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Chronicle production

Between the late 13th century and the final decades of the 16th century a set of texts were produced, copied and translated in the kingdom of Portugal, almost always in Portuguese, whose narrative flow succeeded the aridity of the annals' register. From very early on, these texts were given the title of *chronicles*, due to the importance of the past in their structure and the use of narration. This succeeded the annals' register which had become progressively abandoned throughout the Middle Ages. In addition to the royal issue, a predominant theme across the entire chronicle production, religious, anecdotal, and supposedly biographical themes were also pursued. Since the 18th century and up to the present day, historiography has shown an interest in all of them in different ways, with significant variations in the volume of studies and approaches. Hence, the question, how has the historiography on medieval and modern chronicle production evolved over this time span?

The historiographical production on chronicles emerged in Portugal mainly in the late 19th century, although it gained greater traction from the 1950s onwards. Nevertheless, in the first half of the 18th century, an interest in the study of chronicles was already evident, embodied in the collection of sources as living elements of the past and its most direct testimonies. The unpublished catalogues prepared by António Caetano de Sousa between 1721 and 1724 for the *Real Academia da História* [Royal Academy of History], or those published by Francisco Xavier de Meneses in 1724 are a case in point. The brief annotations often outlined a detail that compared manuscripts or apographs of the same work, highlighted gaps, general variations or the *incipit* for later contrast, and there were even some attempts to date the manuscripts according to their handwriting, with a view to "ascertaining the varying teachings of other *treslados* [copies] of the ancient Chronicles" (*Collecçam dos documentos...* [Collections of documents...], 1724, no. XVI, p. 5). These authentic practices of positivist history *avant la lettre* anticipated some of the methodologies that developed from the mid-19th century onwards. However, this auspicious prelude was not immediately followed up. Only in the late 18th century did the historiography around chronicle production witness significant development.

During this interval, several "unknown monuments" were "unearthed", to recall the words of Alexandre Herculano, "from the dust of the libraries and archives (...), which served to completely change many historical perspectives, correct others, and definitively confirm others. (*Portugaliae...*, 1856, vol. 1, fasc. 1, p. v). Many



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of them were collected and published in the form of *Memórias* [Memoirs], sometimes more general, other times of a more specific nature. This trend was part of a wheel that had been turning for some time, but which turned in a similar direction, despite some structural differences, and became embodied in publications such as *Gallia christiana* (1715-1725) and *España Sagrada* published by Enrique Flórez from 1747 and continued until the 19th century. As with most of these works, those produced in Portugal were mostly limited to editing the text without any critical apparatus or historical contextualisation. At the same time, and in similar circumstances, the sixteenth-and seventeenth-century chronicles, such as those authored by Duarte Nunes de Leão, were republished, thus proving the interest of historians and publishers in the themes of medieval and post-medieval chronicles.

Also, the *Collecção de livros ineditos de historia portugueza* [Collection of unpublished books on Portuguese history], a work sponsored by the *Academia das Ciências de Lisboa* [Lisbon Academy of Sciences], although complying with the Enlightenment principle of rationality, dispensed with any historiographical preamble or collation of the text, limiting itself to underlining the "irremediable" gaps. The content of the five volumes published between 1790 and 1824, which featured some of the chronicles of Rui de Pina, Gomes Eanes de Zurara, Fernão Lopes and the *Chronicas dos Senhores Reis de Portugal* [Chronicles of the Kings of Portugal] by Cristóvão Rodrigues Acenheiro (16th century), was therefore copied by *abade* [abbot] José Correia da Serra, an illuminist and one of the founders of the Academia (1779), and Francisco Trigo (member of the Academia and later Minister and Counsellor of State) as it appeared in the supposedly original manuscripts and in the apographs, and the slight difference in wording was regarded as the "almost inevitable carelessness of the various copyists" (*Collecção de livros inéditos*, 1816, vol. 4, p. XXXIV). In his introductory words to the collection, *abade* Correia da Serra stated that the edition of this "unique account of the certainty of our history" aimed to disclose the "unknown facts" which, when duly questioned and criticised would reveal the past through its testimonies to enable a better "understanding of what Portugal has [had] been" (*Collecção de livros inéditos...*, 1790, vol. 1, pp. VIII-IX). The collection, highly criticised by 19th-century positivists for the changes it brought to the spelling and interpretation of the texts, seemed to summarise an ideological approach to recovering the past rather than a methodological stance.

