

# DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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**ARNAUT, Salvador Dias** (Penela, 1913 – Coimbra, 1995)

Salvador Dias Arnaut was born in Penela in 1913. He spent his childhood in his hometown. After completing primary school, he moved to Coimbra, where he completed his secondary school studies at the José Falcão school. Grandson and son of pharmacists, he enrolled in the Medicine programme, which he completed at the age of 27 in 1940. He then began working as a physician, first in Penela and then in Coimbra, and as a lecturer at the Rainha Santa Isabel Nursing School. However, the appeal of literature was very strong, which led the young doctor to successfully study Historical-Philosophical Sciences at the School of Arts and Humanities of the University of Coimbra. He graduated in 1947 with 18 points out of 20, which qualified him to become a university lecturer. He began his academic career in 1952 and took his doctoral exams on 9 December 1960, obtaining a grade of 19. The following year, he became First Assistant Professor. In January 1965, together with Dr Avelino de Jesus Costa, he received the doctoral insignia. After four years, he applied to become an Extraordinary Professor, rising to the rank of Full Professor in 1971. He retired in 1983/84 but continued to teach master's seminars almost until the end of his life (1995). His academic career was characterised by great dedication to the School of Arts and Humanities of the University of Coimbra, where he held various positions: Director of the Institute of Overseas History (1965-1974), the Institute for the History of Expansion and Colonialism (1978-1984), the Institute of Palaeography (1983-1984); Chairman of the Scientific Committee of the History Group (1978-1984). He was also deputy Director of the School of Arts and Humanities between 1971 and 1974, a position which led to his painful departure from the institution between 1974 and 1978. He was a member of the Academia Portuguesa da História [Portuguese Academy of History], the Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses [Association of Portuguese Archaeologists], and an emeritus member of the Sociedade Portuguesa de Estudos Medievais [Portuguese Society for Medieval Studies].

Having summarised the main milestones of SDA's academic career, we will now outline an appreciation of his intellectual career by analysing his work. The first fruits of the pen of the young man from Penela sprouted in the field of literature. He began his literary activity at the very young age of 14, publishing texts in *Semanário Infantil* [Children's weekly], a children's weekly newspaper published in Lisbon.

Throughout his life, people and landscapes would provoke different emotions, which he expressed in prose



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and poetry. He discovered and reinvented the symbolic places of Coimbra, influenced by texts written by the author of *Só – Penedo da Meditação* [Alone- The Cliff of Meditation] (1936), *António Nobre e a paisagem de Coimbra* [Antonio Nobre and the landscape of Coimbra], (1940) – and by socialising with Eugénio de Castro, whose house he used to visit and where he would meet his future wife. The titles of his various writings reveal his diverse literary tastes – *lavadeira: esboço um pouco à Dostoiewsky* [Laundress: a Dostoiewsky-esque sketch] (1936), *Eça de Queiroz... falsificador?* [Eça de Queiroz... forger?] and *Gil Vicente e o mar* [Gil Vicente and the sea] (1942), *Penela na obra de dois escritores: Fernão Lopes e Eloy de Sá Sotto Maior* [Penela in the work of two writers: Fernão Lopes and Eloy de Sá Sotto Maior] (1966).

Romantic looks to soften times of contact with hard lives. In his grandfather's and father's pharmacy, he witnessed human suffering from an early age, acquiring a keen sense of compassion for his fellow human beings, whose ailments he would try to alleviate throughout his life. Early on, he identified the cause of some of his fellow countrymen's suffering: the inadequate living conditions resulting from the economic lethargy of his homeland, expressed, for example, in the ruins of the Germanelo Castle and the state of disrepair of the Penela Castle. With the aim of waking up the powers of the time to the preservation of such heritage with a view to the future, he raised his nonconformist voice in texts expressively entitled *Penela: restaure-se o seu castelo* [Penela: restoring its castle] (1931) and *Penela: uma linda vila quasi ignorada* [Penela: a beautiful village almost ignored] (1933).

