

DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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CARVALHO, Joaquim Manuel Godinho Braga Barradas de

(Lisbon, 1920 - Lisbon, 1980)

Born into a wealthy family, he was the son of Manuel Telles Barradas de Carvalho, a landowner from Alentejo and a monarchist, a novelist with a small body of work but a worthy one; his uncle, General José Marques Godinho (1881-1947), a hero of World War I, was involved in an attempted coup against Salazar in 1947. Always supported by his parents, despite being a 'very uncomfortable child' (*As fontes...*[The sources], 1968, p. 9), he graduated in Historical Philosophical Sciences from the School of Arts and Humanities of the University of Lisbon (1946), having been a colleague of Joel Serrão, Rui Grácio, and Jorge de Macedo, among others.

As a young student, he joined the Communist Party and took part in opposition movements, which prevented him from being hired for a position in Portuguese public education during the dictatorship. Because, of course, JBC did not offer 'guarantees of co-operating in the realisation of the higher aims of the State', according to PIDE information (Tiago Brandão, 'Migração científica...' [Scientific Migration], 2011).

When the Ministry of Education decided to open a School of Arts and Humanities at the University of Porto in 1961, JBC (as well as Joel Serrão and João Bénard de Costa) were prevented from applying for the post of course leader – someone made their application documents disappear, in case the jury chose a reprobate... Trustworthy people had to be chosen – it was no coincidence that António Cruz, a well-known Salazarist militant, who would go on to become Full Professor and director of the School, was approved (*O obscurantismo...*[The darkness], 1974, pp. 25-26 and 82). For the regime, it was not only the purging of Professors that mattered but also the obstacles to the admittance of capable people into teaching positions, especially in university settings. Trying to escape this environment, JBC had to leave the country (and after the attack on the Beja barracks on New Year's Eve 1961/1962, in which he was involved, go into exile). Exile to avoid the inevitable persecution and imprisonment. Hence, his academic career began in France, where he received a grant from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, then another one from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and from the Association Marc Bloch, where he was a researcher at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique [National Centre for Scientific Research]. He took the 3rd Cycle (1961) and State (1975) doctoral exams at the University of Paris, and his theses received the highest grades. His research



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training was carried out in close contact with Fernand Braudel in the 6th Section (Social Sciences) of the École Pratique des Hautes Études, but no less so in the 4th Section (Historical and Philological Sciences), where the masters of scholarly methods were to be found.

In 1964, he travelled to Brazil, where he remained until 1969 as a Full Professor at the University of São Paulo through the intercession of Eurípedes Simões de Paula. In São Paulo, his vocation as a professor would be put to the test, making disciples and friends who would keep his memory alive – a friendly man, he himself would quote Fernando A. Novais, Boris Fausto, and Carlos Guilherme Mota among his younger colleagues. There, he lectured on the History of Iberian Civilisation and the History of Portuguese Culture. The gentle man found a favourable environment in Brazil, where his role as a lecturer and researcher was recognised by his peers. His presence left its mark: his peers named one of the rooms in the History Department of the School of Philosophy, Arts and Human Sciences the Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho Room.

Although always tolerant, the historian fought with his intellectual weapons: teaching, cultural dissemination and even the anti-fascist writings he published in the Brazilian press (especially in the *Estado de São Paulo* and above all in *Portugal Democrático* [Democratic Portugal], the exiles' newspaper, articles from 1965-1969 that were collected in *O Obscurantismo Salazarista* [Salazar's Obscurantism]). However, in 1969, the Brazil of the military dictators was also becoming an unwelcoming place for an exiled person. So, he returned to France. Finally, after the 25 April 1974 Revolution, he returned to Portugal, but it was only in 1977 that he was hired as a Visiting Professor at the School of Arts and Humanities of the University of Lisbon. He would remain there for a short while, as his life ended a few years later. Historian and citizen. The two qualities were not separated in his personality, and he sought to intervene politically in favour of the freedom, which he was denied.

JBC was a scholar by vocation and taste. As a student of Vitorino Magalhães Godinho at the School of Arts and Humanities in Lisbon, he credited him with having guided him along the path of History rather than Philosophy, which would have been his first aim. Not by chance, his debut book is a reflection on technique and economic history, certainly to the master's taste. It reads: 'The great voyages of discovery created a new mentality. Action gradually replaced contemplation. In the realms of thought, scientific thinking, based on experimentation, begins to take hold' (*As Invenções Técnicas...* [Technical Inventions], [1943], p. 3).