However, it was Herculano's stance that had the most significant influence on the direction of chronicle production studies from then until the mid-20th century. Between 1853 and 1854, Herculano inventoried the main collections of documents of the Centre and North of Portugal, and in 1857 he included part of them in the Torre do Tombo archives. It was through this contact with a vast number of sources that the intention was formulated to embark on an edition of Portuguese medieval sources, much like the collections produced throughout Europe since the beginning of the previous century and, in some cases, dating back to the late 17th century. As had been done in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (in publication since 1819), with which Herculano was familiar, he divided the headings into *Scriptores*, *Leges* and *Diplomata*, setting aside the *Epistolae* and *Antiquitates*. In any case, his express intention was to "facilitate scholars' almost immediate



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access to historical sources" (*Idem*, p. xxi), as stated in the first volume of *Portugaliae*, published in 1856. Disseminating the texts of medieval chroniclers was his way of overcoming the ignorance of history, and through it the decline of social bodies, stated in other parts of his work. With this set of publications, whose first three *Scriptores* issues were exclusively dedicated to a collection of chronicles produced in Portugal, Herculano signalled a real turning point in the publication and criticism of texts. The editorial criteria were broadly in line with those of the German *Monumenta*, both in terms of the reference to previous editions and in the exact transcription of the manuscripts (except for the introduction of punctuation), and in the cases where the supposed original had been lost, in the annotation of variations and in the comparison of the interpretations of the apographs.

During the following decades of the Constitutional Monarchy, Herculano's interpretations were the only editions of much of the chronicle production prior to Fernão Lopes and, to a certain extent, the historiographical line on chronicle production that prevailed until the appearance of Lindley Cintra on the scene in the mid-20th century. Herculano's views on the dating and authorship of texts were also considered decisive. In his reference to Acenheiro's chronicles, Inocêncio da Silva, in *Diccionario bibliographico portuguez* [Portuguese bibliographical dictionary] (1859, t. 2, p. 73), further added: "our historian [Herculano] classifies that work as nothing less than a 'pack of lies and nonsense, published by our Academia, which would have been more prudent to have left it to gather dust in the libraries". In the 20th century, Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho viewed Herculano's historiographical model as an "epistemological revolution", a break with the tradition from the early days of the Academia das Ciências and abade Correia da Serra. Conversely, Borges de Macedo stated that the editor of the *Portugaliae* was indeed a follower of that history-science tradition.

Nevertheless, the historiography on chronicle production, influenced by the effort of returning to the original documents - the "marble" of the "polygonal column" that Herculano compared to History (*Opusculos IV* [Opuscula IV], undated [1842], p. 220) - and its depuration, would continue to develop until the end of the century. It became simultaneously more positivist, in the dating and attribution of authors to the texts, in its aim geared towards objectivity and accuracy of the "proof" presented and, in the manner of Fustel de Coulanges, in the closest possible reading of the texts. To mention but one example, these document appreciation principles are evident in Ernesto do Canto. The Azorean historian's writings and annotations on some of Zurara's chronicles, published in the *Boletim de Bibliografia Portuguesa* [Portuguese Bulletin of Bibliography] (1879), focused almost exclusively on the analytical comparison of chapters and the exactness of the wording in the *treslados*, which led him to unleash harsh criticism on the changes introduced by abade Correia da Serra in the editions prepared by the latter for the Academia das Ciências. Thus, with a century between them, two conflicting perspectives clashed. Moreover, until the end of the monarchy Zurara's chronicles were the ones that most captivated historians, perhaps because they mirrored the prevailing colonialist mentality.

