

DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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CARVALHO, Joaquim de (Figueira da Foz, 10.06.1892 – Coimbra, 23.10.1958)

In a 'humble little house with a door and windows overlooking Travessa do Mato' (OC, 1992, p. 483), he was born in the city that was growing towards the river and sea labour. His father, Manuel José de Carvalho, a railwayman, son of apothecaries from Cem Soldos (Tomar), later established as a wine merchant, was 'very intelligent, sensible and prudent, and despite having little education, very interested in cultural matters, especially history and literature' (*Miscelânea* [Miscellaneous], 1963, p.899). His mother, the linewoman Ana Ferreira dos Santos, also came from Marrano roots in Campos do Mondego.

Learning to read with his aunt, a schoolmaster and pious Catholic, he grew up in liberal and republican circles and enrolled at the Figueirense Secondary School, a school for the wealthy bourgeoisie, recently created by an advocate of the *new school*, Fröbel's open spaces and *self-government*, Mendes Pinheiro (*Sílvio Lima, um místico da razão crítica (da incondicionalidade do amor intellectualis* [Silvio Lima, a mystic of critical reason (of the unconditionality of love intellectualis)]), 2009).

In Coimbra, a useful and long encounter with Unamuno marked his meteoric turnaround: he graduated in Law (1914) and took the first degree in Philosophy at the new School, whose exceptional classification (1915) endorsed his doctorate (1917). In 1916, Alves dos Santos (a pioneer in Experimental Psychology) and Mendes dos Remédios, a historian of the Jews who revealed the country's 'history of intolerance' (*Biblos*, I, 1925), sponsored him to teach Morals, History of Ancient Philosophy and History of Modern Philosophy.

A believer in *virtù*, the highest value in the citizenship of humanities, a firm republican before and after the revolution hit the streets, a scholar of the shaping of republican ideology in the 19th century, his essential philosophical foundation swung between Rousseau and Kant. In 1919, he evaluated this double attraction: 'One impulsive, which dragged me towards the most ardent Jacobinism; the other contemplative, for which I isolated myself in my room working deliriously' (*A minha resposta* [My response]). In the meditative *vis*, in the study that Idealism provided and in the *Kulturkampf* [Culture War], he decisively overcame Jacobinism without breaking the civic protest against the *Kingdom of Stupidity*, as A. Sérgio (V.) called it when he reread an old text from 1818, (re)instated after 1926.

1. It is impossible to summarise – or even list – the extensive, multi-faceted work of JC, historian of culture, in terms of how he consolidated and broadened the study of the history of philosophical, scientific, literary,



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religious, and political ideas.

In the first half-century of the Schools of Arts and Humanities in the country, created by the Republic (1911), he was a central figure in teaching and historiographical research into Philosophy in connection with the sources of the history of ideas, which can only be compared to Vieira de Almeida, Edmundo Curvelo, Sílvio Lima or Delfim Santos, who did not follow a similar methodical path. Better still, he 'rose to prominence in the field of university production' in the 20th century by setting out to find 'the historical language we speak' and showing 'traces of Portuguese cultural history that are still hidden' (*Biblos*, 1980, pp.7-8).

Although ideologically and politically at odds but united (with Paulo Merêa) in his refutation of Coimbra's positivist university culture, Cabral de Moncada, a friend and admirer, saw in him 'the greatest historian of Portuguese culture in its historical-philosophical and philosophical-literary expression of this century' (*Para a História da Filosofia em Portugal no século XX* [For the History of Philosophy in Portugal in the 20th century], 1960, p.9). An analyst who was attentive to the Iberian production found in JC's polygraphic enquiry into Portuguese culture only a parallel, in the Castilian context, in Menéndez y Pelayo of the 19th century (*Miscelânea* [Miscellaneous], 1960, p. 346). Although Pelayo's purity is not part of JC's generous cosmopolitan and liberal genealogy, the analogy confirms the tireless researcher.

