wrote the "Annales will continue. As long as it lasts, something of Marc Bloch will remain among us, alive, acting, fruitful." (*Mélanges*, 1944, vol. 6, no. 1). Hence, at the naturally painful moment of resuming the journey without his companion, Lucien Febvre advanced: "let us present history to the public, our history, true history, in such a way that this audience will finally understand what it is and what it is for. And by this means attain "the secret meaning of human destinies." (Febvre, "Face", p. 8). These, after all, will be its constant *Combates pela História* [Fights for History], as they had also been for Marc Bloch who, in 1941, "amidst the worst pain and worst anxieties" of a war in which he was to perish, began his *Apologia pela história ou Ofício de historiador* [Apologia for History or the Occupation of the Historian] with a childish question: "What is the purpose of history?" (Bloch, Introduction, p. 11), the answer to which he sought to provide in that admirable book.

The repercussion of the *Annales* was such that as a mere journal it became transformed into an institution, of which the French Section VI of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* (with Lucien Febvre and Charles Morazé in 1947) - later the *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales* (with Fernand Braudel from 1956 onwards) turned out to be another visible front of this way of thinking and making history in a deliberately intimate relationship with the human and social sciences. In the lesson of Braudel: "One of the characteristics of all those who revolve around the *Annales* is that their interest is more extra than intra-historical, which is alien to traditional historical scholarship." (Braudel, *Les ambitions*, p. 173).

Despite the convergence of approaches, there was no doctrinal unity. Approaches, problematics, methods: all those who partook of this spirit always denied that the *Annales* had become a school.

As explained by one of its members, "the historians of the School, *stricto sensu*, worked in overly diverse directions to be easily regrouped under a common intellectual maxim", always due to "the absence of a system spirit which characterized the *Annales* from its very inception", resulting in a kind of "vagrancy across all the fields", by "exceptional opportunity and freedom", in an attitude consisting "wholly of hospitality and openness." (Furet, *A Oficina*, p. 9). In the words of Magalhães Godinho: "There is no 'Paris school' in historiography, in the sense of a group of historians who follow a standard and adopt a form. There is only, and to a very great extent, a common approach towards [...]departing from problems, and the fundamental problems of human existence. It involves pursuing paths of explanation through the patient task of collecting data and elaborating



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as fully as possible, without fearing the audacity of the hypotheses, never being confined within narrow horizons, but always embracing each and every other perspective. For the "Annales" group, there is no such thing as compartmentalized human sciences [...]" (Godinho, *Ensaio* III, pp. 273-274) . Indeed, Fernand Braudel, in 1955, was emphatic: "there is an Annales movement, not a school" (Braudel, *Les ambitions*, p. 172). The following year, upon assuming the direction of the journal due to the unexpected death of Lucien Febvre, he further reiterated: "Neither Marc Bloch nor Lucien Febvre had the intention or the illusion of founding a School, with its formulas and solutions." (Braudel, "Les Annales", pp. 1-2). And some even argue that it is "a scientific community" and reject the idea that it is "a dogmatic shrine." (Revel and Charrier, "Annales", p. 29).

Such openness to the human sciences and freedom stood in stark contrast to what was being experienced in Portugal at the time, where methodical or neo-methodical historiography (Nunes, *A História* p. 260), frequently of excellent erudite quality, was but that alone (and often not even that), bore no interest in any methodological innovation or in the construction of new problematics.

The following may be read in Braudel: "as regards the Annales team, the movement or the pseudo-school of the Annales, what is censured, and what we are censured for, is this specific concern with indispensable freedom, which is freedom of the spirit of research, whatever discovery we make, if there is a discovery at all." (Braudel, *Les ambitions*, p. 190).

However, although not an official university publication, the Annales was gradually disseminated, bearing some notable effect in Portugal. Through the testimony of Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, it is known that from a very early stage, perhaps as early as 1935, the journal was available for reading at the National Library of Lisbon (Godinho, *A crise*, p. 7). In Coimbra, the first issues of the 1929 publication had been donated by France to the Institute of French Studies, possibly through the mediation of a reader, however their reception was interrupted at the request of the Faculty of Arts in 1935! As a means of compensation, the Faculty of Law, which had also been receiving the journal since 1929, maintained its subscription, however the Faculty of Arts only began to receive the publication again in 1961 (Nunes, *A História*, p. 59). Seemingly, the Portuguese historians were quite alienated from the modernizing research and approaches that marked a historiographical renewal, despite having access to one of the most important publications in the field that promoted new visions and new research. Yet it was as they wished. University masters could easily do without it... Indeed, neither such reputable scholars (which is of no importance here) as Mário Brandão, Manuel Lopes de Almeida, nor later, in Coimbra, Salvador Dias Arnaut, Avelino de Jesus da Costa, nor Manuel Heleno nor Mário de Albuquerque in Lisbon, would ever address an issue that might be deemed social.