Until the late 19th century and early 20th century, the editorial policy based on such nineteenth-century copies continued to flourish autonomously. The editions of Fernão Lopes' s trilogy in the *Bibliotheca de*



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Classicos Portuguezes [Portuguese Classics Library], published in the last years of the 19th century by Luciano Cordeiro, were not only based on the teachings of abade Correia da Serra, but also dispensed with the preface and critical annotation. A member of the *Partido Regenerador* [Regenerator Party] and founder of the *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* [Lisbon Geographical Society] in 1876, Cordeiro justified this decision by pointing to the "inconsequentially monopolistic spirit of the scholars or those who want to pass for them" as the main enemy of the "current reading" and the "immediate, current, affective assimilation of the masses." (*Chronica do senhor rei D. Pedro I* [Chronicle of King D. Pedro I], 1895, p. 6). Gabriel Pereira, who continued the *Bibliotheca* changed these terms by writing the preface to the chronicles by Rui de Pina and Duarte Galvão himself. His effort, however, surpassed what had been done some years earlier in the *Crónica da Guiné* [Chronicle of Guinea] (1896-1899), edited by Charles Raymond Beazley and translated by Edgar Prestage. In addition to critical annotations and supplementary notes to the text, it included extensive introductory studies, both on Zurara's life and the context in which his works had been produced, and on the available manuscripts and the evolution of historical studies on the subject. Nevertheless, the re-edition of chronicles for literary dissemination was highly significant throughout the 20th century, the traceability of which shall not be addressed at this point.

The interest in chronicle production did not wane with the end of the monarchy, but neither did it gain inordinate momentum with the proclamation of the republic. In fact, there were few studies prior to the 1920s, a period marked by social upheaval associated with the change of regime, participation in the Great War, and even an epidemic outbreak that contributed to the scarcity of research. Among the known studies, there was a particular interest in Zurara, especially in the work of Augusto Epifânio da Silva Dias, a writer devoted to the study of Camões, of Jules Mees, a Belgian, and of Francisco Esteves Pereira. Esteves Pereira authored the first systematic study of the *Crónica do Condestabre* [Chronicle of the Constable] (edited in 1911) by Joaquim Mendes dos Remédios and in the same year published the *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta* [Chronicle of the Capture of Ceuta], the introduction of which he wrote in line with the Anglo-Saxon model of Prestage, who was cited abundantly in his work. Moreover, the edition was structured around a comparison of the various manuscripts available, which were presented and studied in depth, in the manner of Anselmo Braancamp Freire in the first part of his *Crónica de D. João I* [Chronicle of King D. John I], published in 1915 by the *Arquivo Histórico Português* [Portuguese Historical Archives] (although he made exclusive use of the manuscripts available at the Torre do Tombo). This edition was later recovered in 1977, as shall be addressed later. The fact was that all of them were published under the seal of the Academia das Ciências, at times evidencing a nationalistic and conservative historicism. Also, in José Joaquim Nunes' s editions of the *Crónica da Ordem dos Frades Menores* [Chronicle of the Order of Friars Minor] (1918) and of the *Vida e milagres de Dona Isabel* [Life and miracles of Dona Isabel] (1921), also published by the Academia, his preliminary studies denoted the influence of a historiography and followed more archaic models, despite the methodological rigour of his lexical analysis.



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The evolution of chronicle production studies in Portugal from the 1920s and 1930s onwards differed considerably from what had been seen up to then. In the 1920s there was a resurgence of a nationalist sentiment marked by a degree of republican anticlericalism that rapidly faded to give way to patriotism allied with the Estado Novo [New State] in the 1930s. Perhaps this was the reason why part of the historiography on chronicles pursued a cultural and historicist nationalism that spread to other domains, seeking a Portuguese essentialism that was thought to be particularly present in the origins of nationality and, by extension, in the texts on the first dynasty. At the same time, a progressive and mutual distancing was noted between historical and philological studies, possibly due to the increasing professionalisation of these areas. Influenced by the philological approach of brothers Juan and Ramón Menéndez Pidal, José Leite de Vaconcelos worked on the *Crónica do Mouro Rasis* [Chronicle of the Moor Rasis] (1922), a path followed by Lindley Cintra as early as the 1950s and later by Diego Catalán, both of whom, as shall be addressed, were influenced both by those researchers and each other.