The image of the decadence of his hometown contrasted with the image that the young medical student gleaned from medieval documents: the representation of a 'warrior' Penela, the scene of nationally significant events such as the Christian reconquest. The fruits of his interest in historical research can be seen in articles published in the *Gazeta de Coimbra* [Coimbra Gazette]– 'A batalha de Ourique: hipótese da sua localização no Chão de Ourique, Penela' ['The battle of Ourique: hypothesis of its location in Chão de Ourique, Penela'] (1931) – or in the periodical *Novo Horizonte* – 'Esboços históricos: I – Da aldeia, depois vila de Ansião: notas sobre as Cinco Vilas' [New Horizon- 'Historical sketches: I- From the village, then town of Ansião: notes on the Five Villages] (1932).

However, SDA did not just write texts in which he raised his voice in protest or revealed glorious pasts. He had the initiative to promote cultural dynamism based on historical memory.

In 1937, the eighth centenary of the granting of the medieval charter to Penela was celebrated, and he proposed commemorating the founding event of the municipality. Once the idea was accepted by the Town Council, he was invited to give a lecture. He accepted, perplexed: 'Being a student, wearing an academic gown, and giving a lecture necessarily involves a paradox.' In his published text – *Penela: notas acerca dum centenário* [Penela: notes on a Centenary] (1937) – he presented remarkable episodes of the town of Penela, from Roman times to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, highlighting his conception of History: 'To look back on what has happened is not, therefore, merely an attitude of nostalgia: it is to understand the *raison d'être* of what exists, it is to understand the psychology of a people. In short, it means realising that you are a link in a chain, identical to millions of chains, between the past and the future – from the moonlit night to the dawn that



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accompanies the projection of life' (Arnaut, 1937, p. 19). Moved by love for his homeland, he celebrated the past with an eye to the future, animated by a strong commitment to preserving its identity and cultivating its historical memory.

Endowed with a keen sense of history, he searched the past for the roots of various presents. In the early years of his medical studies, SDA devoted his time to the history of science and, in 1943, published two important works on the history of surgery: *Notícia histórica da cirurgia coimbrã* [A historical account of Coimbra's surgery], together with José Bacalhau, and *Súmula histórica da Propedêutica Cirúrgica na Faculdade de Medicina de Coimbra* [Historical summary of Surgical Propaedeutics at the Coimbra Faculty of Medicine].

From analysing the detailed biobibliography published by Joaquim Tomás Miguel Pereira in volume 31 of the *Revista Portuguesa de História* [Portuguese History Magazine], we can conclude that during the 1940s and 1950s SDA focused on national political history, particularly the study of the crisis of 1383/5, a field where he produced two academic works of reference: his undergraduate thesis (*A Batalha de Trancoso* [The battle of Trancoso]) and his doctoral thesis (*A Crise Nacional dos finais do século XIV. A sucessão de D. Fernando* [The National Crisis at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Ferdinand's succession]). The scientific quality of his academic work, discussed in public examinations, can be seen in the high grades he obtained: 18 out of 20 for the degree and 19 for the doctorate.

During the preparation of his doctoral thesis, SDA was not spared from teaching, taking on courses where he was able to apply the knowledge he had gained from his research as part of his academic work, namely courses in the History of Portugal and other subjects which going beyond the chronological and thematic period of 'his speciality' required hard work to prepare: this was the case with courses in the History of the Discoveries and Expansion, in particular the History of Brazil, or the History of Civilisation. In the 1960s, he directed the Seminar on Modern Portuguese History.

Absorbed by teaching duties, as well as by supervising academic work (namely many undergraduate theses that are now part of his library), the pace of publications became slower in the 1960s but remained diverse. His love for his small homeland or his efforts to promote its identity are apparent in a number of publications: *Região do Rabaçal a terra e o homem* [Rabaçal region the land and the man] (1961), *A propósito do queijo do Rabaçal* [About the Rabaçal cheese] or *Penela na obra de dois escritores: Fernão Lopes e Eloy de Sá Sotto Maior* [Penela in the work of two writers: Fernão Lopes and Eloy de Sá Sotto Maior] (1966). In addition, in the area of research carried out in preparation for his undergraduate and doctoral theses, he wrote the Introduction to Fernão Lopes' chronicle (*Crónica do Senhor Rei dom Fernando nono rei destes regnos* [Chronicle of the lord King Ferdinand, the ninth king of these kingdoms]), published in 1966 by Livraria Civilização in Porto, and wrote entries for Joel Serrão's *Dicionário de História de Portugal* [Dictionary of Portuguese History] ('Batalha dos Atoleiros' [Battle of Atoleiros] and 'D. Beatriz').

