

# DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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**Cortesão, Jaime Zuzarte** (Ançã, 1884 - Lisbon, 1960)

Jaime Cortesão portrayed himself in 1960 as a "poet of action, always ready to exalt the heroic man and to transform the idea into act through this model. ("Prefácio a modo de memórias" ["Preface by way of memoirs"], in *O Infante de Sagres* [The Prince of Sagres], n/n). A poet, above all. And a politician, from early on.

In 1910, already a doctor with a degree from the *Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Lisboa* [Lisbon Medical-Surgical School] (after having studied law in Coimbra and medicine in Oporto), he proposed himself as a member of parliament for the *Partido Republicano Português* [Portuguese Republican Party]. He did not succeed: the Constituent Assembly of 1911 would not hear the ardent words of this radical republican - with anarchist roots and a Masonic affiliation. He practised medicine only for a brief period, published verses, and found a mediocre position as temporary teacher of History and Literature at the *Liceu Rodrigues de Freitas* [Rodrigo de Freitas High School] in Oporto, while throwing himself into conquering the literary milieu along with his civic action. The '*Renascença Portuguesa*' ['Portuguese Renaissance], *A Águia* [The Eagle] (2nd series, with Álvaro Pinto, Teixeira de Pascoaes and Leonardo Coimbra, among others) and the *Universidade Popular* [Popular University] were connected to this intellectual movement.

History? It was what he taught and disseminated. Indeed, History played a fundamental role in republican ideology. The heroic, long dreamt-of republic relied on history to legitimise itself. It was necessary to prove that the liquidated secular dynasty had corrupted and spoiled nationality, destroying the old and heroic Portugal. Jaime Cortesão ranked within this rhetoric, putting his literary talent at its service: in poetry and tribune, and even in the short stories he published. Political Romanticism and also romantic exaltation in literature. A match. The evocation of the past, at the heart of this exhilarating moment, is prioritised in literary manifestations. He approached the problem of history in the longed-for Portuguese Renaissance from its pedagogical angle - in primary and secondary education and in popular dissemination (to vitalize and propel the People towards heroism) - criticising the methods, programmes and textbooks in use. He stressed the importance of the efforts of the humble in the great national undertakings - the Discoveries - and the benefit to be gained from the "lively and artistic" presentation of the biographies of the heroes. Against the Portugal of the great, and therefore exhilarating moments, the narrative of the period of decadence stood in abhorrent contrast: the Republic



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needed to become unanimous for its renewal and denounce all tyranny. The history of Portugal seen in black and white. The discoveries were followed by the destruction of wills and a waning of the collective impulse at the hands of Jesuitism. Which had to be fought.

This task of humanistic patriotism was not only the responsibility of schools or means of popular education. Newspapers also had their part to play by giving conscientious lessons. "This absorption in history is indispensable to national consciousness." ("A 'Renascença Portuguesa' e o ensino da História Pátria" ["The 'Portuguese Renaissance' and the teaching of National History"], pp. 78-79). A consciousness of being and acting in the temporal fabric. Any republican educator would subscribe these (and other) pages of Jaime Cortesão. The companion of Teixeira de Pascoaes and Leonardo Coimbra in guiding the Portuguese Renaissance had a poetic and civic vision of history. He drew on his poet and philosopher friends (and on Oliveira Martins) for his proposal of a naturalist mysticism in which Art would play the role equivalent to that of the ancient religions. From this new collective poetically religious and anti-Catholic mysticism, Portugal would rise again.

The poet and man of action disseminated and taught history. It was always history as a presentation of examples to be followed in a Republic that ought to be heroically liberating. A novelty, perhaps, resided in the pursuit of "historical paradigms of national virtues", not in the "leading figures", but in the "action of the People in history, the influence of the community, its creative power, its spirit of self-sacrifice, the effort of the humble - their part in the accomplishment of the greatest undertakings and in the glory of the most legitimate heroes". It is not hard to believe that this was the case: the humble people had to be given prominence by the republican propaganda. But from very early on, his "favourite model", his "obsession", was Prince Henry the Navigator, "regarded as the symbol of the flock". ("Prefácio a modo de memórias"). In the exalting but contradictory and conflictual environment of the new political regime, the artist sought an art-action path: the theatre. Years and years later, in 1959, although reticent about marking his shift from literature to history, he wrote: "My vocation as a historian must have been awakened when I wrote the drama in verse *O Infante de Sagres*, performed in 1916, which was shortly followed by the drama *Egas Moniz*, also in verse, ". A vocation, perhaps. But an apprenticeship in the craft was still lacking. Indeed, Cortesão made a clear distinction between the two phases in his conceptions of history: before and after his initiation into research. "Until then, history was embodied in the personalities at its helm, the 'Heroes', in line with Carlyle's epic and hypertrophic concept."