Until then, studies had abounded, frequently repeating conflicting paths allied with the regime. Duarte Leite, António Dias Dinis, Henrique da Gama Barros and Álvaro Costa Pimpão explored details, which were often fruitless, surrounding the date of the writing of the *Crónica da Guiné* and the origin of its contents; some of these researchers, including Joaquim de Carvalho, a professor of Philosophy at the *Universidade de Coimbra* [University of Coimbra], raised the possibility of plagiarism on the part of the chronicler. At the same time, William J. Entwistle of Oxford University was preparing an edition of the second part of the *Crónica de D. João I*, by Fernão Lopes (1935), which was only published posthumously, in 1977, and which included the translation of that article as an introduction. Costa Veiga, Rocha Madahil, Morais Sarmiento and Hernâni Cidade, on the other hand, discussed aspects of the chronicles of Rui de Pina, Duarte Galvão and Fernão Lopes. The discussions of these authors, which were sparse and difficult to trace, included topics such as the authorship of the *Crónica do Condestabre* (in which Aubrey Bell, the British author of a critical history of Portuguese literature, also participated); analyses of the prose of chronicles (with the participation of Vitorino Nemésio); the epic origin of the *story* of Afonso Henriques in the *IV Crónica Breve* [Fourth Short Chronicle]; and even the antiquity of the short text preserved in the *Biblioteca Municipal do Porto* [Oporto Municipal Library], dated back to the mid-14th century by Costa Veiga (an accepted date) at a time when it was considered to be post- Fernão Lopes or, as argued by Alfredo Pimenta, whose anteriority or posterity in relation to the *Crónica de D. Afonso Henriques* [Chronicle of D. Afonso Henriques] by Duarte Galvão (written in 1505) was impossible to ascertain. The idea that the homeland was thus being served, a markedly nationalist agenda aligned with the ideology of the regime, which ran through many of these studies (though it should be noted that it did not prevent them from reaching some important conclusions), was stated by Pimenta himself in the introduction to *Idade Média. Problemas e Soluções* [Middle Ages. Issues and Solutions] (Lisbon, 1946, p. XV): "I serve it [the homeland] as best I can: by studying and communicating the results of my studies to those who wish to read me".



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With the discovery in June 1942 of a 15th-century chronicle of the first five kings, Artur de Magalhães Basto and, shortly after him, Carlos da Silva Tarouca who had discovered an unpublished manuscript of that chronicle which included the reigns of D. Dinis and D. Afonso IV, the historiography of the time was ignited. The bibliography on the text that came to be known as the *Crónica de 1419* [Chronicle of 1419] would rapidly grow, giving rise to a voluminous and important wealth of information, focusing, however, on a relatively common theme: were they the "lost" chronicles written by Fernão Lopes? This question fuelled much of the research of the following years, summarised by Magalhães Basto himself a few years later (*Estudos. Cronistas e Crónicas Antigas* [Studies. Chroniclers and Ancient Chronicles...], Coimbra, 1959, pp. 509-548), and after him Giuliano Macchi (1963). In fact, the attempt to determine the authorship of this chronicle and its identification as the first part of Fernão Lopes's *Crónicas dos reis de Portugal* [Chronicles of the kings of Portugal] dominated researchers' concerns throughout the 1940s and the 1950s, without the accomplishment of comprehensive, in-depth studies on the text in question. Only in 2010, with his doctoral thesis, (*A Crónica de Portugal de 1419...*[The Chronicle of 1419 Portugal] Lisbon, 2013) would Filipe Alves Moreira achieve what had been promised by various researchers, but had always been postponed.