A figure of the university scholars repulsed by the autocracy of the Estado Novo [New State], he did not bend to Salazar's dictates, no matter how much the latter gradually snatched from him: the direction of the General Library (which he added to the secretariat of *O Instituto* [The Institute] in Coimbra) and the editing of the *Revista da Universidade* [University Magazine]; the administration and direction of the University Press, extinguished on 29-08-1934, where he created remarkable collections, both of critical editions of sources – especially in the bodies *Scriptores rerum lusitanorum*, including the *Crónicas* [Chronicles]; *Biblioteca dos escritores portugueses* [Library of Portuguese writers], *Subsídios para a história da arte portuguesa* [Subsidies for the History of Portuguese Art], *Documentos para a história da expansão ultramarina dos Portugueses* [Documents for the History of Portuguese overseas Expansion], *Biblioteca do século XVIII* [18th century Library], *Biblioteca luso-brasileira de história da Medicina* [Portuguese-Brazilian Library of the History of Medicine], and *Arquivo de História e Bibliografia* [History and Bibliography Archive] (1923-1936), published posthumously in 1976 – or, in a broader sense, specialising in the dissemination of the classics of political philosophy and, in general, ethical-philosophical literature (*Biblioteca Democrática, Filósofos e Moralistas* [Democratic Library, Philosophers and Moralists], and *Vária* [Collectanea]), publishing Kant, Montaigne, Descartes, Leibniz, Renouvier, Meumann, Croce, and others. But, at the same time, it opened pages to essays by new Portuguese authors (Cruz Malpique, Agostinho da Silva, Saavedra Machado, Newton de Macedo, Adolfo Casais Monteiro, and João Ameal, here contested by sectors of the *revirinho* [upheaval]).

Target of legal proceedings and threatened with arrest, as the co-editor (with Azevedo Gomes and Hernâni Cidade) of the newspaper *Diário Liberal* [Liberal Diary], the dictatorship once again attacked JC by expelling his beloved disciple, Sílvio Lima (V.), in 1935. This sealed the anti-philosophical environment (the university's way of degrading public freedom), in which others would not find free space for teaching, writing, meditation



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and life, as the cases of Agostinho da Silva and Eduardo Lourenço made clear.

Finally, the dictatorship tightened the siege on the very site of reflection when it installed in the university administration and in the ideological and didactic rule, around 1950, the integrationist generation led by Miranda Barbosa, who not only did not challenge the authentic climate of *philosophical repression* but, in some cases, nurtured it. He resisted, allied to the Atlântida publishing house, launching the *Revista Filosófica* [Philosophical Magazine] (publishing Lourenço, Vieira de Almeida, Curvelo, Lima, and many others) and the excellent *Biblioteca Filosófica* [Philosophical Library] collection (ensured after his death by S. Lima) with the support of enlightened situationist academicians who, in spite of the dictator, did not dispute the virtue of philosophical discussion (Moncada, Mário de Figueiredo, Maximino Correia, Afonso Queiró) and tried to repair the abolished University Press, entrusting it with the direction of the *Acta Universitatis Conimbrigensis*, where their editorial power was nevertheless small.

He resists, continuing his intense activity at the Academia de Ciências de Lisboa, starting at the age of 30 as Chair of the History of Science. Towards the end of his life, he would find an opening to the air of freedom in Brazil, strengthening his ties with the philosophical intelligentsia. His efforts, summarised by him in a letter, were aimed at helping '*the great sleeper to awaken*': philosophy was the apex of a vast demopedic plan that had not been lost since the University of Coimbra (II-1925), with Aurélio Quintanilha, Tomás da Fonseca, and others: he was trying to *fight fanaticism and the spirit of intolerance*. And he supported *Seara Nova*'s ideological progress, rather than its political agenda, by translating M. G. Morente (*Ensaio sobre o progresso*; *A Crença no progresso* [Essays on progress; Belief in progress], publishing an original text (*Oróbio de Castro*), and taking part in public sessions. During their long expatriation, he became close to António Sérgio and Raul Proença, mainly through letters.

