

DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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Publishers

Publishers' actions have a direct influence on the development of historiography. Since books are one of the main vehicles for transmitting historical knowledge, the agents who shape them also become actors in this transmission through their selection of that which is published, translated, promoted and what is rejected. And they have their own history. The focus herein, therefore, is on providing a brief overview of the publishing of history studies and sources (a small part of the publishing world as a whole) in Portugal between 1779 and 1974, considering some of the publishers' paths and the institutions that published them.

Two hundred years is a long time, and as would be expected, so are the changes. The reader has changed, the publisher has changed and the book itself has changed. In the 18th century, the book was still an artisanal object and, to some degree, a luxury reserved for a small, literate audience. And the publisher, as also envisioned today, was a non-existent figure, whose work was divided between the activity of a bookseller and a printer - often the same person. In the second half of the 20th century, the situation was different. Books were produced industrially; publishers, booksellers and printers were separate professions, with established, acknowledged boundaries. The potential audience, of course, was no longer a small elite, having widened and become more massified. However, it is also a fact that some situations had not changed at all. For example, a significant percentage of the population were illiterate, although this varied according to gender and region. In 1900, the illiteracy rate was still 78.6% and at the beginning of the century it stood at around 90% (M. M. Tavares, "Livros..." ["Books"], 1999, p. 189); according to the 1970 censuses, the percentage was 25.7%; in other words, although it had decreased, it still remained high, thus compromising the structuring of a more solid market. As it is not a separate field in the world of books, understanding how history has been published means first understanding how publishing and the role of the publisher have changed, in broad terms, over the last two centuries. The publication of history books and sources is part of these changes and continuities, in a constant dialogue between the transformations of the discipline itself, of publishing, and of the country's cultural environment.

As already mentioned, the publisher profession did not exist until the 19th century. While responsible for book production, the work of the printer or bookseller did not involve assembling a specific catalogue with



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a particular audience in mind or revising the text and securing translations. Indeed, these tasks are at the very heart of the publisher's work, serving to individualise them and give them a professional identity. Although publishers would sometimes choose titles, intervene in the texts or have them translated, this was never their core activity. They only did so as a means of increasing production. In fact, the figure of the bookseller and the printer would often overlap, and the same agent produced, imported and sold publications. This reality changed towards the late 18th century. The expansion of reading gave rise to an increase in the reading public - and, of course, the need to adopt strategies to build their loyalty, such as fascicles -, the cheapening of book production, the expansion of publishing in national languages and, as a result, the increased importance of translation: all these factors came to define the role of the publisher. In the second half of the 19th century, it may be said with authority that publishers and publishing houses had effectively come into their own. However, in Portugal, some elements of the past were still present, with many printers and booksellers adapting and also working as publishers, while maintaining their former activities and the name "typography" or "bookshop", even though the publisher profession had already become autonomous and production had been outsourced by many of these companies. But the movement was irreversible and the separation between publishing and bookselling continued into the 20th century, mainly from the 1930s onwards; however, some publisher-bookshops remained. (J. L. Lisboa, "Os Editores..." ["The Publishers"], 2015, pp. 15-22; J. L. Lisboa e D. Melo, "Passos Decisivos..." ["Decisive Steps"], 2015, pp. 33-34; N. Medeiros, *Edição e Editores* [Publishing and Publishers]..., 2010, p. 101.)

Despite the increased number of readers, books continued to be the object of consumption of an elite in the early 19th century (except for some more popular genres, such as cordel literature). Instead, newspapers and the theatre became the main vehicles for promoting intellectuals to the public and disseminating their work. Therefore, the writer was not professionalised as the author of a book, but rather as someone making a living from other work, nor did he manage to get published abroad, with a few exceptions, such as Garrett and Herculano. Hence, the Portuguese market remained inferior and peripheral, and its production was concentrated in just three cities: Lisbon, Porto and Coimbra. (M. L. Santos, *Intelectuais...*[Intellectuals...], 1985, pp. 229 et seq.) For financial reasons (difficulty in selling them at a higher price), the editions were of poor quality; luxury books, with illustrations and a good finish (in terms of paper and binding, printed with good quality characters) only became more common from the 1870s onwards. (A. Anselmo, *Estudos de História do Livro*, [History of Book Studies] 1997, p. 128.)