"Long years spent in Portuguese and foreign archives have led us to give increasing importance to anonymous and collective creation". ("A História e o Historiador" [History and the Historian], p. 5). From 1916 onwards, therefore, less rhetoric, less Oliveira Martins - the author of historical biographies - and more attention to the work of the historians around him, especially Luciano Pereira da Silva, writing and researching. The author of *A Astronomia dos Lusíadas* [Astronomy of The Lusiads] is believed to have played a highly prominent role in the future historian's preparatory phase. Cortesão read him attentively, studied him - he referred to the "proficient assurance" with which Pereira da Silva presented his evidence "with admirable documentation and



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logic." ("Afirmações da consciência nacional. VI. Civilização Portuguesa ["Assertions of national consciousness: VI. Portuguese civilisation"], p. 67). Conjugating the sources in a verisimilar sequence, with full awareness of the process, was a fundamental feature of the great future constructions of the poet-historian. Assurance, documentation, logical sequence in the spirit of the time, evidence. And the eulogy cradled in vibrant writing.

However, the admirer of heroes also began to draw closer to other authors- authors who awakened new interests in him - and with great earnest. And he saw other themes being addressed with critical rigour and exigency, which he eventually adopted as his own. There appears to have been another essential contribution: that of António Sérgio. In 1912, the very same António Sérgio had already fiercely contested the " shadow of that bunch of hazy grandfathers ", with the usual banalities of the republican view of history (especially of its most enlightened phalanx, the "Portuguese Renaissance") (Sonnet dedicated to Augusto Casimiro, "Pela Grei. Os que sonham." [For the People. Those who dream"], in *A Águia*, no. 28, p. 147). In the ensuing years, he published his irritating proposals for the interpretation of a homeland history that had to be escaped. The controversy that followed clearly showed that the field in which Cortesão had placed himself, that of rhetoric, had become indefensible with only words as its weapons. Let us consider one case. In his 1912 "A idealização legendária no Povo português" ["Legendary idealisation in the Portuguese"], he stated that he wished to analyse "some of the most beautiful and representative legends", and yet he commingled Herculano, Camões, the trovas do Bandarra [the prophecies of Bandarra], Rui de Pina and popular verses, with no criteria to distinguish what was legendary or merely taken as such. All this despite wishing to demonstrate that each people "has a system of historical legends, in which the heroes are always praised, since heroism is the most necessary of virtues for the conservation of the aggregates" (*A Águia*, no. 28, p. 117). Yet this demonstration he did not make, nor could he, as he lacked the tools of the trade.

In 1912, Jaime Cortesão, urged for "a wide renewal of historical studies in Portugal", indispensable to the renewal of national consciousness, in *Vida Portuguesa* [Portuguese Life], the *Renascença Portuguesa* journal under his direction. He was also jointly committed to this with Alfredo Coelho de Magalhães, directing the *Renascença*'s 'Biblioteca Lusitana' [Lusitanian Library] collection. The present needed to be "fertilised with a spirit of historical continuity". (Paulo Samuel, *A Renascença Portuguesa*, p. 105). He was challenged by António Sérgio, for whom the "Lusitanian model of the past was unknown. Lusism is always naturally connected to Historism, or Defunctism". (Ibidem, p. 109). Indeed, the Torre do Tombo [national archives] should not be considered an apothecary for national ailments, since the essential did not lie in the past but "in the interest in the problems of today." (Ibidem, p. 111). Antagonistic positions at the outset. But it was Cortesão who drew closer to Sérgio as he had caused him to reflect. He may even have begun to study history as a reaction to Sérgio. A period of romantic, verbose exaltation with mere civic and political utility was followed by



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the realisation that history is an action, a pursuit, patience. His appetite for the history-construction of historians emerged. It was the need of someone who most likely felt that all that rhetoric lacked a foundation.