The physician/historian's historical interests were very diverse. In 1967, the author of *Batalha de Trancoso* [battle of Trancoso] surprised his peers with the publication, together with Giacinto Manuppella, of *O livro de*



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*cozinha da Infanta D. Maria de Portugal* [The cookery book of Infanta Maria of Portugal]. In this first complete edition of the *Códice Português I. E. 33. da Biblioteca Nacional de Nápoles* [Portuguese Codex I.E. 33 of the national Library of Naples], he collaborated on the readings and wrote a historical introduction entitled 'A arte de comer em Portugal na Idade Média' ['The art of eating in Portugal in the Middle Ages'], an extensive text that would be published as a book by Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda in 1986. He became one of the pioneers in Portugal, following Oliveira Marques, in the field of the History of Food.

SDA's publications featured various historical personalities, both male and female, presented in their political and human dimensions: D. Fernando, D. Beatriz, D. Leonor Teles, D. João I, and Prince Pedro. Inês de Castro was, however, the historical character whose life most captivated SDA's mind and, above all, his heart. In his classes, he was able to transport his students to the medieval universe through this female figure. He spoke of Inês as if he had met her. Coimbra and the drama of Inês de Castro were the topics of the inaugural lecture of the Holiday Course at the School of Arts and Humanities of the University of Coimbra, which was given in July 1970. He took up the subject again in 1972, in a course aimed at foreign students, discussing the episode of Inês de Castro in the light of Portuguese history, which also contributed to the international projection of the Inesian theme. In 1985, in a paper presented at the first congress on the History of Women, held in Coimbra (*A mulher na sociedade portuguesa: visão histórica e perspectivas actuais* [Women in Portuguese society: historical vision and current perspectives]), he addressed the political consequences of the love affair between Pedro and Inês.

As mentioned above, SDA's *curriculum vitae* included teaching various courses in the field of the History of Portuguese Expansion. João Marinho dos Santos considers, however, that *A Crise Nacional dos finais do século XIV. A sucessão de D. Fernando* [The National Crisis at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> Century. Ferdinand's succession] is a must-read book for anyone who wants to understand the origins of the expansionist process, even if this might not have been the purpose of Salvador Dias Arnaut's research' (Santos, 2011, p. 362).

Symbolically, the last study that the physician/historian wrote was a chapter published in the 1<sup>st</sup> volume of the *História da Universidade em Portugal* [History of University in Portugal], entitled *Medicina* [Medicine] (1997), in which he addressed the teaching of medical science and the training of physicians throughout the Middle Ages.

After presenting some of the milestones in SDA's research career and work, we shall now consider his profile as a historian.

He began his university career in 1952 as a Second Assistant Professor at the School of Arts and Humanities of the University of Coimbra, joining a History group characterised by a historiography that, from a methodological point of view, was guided by the paradigm of the German methodical school, but that, from the point of view of the topics analysed, was not limited solely to the political and institutional. He was taught by Mário Brandão, M. Lopes de Almeida, Torquato de Sousa Soares, and Damião Peres. SAD began its academic career in the early 1950s with the medievalist Avelino de Jesus da Costa and the archaeologist



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João Manuel Bairrão Oleiro. In the words of António de Oliveira, the FLUC History Group was experiencing 'the beginning of a time of new historians', representing, in the words of this historian, 'the third generation' of historians from the School of Arts and Humanities. Days looking at the future that would be marked in the 1960s by a consistent change in the way History was conceived and written, led by António de Oliveira, Jorge de Alarcão, Luís Ferrand de Almeida, and Silva Dias, historians who would have the pleasure of guiding young people who were already born for historical research in a time of freedom. A passion shared by Salvador Dias Arnaut. From the outset, he closely followed the two youngest assistants, João Lourenço Roque and Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, who joined the School in the early 1970s, sharing his knowledge with them but also his zest for life.