Even so, from the mid-century onwards, there was a tendency to popularise books (an effort that was always conditioned by the high illiteracy rates). For example, cheaper popular collections were created, such as the "Livraria Clássica Portuguesa" [Portuguese Classical Bookshop] by António and José Feliciano de Castilho, which anthologised texts by classical Portuguese authors with historical and literary introductions (M. L. Santos, *Idem*, 1985, pp. 229-230), or the "Biblioteca Económica" ["Economic Library"] by Eduardo de Faria, possibly the first to use the fascicle sales model. He also published an illustrated *História de Portugal* [History



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of Portugal] by Francisco Duarte de Almeida Araújo, in 80-page fascicles (A. Anselmo, *Idem*, 1997, pp. 143-145.) Additionally, with a view to their dissemination, he published other material such as "Educação Popular" ["Popular Education"] by Pinheiro Chagas (in the 1970s) and "Propaganda Democrática" ["Democratic Propaganda"] by Consiglieri Pedroso, both of which gave great importance to historical themes. Illustration was also used more extensively to capture more readers - a major focus for publishers of historical books, as can be seen, for example, in the second edition of Pinheiro Chagas' "popular and illustrated" *História de Portugal*, with 540 reproductions of engravings and 309 vignettes; or in the third, with illustrations by the renowned Roque Gameiro. (S. C. Matos, *Historiografia...*[Historiography...], 1998, pp. 155-161.) Others may also be mentioned, such as: "Pecúlio do Recreio", 200 novels published by Francisco Rolland and Semiond; "Livrinhos de Ouro" ["Golden Books"], by Castilho; and "Livros para o Povo" [Books for the People], by A. Teixeira de Vasconcelos. (M. M. Tavares, *Idem*, 1999, pp. 199-200.)

The fascicles (or booklets, as they were called at the time) became the favoured means of getting the book to more people. Readers bought, collected and bound the fascicles, which arrived periodically on the market. It was a simple idea that allowed publishers to reduce their investment and the reader to purchase in instalments - through agents dispersed across the country selling what was being produced. This was the model followed, for example, by the *Companhia da História de Portugal* [History of Portugal Company], which distributed its publications thus, with some achieving remarkable success (A. Anselmo, *Idem*, 1997, pp. 143-149), namely the *História de Portugal* by Pinheiro Chagas and the *História de Portugal* by António Enes, through the *Empresa Literária de Lisboa* [Lisbon Literary Company], among others (6 illustrated volumes, 1876-1883). This format lasted in Portugal until the 1970s, making it possible to invest in larger works, in particular encyclopaedias and dictionaries (such as the *Dicionário de História de Portugal* [Historical Dictionary of Portugal], 1963-1971, by Joel Serrão, and the incomplete *Grande Dicionário da Literatura Portuguesa e da Teoria Literária* [Large Dictionary of Portuguese Literature and Literary Theory] 1977, by João J. Cochofel) without exhausting the companies' resources. (N. Medeiros, *Idem*, 2010, p. 164.)

However, publishing was not limited to private and business activity and market contingencies. It was also a space for both direct and indirect public intervention - hence the actions of the state as publisher or patron of publishing houses, while it should be noted that editorial independence depended on the statutory autonomy of each institution and its leaders vis-à-vis political power. In the specific field of history, this is clearly visible, particularly in the case of scholarly works. To this end, the state used various public organisations. In addition to the *Imprensa Nacional* [National Press], the *Academia das Ciências* [Academy of Sciences] and the *Imprensa da Universidade* [University Press] would also promote the launch of a considerable number of historiographical studies and sources. Their hallmark was important, not only since they supported the costs of works with little commercial viability, but also as a considerable number of Portuguese historians had published in at least one of these institutions at some point in their lives between 1779 and 1974. Commemorations were also important events for state action, not only allowing for the sponsorship of works



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or the creation of a public appetite for a given theme and, hence, increased sales, but also through the creation of commemorative imprints. However, the state's involvement could also be negative as a result of censorship and other restrictions (special licenses and authorisations, for example), as was the case on various occasions throughout this chronological period, especially during the *Estado Novo* [New State], when publishers were subject to serious constraints in the exercise of their activity.

The *Academia de Ciências* played an extremely important role in Portuguese historiography from the late 18th century and throughout the following century. This centrality is quite visible in its catalogue. The Academy's editorial policy was not limited to publishing monumental collections of sources, but also promoted the publication of a number of historiographical studies, as well as material relating to the daily life of the institution, such as academic eulogies. Nevertheless, some loss of editorial importance may be noted from the 20th century onwards. In fact, in 1910, one of the Republic's first measures was to abolish the Academy's press, incorporating it along with its workers into the *Imprensa Nacional*.

However, the academic presses had already gained prominence in the production of history books. For example, they had published the *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica* (first published in 1856, in 22 volumes), edited by Alexandre Herculano and continued after his death; the *Colecção de Livros Inéditos da História Portuguesa* [Collection of Unpublished Books of Portuguese History] (in five volumes) and other large-scale works, such as the *Quadro Elementar das Relações Diplomáticas de Portugal* [Basic Framework of Portugal's Diplomatic Relations] (1842-1876, in 18 volumes, 12 of which by the Academy), compiled by the Viscount of Santarém and later by L. A. Rebelo Silva and José Silva Mendes Leal; the *Corpo Diplomático Português* [the Portuguese Diplomatic Corps] (1862-1891, 15 volumes), compiled by L. A. Rebelo da Silva, José da Silva Mendes Leal, among others; and the *História dos Estabelecimentos Científicos, Literários e Artísticos de Portugal* [History of Portugal's Scientific, Literary and Artistic Establishments] (1871-1893, 18 volumes), by José Silvestre Ribeiro. These are monumental, erudite publications that would most likely not have seen the light of day if they had not been published by a public institution, given the difficulty in guaranteeing their commercial viability.