However, the production that might have resulted from this new approach did not come to fruition: 1916 was the war, the great action. In 1915, although under no obligation, the citizen-doctor and member of parliament enlisted for the frontline, and had to relearn the practice of medicine. It was mobilisation, Flanders, gassing, blindness. It was the great school of suffering, being close to the end then somehow escaping. It was man being confronted. Returning to his homeland would mean prison instead of urgent and necessary treatment - Sidónio Pais did not forgive the democratic republicans who opposed his dictatorship. He reflected on all this and wrote a fundamental book – *Memórias da Grande Guerra* [Memories of the Great War]. The hero, who had formerly been the paradigm to be presented to the People, was now the "enlightened" one who was able to embody the virtues of the People and guide them towards a favourable end. The war had been a great school. Those who had departed were different on their return: "His conscience, initially a flickering light, became enhanced, expanded, ignited and the old virtues of the small fry, which had lay dormant within him, awoke in unison to assert themselves once again as the only great strength of the People, as in all the critical hours of our history. Again, as always, a small minority of elected and enlightened figures, confronting the wretchedness of their equals on the social scale, reached out only to the small fry to perform the redemptive miracles. This was the very same soldier from Aljubarrota and the Sea" (*Memórias da Grande Guerra*, p. 262).

In January/February 1919 the Republic was saved. Having stamped out the Sidonistas [Sidónio's followers] and monarchist leaders – who had been protected under Sidónio - Jaime Cortesão replaced Fidelino de Figueiredo as director of the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa [Lisbon National Library]. This appointment was accompanied by a reform of the institution, which brought the provision of staff and a solid organisation ("*Relatório do Director da Biblioteca Nacional*" ["Report of the Director of the National Library"], in *Anais das Bibliotecas e Arquivos* [Annals of the Libraries and Archives]. Lisbon: July-September 1920).

As a consequence of his reinvigorated motivation for political action - fuelled by war and prison – Cortesão abandoned the Democratic Party to join old friends and others who, equally disillusioned, were seeking new paths, until they gathered at the Seara Nova in 1921. The fight at this stage was not so much through popular education but rather by remodelling the Elites in order to guide the People. As may be deduced from his work, this resulted in a highly vague definition of social groups which would later be detected in the historian. He was particularly concerned with the Elites and the People. A group of exceptional personalities from the Biblioteca Nacional such as Raul Proença, António Sérgio, Aquilino Ribeiro, Faria de Vasconcelos and others, joined forces to launch remarkable initiatives in publishing and safeguarding the cultural heritage. An exemplary deed. But the Library represented research; it represented contact with the fundamental works of culture. And it was in this environment of study and reflection that he would become a historian.

Jaime Cortesão - a doctor by training, politician by civic obligation and director of the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa - would finally unveil himself as a historian in 1922, at the age of 38 - a correspondent member of



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the Academia de Ciências de Lisboa [Academy of Sciences of Lisbon] since 1921, of which he would never become full member. It was in the *História da Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil* [History of the Portuguese Colonisation of Brazil], directed by Carlos Malheiro Dias with the energetic administrative direction of the "Brazilian" Albino de Souza Cruz. His collaboration, which emerged independently in the same year, was entitled *A expedição de Pedro Álvares e o descobrimento do Brasil* [The Expedition of Pedro Álvares Cabral and the discovery of Brazil]. The three initial chapters and the conclusion may be said to be part of the genre of a theatrically revived history, with detailed descriptions and the gestures and alleged thoughts of the characters. Despite the footnotes attesting to the careful consultation of sources, they were no more than a pastiche of dubious literary taste. Cortesão allowed himself to be dragged along by his verbal impetuosity to the meticulous and elaborate description, seeking the visualisation of everything. However, it was only with chapter IV of *A Expedição* that the scholar surfaced.