JC certifies an irrefutable ethical and deontological sign in a university *corpus* little inclined to observe it: in 1919, he distanced himself from the 'democratic' *purge* aimed at eliminating the 'Germanophile' and monarchist professors (Salazar among them) and halting the presence of the School of Arts and Humanities, extinguished by Minister Leonardo Coimbra ('it should disappear, because, since there are now the Universities of Lisbon and Oporto, there is no need to maintain a third University whose existence is only a respect for traditions' – *A Manhã* [The Morning], no. 774, 21-05-1919) who, in covert collusion with the former *theologian* Alves dos Santos, maintained the plan, later achieved, to create the School of Arts and Humanities of Oporto, a sort of paradise for PhDs where graduate lecturers get their doctorate by decree. It was the republican Carvalho who demanded, in the midst of the *religious war* and against the Jacobin government's refusal, that a colleague of his, the then priest Gonçalves Cerejeira, join the faculty on merit alone.

JC lectures and puts into practice the Nietzschean apology for philosophy: *the philosopher's job is to be a Protestant*. He set the international agenda, taking advantage of the networks that the old University and the young Republic had at their disposal: Secretary of the *Societas Spinoziana*, he opened up intellectual avenues with Léon Brunschvicg (the French-Jewish philosopher whose presentation on Pascal and the



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research method for the history of philosophy – with Dilthey – most influenced him), Roger Bastide, Carl Gebhardt, Keyserling, Marcel Bataillon, Jacques Chevalier, Joseph Moreau, Cruz Costa. It was JC (and Moncada) who, in the 1950s, sustained the frenzy of so-called *Portuguese philosophy* in the name of the Pascalian, rational dignity of the spirit. In short, if he did not encourage young people to write essays, they did it in spite of him (S. Lima, Ag. da Silva, E. Lourenço) and he (in spite of himself) wrote essays on *Zaratrusta do Marão* [Zaratrusta of Marão], Teixeira de Pascoais, inferences that did not authorise prefabricated philosophies. The free competence to investigate and think, linked to the dianoetic *virtù* read in the Stagirite (balance, thoroughness, probity), leaves a fruitful *epistemic vis*.

The *sapiential* matrix of the man from Figueira will be reread by new generations as a model: suffice it to mention, in philosophical essayism, Eduardo Lourenço (b. 1923), just think of *Heterodoxia I* [Heterodoxy], an excellent use of dialogue by the young assistant (1949), or, in the history of ideas, Fernando Catroga (b. 1945), in explaining the Anterian (the Hegel, Proudhon, Hartmann correlation; *spiritual evolution*; the discreet departure from the ‘two Anteros’ of Sérgio) and in the study of republicanism.

2. In the university, JC grasps the heuristic and methodological effort of the documentalist lesson: among us, from João Pedro Ribeiro to Herculano (a hermeneutist), Gama Barros, Costa Lobo, Braamcamp, Mendes dos Remédios, António de Vasconcelos; and of the philological and erudite tradition (José Maria Rodrigues, Carolina Michaëllis), although he distances himself from the uncritical cult of the *source* by recognising that ‘history is not the document, although without documents one cannot make history’ (OC, V, p.307) – and sets out the first historiographical problem, which he will pursue with obstinate method: *the inventorying of sources and their interpretation* in order to establish what he then calls ‘studies (...) of the History of Portuguese Philosophy’, ‘although disputed by some, indifferent to most, but utilised by strangers’ (*António de Gouveia e o aristotelismo da Renascença* [António de Gouveia and the Aristotelianism of the Renaissance], 1916).

What is it that sets him apart from the generation of the 1950s and its apparently similar claim? The late question raises the intrinsic and paradoxical apology for Portuguese ‘universality’, an onticity into which he did not fall (*you cannot fly to where you already are*, Lourenço would retort to Álvaro Ribeiro) and the isolationism that intones the *national* excellence of Portugueseness. ‘I believe I know that the nature and content of philosophy are supranational, or rather, a-national’, but this should be mediated by ‘the metaphysical explanation of the reality we live in’ in order to find ‘problems and philosophies more or less correlated with our idiosyncrasy’ (OC, V, pp.114-15). The dissent is centred on the extrinsic evaluation of the long scholastic tradition and, *on the contrary*, the enlightened position on Modernity, which JC reads as the turning point of all knowledge. While in 1927 he indicates ‘the analytical and secure inventory of biobibliographical facts and the partial examination of intellectual problems and concerns’ of *philosophical culture* in Portugal (*Idem*, I, p.337), he would recognise that it was ‘born under the influence of the movement of ideas that gave rise to the Scholasticism of the 12th century’ (*Idem*, II, p.374); and, in *Descartes e a cultura filosófica portuguesa* [Descartes and the Portuguese Philosophical Culture], he saw in the last scholasticism from Coimbra (post Pedro da Fonseca and Suárez) ‘the swan song of the scientific ideal’ of Aristotle; who, in his syllogistic

deduction, 'entangled reason in an abstract mechanics that isolated it from any sense of renewal and (...) bound it to a static knowledge' (*Idem*, V, p.303).