It should be noted that SDA completed his degree in History, where he wrote his thesis on the Battle of Trancoso, in a decade marked by the celebration of the centenaries of the Foundation of Nationality and the Restoration of 1640 and, consequently, at a time of particular control over academic historiographical production. These were contradictory times. The War Academy was familiar with the European historiographical production brought by intellectuals who had arrived in Coimbra during the Second World War, such as Pierre David, or by foreign historians who had been invited to give lectures, such as Charles Verlinden, or to publish in a section of the *Revista Portuguesa de História* [Portuguese History Magazine] entitled National and Foreign Historiography.

In the year he completed his undergraduate thesis (1947), SDA was commissioned by Torquato de Sousa Soares to catalogue the historical texts published between 1939 and 1945 in the following fields: Sources and Auxiliary Sciences of History, General and Political History, Economic History, and Local History. Torquato de Sousa Soares, a very influential figure in the History group, showed in published articles a particular appreciation for Marc Bloch, an author who had fought for a renewal of History. However, the gap was not wide enough to allow SDA to prepare his undergraduate and doctoral theses in the field of Local and Regional History, a topic in which he had already published extensively. Only in the 1960s would, in the words of António de Oliveira, 'Local history enter university on a firm footing, becoming a work of love for science and not just for one's birthplace' (Oliveira, 2010, p. 44). Out of love for scientific methodology, learnt in the medical course and in the textbooks on the auxiliary sciences of History, SDA had already written, in 1939, the exhaustive and well-grounded study *Ladeia e Ladera: subsídios para o estudo do feito de Ourique*, [Ladeia and Ladera: subsidies for the study of the feat of Ourique] which can be considered a real training ground for the preparation of later works.

The works prepared by SDA for academic examinations can be considered 'treatises' on applied critical methodology. In the author's own words, the book *A Batalha de Trancoso* [The battle of Trancoso] could have been subtitled Essay on the historical value of Fernão Lopes. In fact, the chronicler's writings were subjected to close internal and external criticism and an insightful historical and philological interpretation. This critical method involved cross-referencing the text of Fernão Lopes with the chronicles of Froissart and Ayala, as well as with other coeval documents. The shrewd 'dissection' of the sources, expressed in an impressive critical





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apparatus and in the transcription of documents, allowed the author to put forward an approximate date for the Battle of Trancoso: 'The Battle of Trancoso took place in 1385 between 6 May and 8 June, more precisely: at the end of May or beginning of June (before the 8<sup>th</sup>); probably on one of the first days of June'. He also showed that the Battle of Trancoso was not a simple episode but the final part of 'a real campaign' that would end in Aljubarrota.

'Aljubarrota was the culminating moment, the top of the mountain that had been climbed since the end of 1383.' The historical construction of SDA shows, in multiple contexts, the scientific knowledge acquired at the School of Medicine. However, he also published works where the intersection of the historian's and physician's skills is particularly striking. In the same year that he argued his undergraduate thesis, he published an article in the *Revista Portuguesa de História* [Portuguese History Magazine] entitled 'Flechas com erva na guerra entre Portugal e Castela no fim do século XI' [Arrows with grass in the war between Portugal and Castile at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century]. In a text dedicated to a war technique used by the armies of Castile, the documentary descriptions of the symptoms of the soldiers shot by the poisoned arrows are analysed, and the deadly herb used by the Castilian armies, wolfsbane, a plant found in Portugal, in the region of Trás-os-Montes, is identified. This is a well-grounded scientific text that could only come from the pen of someone who mastered knowledge drawn from History, Botany, Medicine, and Pharmaceutical Sciences.

As for his doctoral thesis, *A Crise Nacional dos fins do século XIV. A sucessão de D. Fernando* [The National Crisis at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Ferdinand's succession.], one should pay attention to what is written in the *author's curriculum vitae* dated 1960: 'This work, developing the ideas set out in the former, consolidates a real turning point in the historiography of the crisis. The people's candidate, even in D. Fernando's time, was Prince João, son of Pedro and Inês de Castro – an attitude that was entirely logical as long as (and this was the case) D. Beatriz was not considered to be entitled to the throne: once the direct line was extinguished, the collateral line would have been taken, and the Prince was right at the top because he was considered an illegitimate son of D. Pedro, just like Fernando. However, the Prince was in Castile and imprisoned by the king and, in his absence, his bastard brother, Mestre de Avis, was the leader of the upheaval in December 1383 – an upheaval he led in the name of the absentee, who was later overruled by the brother that represented him. But the Prince's party did not die with the rise of the Mestre de Avis to king. It carried on beyond the Coimbra courts of 1385, ending with the Prince's death and his brother Dinis being given the dignity of king of Portugal in exile – a king, a government in exile. Before this new way of looking at things, it was common practice, when discussing the crisis at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, to barely mention Inês de Castro's children.