His first step was to perform a seriation of the sources: "a) official documents on the organisation of the armada; b) direct testimonies of those who had travelled or collaborated therein; c) information transmitted abroad by the King or Italians, both during the journey and a few days after the arrival of Cabral's first ships". Only then would the relevance of other documents be considered, such as Cantino's letter, the accounts of Castanheda, João de Barros, Damião de Góis, Jerónimo Osório, Gaspar Correia - which he duly reflected on and relativised - as well as the "*Livro das Armadas*" [Book of the Armadas]. "A comparative examination of the original sources brought an immediate advantage: their unquestionable and reciprocal authenticity [those passed on in translated form might have aroused doubts] was established, since they coincided entirely, except for minor divergences underlying each of the documents. Additionally, as they completed and clarified each other, it was possible to form an entire scheme of the most notable facts of the expedition, including their chronological scale. And while some of the most serious problems related to the journey remained unsolved in this schematic account, due to its indisputable veracity, it functioned as a standard against which the fidelity of the accounts of the chronicles could be compared. This scheme was truly a touchstone." (*A Expedição...*, pp. 41-46). Attentive erudition. Comparison of sources and pursuit of authenticity in testimony. Concern with the intention behind the formulation of each one. Choice and hierarchy of documents prior to the overall architecture. And also other concerns with visions other than those of historiography.

As early as 1925 he gave a conference (of which there is no written text) in Lisbon, at the *Universidade Livre* [Free University], which was significantly entitled "*As relações entre a Geografia e a história de Portugal*" [Relations between geography and the history of Portugal]. Knowledge of space (and its importance for the study of societies across time) has since remained as Cortesão's essential contribution to the History of Portugal - and hence also to the pursuit of understanding the art of sailing and the instruments constructed to such end. The 1925 article "*A tomada e ocupação de Ceuta*" [The seizure and occupation of Ceuta] gave deserved prominence to the hypothesis previously advanced by António Sérgio (in *Ensaios* [Essays], 1920) and discussed by David Lopes, while also referring to other research, such as that of Pedro de Azevedo. In a





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lengthy account, supported by excellent bibliographical sources, Cortesão took evident delight in highlighting Portugal's situation in the great trade between the North Sea and especially the Mediterranean Sea, the sea across which the valuable goods brought from Asia, especially the spices, were transported. That the great trade was in crisis and could be resolved with the seizure of Ceuta was credited to Sérgio; that the city was an important maritime port with strategic interest for the combat of piracy was credited to Lopes. Cortesão agreed with Pedro de Azevedo when stating that the interests of the "merchant class" and those of nobility were ultimately combined in the Ceuta enterprise. But Cortesão, as always, was much bolder and managed to envisage in the taking of the African square the beginnings of a "plan of discoveries, and therefore of wider expansion." Furthermore, he already glimpsed in this "India and its trade as a remote objective." He concluded in exaltation that this was how "an act of national salvation" was accomplished." ("A tomada e ocupação de Ceuta," pp. 26-27) Different stances became reconciled, although the historical characters still stood out in Cortesão's writings.

Also in 1926, his booklet on the Treaty of Tordesillas (*Le Traité de Tordesillas et la découverte de l'Amérique*) was published by the Biblioteca Nacional, and the text presenting Portugal at the International Exhibition in Antwerp, a review entitled *L'Expansion des Portugais dans l'Histoire de la Civilisation* was also dated prior to 1930. In these writings he opens to new developments in the chapters on the history of expansion with which he then began his collaboration in Barcelos' *História de Portugal* [History of Portugal]. In the same year, the culmination of this initial phase of Cortesão's work was the publication of "Os Factores democráticos na Formação de Portugal" ["Democratic Factors in the Formation of Portugal"], "one of his masterpieces and one of the crowning moments of 20th-century Portuguese historiography" (Vitorino Magalhães Godinho). He had been working on this subject for some time, at least since 1928, on which he had published some reflections in the *Seara Nova* journal, foretelling the final text. Articles dated Paris, October 20, 1928 ("A formação democrática de Portugal" ["The democratic formation of Portugal"]) and February 1930 ("O problema das relações entre a Geografia e a autonomia política de Portugal" [The problem of the relationship between Geography and the political autonomy of Portugal]). In these early works he began to assert one of the central problems of his future theory of the discoveries, and also one of the keys to understanding the poet-historian. It was when he stated the following in relation to Duarte Pacheco Pereira's mysterious mission to the western hemisphere in the late 15th century: "all the chroniclers maintain a unique silence." And further ahead: "Today we know that a policy of the strictest secrecy protected national interests from the vast covetousness of outsiders. And it is owing to the secret information that the Italians of Lisbon transmitted to their metropolises that today we are able to piece together, little by little, part of our unknown and immense accomplishments," (*A Expedição...*, pp. 52 and 137-138).