Silvio Lima, following in the master's footsteps, accuses the movement of being anti-innovative, because concessions to anything new were 'neutralised within the dogmatic principles of the metaphysical-peripatetic tradition' (*Silvio Lima, um místico da razão crítica (da incondicionalidade do amor intellectualis* [Silvio Lima, a mystic of critical reason (of the unconditionality of amor intellectualis)], 2009, p. 540). Ontologising or adjectivising the issue, especially by not dividing Carvalho's (and Ortega's 1914 *generation*) deep-rooted patriotism from his convinced Europeanism and, as a 'European, always attentive to the call for conciliation and the spiritual unity of the world' (OC, III, p.349), would be to distort what, *ab ovo*, constituted the innovative methodological requirement of the programme it had originated. Only within the multidisciplinary area of historical cultural studies would the philological and hermeneutic enquiry of philosophy make sense. The 'object' had been *de-objectified*: 'what matters is not that there should be something with the name of History of Philosophy in Portugal', he noted in 1952, 'but that whatever is done under this title should be done in the only serious way in which things should be done, which is to do them well' (OC, VIII, 239). It was (and is) the query noun, even if cluttered with the sophistic adverb.

3. This fact is not insignificant, if we look in particular at his probing of Hebrew genealogy in Portuguese culture. JC cultivates a tacit pride in his Talmudic roots, clearing up the tension between two opposing religious natures: the kabbalistic philosopher's stone of the *apothecaries*, a messianism *imprisoned by the hope* of the intangible and neighbouring, which leads him to investigate the intellectual conception of the Deity in Judaism; and the opposing Catholic dogmatic tradition, for which the God-Person deified himself in his humanity.

It is the life (and Portuguese origins) and work of the Jew Baruch Spinoza, the *libertas philosophandi* and the philosophy of freedom, that have earned him the most enlightened exposure in Portuguese critical literature, announced in *Oróbio de Castro e o espinosismo* [Oróbio de Castro and Spinosism] (1936), confirmed in the excellent preface to *Ética* (1950). He wrote some of his best texts on Jews, especially the culture of the *Sephardim*: Abraham Zacuto, Isaac Abravanel and Leão Hebreu, Uriel da Costa (correlated with Spinoza), Pedro Nunes, trying to free them from that 'wave of anonymity that covered Israel in the early days of the Iberian diaspora' (*Idem*, II, p.41), but also on Jacob de Castro Sarmiento, Ribeiro Sanches. The character and work of Hebrew philosophers, physicists and cosmographers exerted an enormous attraction on him. As has been noted, a large part of his intellectual work would reply to this question, prompting him to investigate the art of navigation 'communicating it with the stars' (*Biblos*, 1980, p.4) and articulating it (without subordinating it) to thought, whose signs he tried to decipher in the grammars of temporality, following Dilthey and Rickert.

In the ancient disagreement that seems to preside over the history of philosophy itself, he embraces the clear eidetic and Platonic construction of Knowledge, which neo-Kantism best reveals. Philosophising, far from the logical-scholastic formalism of the *Organon*, 'unfruitful' thought, is *ars inveniendi* driven by the



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'imperious desire to discover something new' (OC, I, p.11). It is not only science that seeks to find; nor is it only experience that finds. In fact, not inferring the foundation of the sciences from Philosophy, the 'science of first principles' in Aristotle's words, hostage to argumentative logic and servant to its language, JC postulated a different relationship between Philosophy and Science that 'could not be subject to the imperatives of a vertical rationality but should be based on a permanent epistemological reflection that respects the autonomy (I do not say independence) of both forms of knowledge' ('Joaquim de Carvalho e a História' [Joaquim de Carvalho and History], Homenagem ao Doutor Joaquim de Carvalho no 1.º Centenário do seu nascimento [Tribute to Doctor Joaquim de Carvalho on the 1st centenary of his birth], Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra [Bulletin of the Library of the University of Coimbra], 42.º, 1994, p. 10).