At the same time, various publications continued to engage efforts in recovering the medieval past. Damião Peres, the author of a *História de Portugal* with his well-known doctrinal stance stood out in this period for the nationalist and "patriotic" character imprinted on his introductory remarks to the chronicles he edited. This trait was particularly discernible in his introduction to the *Crónica de D. Pedro* [Chronicle of D. Pedro] (1932), however his transcription has already been noted for its accuracy (Amado, "The study of literary texts", 2011, p. 92), as has the importance of the list of document sources he provided, which facilitated access to the construction of the narrative. Some years later, Peter Russell, a historian from Oxford University, also worked on the sources of that chronicler in a short but important study (*As fontes de Fernão Lopes* [The sources of Fernão Lopes], 1941). This work assisted the then young scholar in finding the Portuguese sources at the Torre do Tombo, which he later published in the book *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the time of Edward III and Richard II* (1955).

Around this time José de Bragança wrote an introduction brimming with national pride to the *Crónica da Guiné* (1937), based on the manuscript of the National Library of Paris, where he argued that *Infante D. Henrique* [Prince Henry the navigator] was the author of the "creation of a Portuguese kingdom of the Algarve and overseas", geared towards the "discovery of new sea routes, peaceful trade and a civilising influence" (*Crónica de Guiné*, 1937, p. XLIV). By means of an anachronistic back-projection, he thus justified what was thought to be the right to the colonies with arguments quite similar to those advanced by Gilberto Freyre, as if integrating the publication of this "monument" in the commemorations that culminated in the "exhibition of the Portuguese world" in 1940. Costa Pimpão also published an abridged edition of this text, which he studied continuously, in the *Clássicos Portugueses* collection of Clássica Editora [publishers] (1942), while Alfredo Pimenta published the *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta* in the same collection and in the same year. In turn,



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Torquato de Sousa Soares, who was very active during that period, published the abridged edition of two chronicles by Fernão Lopes in that collection, namely the *Crónica de D. Pedro* [Chronicle of D. Pedro] (1943) and the *Crónica de D. Fernando* [Chronicle of D. Fernando] (1945). Apart from these promotional editions, viewed to some extent as propaganda or instrumentalised as such, only Alois R. Nykl, a Czech Arabist living in the United States of America, published a critical, albeit partial, edition of the *Crónica de D. Afonso Henriques* [Chronicle of D. Afonso Henriques] authored by Duarte Galvão (1942).

In fact, Filipe Lindley Cintra thanked many of these researchers in the preface to his study of the *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344* [General Chronicle of Spain of 1344] (1951, pp. XIX-XX). Among them, he highlighted the names of Hernani Cidade, Vitorino Nemésio and Harri Meier as the researchers who had influenced him the most. Other researchers were mentioned in the body of the text, his doctoral thesis, which he began in 1947. It was also in the same year, in the post-war period, that a young Lindley Cintra arrived in Madrid to meet Ramón Menéndez Pidal at his home in Chamartín (on the outskirts of the Spanish capital at the time). Cintra received guidance from the Spanish philologist until the end of 1950, when he returned to Portugal; his affiliation to the Pidal philological school remained constant as he always regarded Pidal as his master. The studies conducted by Cintra in Madrid led to the critical edition of the 1400s recasting of the chronicle, the last volume of which was only published in 1990.