But sometimes there are strange revelations and even unexpected surprises, such as the text by Torquato de Sousa Soares, an extraordinary professor at Coimbra, on Marc Bloch, a few years after his death, perhaps in 1953 (although dated 1947 in the volume of the *Revista Portuguesa de História*, Part III). Strangely enough, he dedicates a heartfelt article to Marc Bloch.



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His medievalist teacher will have read a good deal of the works he praises: "the work he left, although not overly extensive, opens new perspectives for History in a manner akin to a flash, replacing the old concept of the science of the past with that of the science of man or rather, of men - of men in time - a science which does not break man down into separate functions, but which places him entirely within himself. This is why history evolves with man, and like him it is ingenious, it is active." (Soares, Marc, p. 6). He even says of this "apostle of noble ideals" that he was headed for martyrdom. And he highlights how his action in the journal was central: "In order to apprehend Marc Bloch's work, reading his books does not suffice. In fact, it is fair to say that none retains as much of the flavour of his mental activity as the *Annales d'Histoire économique et sociale*, founded in 1929 with Lucien Febvre." (Idem, p. 7). And although rapidly, Torquato attentively revises his books and articles, and also some of his texts in the journal in question, all laden with praise. He also announces the preparation of a "thorough critical examination" of *Apologie pour l'Histoire ou Métier d'Historien*, which he claims to be "rich in ideas and suggestions" (Idem, p. 24). It is strange that he does not separate the historian from the citizen, being an opponent of Nazism, generated with the communists, which Torquato vehemently criticized in his classes, at least in the sixties. All because it is a "message of such a rich personality, such a fine spirit, one that is well-seasoned with reflection and experience, the latter sometimes so cruel, no one is left indifferent" (Idem, pp. 24-25).

But with the honourable exception of the heartfelt evocation of Marc Bloch, Torquato would not go beyond the somewhat erudite historians, such as Gama Barros, in his works, or advance much further in modernity, which he despised despite the attention he paid to titles published in France and Spain, having acquired a good and updated bibliography for the Faculty. Insurmountable contradictions. It was through him that Charles Verlinden (1946-1947) and Yves Renouard (1949-1950) spent time in Coimbra, however they left no mark or followers, nor did it matter to anyone. The late 1940s, 1950s and early 1960s were dark years for the Faculty. The furthest Torquato would go as a historian (and only sometimes) was as far as Henri Pirenne and François-Louis Ganshof, with the occasional incursion in the general work of Michel Mollat (Soares, "O Infante" [The Infante]).

As advanced by Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre early on, history is not about the individual, it is about society - or when it is about the individual it is within the framework of society. Broadly speaking, it relies on and is connected to all types of knowledge, which would be deemed dangerous. As stated by Georges Duby with respect to the journal "the *Annales* forced history to look at the other sciences of man and to open itself up to them." (Duby, "Historian", p.13). However, openness was not viewed kindly at Portuguese universities. The *Revista Portuguesa de História* [Portuguese History Journal] itself (created in 1941), which showed some signs of welcoming innovation in the early 1940s, went on to become a channel for an enclosed group of researchers until the 1960s, despite its efforts to establish external collaboration. Only as that decade advanced did the approaches and interests tend shift to another direction.



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Meanwhile, the situation in Lisbon was beginning to change. It was among the first disciples of Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, from his years of lecturing at the Faculty of Letters of Lisbon (1942-1944), that innovation emerged, and new historiographical perspectives opened up. This group included historians who would later become the cultivators of these new approaches: Joel Serrão, Jorge Borges de Macedo, Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho, Margarida Brandão, Julião Soares de Azevedo, José Gentil da Silva, Bandeira Ferreira, Maria de Lourdes Belchior, among several others. "It was thanks to Professor Magalhães Godinho that we became familiar with the new methods of historiography put into practice by the Annales team - Marc Bloch, Lucien Febvre, Fernand Braudel and others" (Soares, Portugal, p. 46). Before then "this historiographical current was barely known" (Godinho, *Do ofício*, p. 42), thus giving continued attention to the historiography stemming from the teachings and indoctrination of the Annales. This would leave its mark on post-war Portuguese historiography, although hardly ever reaching as high as the universities - or as low as - in the words of Rodrigues Lapa, which earned him the expulsion from higher education in Portugal in 1935. Meanwhile, in Lisbon, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho was still at the centre of a contemporization attempt. Outside the university (after 1944), he invested in updating initiatives, namely through his attempt to create and energize a Portuguese branch of the Parisian Association Marc Bloch, under the name of the Portuguese Society for the History of Civilisation (1949-53).