Studies in the History of Sciences, driven by the neo-Kantian schools of German objective idealism, in the tradition of the 'sciences of the spirit' and the Historiography of the 'sciences of culture' (Windelband, Lask, Rickert, Dilthey), challenged the common idea that sciences originated in Philosophy, but they were rooted in protest against their totalising annexation. That is why Philosophy, in its critical and reflective matrix, in the speculative sense of *meta-physics* (a term that, against Kant, he reintroduced into the idealist glossary), was not limited to discussing the results of Sciences, as positivism and scientism, at the end of the 19th century, demanded, nor was it chosen as a general encyclopaedia or theory of knowledge. Philosophy itself generates autonomous meanings about the discourses of *physis*. JC turns to Spinoza to understand how *natura naturata*, the concretisation of the *more geometric* ordering ideal of a system *clarifies* but *does not solve* the philosophical creation inscribed in the flow of life, *natura naturans* (OC, I, p.358), aspiring (quite clearly in the *Antheriana*) to a Leibnizian cosmic harmony, as the supreme *virtu* or metaphysical 'truth' (*Idem*, III, p.349), not as the pacifying term of a physical-mathematical equation or *the telos* of an omniscient evolution. He thought it possible to inscribe two great philosophical traditions, going from Cartesian Reason (not Cartesian mechanicism, amplified in the scientism of the 19th and 20th centuries) mediated by Kant's criticalism (with the apodictic rationalism expunged by Höffding and Max Scheler, postulating the variability of reason, *Idem*, V, p. 306): 'at all times, philosophy, which is not mere poetic intuition, has relied on science, but has always tended to evade its boundaries in order to surprise essences'; hence, 'unlike science, whose ideal is cold impersonality, philosophy is always a personal conquest or a conscious or reflected adherence' (*Idem*, I, p. 356).

Knowing and philosophising, gnoseology and metaphysics, do not have similar modes, methods and outcomes: only Dilthey's historical reason allows knowledge and speculation to be reworked in ontology: 'Man, as a historical being, converts the natural environment given to him into a changing and multiple world through science and technology, the objectification of values and the unity of metaphysical vision or the symbolic configuration of poetry and myth' (*Idem*, VIII, p.9).

In interrogating the history of science, JC was primarily interested in two panels of questions: starting with medieval culture, he discovered the origin of the 'modern ideal of science' and the *century of genius* (the 17th) against the Aristotelian 'abstract universal', as knowledge in the process of *becoming*, in the Galilean summit



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that Russell had analysed not as a mere episode in the conflict between *fides* and *ratio*, but between the spirit of induction and the spirit of deduction: as a result, he attended to the displacement of 'human concerns from the domain of transcendence to that of immanence' (*Idem*, V, p. 308), the *de-divinisation* of the world in a secularising horizon of philosophical studies, annulling the arcane link between Philosophy and Theology, *homo methaphisicus* and *homo credulus*. On another panel, in the growing dominion over Nature and the 'instrumental precision of the scientific method', a new anthropology of *homo sapiens* in the rational affirmation of the *Aufklärung* [Enlightenment], as a consequence, he composed pages for a *biography* of Reason. For these fields, he used a meticulous bibliographic and bibliologic grounding of the sources, evidenced in comparison with contemporary Portuguese culture: in the confrontation with coeval university knowledge and with what he called 'institutions of culture', he aimed to capture *development* through 'successively more complex stages' (*Idem*, II, p.357). The aim was to reveal an *idea of the world*, 'worldview or cosmovision (the word hardly matters)', whose *experience* (*Erlebnis*) would provide the comprehensive (rather than explanatory) framework for spiritual activity, historiographically investigated.