This undertaking prompted his in-depth analysis and reappraisal of the historiography written in Portuguese prior to the 15th century. In fact, Cintra's research led him to attribute that work to Pedro Afonso de Barcelos, the illegitimate son of King Dinis, but also to conclude that he was working with a version that was not the original text written by the nobleman in 1344, but rather a modified version somewhere at the end of the same century. Likewise, he explored the textual network the editors had used in the construction of those works, highlighting the connection of the texts to the historiographical tradition of Afonso X and his *Estoria de España*, but also to the Navarre genealogical tradition of the *Liber Regum*. Among them, Cintra unveiled a set of texts that had been produced, translated or copied within the Galician-Portuguese sphere of influence in that period and had been used, handled or at least known by the editors, such as the *IV Crónica Breve de Santa Cruz de Coimbra* [IV Short Chronicle of Santa Cruz de Coimbra] (which Diego Catalán later proved to be an abridged copy of the so-called *Crónica de Portugal e Espanha of 1341-1342*, presumed lost, but mentioned by Acenheiro), the *Crónica do Mouro Rasis* (which Leite de Vasconcelos had studied in 1922, as previously mentioned, and which had been translated into Portuguese by order of King Dinis), and the *Livro de Linhagens* [Book of Lineages], also written by Pedro Afonso. Cintra also thought it impossible at the time, considering the available manuscripts, to embark on a reconstitution of the original text. This task would be partially undertaken by Ramón Menéndez Pidal's grandson, Diego Catalán Menéndez Pidal (a full name he rarely used), in 1970. The influence of Cintra's undertaking was central to the accomplishment of this edition, in an intriguing coincidental move.

The historiographical and philological legacy of Lindley Cintra, albeit revised and contested at a later



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stage, gave rise to a real change in the knowledge on Portuguese chronicle production. This was not only achieved through the acknowledgement of a historiography pre-dating the 15th and even the 14th century chroniclers, but also by means of the change that his approach represented. However, the fruits of this change were not immediately visible in Portugal. It would be necessary to wait a few decades for this vein to be continued and for many of the conclusions to be revised or challenged (Amado, "The study of literary texts", in *The Historiography...*, 2011, p. 88). Cintra would continue his studies on that chronicle and its authorship throughout this decade, extending his analysis to texts such as the *Crónica de 1419* [Chronicle of 1419] and to the fields of linguistics (an area he was planning to study when he embraced the project of editing the *Crónica de 1344* [Chronicle of 1344]). Other research followed with the same philological orientation. Particularly noteworthy were the research of the linguist and historian Samuel Armistead (whose texts were published initially in the journal *Romance Philology*, founded at the end of the previous decade), and the research of the afore-mentioned Diego Catalán, influenced by Cintra, especially with regard to what he thought was the Portuguese version of the *Crónica de España* and the origins of Portuguese and Castilian historiography (he also published these texts in that American journal and pursued in the book *De Alfonso X al Conde de Barcelos...*, 1962).

This was, however, the smallest part of the historiographical production. In fact, the 1950s were still dominated by the line of studies of Magalhães Basto, from the 1940s, the focus of which continued to be the *Crónica de 1419* (research compiled in the volume *Estudos* [Studies], 1959) and partly by new interpretations of Fernão Lopes, with the contribution of names such as Albin Beau, a German studies scholar from the *Universidade de Coimbra* who studied the literary features, eulogies and the "national sentiment" in the chronicler of Avis (compiled in the *Estudos* published in 1959), António Brásio, who focused mainly on historiographical aspects such as the "national crisis of 1385" and issues of the chronicles' authorship, and also Mário Martins, whose research was geared mainly towards the field of spirituality.

The same actors continued to feature in the following decade with very similar orientations, but they were joined by some historians who then turned to chronicle production. Such was the case of António Borges Coelho, who in 1966 edited the *Crónica do rei D. Duarte* [Chronicle of King D. Duarte] of Rui de Pina, who had already published *Raízes da Expansão Portuguesa* [Roots of Portuguese Expansion] (1964) and *A revolução de 1383* [The 1383 Revolution] (1965). These texts were two examples of the deconstruction of the dominant theories of a national grandeur supported by the chroniclers of Avis and disseminated by Salazar's regime, which led to them being banned and Borges Coelho interrogated. In fact, the 15th-century chronicles received the most attention from researchers throughout the 1960s and 70s, some of whom with social concerns they associated with the author of the *Crónica de D. João I* [Chronicle of D. João I] and the relevance of the popular crowds in that text. It was not by chance that *A revolução de 1383* was given such a title: the interpretation of Fernão Lopes is one of rebellion, of a fight to change the status quo in a real "national bourgeois revolution" (Coelho, *A revolução...*, [The revolution] 6th ed. 2018, p. 127). Even António José Saraiva, who had been an