Moreover, a considerable number of historians who were active in the 19th century, especially in the first half, published for the Academy or collaborated in its regular collective publications, namely: *Memórias Económicas* [Economic Memories], *Memórias de Literatura* [Memories of Literature] and *História e Memórias* [History and Memories]. It is hard to find anyone who was not published there. However, some names are worthy of mention, such as Pascoal de Melo Freire, António Ribeiro dos Santos, António Caetano do Amaral, João Pedro Ribeiro, José Acúrsio das Neves, Trigoso de Aragão Morato, Fortunato de S. Boaventura and Joaquim José da Costa de Macedo, for having published a significant part, if not all of their historiographical work there.

Founded in 1768 under the name of *Imprensa Régia* [Royal Press], as part of Pombal's reformist policies, the *Imprensa Nacional* experienced periods of greater or lesser vitality, but always remained in



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operation. In 1821, it changed its name to *Imprensa Nacional* (as it was "the property of the Nation", affirming itself significantly) - and from that decade onwards, it was given the exclusive task of printing legal and bureaucratic documents. In addition to its own publications and the afore-mentioned works of a more official nature, a considerable part of its output was commissioned by private individuals. From the outset, it was a leading institution in the sector in terms of its size, the number of books produced, the type foundry, the import of updated machinery, and the training of printers. Also from the beginning, and practically constantly, the *Imprensa Nacional* served as a support mechanism for the various cultural policies being created by the political powers.

Until the beginning of the 19th century, it competed with private printers, financing itself largely through the exclusive manufacture of playing cards. After the Liberal Wars, it underwent a period of modernisation, during which the import of technology (such as mechanical casting and steam printing), for example, was promoted. This renewal movement, which placed it more on a par with its European counterparts, came to an end in the final years of the century due to the crisis. However, the establishment of the Republic strengthened its cultural role. On the other hand, despite incorporating material from other state printing houses in the *Imprensa Nacional*, the *Estado Novo* prevented the latter from continuing its usual publishing activity, limiting it solely to production that could not be carried out by private companies, due to its characteristics. There were also the publications of the *Biblioteca Nacional* [National Library], the *Academia das Ciências* [Academy of Sciences], the *Academia Portuguesa da História* [Portuguese Academy of History] and the *Academia Nacional de Belas-Artes* [National Academy of Fine Arts]. It was not until after the Second World War that there was greater investment in the company - which, in fact, only became a major publishing agency from the 70s onwards. In 1972, it merged with the *Casa da Moeda* [National Mint] to create the current *Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda* (M. I. Queiroz *et al.*, *250 Anos* [250 years]..., 2020).

In view of the above, it is easy to see how the work undertaken by the *Imprensa Nacional* in the specific field of history was vast, especially in the case of more extensive works. Some of the larger works are worthy of mention, such as: the *Dicionário Bibliográfico Português* [Portuguese Bibliographical Dictionary] (1858-1923, 22 volumes), by Inocêncio Francisco da Silva, Brito Aranha, among others; the *História de Portugal dos Séculos XVII e XVIII* [History of Portugal in the 17th and 18th centuries] (1860-1871, five volumes), by L. A. Rebelo da Silva; the *História da Guerra Civil e do Estabelecimento do Governo Parlamentar em Portugal* [History of the Civil War and the Establishment of a Parliamentary Government in Portugal] (1866-1890, 19 volumes), by Luz Soriano; the *Obras Completas do Cardeal Saraiva* [Complete Works of Cardinal Saraiva] (1872-1883, ten volumes); the *História da Administração Pública em Portugal nos Séculos XII a XV* [History of Public Administration in Portugal from the 12th to 15th century] (1885-1922, ten volumes), by Gama Barros; the *História Orgânica e Política do Exército Português* [Organic and Political History of the Portuguese Army] (1902-1932, 17 volumes), by Cristóvão Aires de Magalhães Sepúlveda (in conjunction with the University Press). Additionally, Cunha Ravara, Vicente d'Almeida Eça and Latino Coelho may be referred to as some of



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the most noteworthy names that also appeared in the *Imprensa Nacional* catalogues.