The theory of secrecy revealed the historian's major concern: the rationality of construction. It was in this effort to incorporate displaced or unclassifiable stones in the understanding he sought, that the attempt to consider secrecy as inherent to the history of the Portuguese discoveries emerged and developed. In this



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initially rather incongruous whole, many of the testimonies needed to be made intelligible. The dissatisfied citizen of a threatened republic, the unfulfilled poet of action who felt all the value of life in a real dramatic conflict, shifted from the experience of history to the construction of history. From the epic in which he had participated, from the page of history he had written in blood, he moved on to the epic experienced by others, in other eras. He became excited in this encounter-revelation, in this community where he attained a "profound exaltation of the spirit, with some of the Men of our Golden Age". In a history whose writing he now referred to as "distilling in the archives" (In Memoriam do Conde de Sabugosa [In memoriam of the Count of Sabugosa], p. 230).

Two years later, Jaime Cortesão published a remarkable article: "Do sigilo nacional sobre os descobrimentos" ["On national secrecy regarding the discoveries"]. He went even further in the subtitle: "Crónicas desaparecidas, mutiladas e falseadas, alguns dos feitos que se calaram" ["Missing, mutilated and distorted chronicles, some of the deeds that were hushed"]. (Lusitânia. Fasc. 1 issue 1], January 1924, pp. 153-174). The reason would have been that, in defence of the commercial monopoly, the dissemination of news was forbidden, as was its very record, so that the competition would not destroy what a small and poorly defended people had obtained. This seductive hypothesis, that had already been used in the previous study, would fully explain the silence of the sources and, above all, the incongruities of the pivotal text, *Crónica dos feitos de Guiné* [Chronicle of the accomplishments in Guinea], by Gomes Eanes de Azurara. By analysing the whole process in detail, piece by piece, he embraced the theory of the imposed official secrecy and of the existence of another epic waiting to be revealed. Beyond the known documents, "there were other hidden *Lusiads*". (Ibidem, p. 81) It is perhaps this view that has been the most controversial of Cortesão's entire work. While the thesis of secrecy was unanimously accepted for the last decades of the century, at the time when King John II made it official, secrecy at the time of Prince Henry the navigator was far from consensual. Both Duarte Leite and Vítorino Magalhães Godinho, with a different type of analysis, rejected the position presented and which was always defended from then on. However, in Cortesão's view, secrecy was essential to the methodology of the History of the Discoveries, which he presented as his own, in addition to the general historical methods he developed from other influences. While in "A Tomada e Ocupação de Ceuta", 1925, the secrecy theory was not used as an argument - the novelty was the attention to the history of prices based on the works of Thorold Rogers and d'Avenel -, it later became the focus of *Le Traité de Tordesillas et la Découverte de l'Amérique*, 1926, which was subtitled *Conditions physiques, scientifiques et économiques qui ont pu influencer la découverte de l'Amérique*.

Cortesão was attentive to the work of geographers: he was familiar with and repeatedly used the geography of Jean Brunhes and Camille Vallaux (*La Géographie de l'Histoire*) and he read the *Annales de Géographie* of this science's golden period in France. In addition, he paid particular attention to the studies of the wind and current charts of the American navy, immersing himself in the complex studies of maritime navigation. This was the making of the geographer in history. In 1944 he acknowledged that he had specialised in "studies of



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the history of geography" (Cabral e as origens do Brasil [Cabral and the origins of Brazil] , p. 5). He had also been resorting to French sociology since 1926. Drawing on Philippe de Champault, "one of the most penetrating disciples of 'Social Science'" he borrowed the following social law: whenever merchant carriers discovered an advantageous route to new countries, offering rich products, they did everything within their power to monopolise its use, keeping the route for themselves and their commercial group". From here, and guided by this Durkheim disciple, he enunciated a series of rules to be observed by all peoples in a similar situation: "a) to make [the trade of rich products and their routes] a monopoly; b) to close the routes leading thereto by treaties and prohibitive legends, or by persecuting all transgressors; c) to make their entire political and commercial action secret, as also the facts referring thereto; d) to keep a close eye on foreigners abroad and within, and exclude them from their social group." (Le Traité..., p. 24).