'Of Pedro's sons, only one really deserved attention: the Master of Avis' (Arnaut, 1967, p. 8). In line with the points of view set out above, Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem summarises the contribution made by the undergraduate and doctoral theses to the study of the political crisis at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century as follows: 'Drawing attention to the political importance of the sons of Pedro I and Inês de Castro, and



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particularly to Prince João, as the individual in whom significant sectors of the political society saw, in 1383, the “way out of the (dynastic dimension) of the crisis”; the emphasis on the Beira nobility and their role in Trancoso, a battle whose outcome is considered fundamental in weakening the Castilian army and, consequently, an episode that could in no way be overlooked in the pre-Aljubarrota months and inseparable from the military resolution of the crisis’.

In order to write his doctoral thesis, SDA worked on a scholarship from the Instituto de Alta Cultura [Institute of High Culture] in various foreign archives (Archives of Simancas, National Library of Paris, Archives of the North, of Lille). In them, and in the Portuguese archives, he compiled a vast amount of documentation that supports a narrative that is literarily contained, apparently confined to the factual. However, the facts are interwoven with a broad knowledge of human experiences.

SDA’s work and teaching practice were situated in a frontier zone between the tradition marked by theologians and historians with a German and French scholarly background and strong ideological constraints, on the one hand, and the innovation in thematic approaches and methodologies that began to take hold in the secluded environment of the Modern History Seminary, on the other, where undergraduate theses on historical demography and economic history were being written in the 1960s. At the same time, doctoral theses were being drafted according to the new European historiographical currents, which were to be argued in the Sala dos Capelos in the 1970s, namely *A vida económica e social de Coimbra de 1537 a 1640* [The economic and social life of Coimbra from 1537 to 1640], by António de Oliveira.

SDA’s work is polyhedral. In order to ‘classify’ it, we need to analyse its various faces. We cannot understand it by looking at a single edge.

In fact, the historian-physician was an expert in the heuristics and hermeneutics of the sources that provided reliable support for the narrative of the facts and the individual actions of ‘flesh and blood’ characters. He masterfully sketched the ‘portrait’ of great historical figures: D. Fernando, Mestre de Avis, Prince D. Pedro, lord of Penela, and with sensitivity, the loves of Pedro and Inês. He made a remarkable contribution to Portuguese historiography in terms of understanding the political and institutional aspects of the crisis of 1383-1385. He travelled in particularly innovative and daring historiographical fields, given the circumstances of the time when he developed part of his academic life in the areas of local and regional history, particularly the history of the municipality of Penela, as well as the history of food, a topic that inspired later studies, mainly those carried out in Coimbra by Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho and Maria José Azevedo Santos.

SDA bequeathed us a mirror of his tastes: his library made up of 16,000 volumes representing his personal interests, fields of research and teaching. The range of subject areas represented in this library is very broad: Archaeology, Architecture, Art, Agriculture, Biography, Cartography, Law, Sports, Economics, Ethnography, Philosophy, Geography, History, History of Europe, Linguistics, Literature, Medicine, Psychology, and Religion. His distinguishing core, however, is made up of local monographs, studies published in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries that contain fragments of the history of all the Portuguese municipalities, books that he



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persistently sought out in bookshops and the catalogues of second-hand bookshops. He lived an austere life, a circumstance that allowed him to build up savings, which he used to buy and start the preservation work on the Germanelo Castle, which the Penela Town Council has continued.

Of all the faces of SDA, the one that has left the most deep-rooted memory is that of Professor. He marked several generations of Portuguese and foreign students in classes and in peripatetic conversations in the corridors of FLUC. In this regard, Jorge de Alarcão testifies: 'The history that Dr Arnaut taught us was a different kind of history, one that we liked'.

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