After an undergraduate dissertation on the political and social ideas of Alexandre Herculano, he turned to studying Portuguese culture in the Renaissance period, influenced by the seminars taught in Paris by Fernando Braudel and Georges Friedmann. The personality and the work of Lucien Febvre marked him, and he declared his fascination with his masterpiece *Le problème de l'incroyance au XVI^e siècle. La religion de Rabelais* [The problem of unbelief in the 16th century. Rabelais' religion] (1942). And it is research into the history of mentalities within the framework of the plural unity of the human sciences that draws on the *Annales* [Annals] and the Parisian masters. In order to devote himself to 'what Portuguese culture has produced that is most original to date' (*Rumo de Portugal...* [The direction of Portugal], p. 36). By 1953, the



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turning point had been made, and he was already publishing articles on the subject in the *Annales* [Annals] and in USP's *Revista de História* [History Magazine].

Due to his fascination with travel literature and the associated scientific literature linked to the Discoveries, he took the manuscript of Duarte Pacheco Pereira's *Esmeraldo de situ orbis* as the centrepiece of his work. He concentrated on this complex and very rich text, working on it for years on end, scrutinising what he called the 'prehistory of modern mentality and thought' (*Portugal e as origens...*[Portugal and the origins...], 1981, p. 211). Because we should not look for the precursors of Descartes and Galileo in the humanists who wrote philosophical texts – clinging as they do to the Ancients. Because 'underlying the great philosophers or men of science, we can discover a deeper mental history. A rupture like that of the 17th century was deeply prepared long before by men who were its unconscious authors' (*Portugal e as origens...*[Portugal and the origins], p. 49). The research into this prehistory focuses on the first ten known texts of travel literature. From the *Crónica dos feitos de Guiné* [Chronicle of Guinea's achievements] by Gomes Eanes de Zurara in 1453 to the *Esmeraldo de situ orbis* by Duarte Pacheco Pereira in 1505-1508. He then goes through the dozen or so Chronicles, Descriptions of Lands, Logbooks and Itineraries.

One of the investigations he undertook was the express indication of figures in Arabic numbers and their comparison with the persistence of Luso-Roman numerals. An innovation that was gradually accepted and which he concluded revealed 'a new culture' that was 'no longer traditional'. That does not stop there. It had to be interpreted, given that it occurred 'in the cultural milieu of professional groups directly linked to the blossoming of a social class. It then becomes generalised to all occupational groups, in all social classes' (*Portugal e as origens...*[Portugal and the origins], p. 72).

He also looks at the notion of experience in Portugal, scrutinising texts from the 11th century (1055) to the end of the 16th century (1580). He searches through writings of all kinds: literary, chronicles, didactic texts from the Court, archive documents, texts linked to travelling, especially sea voyages, such as 'descriptions of lands, logbooks, itineraries, nautical guides, and even scientific texts (...)'. To find in the 16th century and especially in Duarte Pacheco Pereira that 'experience, empirical experience, the experience of common sense, sensitive experience, is the new criterion of truth, to the detriment of the authorities...' (*Portugal e as origens.....*[Portugal and the origins], p. 112). In search of the various meanings and semantic variations that can be recorded. JBC is a scholar who has integrated the most problematic aspects of his training with the great French masters who find their expression in the *Annales* [Annals] (Économies-Sociétés-Civilisations)[Economies-Societies-Civilizations]. History as a social science, always (*Da História-Crónica...*[of Chronical History], 1972).

He was a scholar who worked as if he had to see and review everything in order to be well versed in this enquiry about an incipient culture that he called 'experientialist'. One only has to look at the care and detail with which he analysed the two manuscripts that are presumed to be the oldest of the *Esmeraldo* – the one kept in the Évora Library (which he concluded to be the best and closest to the original) and the one in the National Library of Portugal (which, incidentally, is a copy of the Évora manuscript with some distortions). An



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immense amount of erudition has gone into achieving the most correct version possible of this fundamental text for understanding modern Portuguese thought. Erudition of the highest calibre, of which he gave the best of lessons in Duarte Pacheco Pereira's *Esmeraldo de situ orbis* (Édition critique et commentée). JBC was not satisfied simply with a rigorous survey of the texts. For this reason, he then set out to explain the emergence of a modern and modernising vision and worldview in Renaissance Portugal. He always sought to present what had been written on the subject, rebutting opinions, sometimes even unsubstantiated ones that would not warrant much attention. But JBC had no desire to leave anything unclear or misunderstood. Any subject that he touched on was duly decided with his erudite analysis.

This is why one cannot write about Portuguese travel literature at the time of the great discoveries without taking into account the analyses he made and the conclusions he drew. (*À la recherche...*[In research of], 1983, pp. 3-14). Even when they may seem excessive due to the critical apparatus that he did not conceal. An example is the problem of Duarte Pacheco Pereira's date of birth, which nobody knows and whose hypotheses do not even vary much: JBC cites eight authors and their respective proposals, which adds nothing to the work (*À la recherche...*[In research of], p. 24). And there is often an exaggeration in the length of information, indulging in a kind of game by pretending to be exhaustive. With good, reliable erudition, always. This is why the account of the voyage of 1498 is exemplary in its thoroughness and length (31 pp.). For JBC, there was no doubt that Duarte Pacheco Pereira was responsible for finding a section of the coast of the new continent, in what would become Brazil, in 1498. Cabral is credited with the 'official' recognition.