The University of Coimbra's publishing activity dates back to the mid-16th century when there was already a printer and printing equipment at the university's service. But the University Press was only created in 1772, after the Pombal reform, with new and better equipment. At the time, it essentially published the works of professors, which led to a fall in business among the city's printers. But this activity slowed down in the first half of the 19th century - as a result of political instability and teaching methods that were not conducive to stimulating book consumption - and some degree of disinvestment may be noted: there was a decrease in the number of works published and income came mainly from other typographic work, such as the composition of administrative books. From the 1860s onwards, a reversal of the cycle is observed, with greater investment and more publishing. In turn, this new cycle came to a close at the end of the century as a result of the economic problems that had assailed the country, disagreements between the publisher's management and competition from other publishers in the city (particularly França Amado). But the institution recovered during the Republic. However, the publishing activity of the University Press, which despite the various cycles was never interrupted, came to an abrupt end in 1934, when it was abolished by the *Estado Novo*, at the time of its direction under the historian Joaquim de Carvalho, a professor at the University of Coimbra, who had adopted a very diversified publishing policy. The need to prevent an institution with significant book production from escaping the regime's control, the atmosphere of political tension and even the desire to benefit the private industry were possibly among the reasons behind its extinction. The university did not contest the decision and the books went on to be published with the reference "by order of the University" until the publishing house was relaunched. (F. T. Fonseca *et al.*, *Imprensa...*[Press], 2001.)

Its catalogue was intrinsically linked to university life. Thus, there was an abundance of compendiums, publications on law and philosophy and legislation collections. But there were also works of a literary and religious nature; or related to the internal life of the university, such as regulations. It also published history books, mainly by historians linked to the university - but not only - and manuals to support classes.

Although it may be said that these were the main institutions engaged in the field of historiographical publishing, they were not the only ones. A noteworthy example in the 20th century is the *Academia Portuguesa da História* [Portuguese Academy of History]. This institution stood out for its publication of sources (its larger works), often associated with commemorations - or the various university research centres that published the works of their researchers. Another example is the *Agência Geral das Colónias/Ultramar* [General Agency for the Colonies/Overseas Territories] (and also the *Junta de Investigações do Ultramar* [Portuguese Overseas Research Board]), whose output was geared towards colonial history, in line with the regime's interests regarding the colonies, publishing studies, sources and dissemination works. Such examples are the *Boletim Geral das Colónias/Ultramar* [General Bulletin of the Colonies/Overseas Territories] (1925-1969), and collections such as the *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente* [Documentation for The History of The Missions of The Portuguese Patronage in the East] (1947-1958, in 12



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volumes), compiled by António da Silva Rego, and the *Monumenta Missionaria Africana*, compiled by António Brásio (1952-1988, in 22 volumes; in the *Academia Portuguesa de História* from volume 12).

While the main features of state publishing are its institutional rationale and frequently absent commercial logic, those of private publishing are precisely the opposite. Apart from situations where the publisher might be led to launch a book with no commercial appeal on the basis of personal taste or a cultural project, the entrepreneur's need for economic survival assumes the adoption of a cold, cost-benefit logic in the decision to advance with a project. A general overview will be provided, since a huge number of publishing houses have published history books at some point (often short-lived) while those that have cultivated a special dedication to history are rare. The scope of this analysis is therefore restricted to focusing on some of the most representative publishers, whether as a result of their longevity (*Bertrand*, *Parceria A. M. Pereira*), the popular impact of their project (*David Corazzi*, *Cosmos*), the importance they assumed at some point (*Ática*, *Europa-América*, *Verbo*), or the special attention they paid to historiography (*Empresa da História de Portugal*, *Portucalense*, *Portugália*, *Livros Horizonte*).

Bertrand's origins date back to the 18th century, to one of the French families that dominated the book trade in Portugal. It has accompanied all the changes in the sector and has continued to operate. Its founding date is not easy to establish. The first mention of a Bertrand (possibly Martinho Bertrand) dates back to 1742, in an advert in the *Gazeta de Lisboa* [Lisbon Gazette], linked to Pedro Faure Legendron, who had owned a print shop since at least 1727. During the following decade, in 1754, there was an advert for the sale of the *Dicionário de Francês* [French Dictionary] by Father José Marques in the shop of the Bertrand brothers (Martinho and João José). However, this partnership between the two brothers disintegrated shortly afterwards, since by 1756 only João José's name appeared. At this point, the Bertrands' standing in the book business was already consolidated. João José's sons and wife would remain in the business: in 1779, the name *Viúva Bertrand & Filhos* [Widow Bertrand & Sons] appeared and lasted for almost a century. Their grandchildren assumed control of the company between 1815 and 1873, following the death of the last Bertrand, Francisco, and would become the publishers of Herculano, for example, with whom they maintained a good relationship. The company was later purchased from the heirs in 1876 by Councillor Augusto Saraiva de Carvalho and his partner, trade unionist José Fontana, who committed suicide in the bookshop that same year. Augusto Saraiva kept the publishing house open until its sale to José Basto, who had worked there and would boost the business considerably. The company continued to change hands: in 1910, it was sold to Júlio Monteiro Aillaud; in 1933, it became a public limited company, later purchased by a French bookseller, Marcel Didier, who sold it to Manuel Bulhosa in 1969. And it was with this owner that it reached the year 1974. (F. Guedes, *O Livro e a Leitura...*[The Book and Reading], 1987, pp. 15-44.)