Champault's *Étude géographique, historique et sociale par une méthode nouvelle* came to suggest the analytical instruments Cortesão believed he needed. The official secrecy explained the lack of documents supporting the discoveries and advances in the knowledge of the world, stemming from a defence of the economic monopoly. Until his last work – *Os Descobrimentos Portugueses* [The Portuguese Discoveries] (1960) - Cortesão's formulation of what he called the sociological laws of secrecy remained unchanged, even in form. From the application of this explanatory process to the Portuguese maritime discoveries - where it has been and will continue to be discussed – there was a shift to its generalisation. In this architecture, the problem of the sources and their rigorous treatment became fundamental. It was necessary to ascertain not only what the sources revealed but also what they concealed, and the reasons behind revealing and hiding information. Satisfying the poet in him, his imagination took over and was channelled towards the plausible. This freedom in fantasizing (to use an expression dear to António Sérgio) would arouse curiosity in the reader - resulting in complicity - in the overall understanding, in which the mysterious and the enigmatic - at first sight - may be rationally explained. Rationality understood as an effort to understand and explain frequently non-rational collective behaviour, which has to be integrated into the whole in order to make sense. Years later he formulated the paradox at the root of the great contemporary historiography: "there are no documents without history."

All documents, each and every one, "correspond to an individual and social state of mind, to a degree of culture, to a system of political or religious ideas or, in other words, to so many other causes that may lead to a distortion of the facts or their outright concealment. Therefore, if we do not investigate the history of the document, that is, the reasons that dictated, clarified or restricted it, we will not have completed the historian's first task - to gather sources." "It is true that, were history understood thus [...], the historian would have to draw on other sciences: generically, geography, the psychology of men and peoples and sociology [...]. The tendency is to widen more and more the circle of understanding of the facts and include them in the integral vision of humanity". (Introdução à História das Bandeiras [Introduction to the History of Flags], vol. I, pp. 11-12). This was the indispensable interdisciplinarity in a comprehensive total history, as proposed by Fernand





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Braudel, who not by chance admired Cortesão. With some influence from readings in sociology, but above all in agreement with the feeling of the dramatic poet, was his approach to social groups. He found a paradigm, a type, which he then concretised through the contrast he established with the personalities he brought to life (the "touchstone", which he used in another sense in *A Expedição...*). This was the case of the citizens of Oporto in the *Carta de Pêro Vaz de Caminha* [Letter of Pêro Vaz de Caminha], the *bandeirantes* [flag-bearing explorers] of Raposo Tavares e a *Formação Territorial do Brasil* [Raposo Magalhães and the Territorial Formation of Brazil], the *castiços* [purebreds] and *estrangeirados* [those who prefer everything foreign to national], or the Luso-Brazilians of *Alexandre de Gusmão e o Tratado de Madrid* [Alexandre Gusmão and the Treaty of Madrid] They were, to some extent, typological constructions like those in sociology - although he did not appear to seek the "ideal types" of Max Weber, an author he mentioned in passing towards the end of the 1940s, but above all they were the carpentry work of a playwright calling the comedians to the stage to perform a variety of roles...

Having learned to historicize by reading good historians, Jaime Cortesão, however, was too much of himself to be marked by more than slight influences - which there were, for sure. His intellectual structure integrated and assimilated, expanded and enriched itself without any dominant external presence. While Durkheim's French sociology was relevant and his social morphology suited to Cortesão's thinking as a geographer - as evidenced in the writing of *Os factores demográficos na formação de Portugal* [The demographic factors in the formation of Portugal] - another clearly evident influence was Henri Pirenne's *As cidades na Idade Média* [Cities in the Middle Ages] (1927).