Therefore, by *de-objectifying* the previous object, he broadened various analytical fields and qualitatively differentiated them since 1916. In 1943, he re-evaluated the scope of the 'history of Portuguese philosophy': 'In the current phase of studies on the history of scientific and philosophical thought in Portugal, above all, it is necessary to clarify the problems of a precise and limited object', projecting the enlightening synthesis when the insurmountable illness would not allow it to be realised, having already completed several panels ('*Desenvolvimento da Filosofia em Portugal na Idade Média*' [The Development of Philosophy in Portugal in the Middle Ages], 1927; '*O pensamento português da Idade Média e do Renascimento*' [Portuguese thought in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance], 1943; '*Evolução da historiografia filosófica em Portugal*' [Evolution of philosophical historiography in Portugal], 1946).

However, Husserl's mediation in the 1940s paved the way for the phenomenology of being; clarified by the phenomenological investigation of values (Scheler), a lesson that Silvio Lima took further; but the groove still belongs to the master. The debate between the two on the psychological content of *saudade* will be exemplary in this respect: the *awareness of being in the world* and the reflection on Pascoais emphasised the reading of the 'Portuguese soul', a modality of 'metaphysical explanation of the reality that is lived' (*Idem*, V, p.115).

4. As a corollary, in the most relevant framework of the historiographical episteme, cultural studies would only make sense in a hermeneutic grid rationally crossed with the history of philosophy, not from the 'proto-historical' phase (Brucker, Degerando), but from the critical pendulum (Zeller, Kuno Fisher, Fouillée, Windelband, Höffding, Brunschvicg, Bréhier), focussed on Hegel (and H. Ritter) as the authentic philosophical problem, a *historicization that intends to be philosophical*, testifying in historicity to the 'categorical condition of thought' ('Hegel e o conceito de História da Filosofia [Hegel and the concept of History of Philosophy]', *Idem*, II, pp. 457-67), the apex at which 'thought thinks itself in an objective form' and conceptualises itself 'in a distinct form' (*Idem*, I, p. 43). He remains an admirer (*admiration is the mother of*



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knowledge, to quote Aristotle, *Idem*, III, p.381) of the rational 'German genius – the Weimar genius, of course', he notes in '49, 'without which culture cannot reach depth and full interiorisation' (*Idem*, II, p.349).

One would not be too amiss, although JC's study is a *work in progress*, to read the *opera omnia*, even the philosophical one, of the author of *António de Gouveia* when he sees himself as 'only a modest historian of philosophy and a passionate lover of the history of Portuguese culture', in the light of the historiographical diligence whose programme he set out, since 'the historical study of the evolution of ideas in Portugal is, so to speak, at a preliminary stage'. The plan exposed the intimate aporia of the 'qualitatively superior nature' of the cultural *fact* which, like any historical fact, is not only irreducible to identity, given its uniqueness and irreversible singularity, but because it implies a theoretical grid that is 'extremely difficult to determine', given the 'web of symbolic abstractions' that it raises (cf. *Idem*, V, pp.298-99). It was urgent, as he would materialise in his writing, to set out on a 'patient and lucid hunt for facts' (*Idem*, I, p.337). The historian of ideas' task, in response to the logical need for the historical investigation of philosophy, would be to erect an 'object such that it becomes scientifically possible, i.e., that it cannot be confused with a mere discontinuous and individualised exposition of the opinions of isolated thinkers' (*Idem*, II, p.221), in which case it would become a 'cemetery of the individuality of philosophers' (*Idem*, I, p.467). This, he says in 1952, would only be the preliminary or instrumental *operation*, 'markedly biographical, bibliographical and sometimes philological'.