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exile in France since 1960 to escape the regime and had conducted research on the epic tradition of Afonso Henriques, would also become involved in disseminating the texts of Fernão Lopes in "modern Portuguese", of that chronicler in the collection *Os Grandes Portugueses* [Great Portuguese Figures], by Editora Arcádia [publishers] (1960), and of his chronicle in *História da literatura portuguesa* [History of Portuguese Literature] (1st ed. 1955), co-authored with Óscar Lopes. The critical editions of the *Crónica de D. Pedro* (1966) and *D. Fernando* (1975) were also published around this time by the hand of Giuliano Macchi, interestingly at the same time as another re-edition of the chronicle of King Pedro I, by Damião Peres (1965).

Other analyses of Zurara and Rui de Pina conducted by this chronicler appeared throughout the 1960s and 1970s, showing a clear trend in chronicle studies in Portugal. Nevertheless, other paths were being taken beyond this common theme. António Cruz, who was in charge of the Biblioteca Municipal do Porto at that time launched his research on the connection between Portuguese culture and Santa Cruz de Coimbra (1964), a work that announced the publication of the *Anais, Crónicas e Memórias Avulsas de Santa Cruz de Coimbra* [Annals, Chronicles and Sundry Memoirs of Santa Cruz de Coimbra] (1968), which included lesser-known texts such as the *Livro das Eras* [Book of Ages], an example of the hybridisation of chronicles and analyses. A year earlier, Fernando Peixoto da Fonseca (who later edited the *Crónica Breve do Arquivo Nacional* [Short Chronicle of the National Archives], in 1986, the *Crónica da Fundação do Mosteiro de São Vicente* [Chronicle of the Foundation of the Monastery of Saint Vincent], in 1995, and the so-called *Crónicas Breves de Santa Cruz* [Short Chronicles of Santa Cruz], in 2000) revised the chronicles included by Herculano in the *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*, representing practically the first revision of a work still deemed untouchable. As previously mentioned, in 1962, Diego Catalán pursued the research initiated by Lindley Cintra and in 1970 published the first part of what was the original text of the *Crónica de 1344*, a work that remained incomplete, with a second volume that was never to be published.

In the early 1970s, when Portugal underwent a shift from a dictatorial regime to democracy, the landscape of the previous decade remained largely unchanged, despite an increase in the number of research undertakings. While, in the wake of the 1974 revolution, the discourse of the regime lost the apologetic tone of the "national achievements", the dominant theme in fact remained the same. Historians such as Torquato de Sousa Soares, Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão and Graça Rodrigues questioned 15th-century historiography in particular, taking it as the product of a specific period within a discursive dimension. Torquato Soares and Veríssimo Serrão even considered this chronicle production in the chapter of "historiography" (Soares, "A historiografia portuguesa..." ["Portuguese historiography"], 1977, pp. 67-86; Serrão, "Fernão Lopes...", 1984, pp. 195-211), not in the sense of a truthful discourse on the past, but rather according to the notion advanced later by Bernard Guenée: the attempt to establish a given memory of events and figures, despite the ideological, political and social constraints of the time. This was not, however, the dominant trend, and chronicle production was still seen as something quite distant from historiography. The concept of a history-science still appeared to hover over the intellect of historians.



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Within 15th-century historiography, Maria Lúcia Passos, Mário Martins and José Hermano Saraiva continued to explore different themes in Fernão Lopes, the author who continued to receive the most attention, with analyses ranging from the hero's typology to the biblical and liturgical component of his texts. The literature on this chronicler continued to grow over the following decades, following both existing and new paths. The publication of the *Crónica de D. João I* by Lindley Cintra in 1977 was not unrelated to this fact. Braancamp Freire's 1915 edition was recovered for the first part, and William Entwistle's critical edition some fifty years earlier for the second part, thus facilitating access to the text. More recently, Teresa Amado tried to solve the problems of this version by preparing a critical edition whose first volume was published in 2018.