Its aim was to encourage an update of the history being written and taught, as might be expected in the case of activities that were heavily conditioned by the government. This group was to some extent related to the *Revista de Economia* (1948-1964). Indeed, and in spite of everything, these intellectual breathing valves began to establish their path, triggering the arousal of renewed vocations and interests, in connection with the journal directed by Lucien Febvre at the time. Magalhães Godinho himself stated: "I consider myself attached to the "Annales" group, not only because I am one of its collaborators and one of the founders of the Association Marc Bloch [in Paris], but above all because it is held together by an anti-dogmatic attitude, based on scientific humanism". (Godinho, *Ensaio* III, p. 274).

This Modernity, even visible in Francoist Spain, of which historians such as Jordi Nadal (1929), Joan Reglá (1917-1973) and Josep Fontana (1931) are good examples, gathered in Barcelona at the Centre for International Historical Studies around Jaume Vicens Vives (1910-1960) - related to Febvre and Braudel and the Annales. According to Pierre Vilar, Vicens Vives was an undisputed master and untiring animator of studies (*Annales*, année 1954, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 262-264). Among other works, he was also responsible for *Aproximación a la historia de España* (1952) and for directing *Historia social y económica de España y América* (1957-1959). And not only. In other Spanish centres, the same French influence was felt through Felipe Ruiz Martín (1915-2004), Valentín Vázquez de Prada (1925), Gonzalo Anes Álvarez (1931-2014) (direct disciples of Braudel in Paris) and Antonio Domínguez Ortiz (1909-2003), among others.

In Lisbon's Faculty of Arts, which followed the traditionalist and safe governmental path without any noticeable hesitations, much remained the same and appeared unlikely to change. However, and very slowly,



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some signs of modernization became evident: Virgínia Rau (degree in 1941, doctorate in 1946) was familiar with - but did not follow - the most complex and rich examples of the literature she had at her disposal. She was very well informed but did not appear to accompany the authors of these works in their research. In fact, while she quoted them with some frequency, she did not hold them up as an example or give the impression of being inspired by the problems and themes they raised.

However: Virgínia Rau, a pioneer in economic history studies at the Portuguese university, always gave more attention to commercial and financial aspects than to the other fields of economic history which were supposed to be cultivated. It is possible to note in her works (especially in her several document fragments composed after attaining the chair in 1951), that she did not disregard the Parisian collection "Ports-Routes-Trafics" by Armand Colin (edited by École Pratique des Hautes Études since 1951), which she used to embellish her writings: F. C. Spooner, Vicens Vives, Magalhães Godinho, Fernand Braudel, Frédéric Mauro, Jean Meuvret, Earl J. Hamilton, Gentil da Silva, Henri Lapeyre, Charles Verlinden, Raymond de Roover, J. Trocmé and M. Delafosse, all from the *Annales* or close to the modernising historiographical currents - in addition to the oldest cultivators of economic history, Jan Denucé (above all) and J. A. Goris, among many others - as confirmed by the auction catalogue of the books that had belonged to her (Oliveira, Catalogue). She was well-known in foreign historiographical circles, where she appeared when there were important meetings. It was certainly not by chance that she collaborated in the *Mélanges en l'honneur de Fernand Braudel. Histoire économique du monde méditerranéen 1450-1650*.

In the same vein, the work of Jorge Borges de Macedo was even more aligned with the problems, questions and interests of economic and social history as defended by the *Annales*, at least from the sixties onwards. This was visible in the special attention he paid to the problems of method in economic history arising from the works of Lucien Febvre, Fernand Braudel and Jean Meuvret, who are expressly cited in the bibliography of his doctoral dissertation (Macedo, *Problemas*, 1963, p. 360). These issues were mentioned and studied in his lessons, especially in the subject Theory of History. A. H. de Oliveira Marques was also attentive to what emerged from those French circles associated with the new way of thinking and constructing history. Hence, his familiarity with Renée Doehard, Jan Craeybeckx, Charles Verlinden and Michel Mollat, as well as other medieval authors who enriched the themes addressed in his stimulating *Ensaios de História Medieval Portuguesa* and who were also referred to in his classes - in the few years that Salazarism allowed him to teach in Portugal.