The *second operation* would enhance the 'ability to rethink thought', especially 'to grasp its original features and establish its correlations and meaning', 'because there is no History of Philosophy where there is no historicization of philosophical thought', a task that Aristotle (*Metaphysics*) and Hegel (*Phänomenologie des Geistes* [Phenomenology of the Spirit], *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Weltgeschichte* [Lectures on the Philosophy of World History]) made unyielding (*Idem*, VIII, pp. 237-38). No wonder that, by dismissing analytical *atomism* and choosing the dialogue of philosophy with cultural and scientific syntaxes in diachrony, he can accurately claim to be the *first great historian of ideas* among us ('Joaquim de Carvalho and History', Homenagem ao Doutor Joaquim de Carvalho no 1.º Centenário do seu nascimento [Tribute to Doctor Joaquim de Carvalho on the 1st centenary of his birth], *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra* [Bulletin of the Library of the University of Coimbra], 42nd, 1994). It is *eidetics* that attests to the neo-Kantian unity, *Weltanschauung*, *mundividência* [Worldview] (his neologism) that encompasses the entire work. Philosophy uses only one of the possible languages of thought that the historian tries to grasp in its global historicity. But it is a vision of the world that *goes within* that language: 'I believe that it is in the changes that take place in the living real man', he wrote in 1932, emphasising the second 'real', objective, movement of the Hegelian symphony of the *Spiritus*, 'and not in the relationships between concepts of abstract thought that we must look for the evolution of general conceptions that guide conduct' (OC, V, p.299).

JC thus legitimised historiographical primacy in cultural research. Together with Dilthey – in his historiographical didactic approach to capturing philosophical problems and in his critique of *Monadology* – he admitted that 'man can only truly be known in history and not in introspection' (preface to WILHELM



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DILTHEY, *Leibniz e a sua época* [Leibniz and his time], 1947, p. XX), postulating, in the theoretical effort of a *philosophy of philosophies* through the rational elucidation of problems that emerge from factuality, that 'only History can thus give us the totality of human nature, through the morphology of the behaviour of consciousness and the structural diversity of conceptions of the world', access to which is prohibited by the *abusive* extrapolation (positivist or scientist) of physical-natural science (*Idem*, pp. XXII-XXIII). As an epistemic instance (knowledge of the human past) and a guide to the method, discerning *historical reason* was placed on the horizon and investigative *praxis* from a twofold perspective: 'Under human events, so varied and contingent, undoubtedly flows the *sumus*, i.e., the sociologically impersonalised relationship of man to man; but it also flows the *ego*, i.e., the concrete and personal man'.

The historical narrative (summed up in the instantaneous *duration*), questioning the Hegelian opposition, continuities / discontinuities (OC, V, p.306), is the 'dust' from which 'the contents and forms of life that serve as the foundation of the historical process' must be rescued (*Idem*, p.299). By refuting *infradeterminations* or sociological and economic reductions to the history of culture, as materialism demanded, he does not fail to exemplarily read the Sombartian version of the *modern biography of capital* that Marx had indicated. But in his exegesis of the *decadence* and resistance of the archaic clerical-nobiliary codes in the face of the Modern irruption of the world (Renaissance, the *century of genius*, Enlightenment) and the bourgeois experience of Time, he adds: 'immobility in the material conditions of life was accompanied, or rather preceded, by sentimental immobility', because 'ideas are not transmitted mechanically as things external to man' (*Idem*, pp. 305-06).

The concept of *forms of life* gains strategic status in the analytical discourse. While in *Lebensformen* [Life forms], he sensed the neo-Kantian matrix of the philosophies of *Existenz*, subliminal or explicit ontic temporality, existentialism is foreign to him as *pensée* (also historiographical). The variability of reason, far from generating irrational noise, will lead to the diachronic analysis of rationality in historiographical prospection, which only the history of ideas can federate. In other words, historizing culture would be essential to historizing philosophy, reading the 19th-century paradigm in Latino Coelho's work, *Estudo sobre a Civilização da Grécia* [Study on the Civilization of Greece] (1879, 3rd ed., 1914), despite the 'manifest defect of its schematics, of accentuated logical configuration' (*Idem*, I, p.150 et seq.).

He objectified the plan by comparing visible solidity in conjuncture studies (European, Iberian, Portuguese), arguing against cultural, scientific or political exegeses that abstracted from conjunctural / structural frameworks and the critical reading of matrix concepts (Theocracy, Inquisition, Absolutism; Modernity, Liberalism, Immanence); bringing forward the *intra-disciplinary* sign of *nosologic* knowledge (historical, philosophical, psychological, artistic), moved and confederated in a historiographical reading of great precision in a game of different scales and temporalities: from the meticulous biobibliography, the background of the 'absorbing sense of positivity' (*Idem*, V, p. 201), to sketches of 'great syntheses' and 'institutions of culture', the *terminus* of analytical access (a theoretical harbour for a new journey), clarifying subliminal and correlated worldviews; in short, he appealed to the *diachrony of concepts* and to analogy as a



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non-restrictive (or normative) support for the historiographical episteme.