In fact, from 1980 onwards Teresa Amado stood out as one of the most important researchers and experts on Fernão Lopes' s work by producing texts where she systematised many of the existing studies on the chronicler, adding her philology-oriented perspective, as is the case of *Fernão Lopes. Contador de História*. [Fernão Lopes. Storyteller] (1991). Her contributions to a systematisation of information on medieval chronicles in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval* [Dictionary of Medieval Literature] (1993), together with those of Luís Krus, allow us, even today, to establish a more reliable state of play. But also noteworthy for their importance as works of in-depth analysis are the studies of a more historiographical nature by João Gouveia Monteiro (*Fernão Lopes. Texto e Contexto* [Fernão Lopes. Text and Context], 1988) and Margarida Ventura (*O Messias de Lisboa. Um estudo de mythologia política* [The Messiah of Lisbon. A study in political mythology], 1992). In recent years, this chronicler has continued to be widely revisited, with many researchers returning to the questions raised by historians in the mid-twentieth century and, above all, beginning to look at his texts as the result of a politically oriented production. Luís de Sousa Rebelo, with his work of 1983 *A concepção do poder em Fernão Lopes* [The conception of power in Fernão Lopes], highlighted precisely that point and influenced many researchers who, when not having already done so, subsequently abandoned the notion that Fernão Lopes recorded the "truth with no other mixture", as he himself claimed and as many still believed.

Zurara also continued to be widely studied by authors such as Larry King, who edited the diplomatic edition of the *Crónica do Conde D. Duarte de Meneses* [Chronicle of Count D. Duarte Meneses] in 1978, Luís Filipe Barreto, Luís de Albuquerque, Humberto Baquero Moreno and even Torquato Soares, who published the *Crónica da Guiné* in 1981. In comparison, and although Manuel Lopes de Almeida published almost all Zurara's work in 1977, the work of Rui de Pina and Duarte Galvão did not receive the same attention in the second half of the 20th century or even in the 21st century, except for some recent studies by Filipe Alves Moreira. In line with Lindley Cintra and Diego Catalán, Filipe Alves Moreira has indeed emerged as one of the main contributors to a renewal of chronicle production studies this century. In addition to his in-depth study of the *Crónica de 1419* in 2013, which he attributed to Fernão Lopes (thus joining an ongoing controversy dating back to the 1940s, which has remained unsolved), his search for the *Primeira Crónica Portuguesa* [First Portuguese Chronicle] (2008) is also noteworthy. In this regard, following Cintra's intuition that there was a



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chronicle in romance preceding the *Crónica de Portugal e Espanha de 1341-1342* that diverged from all those known to date, this chronicle scholar accomplished the work that his masters had left unfinished. This text, which supposedly dates back to the late 13th century, has thus become available, and in recent years has also given rise to a large body of literature, particularly in the production of the *Seminário Medieval de Literatura, Pensamento e Sociedade* [Medieval Seminar on Literature, Thought and Society], at the *Universidade do Porto*.

Maria do Rosário Ferreira, a philologist in charge of the organisation of a volume synthesising the advances around chronicle production in the afore-mentioned Seminário (2010), has emerged as one of the main agents in the study and dissemination of chronicle production in recent years. She was also in charge of the project "Pedro de Barcelos e a monarquia castelhano-leonesa [Pedro de Barcelos and the Castilian-Leonese monarchy]", which she not only studied and edited, but also disseminated the final unpublished section of the *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344* [General Chronicle of 1344 Spain] until 2015. Knowledge of this text also received wide contributions, especially within the scope of the analysis of medieval Hispanic historiography, with particular emphasis on the developments of Inés Fernández-Ordóñez in the early decades of the 21st century. However, a complete edition of that chronicle is yet to be published in the version written by Count Pedro Afonso and left incomplete by Diego Catalán, as stated above. The main guidelines of chronicle production studies, with the exception of Fernão Lopes and his followers, would always remain closely linked to the text of 1344 and mostly to the philological perspective advanced by Cintra, which continues to enlighten historiographical work.

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