

DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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Faculty of Arts of the University of Coimbra (1911-1974)

As is well known, the Faculty of Arts of the University of Coimbra, like that of Lisbon, was created in 1911. Among other fields of knowledge, History was also a part of its offering and was included in the institution's 4th Cluster. Its beginnings were necessarily difficult, much like those of the Faculty itself, which did not enjoy its own building until 1914, when the built part was inaugurated. It was assisted by the steady organisational hand of its first director, António de Vasconcelos (1860-1941), who equipped the Faculty with the means for the teaching of the so-called auxiliary History subjects. However, it was easier to immediately find teachers for the subjects that came into force from the then dissolved Faculty of Theology. In fact, the teachers from the latter were placed in the newly created Faculty of Arts on the basis of their skills, as was also the case with the teachers of the Curso Superior de Letras [former Faculty of Arts] in relation to that of Lisbon.

The appetency of some theologians for History is quite understandable. It was in the Faculdades de Teologia, de Cânones e Leis [Faculties of Theology, Canon Law and Laws], and then in the new Faculty of Law (1836) that History was taught at the University, naturally a history that was pertinent to the theological-legal branches of the sciences taught at the time. By virtue of the 1901 reform, the subjects of Geography, Chronology, Hermeneutics and Exegesis, History (Sacred and) Ecclesiastical, Liturgy and the compulsory attendance of some Law subjects, such as General Sociology and Philosophy of Law or Ecclesiastical Law, and even Anthropology and Geology in the Faculty of Philosophy, enabled the devoted theologians to pursue a career in research and teaching in the field of historical sciences. Along with that of studies in philology and literature, among others, this had been implemented as a result of the marked decadence with which the Faculty of Theology was confronted.

In 1911, both António de Vasconcelos, who taught several subjects at this Faculty, including Isagoge and Archaeology (Biblical Studies), and Joaquim Mendes dos Remédios (1867-1932), were placed in the 2nd Cluster of the Faculty of Arts. Mendes dos Remédios remained in Romance Philology, although he also applied himself to the history of the Jews and New-Christians in Portugal, besides the history of literature, while Vasconcelos, despite his proven track record in language and grammar, settled in the field of History. He had



DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

<http://dichp.bnportugal.pt/>

already attained prominence for his published works and for his ability to organise and catalogue the Archive, which were tasks he had officially conducted from 1897 to become its director as soon as it became a department in its own right (1901), a post he retained for over a quarter of a century (1902-1927).

Until 1916, there were essentially three History teachers: António de Vasconcelos, Francisco Martins (1848-1916), a former teacher of Sacred and Ecclesiastical History, and Porfírio António da Silva (1855-1919), a lecturer in Theology and Dogmatics. They were also joined by Manuel Gonçalves Cerejeira (1888-1977) in 1916, a provisional assistant who held a degree in Historical and Geographical Sciences, and later on (1921-1926), João José de Brito e Silva.

Since there were insufficient teachers and assistants to keep all the subjects assigned to the 4th Cluster in the Faculty open, including those of the Escola Normal Superior (1915-1930) under its charge, some of them had to be taught by teachers from other Clusters, which was what occurred over time whenever necessary, including teachers from Law and Medicine, and sometimes from secondary school (1914).

The History courses, at the baccalaureate (1911-1918) and undergraduate level, were twinned with Geography until 1930, representing the knowledge of the Historical and Geographical Sciences. However, the doctoral degrees were separated into two specialised fields in 1918, which perhaps justifies the non-emergence of a geographer bonanza among the history teachers, precisely in counter-cycle to the scenario in France, where the first two generations of the *Annales* only claimed the geographic heritage of the past. The later union with Philosophy (1930-1957) would, on the contrary, leave its mark on some of the historians who graduated in Historical and Philosophical Sciences.

Among the initial History teachers, A. de Vasconcelos stood out as a prominent figure. His retirement in 1930 marked the first phase of the history of the 4th Cluster, which almost coincided with the departure of Gonçalves Cerejeira in 1928. New paths saw the hiring of assistants Mário Brandão (1928) and M. Lopes de Almeida (1930); of Damião Peres, full professor by public tender in 1931, from the dissolved (1928) and then closed Faculty of Arts of Porto; and in 1937, Torquato Soares of the same origin. The second generation of teachers of the History Cluster had been born, or was already blossoming, to be joined on 30 March 1941, by the medievalist emeritus Father Pierre David (1882-1955).