Two unavoidable names immediately spring to mind from the Bertrand catalogue, and, for very different reasons, are also the two most important Portuguese historians of the 19th century, whose books have been commercially re-edited to this day: Alexandre Herculano and J. P. Oliveira Martins. For reasons of brevity,



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in relation to the former the *História de Portugal*, the *História da Origem e Estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal* [History of the Origin and Establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal] and the *Opúsculos* [Opuscles] may be mentioned. As regards the latter, the "Biblioteca de Ciências Sociais" ["Social Sciences Library"] collection is particularly noteworthy, in which he published his own titles from 1879 onwards, such as the *História de Portugal*, *História da Civilização Ibérica* [History of the Iberian Civilization] and *Portugal Contemporâneo* [Contemporary Portugal], among others, on a variety of subjects.

A *Parceria A. M. Pereira*, founded in 1848 by António Maria Pereira (1824-1880) - from humble origins, who learned his trade as a bookbinder at the *Casa dos Vinte e Quatro* - assumed a degree of importance until the first decades of the following century. It remained in the hands of the family for a century, managed by their son (from 1880 to 1898, when he died) and grandson (from the 1920s onwards). The publishing house would collapse after the Second World War - when it experienced a period of some boom, with the sale of titles related to the conflict, but which led to the accumulation of debts - in a process that dragged on until 25 April, when it was overhauled by the *Estado Novo* through the *Companhia Nacional Editora* [National Publishing Company], which took control of the company in order to implement a financial reorganisation which, however, never took place. One of the possible reasons for this may have been the inability of António Maria Pereira, the grandson, to attract new names in publishing, thus failing to reach new audiences and distancing himself from the regime, with which he sympathised (he was president of the *Grémio Nacional dos Editores e Livreiros* [National Guild of Publishers and Booksellers] and a councillor on the Lisbon City Council, for example). This led the *Parceria* to be associated with the regime and to lose its readers (A. M. Pereira, *Parceria...*, 1998.) After the 25 April Revolution, the company was taken over by workers and closed in 1980. Throughout its lifespan, *Parceria* was generalist, publishing all genres, from renowned authors (such as Camilo Castelo Branco) to novels for the general public, as well as dictionaries, school textbooks and religious works, etc. Although history was not central to its strategy, it appears in its catalogues, mainly from a commercial point of view. For example, it published the works of Oliveira Martins between the 1890s and the 1940s (which was later continued by *Guimarães Editores*), with successive re-editions; Pinheiro Chagas and Júlio de Castilho were also published by this publisher.

Henrique Marques (1859-1933), a former employee of the *Parceria*, was one of the founders of the *Empresa da História de Portugal*, which was very active at the beginning of the 20th century. It was established in 1898 with the aim of re-editing Pinheiro Chagas' *História de Portugal: Popular e Ilustrada* (eight volumes, plus six by Barbosa Colen, Marques Gomes and Alfredo Gallis until 1909), in weekly 16-page fascicles, a sales model favoured by the publisher. The work had already been published anonymously in 1867, authored by a Society of Men of Letters, after which a second edition was published. The success of the *História de Portugal* allowed the company to expand its catalogue to include other authors and invest in new projects, such as the works of L. A. Rebelo da Silva (in 41 volumes, bringing together highly disperse material), António Feliciano de Castilho and Almeida Garrett; and even fascicle editions of *Os Lusíadas* [The Lusiads] and the Bible, which



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were also very popular. The company was dissolved in 1916. (H. Marques, *Memórias...*[Memories], 1935, pp. 211 *et seq.*)

David Augusto Corazzi (1845-1896) left a unique legacy. He began publishing novels for the general public in 1870, in particular Jules Verne and Ponson du Terrail, founding the *Empresa Horas Românticas* [The Romantic Hours Company], the name of which was frequently changed to first become the *Casa Editora David Corazzi* [David Corazzi Publishing House], then the *Companhia Nacional Editora* (in 1888, with the entry of new partners) and finally *A Editora* [The Publishing House] (in 1906). It closed down in 1912. As for Corazzi, he left the profession in 1890 for health reasons, but during his career, he proved to be a master and pioneer in the use of advertising techniques, in his ability to win over new audiences and to open up new avenues for the dissemination of books, in particular with the creation of popular collections. Among these, the *Biblioteca do Povo e das Escolas* [The People and Schools' Library] had the greatest impact. It consisted of small 64-page volumes, at very affordable prices, and with print runs of around a thousand copies, distributed locally by a network of agents across the country. They were published in series of eight, in small format, and the editorial intention was that the reader would then bind these volumes together.