The heterogeneity of Portuguese travel literature at the time of the great discoveries is well demonstrated, and this characteristic opens up an extensive range of non-convergent possibilities that need to be investigated. Here, we find 'new men, of a temperament developed in another social and mental climate, with other interests, having another scale of values to judge things and events' (*À la recherche...*[In research of], p. 274). This whole thing must be appreciated, and we must look for that originality and modernity that is at the centre of the research carried out. With some remarkable contributions, not just from the history of culture/history of mentalities, but from the survey and critical fixation of duly verified texts. With philological accuracy that could not fail to be exercised. A good example is the long passage on the *Crónica dos feitos de Guiné* [Chronicle of Guinea's achievements] (*À la recherche...*[In research of], pp. 300-322). Only after this did he move on to *Esmeraldo*, enquiring about the sources that Duarte Pacheco Pereira might have used to write it. This was a subject and a critical study that he analysed countless times as if to show how difficult it was to achieve the accurate result he had set out to achieve. Only after these in-depth analyses does he go into the central subject of the work, which is precisely the search for the specificity of Portuguese expansion. For this purpose, he analyses language and discourse, using the history of words and the semantics that underlie them: take the examples of 'discover' and 'discovery'.

From here, he moves on, with the certainty that critical support provides, to Portugal and the origins of modern thought, the prehistory of which he never fails to scrutinise. Not just any history, but a 'deep,



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underground, unconscious, anonymous history of thought, this true social history of thought, this history in which the characters are the concepts (...)’ (*À la recherche...*[In research of], , p. 663). Where the mathematisation of reality and experience feature prominently. It is the change in language, but it is also a change in mental tools. The enormous influence of Lucien Febvre must not be forgotten. He then returns to his well-known essay on the introduction and spread of Arabic numerals in Portugal – how he goes in search of the prehistory of scientific experience and experimentation. Only after more than 700 pages does he allow himself to conclude with *Esmeraldo de situ orbis* and Duarte Pacheco Pereira. A work that sums up a man who JBC also proposes should be considered a ‘synthesis man’. A man of action, a military man, a brave fighter, a navigator, a discoverer, but also a writer and a man of science. This brings us to the Portuguese Renaissance and its specific precursor to the age of Galileo and Descartes.

JBC did not restrict himself to the direct study of *Esmeraldo*, as we can see. With erudite confidence, he endeavoured to find the sources and the construction process that Duarte Pacheco Pereira used. For this, he had the philological knowledge that he had acquired from masters such as Léon Bourdon, Guy Beaujouan, Robert Ricard and Israel-Salvator Révah – not coincidentally a graduate in History and Philology from the École Pratique des Hautes Études (1970). This resulted in yet another paradigmatically presented publication of the Spanish translation of Pomponius Mela’s *De situ orbis*, with the marginal notes that Duarte Pacheco added to it. Because he was not a Latinist, he read and got the information he needed in Vulgar. In addition to the title that derives from this manuscript, we must consider that it is the most widely used source (*La traduction espagnole* [The Spanish translation], 1974, p. 23). It identifies the translator from Latin into Spanish as Master João Farás, a physicist, bachelor of arts and medicine, who took part in Pedro Álvares Cabral’s expedition and who wrote a famous letter to D. Manuel from the newly found land of Vera Cruz.

On the margins of this text, Duarte Pacheco Pereira took notes for the writing of *Esmeraldo*. Once again, JBC’s work was one of erudition, to which he added two important documents: Duarte Pacheco’s autograph letter to D. Manuel and Master João’s letter, written from where he was on the first of May 1500. And in 1974, the Portuguese state published this text through the Centre for the Study of Ancient Cartography of the Overseas Scientific Research Board, mediated by Commander Teixeira da Mota and his fraternal friend Luís de Albuquerque.

Still in the same vein and endeavouring to show how much research and writing is needed, he published (in some way republished) *O renascimento português*. In search of its specificity and *As fontes de Duarte Pacheco Pereira no Esmeraldo de situ orbis* [Duarte Pacheco Pereira’s sources in *Esmeraldo de situ orbis*] (of which a first version had already appeared in São Paulo in the *Revista de História* [History Magazine]), thus making available to scholars and students subjects that he had developed in his State thesis. But only later, and with more limited access, would it become known. What stands out is the enormous work of exegesis, of meticulous and attentive criticism so as not to leave any detail unexplained, confronting the complexity of the *Esmeraldo* with the sources that its author may have used. Sources that he subjects to a