The early 1950s marked the beginning of an era of new historians with Salvador Dias Arnaut (1913-1995) and Fr. Avelino de Jesus da Costa (1908-2000) joining the Faculty in 1952, however, they only completed their PhDs in the late 1960s. The arrival of these two new teachers, who were joined shortly afterwards by João Manuel Bairrão Oleiro (1953) as Chair of Archaeology, coincided with the inauguration of the Faculty's current building on 22 November 1951. However, it would take almost another decade before new directions in historiography in Coimbra were truly consolidated, in line with what was happening in and beyond Portugal in several national areas, embodied in the implementation of the 1957 reform, as mentioned further ahead.



DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

<http://dichp.bnportugal.pt/>

The content of these teachers' lectures, which did not always rigorously correspond to that recorded in the summaries, sheds light on some historiographical trends reflecting national and foreign historical knowledge and, naturally, the teachers' own conceptions, how it was studied over time for some subjects, and occasionally for the action of some of the teachers. Research, which has always been associated with teaching since the foundation of the Faculty, also unveils some of the teaching trends and allows for an assessment of the themes imposed during each period and how they were conceived.

The Faculty of Arts' drive for research is entrenched in the emotion of its beginnings. In fact, the Faculties participated in the republican reform of the University which was generally well-received. According to the regenerative provision of the organic law and the text of the university's constitution, the aim was to establish active teaching in History, whereby practical work and research would be compulsory while lectures would not. What was to be avoided was precisely «the simple rhetorical remembrance of notable facts, in order to elevate History to the dignity of a science through the understanding and reconstitution of the past by means of a rigorous critical process» (A Faculdade de Letras ao país [Faculty of Arts to the country], 1919, p. 33).

To this end, an «objective, critical, up-to-date and intensive» teaching approach was introduced, as classified by the afore-mentioned text, which involved a search for teaching materials, to the degree possible, stimulating practical work and organising the research centres. The University Archive, the Machado de Castro Museum and later Conmbriga took on the configuration of «laboratories», while the Faculty reserved management of the Archive for itself.

Moreover, the Faculties of Arts emerged with an additional research establishment, namely the Institute of Historical Studies (IEH). It included the departments of Philology, History and Philosophy. It was governed by a board, composed of the department directors and presided over by the Dean of the Faculty. In addition to all the students enrolled at the Faculty, «other individuals, with or without a degree, who wished to conduct scientific research in line with the aims of the Institute" (decree of 19 August 1911) were also members of the Institute».

The history of this research institute was marked by a series of ups and downs, beginning with the search for a location where it would be housed. The greatest difficulties, however, were mainly due to the autonomous drive of each department, subsumed later, as far as languages were concerned, by the rooms and institutes created by the development of the Cursos de Férias [Holiday Courses] (1925). In fact, the Philology and Philosophy departments successively detached themselves from the global IEH statutes. In this shift towards differentiation, the IEH eventually became a mere specific body of History per se (1925), and from 1932 until the initial move to the current Faculty building, under the terms of a decree of December 1930, enjoyed the title of Instituto de Investigação Científica [Scientific Research Institute]. This proposal was presented and approved in the Faculty Council on 12 December 1932, claiming to be an officialization, a formality that had also occurred in 1927 by virtue of the new Estatuto da Instrução Universitária [University Instruction Statute]



of 1926. But its history since 1911, and the research texts produced therein, which substantiated each of the above-mentioned proposals leave no doubt as to its original nature.

A. de Vasconcelos had held the position of director of the History department since the beginning of the IEH (global), in addition to being the natural president of the board of this Institute as director of the Faculty (1911-1920). He was also director of the IEH, in the narrow sense, until his retirement when he was succeeded by Damião Peres. With the honours that were later bestowed upon him, the Institute came to be called his, as indeed it had always been, from 7 December 1937, on the occasion of the University's centenary celebrations which continued until the April 1974 revolution, however national research policy (JEN) had changed. Within the scope of the latter, a Centre for Historical Studies was created which had already been subsidised by the Institute for High Culture (1936-1952) in 1940, and continued until 1976, under the name of the Institute for High Culture.