About one of his peers, he ended up writing a self-portrait: 'a man of scientific spirit, who elaborates and reasons with precise, robust, impersonal concepts, and not a critic who allows himself to be carried away by the rapture of sensibility or the excited feeling of intuition' (*Idem*, p. 203). In Sílvio Lima's summary, denying abusive posthumous nationalisations of the master: 'Carvalho never took any turn; liberal as a politician, a method rationalist as a thinking being, an idealist as a moral being, a deist as Spinoza (pantheist of reason)' (see Sílvio Lima, *Um místico da razão crítica (da incondicionalidade do amor intellectualis* [Silvio Lima, a mystic of critical reason (of the unconditionality of amor intellectualis)], 2009, p.545).

5. JC's ethical-deontic added value stands out in contemporary historiography, which correlates with the epistemic prerequisites that his work clearly reflects: a compact transdisciplinary, humanistic and literary education, an unusual hermeneutic aptitude and linguistic sovereignty (Portuguese, Latin, Spanish, Italian, French; even English, German), self-demanding autonomy and thoroughness ('mental independence and a sense of objectivity, and therefore a true scientific spirit', see *OC*, III, p. 383) as signs of the craft of historiography, emphasising the public service (not public mercy or public order) of cultural studies; exceptional solidity in the mastery and treatment of sources, people would regard him as the concatenator of a heuristic school which, without abstracting from methodological teaching (Langlois and Seignobos), aimed to overcome the excessiveness of explanation; Cartesian conceptual accuracy and clarity in statements; suitable reception and debate of contradiction; breadth of field in diachrony, made possible by the macro-disciplinary vision of culture inscribed in long chronologies, from the history of expansion, techniques and the art of navigation; from the history of philosophy to political history; to literature, essays, literary criticism; didactic coherence in the teaching profession; dialogical and pedagogical competence, enhancing the critical and civic sense of the students (also at the Normal Higher Education School of Coimbra, where, with S. Lima, he was an influential lecturer); seeking international contacts par excellence, editorial mastery and an effort to be scientific and culturally up-to-date by instilling Benedictine habits, not in the *habitat*, but in the theoretical *habitus* of being (Bourdieu), in the mental task of his disciples.

The effect of distancing himself from the *politique d'abord* [politics first] that coerced many into *betraying the scholars*, which does not mean intentional abstraction (*the ivory tower*, debated for decades after Benda) from the world and the time he lived in, thinking about history and historiographising thought, not without accusing them, as his work confirms, of the double embargo of freely probing themselves in the *national-seminarist* dictatorship.

From here, he brought a greater reflection of an epistemological nature – contaminating his systematic reflection, one might say, on the other hand excessively tied to the rationalist fixity of the *lógos* – on the History of ideas and culture, eradicating it from the panlogical, provincialist, necessitarian hegemony, showing links in the polyhedral correlation of phenomena, which 'constitutes one of the most subtle problems of the sociology of science' (*Idem*, III, p.378). Like the Humanists he praised at the dawn of the Modern Age, he aspired to the *scrupulous humility of the sage*, invoking the 'manly attitude of conscience that places things in

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a hierarchy of values' (*Idem*, V, p. 300): he saw knowledge as the access to a 'truly moral second nature' and work as the 'instrument of all human conquests' (*Idem*, p. 305), primarily intellectual work, theoretical leisure, mastery of time, the foundation of social and civilisational progress (*Idem*, VI, pp. 288-90). He valued freedom, democracy and the generous apology of cultural and philosophical diversity as the paideutic foundation of being, without alienating the humus, the search for universal *dignitas* (in other words, the prolepsis of Democracy and Freedom, *Idem*, pp. 257-288, or the unfinished excursus into the History of Education, *Idem*, pp.298-519), unlike the intellectual officials – who think they are knowledgeable, *o sancta simplicitas* (cried Nietzsche and Erasmus), and think they *know* – who give rise to mishaps or have been, in the face of the inhuman, subsisting in the shadow of silence.

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