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'micro-analytical' study, although he warns that this is not 'a mere game of erudition for erudition's sake.' Because what he wants is a comprehensive understanding of the author and his work, for which a thorough – 'ultra thorough even' – study of the sources is indispensable. In order to achieve what 'true scientific research is: progress, however slight, in the knowledge of reality' (*As fontes...*[The sources], pp. 15-16). In the list and analysis he presents, he tries, albeit briefly, to place the author and his work within the Portuguese Renaissance, which is, after all, the period he seeks to explain. A complex work, it is simultaneously a history book, or rather a chronicle, a navigation and land reconnaissance itinerary, navigation guidelines, a geography and cosmography book. However, the use of these sources does not erase what is original and observed – if not experienced – in Duarte Pacheco Pereira's *Esmeraldo*. Because no source follows literally. Therefore, it does not erase what is original and observed – when not tried and tested – in Duarte Pacheco Pereira's *Esmeraldo*.

All of this, duly analysed, will result in a well-supported reflection on thought (and mentalities) in the Portuguese Renaissance, verified in its philosophical projection based on experience and the scrutiny of nature. For JBC, *Esmeraldo* is a work of synthesis (*As fontes...*[The sources], p. 153). It seeks to characterise and integrate the Portuguese Renaissance, the specificity of which it seeks to understand. Because the central 'essential fact' is, and must be, the great discoveries. Because it is necessary to analyse 'the Portuguese travel literature of the 15th and 16th centuries, and the scientific and technical literature associated with it' (*O Renascimento...*[The renaissance], 1980, pp. 13 and 17). Because it is in the underlying philosophy that cultural and mental innovation is revealed, not in the texts of the so-called humanist philosophers, always attached to the lessons of the masters of Antiquity. Now, learning did not come from this mindset but from what was observed, seen and experienced.

Having finally returned to Portugal after an absence of a quarter of a century and almost fifteen years of exile, JBC, the historian and the citizen, was preparing to publish a set of four or five small volumes that would bear the general title *Para Uma Explicação de Portugal* [For an explanation of Portugal]. As a historian, he had begun by showing the difference between chroniclers and historians who cultivated history-science, and the first to stop writing chronicles was Alexandre Herculano, whom he greatly admired. In this work, he made an epistemological break (an Althusserian concept he adopted) in order to embark on the scientific method. The first Portuguese historian – or in Portugal. Because the European Enlightenment had already had Voltaire and Condorcet as critics and precursors in the 18th century, and then History was definitively affirmed in the 19th century with Michelet. There are other examples, such as Thierry and Guizot, who already saw History not as the work of great men but of society as a whole. This would later be established scientifically with the historical materialism of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (*Da História-Crónica à História-Ciência* [From History-Chronicle to History-Science], 1972).

Interpretations to serve that explanation – the final synthesis of which he never wrote – he would look for in Alexandre Herculano, Antero de Quental, Oliveira Martins and António Sérgio, Jaime Cortesão, Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, Robert Ricard and others, now his contemporaries. With them, he tries to find the



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reasons for the peninsular duality, where the Portuguese mentality is closer to the rationality and secularism of French culture – as opposed to Spanish religiosity. This duality had been well pointed out by Robert Ricard (one of his Parisian masters) and JBC was happy to develop it. In search of a Way Forward for Portugal, wondering whether this route should lead to the Atlantic or to Europe, JBC starts from the rationalist tradition in Portuguese thought and assumes (in the wake of António Sérgio and others, including Herculano) that there was a decadence which, with the Inquisition, put an end to that opening. Portugal was, thus, an unfulfilled promise (quote from Sérgio's 'O Reino Cadaveroso' [The Cadaverous Kingdom]). It was a choice that had to be made. And for JBC, there was no doubt that the right path lay in the Atlantic, not in subordination to Madrid, which he assumed would be the result of choosing the European route. He wanted an authentic Portuguese-Brazilian community to which Africa should be added. 'In it, all parties would meet again in the most genuine linguistic and civilisational individuality'. And he concludes: 'This is the condition for Portugal to become itself again' (*Rumo de Portugal* [The direction of Portugal], 1974, p. 81, text dated Paris, 9 April 1974).

It was no coincidence that he called himself a 'Portuguese-French-Afro-Brazilian' historian (autograph, 1978) and aspired to this Atlantic community that would serve the purposes of his common homelands. Historian and citizen. And he was 'one of the most generous, open, simple and firm Portuguese personalities of the 20th century' in the words of his friend, colleague and admirer, Carlos Guilherme Mota (from the University of São Paulo). He was always concerned with what was happening in society and with building a scientific work: 'I don't feel, nor am I, the owner of any era, of any field of research. I'm only interested in solving the problems I face.' ('Prefácio'[Preface] in Manuel Nunes Dias, 1967, p. X).

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Joaquim Romero de Magalhães

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