The urban bourgeoisies, in the spaces they progressively organised, brought vitality to the economy and led the small fry, thus constructing a communal civilisation. Cortesão's social analysis was linked above all to urban spaces and their dynamics. While these convergences were brought to light in 1930, a reinterpreted Pirenne was always present - because it conformed to the profound (and not infrequently meta-historical) vision of the social path from which the discoveries resulted, through the cosmopolitanism of the port bourgeoisies, when the People and the Elites joined efforts so that the epic could unfold overseas.

Sociology, economic and social history, especially geography, and a keen sense of spiritual and religious yearnings served the architecture of the masterpieces written in exile. Evidence was presented for his claims, albeit in an interpretation of documents that at times could only be sustained by accepting the assumptions of the secrecy theory. Cortesão traced the emergence of nationality through the occupation of the territory and the articulation of the ways of life of the population of the various regions. The community was formed from this junction of diverse origins, and also some foreign colonisation. The search for various reasons, to some degree timeless and imaginary - the adequacy of which was always impossible to prove - was no longer needed to advance in the knowledge of the economy and administration of the country. The "profound economic renewal of the Country" was a central point to explain national affirmation in the 14th century. This was the response to the external demand for wines and salt, olive oil and fruit. There was also the export of



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honey, wax, leather, fur and wool. And the inland economy and that of the coast were also joined. "Inland, agriculture and pastoralism; on the coast, the exploitation of salt and fishing that extended from our coast to foreign countries." Thus, "the new genre of national life was created: maritime trade at a distance, based on agriculture." (Os factores..., pp. 89-91)

"It was from the very movement of the communes that the supreme concept of Nation was to be born in Portugal; and only when the causes had disappeared that hindered the development of the popular classes here, even more than in the rest of Europe, would democratic principles resume their march until the advent of the Republic." Was he thus seeking what could be called a "democratic conception of Portuguese history?" Possibly. "But in any science what matters is that its conceptions are...scientific." (Os factores..., pp. 14-15) Special emphasis was given to the revolution of 1383: "Portugal came of age; its domestic politics were dominated by secularist and civilist trends, an essential condition for the dignity and freedom of peoples; and the State reached the form of organisation that allowed it to solve the major problem of the expansion of Europe and the knowledge of the planet." (Os factores..., p. 157) The verticality of the citizen who could not accept the military-clerical dictatorship installed from 1926 onwards led him to take up arms and fight. When the uprising was defeated on 7 February 1927, he resigned and left the Homeland until 1957.

Never losing hope that one day the People and Elites would harmonise in a redemptive resurrection, as had been the case in 1383, in the Discoveries, in the Restoration, in the epic of the formation of Brazil, this is what he wished to see in the Republic in Portugal. He spent the late 1920s and 1930s in France and Spain, researching and teaching. In 1940, due to the German invasion of France, he returned to Portugal. However, his activity as a revolutionary republican had not been forgotten and the dictator had not forgiven him. He would soon be arrested, and along with others, sent to the Forte de Peniche [Peniche Fort] and "banished overseas" (Elogio Histórico de Bernardino Machado [Historical Praise of Bernardino Machado], p. 35). Brazil generously welcomed him at the time. He began working at the Gabinete Português de Leitura [Portuguese Reading Bureau] and at the Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro [National Library of Rio de Janeiro]. In 1944 he joined the Instituto Rio Branco do Ministério das Relações Exteriores [Rio Branco Institute of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs], a school for the training of Brazilian diplomats, as a professor. There he taught História da Cartografia do Brasil [History of Brazilian Cartography] and História da Formação Territorial do Brasil [History of the Territorial Formation of Brazil] - from 1944 to 1950 - following the organisation of Itamaraty's Mapoteca [Map Collection], which he had been in charge of since 1942 and which was to serve as support to the research undertaken for the creation of a never accomplished Atlas Histórico do Brasil [Historical Atlas of Brazil]. His idea was to review the History of Brazil, which he already considered one of his favourite studies.