And if one cannot imagine Eduardo Borges Nunes' interest in the *Annales*, one can only assume that José António Ferreira de Almeida, who may be characterised as an unrecorded but extremely well-informed historian, would not follow the paths of innovation between 1952 and 1961, the years during which he lectured on the History of Portugal at the Faculty of Lisbon.

However, in the 1960s, and only then, the presence of Luís Ferrand de Almeida and António de Oliveira at the Faculty of Arts of Coimbra also became a path for the most recent historical research, with its ebbs and



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flows conditioned by the uncertainty of the times, but with particular attention to what was being accomplished in Paris. Thus, economic and social history, attentive to the *Annales*, inspired the work of those assistants (at the time) and even the dissertations of young undergraduates which the Faculty did not intend to control. In 1962, José António Ferreira left Lisbon to teach at the re-founded Faculty of Arts of Porto. Although his publications were limited, he was an immensely knowledgeable master and an excellent lecturer - Godinho stated that he knew more History than any other Portuguese citizen - who would use the modern and open historiographical fields shown by the *Annales*. The undergraduate dissertations he supervised bear this mark. But the Faculty of Letters of Porto, directed by a historian with a deep-seated erudite tradition and with highly conservative professors, would only later, after 1974, commit to methodological and thematic novelties. In the meantime, it wallowed in the flavour of well-known and well-proven methods.

Thus, volens nolens, from the 1940s onwards, Portuguese historiography became influenced by what was being published in France, and especially by the authors of reference who established themselves through the *Annales*: especially Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, and in the late 1940s Fernand Braudel and, later on, the disciples of the former authors, namely Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Pierre Goubert, René Baehrel, Frederic Mauro, Pierre Chaunu, Albert Silbert and many others. It should be noted that Vitorino Magalhães Godinho was an integral part of this group, as was Gentil da Silva, and that Luís de Matos and Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho were directly influenced by what was happening in Paris at the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* (IVe section), which they had both attended, although at different times.

As Godinho declares in a letter to Lucien Febvre in 1946, it was under the influence of the *Annales* that his spirit of debutant historian was formed (Godinho, *Do ofício*, p. 107). In fact, almost immediately afterwards, when he was already in Paris, he made six contributions to the journal between 1948 and 1950, and very few other Portuguese names appeared in the *Annales* between 1948 (there were none prior to this date) and 1975: besides Magalhães Godinho (1918-2011), Alfredo Margarido (1928-2010) offered 7 contributions between 1970 and 1974, António José Saraiva (1917-1993) 5 contributions between 1967 and 1970, Miriam Halpern Pereira (1937) 1 contribution later in 1975, Joel Serrão (1919-2008) also contributed once in 1954 and José Gentil Pires da Silva (1922) made 9 contributions to the journal between 1961 and 1971.

All of them, with the exception of Joel Serrão, spent long periods or extended stays in France and were in very close contact with French historians and historiography. These Portuguese writers established close connections with that already mythical journal - and it should be noted that Magalhães Godinho was actually a historian of the French school - a direct disciple of Lucien Febvre and Fernand Braudel (from 1947 to 1960) - therefore, Lucien Febvre was in a position to write that his vision had broadened as a result of being in Paris and in contact with the milieu of the *Annales*. (Godinho, *Do ofício*, p. 184). Additionally, Gentil da Silva was a very close disciple of Braudel, who published his several volumes on business strategy in Lisbon from the 16th -18th centuries and under whom he obtained his doctorate with a thesis on banking and credit in Italy in the



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16th century. He remained in France to teach at the university of Nice and went on to do little or nothing to intervene in the history that was being made in his country of origin.

In the end, some of the innovations and creations that were changing the course of the history being researched, written and taught in the most advanced circles in Europe, finally reached Portugal. It is a pity that a more timely and greater influence could not have been awakened in the academic environment by such a stimulating, broad and enriching History, which sought to be "scientifically conducted knowledge", according to the wise lesson of Lucien Febvre. These influences would be greatly developed with the new organizations and new teaching staff of the History degrees from 1974 onwards.

This was not disconnected from the student protests, which were also not detached from the return and re-integration of previously expelled university professors, such as António José Saraiva, Andrée Crabbé Rocha, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho, Victor de Sá, A. H. de Oliveira Marques, Sacuntala de Miranda, Ângela Guimarães, Miriam Halpern Pereira, as well as others who had been expelled or removed by the discretionary imposition of the political power or those for whom teaching in higher education had not even been a possibility. At the same time, new scholarship holders and dissertation applicants were heading for up-to-date and stimulating research centres. This would translate into a profound modification of the history that was being researched and taught in Portugal, bearing the influence or direct mark of the Annales.

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Joaquim Romero Magalhães