Between 1881 and 1891, he published 196 volumes, initially on a fortnightly basis, then monthly. This was his period of greatest impact. The collection continued after its mentor's departure until 1913, but at an irregular pace. In all, 237 books were published. The *História de Portugal* by Xavier da Cunha, its literary director, inaugurated the collection, which regularly returned to historical subjects with varied themes, such as ancient history, the discoveries, the history of Brazil and the French Invasions, by authors such as José de Arriaga, Vicente d'Almeida Eça and José Leite de Vasconcelos, among others. Although the collection had a highly varied thematic scope, with a penchant for practical books on natural science or hygiene, history was always one of the areas with the highest number of publications. (M. Domingos, *Estudos...*[Studies], pp. 13-134; M. Viana, "David Corazzi...", 1990.)

Many other works were also launched in the 19th century by printers of periodicals (*Panorama* [Panorama], *Gazeta de Portugal* [Portugal's Gazette], *Comércio do Porto* [Porto Trade], etc.), others were author editions, although there was no mention of this as only the printer's name appeared, which makes it difficult to reconstruct their history. (A. Anselmo, *Idem*, 1997, pp. 126-128.) Among these printing houses, *Panorama* was particularly noteworthy as an acclaimed periodical for Portuguese historiography, where books were also printed, in particular by L. A. Rebelo da Silva.

Portucalense launched its activity in 1928 with the *História de Portugal* (1928-1937, in eight volumes), under the direction of Damião Peres. This would be the publisher's most important work, setting the tone for the following decades: an emphasis on historiographical publications and proximity to cultural nationalism, which was partly in line with the regime (highly important historians such as Jaime Cortesão and Newton de Macedo also collaborated in the *História de Portugal*). Damião Peres was also the most featured author in its catalogue, with more than two dozen works, including the *História dos Descobrimentos Portugueses* [History



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of the Portuguese Discoveries] and *Como Nasceu Portugal* [How Portugal was Born] (which reached its 7th edition in 1970); as well as prefaces and critical editions, such as the *História Trágico-Marítima* [The Tragic History of the Sea] by Bernardo Gomes de Brito, and the re-edition of the *História da Igreja em Portugal* [History of the Church in Portugal], by Fortunato Almeida, previously edited by the author. Another notable work was the *História da Arte em Portugal* [Art History in Portugal] (1942-1956, three volumes), by Reinaldo dos Santos, Mário Chicó and Aarão de Lacerda. Other published historians are also worthy of note, such as Paulo Merêa, Ruben Andresen Leitão and David Lopes, among the one hundred and fifty titles it was possible to collect (source: Porbase). Only a fraction of these titles do not focus on historical themes. In 1971, however, everything changed. That year, José Oliveira, then a student and far-left activist, inherited *Portugalense* and began publishing books of a political nature, mainly essays on left-wing themes and authors, such as Engels and Jacques Rancière, among others. *Portugalense* closed in 1972, possibly due to the fact that the publisher was forced to go underground. (F. Maués, *Idem*, 2019, pp. 232-235.)

The 1940s saw significant changes in the book sector. For example, a considerable number of new publishing houses emerged as a result of greater commercial dynamism. In addition to *Cosmos*, *Portugália* and *Europa-América*, the following were born: *Editorial Inquérito* (1938), *Didáctica Editora* (1944), *Livros do Brasil* (1944), *Porto Editora* (1944) and *Editora Ulisseia* (1946), among others. Some closed down after a few years while others survived the crisis at the end of the decade, gaining more prominence in the ensuing decades. The new figure of collection director also emerged, of which Bento de Jesus Caraça was a paradigmatic example at *Cosmos*. On a visual level, greater care was taken with the graphics and cover, and these innovations owed much to *Ática* and the journal *Presença*. Publishers boosted their professional representation with the *Grémio Nacional dos Editores e Livreiros* - which would publish the journal *Livros de Portugal* [Books of Portugal], targeting professionals in the sector. (N. Medeiros, *Idem*, 2010, pp. 131-138.)

Although Luís de Montalvor's *Ática* (1891-1947) adopted a more literary slant (it was the first to systematically publish Fernando Pessoa), it should be noted for the publication of two highly important historiographical works, but with very different orientations: the *História do Regime Republicano em Portugal* [History of the Republican Regime in Portugal] (1930-1932, two volumes), organised by Luís de Montalvor himself (and which was the basis for the creation of the publishing house), and the *História da Expansão Portuguesa* [History of Portuguese Expansion] (1937-1940, three volumes), directed by António Baião, Hernâni Cidade and Manuel Múrias. Despite the founder's death, *Ática* continues to operate. (A. Anselmo, *Idem*, 2015, pp. 163-166.)