Brazil treated the Portuguese historian kindly. It was not by chance that he was commissioned to curate the remarkable commemorative exhibition of the Quarto Centenário da Fundação de São Paulo [Fourth Centenary of the Foundation of São Paulo], in 1954 (for which he was made an "honorary citizen" of São Paulo, a very rare distinction). In those years of industrious Brazilian exile (1940-1957), Jaime Cortesão



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developed his major studies, in late maturity, precisely with Brazil as the subject: A "Carta" de Pêro Vaz de Caminha, Cabral e as origens do Brasil (Ensaio de Topografia Histórica [Historical Topographic Essay]), Alexandre de Gusmão e o Tratado de Madrid, Manuscritos da Coleção De Angelis [Manuscripts of the De Angelis Collection], Brasil - livro 1 [Brazil- book 1], De los comienzos a 1799, Pauliceæ Monumenta Historica and Raposo Tavares e a Formação Territorial do Brasil are some of the titles of his remarkable intellectual activity beyond the Atlantic. His work decisively influenced Brazilian historiography, leaving deep marks. It should be noted that he took it upon himself to show the evolution of the map representation of Brazil, while clarifying "the geopolitical bases of its formation".

He sought to resolve or contribute to the resolution of the following questions: "Is Brazil a sufficiently differentiated geographical entity in relation to the other South American States? Does its history also follow its own economic, social, and political development, based on that geographical differentiation? What system of principles and legal titles legitimise and guarantee the geographical basis of the State?" These were highly difficult and complex problems to formulate and resolve and contained, in themselves, an extensive work programme for which the analysis of cartographic documentation served as support and frequently as illustration. Jaime Cortesão assumed that maps expressed first and foremost the political will of the rulers. Although they conveyed a codified view of reality, they reflected above all the purposes of those in charge. Cartography was not objective - even considering the instrumental deficiencies of the time - but disseminated knowledge that was entirely geared towards justifying territorial domination. This could lead to distortions that contaminated what was to be observed.

Jaime Cortesão regarded politics as being so central to cartography that he even stated in his writing that the art of cartography had become stultified by 1640, "as it no longer corresponded to a prevailing political function." He always sought the historical significance of maps. Political significance. In the História do Brasil nos Velhos Mapas [History of Brazil in the Old Maps] in particular, Jaime Cortesão's structural conceptions regarding the formation of Brazil were brought to light: from an imagined "Brazil-Island", defined by the Rio de la Plata and Amazon basins. A social unit would have been built that ended up being political and prefiguring a detachable territory as national. Everything else stemmed from this prior attitude. Even when dealing with eighteenth-century expeditions, the Ilha-Brasil was as if floating westward, depending on the political advantages of the Portuguese. The Ilha-Brasil was evoked as a determining factor in the establishment of the borders, marking the limits and confrontations with the Spanish dominions.

He always felt "sick with saudade [longing]" for Portugal – within himself he could hear "the voice of his blood" because he was so far away - and as soon as he was allowed to, he returned to the Homeland in 1957. He resumed (as far as possible) his civic and political concerns, which still earned him a prison sentence at the age of seventy-four. Indeed, although he only had "literary ambitions as a writer and historian" (interview with Igrejas Caeiro, 1958, in José Ribeiro dos Santos, Jaime Cortesão..., p. 350) he would never bow down to dictatorships or dictators - and therefore had no place in the Academia Portuguesa da História [Portuguese



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Academy of History] (created by the regime for its service, in 1936 - with members appointed by the government).

Despite his availability, he was not the opposition candidate for President of the Republic in 1958, as General Humberto Delgado was chosen over him (for strategic reasons designed by Sérgio to undermine the regime from within). He actively continued to disseminate history and collaborate in newspapers on the subjects of his analyses, reviewing and recalling the Portuguese reality, its land and its people. Until the end, in August 1960. In addition to projects that never bore fruit (such as the long-desired and impending *História de Portugal*), two of his works were not completed: *Os Descobrimentos Portugueses* [Portuguese Discoveries] (published in Lisbon from 1960) and *História do Brasil nos Velhos Mapas* [History of Brazil in Old Maps] (in Rio de Janeiro, with vol. I in 1965 and II in 1971). Even without the author's finishing touch, they are indispensable as possible syntheses of two fields of research that occupied Cortesão over a long period of time, and where his original and powerful lesson has indelibly marked both the historiography of Portugal and of Brazil.

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