Edições Cosmos' "Biblioteca Cosmos" ["Cosmos Library"], by Manuel Rodrigues de Oliveira (1911-1996), left an indelible legacy, perhaps more the collection than the publishing house itself. Firstly, for its success: between 1941 and 1948, it launched 114 titles, totalling 793,500 copies, with an average of 6960 copies per title; secondly, for the political and cultural project on which it was founded; thirdly for the significant number of Portuguese intellectuals it published (only 19 books were translated), who were almost always



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figures who opposed the regime; and finally for its director, Bento de Jesus Caraça (1901-1948), a maths professor who was a leading figure in the cultural and political life of the time. Despite assuming itself as a continuation of the *Biblioteca do Povo e das Escolas*, the collection was not limited to informative works, but rather embodied a cultural project that involved the large-scale dissemination of scientific knowledge. Bento de Jesus Caraça adopted a very active role in managing the collection, not only by selecting and rejecting works, but also by commissioning texts and requesting extensive reviews of the works submitted, with the aim of maintaining a high level of editorial coherence. (N. Medeiros, *Idem*, 2010, pp. 150-158.)

The collection was divided into seven sections: "Sciences and techniques" (48), "Arts and letters" (20), "Philosophy and religion" (3), "Peoples and civilisation" (6), "Biographies" (5), "Human epics" (1) and "Problems of our time" (23). As may be observed, Bento de Jesus Caraça's main interest was the dissemination of science, which occupied almost half of the catalogue. Nevertheless, history was also present with, for example, Armando Castro, *Introdução ao Estudo da Economia Portuguesa (Fim do século XVIII a Princípios do século XX)* [Introduction to the Study of the Portuguese Economy (Late 18th century to Early 20th century)]; Flausino Torres (*Civilizações Primitivas, Religiões Primitivas* [Primitive Civilizations, Primitive Religions]), José de Freitas (*A China Antiga e Moderna* [Ancient and Modern China]), and Condorcet's landmark work, "Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Mind" (with an introduction by Vitorino Magalhães Godinho), and L. Adam (Primitive Art). (J. Neves, "A Biblioteca Cosmos", 2006.).

However, although the collection came to an end in 1948 with the death of its director, *Cosmos* continued to publish in the following decades and played an important role in historiographical publishing (no longer purely from the point of view of dissemination but seeking to launch titles that were scientifically relevant to the field). Vitorino Magalhães Godinho played a key role in the selection of titles to be published, directing several collections (namely the *Marcha da Humanidade* [March of Humanity]) which, despite falling short of the success achieved by the *Biblioteca Cosmos* and its pace, enabled the publication of a significant number of works by important historians and sociologists, many of which were translated: Charles Morazé, Fernand Braudel and Georges Gurvitch.

Agostinho Fernandes (1886-1972), a patron and fishing and canning entrepreneur, founded *Portugália Editora* [Portugália Publishing House] in 1942 with Pedro de Andrade and Raul Dias, the then owners of the *Livraria Portugália* [Portugália Bookshop], which would share its name with the new company. In the early years, under the leadership of Gaspar Simões, it was very dynamic but lost momentum when he left in 1946. It only recovered a decade later, with the fleeting involvement of Jorge de Sena and, above all, with the work of historian Augusto da Costa Dias (1919-1976), who replaced him and completely renewed the publisher's catalogue, making it one of the most important in the 1960s and investing in the publication of names opposed to the regime. Although the publishing house was geared more towards the field of literature, the *Portugália* collection in the area of history is remarkable, containing historians of great importance such as A. H. Oliveira Marques, Joel Serrão, Victor de Sá, Armando de Castro, António Borges Coelho and José Tengarrinha; and



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the *Obras Completas de Jaime Cortesão* [Complete Works of Jaime Cortesão] collection (later published by *Livros Horizonte*). (N. Medeiros, *Idem*, pp. 241-246.)

Despite being constantly harassed by the PIDE [International and State Defence Police] and censorship board, the *Publicações Europa-América* [Europe-America Publications] established itself between the 1950s and the 1970s as one of the country's most influential and fastest-growing publishing houses. It was founded in 1945 by Adelino Lyon de Castro, Manuel Rodrigues de Oliveira (who would leave the partnership), and Francisco Lyon de Castro (1914-2004) (who would become the publisher's chief executive and one of the most influential publishers of the following decades). Initially, the company's aim was to import books and journals, but in 1949 it redirected its business towards publishing. Before embarking on this path, Francisco Lyon de Castro had a very intense experience as a political activist. As a PCP militant since 1932, he was exiled in Madrid and Paris but returned to Portugal and was arrested in 1935. He was only released in 1940, the year he left the party. Over the next few decades, he would frequently return to prison, and the publishing house often came under attack by the PIDE and censorship board. Nonetheless, Lyon de Castro managed to create a huge structure, with several imprints, a press and a bookselling network. The key moment for this growth, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, was the launch of "Cell 2455, Death Row", by Carly Chessman, which sold around 100,000 copies in two months, and the signing of Jorge Amado's works, in particular *Gabriela, Cravo e Canela* [Gabriela, Clove and Cinnamon], yet another success. (N. Medeiros, *Idem*, 2010, pp. 175-191.)

In the non-fiction, academic area, *Europa-América* had a significant impact in its early days with the "Saber" collection, divided into various sections, resulting from an agreement with the *Presses Universitaires de France* to launch translations of the "Que sais-je?" collection. But it went further, publishing Portuguese authors - *A Inquisição Portuguesa* [The Portuguese Inquisition], by António José Saraiva, for example - and authors from other countries. The year 1954 marked the start of a new collection, *Estudos e Documentos* [Studies and Documents] with volume VII of *Ensaios* [Essays], by António Sérgio (a name that would, however, remain more closely linked to Sá da Costa), and it also published works such as *Para a História da Cultura em Portugal* [Towards a History of Culture in Portugal], by António José Saraiva, and *Geografia e Economia da Revolução de 1820* [Geography and Economy of the 1820 Revolution], by Fernando Piteira Santos. At times of greater momentum, one title a month would be launched in this collection, mainly on current affairs, but also historical themes. (N. Medeiros, *Idem*, 2010, pp. 175-191.)

In 1953, *Livros Horizonte* was founded by Rogério de Moura (1925-2008), whose career began by importing books from Brazil, where his brother was also a publisher. In his professional life, he had already worked for the *Editorial Confluência* [Confluence Publishing House], which he would eventually purchase and where he published a revised and updated edition of the *Grande Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa* [Large Dictionary of the Portuguese Language], by António de Moraes Silva. (N. Medeiros, *Idem*, 2010, pp. 167-168.) From the outset, *Livros Horizonte* had a firm foothold in the area of non-fiction, particularly history. Of particular



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note is the "Horizonte Collection", directed by Joel Serrão and featuring names such as A. H. Oliveira Marques, Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho, Orlando Ribeiro, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, José-Augusto França and João Medina, among others. Joel Serrão would also publish a considerable part of his work in this publishing house, which was organised later in his own collection (*Obras de Joel Serrão* [Works of Joel Serrão]), along with the complete works of Jaime Cortesão (initially in *Portugália*) and those of Victor de Sá.

Although Joel Serrão was one of Horizonte's main collaborators, his *Dicionário da História de Portugal* [Dictionary of the History of Portugal]- one of the most important projects in Portuguese historiography, bringing together contributions from the main historians of the time and from some of those who would gain prominence in the following years - would be launched by *Iniciativas Editoriais* [Editorial Initiatives]. Founded in 1956 by José Fernandes Fafe, Carlos de Oliveira and José Gomes Ferreira - and clearly associated with the opposition to the regime - it focused mainly on literature in the 1960s, and after the 25 April Revolution, its most vigorous period, on political essays. However, it ran into difficulties and closed down in the late 1970s (F. Maués, *Idem*, 2019, pp. 237-240.)

As far as encyclopaedias are concerned, one of the most renowned companies from the 1960s onwards was *Editorial Verbo* [Verbo Publishing House], founded by Fernando Guedes (1929-2016) in 1959. Despite its generalist stance, it was also notable in the field of university studies and for the " RTP Books" collection from 1970 onwards, a huge sales success, with print runs in the tens of thousands. But first, in 1963, Verbo began publishing the *Enciclopédia Luso-Brasileira de Cultura* [Luso-Brazilian Encyclopaedia of Culture], followed by *Logos*, an encyclopaedia of philosophy, *Polis*, on society and the state, and the *Enciclopédia Verbo Juvenil* [Verbo Children's Encyclopaedia]. In the field of essays, the *Presenças* collection would feature names such as Jacinto do Prado Coelho, Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, Virgínia Rau, José V. de Pina Martins, Manuel Antunes, Maria Helena da Rocha Pereira and others. (A. Anselmo, *Idem*, 2015, pp. 171-175.)

Some of these projects continued into the post-25 April period, finally free of censorship, while others would end, due to their inability to adapt to the new reality. In the following years, several publishers made a strong name for themselves in the field of history, such as *Edições 70* and *Estampa*, despite having been founded before the revolution. Others continued along the path they had been following, such as *Europa-América*, *Verbo* and *Livros Horizontes*. Others were founded during the democratic era and will leave a considerable mark in years to come, such as *Caminho*. In addition to these changes, and as a result of the historiographical renewal that was taking place at the time, new general, usually collective histories also appeared in several volumes and on various themes, enjoying enormous sales success, which also extended to both Portuguese and translated works of synthesis.

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