In view of the changes to the initial Institute of Historical Studies, research as far as students were concerned was well represented in the curriculum reform of 1957. Seminars were created to be integrated in the degree programme which were «mainly intended for the supervision of degree dissertations and the practical teaching of research methods». Its importance, in theory, may be noted in the legislator's caution, following similar guidelines to those of the 1930 reform, by establishing that «only by way of marked exception may first assistants be assigned the direction of seminars». They continued beyond 1974, within a different framework, fostering a breeding ground for the germination of generous vocations, many of them stimulated within the confines of the University Archive, where long, long before, A. de Vasconcelos, its director, had set the example.

It was in the Institute of Historical Studies, where Faculty knowledge initially appeared to fit, with the exception of Experimental Psychology, Geography and Phonetics, that the nascent historiography developed. The influence of its directors, a collective direction of the Faculty in its early years, imprinted a mark that remained for many decades to come.

The research and teaching of history obviously followed the prevailing cultural canons and guidelines, one of which recalled the results obtained in the natural sciences and their methods, which, as stated, were constantly and increasingly being applied «to the studies of the other specialties and particularly to the social sciences, history, philosophy and pedagogy» (decree of 24 December 1901, preamble, no. VII).

In this paradigm, history was a pure science, «une science comme la physique, ou comme la géologie», as stated by Fustel de Coulanges (1830-1889) at around 1875 (François Hartog, *Le XIXe siècle*, 1988, p. 358). The method of each subject, while safeguarding particularities, was characterised by the subordination to facts, as imposed by methodological monism. Even in Cultural History, and in the words of Joaquim de Carvalho in 1927, «without the patient and lucid hunt for facts, all constructions will be fragile and precarious», (*Obra completa* [Complete Works], I, 1978, p. 337). In 1930, the same teacher recalled that «the natural philosophy of the nineteenth century» was «the empire of objectivity and love of the fact, confident in a world, a cosmos



DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

<http://dichp.bnportugal.pt/>

in itself, that is, order, and in the eternity of some truths» (ibidem, p. 355). As stated by T. Soares in around 1950, referring to Fustel de Coulanges and repeating what the previous generation had already stated in Coimbra, History «consists of nothing but verifying the facts, analysing them, approximating them and marking their place». But he naturally recognised a spirit of synthesis in Fustel de Coulanges, that is, «a philosophical conception of History, namely the History of Institutions», which he did not find in other authors, such as G. Barros (*História da administração* [History of administration], Volume I, 1945, p. XI). It should be noted that the doctoral programme in Historical and Geographical Sciences for 1917-1918 included themes such as «the notion of historical fact and the criteria for its determination», besides other problems that pointed clearly to a "theory" of History.

The influence of this paradigm is reinforced through the model of German historicism. The «detailed narration», the «rigorous exposition of facts, however conditioned and lacking in beauty they may be», had been established by Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) back in 1824, as the «supreme law of the historian» (J. J. Carreras Ares, *Razón de Historia*, 2000, p. 222). Furthermore, the German school generally influenced the professional historians of the time, and in particular the Portuguese, through the development of cultural relations with Germany from at least 1923 onwards. Thus, for example, in 1927-1929, M. Lopes de Almeida was Reader of Portuguese in Hamburg and, from 1925 to 1928, Mário Brandão performed similar duties in Hamburg and Berlin, as was the case with other future teachers of the Faculty. This cultural policy of readers and missions abroad, supported by the Junta de Educação Nacional [National Education Board] (1929-1936) and covering the whole country, was bound to have consequences.

However, the model initially assumed by the History Cluster had its contradictors at birth. In Germany, the foundations of History's scientism had been under attack since 1870 (Dilthey, Simmel and Rickert), and in Portugal there was also a reaction to the positive-scientist ideology, which went on to impose itself in Literature, History, Law and Philosophy.

Paulo Merêa and Cabral de Moncada, History of Portugal teachers at the Faculdade de Letras, would fight for an idealism in History (Merêa, from 1910), and Gonçalves Cerejeira, in around 1923-1924, would also rise up and fight against the positivist paradigm. Curiously, in Clenardo, Cerejeira «comes across as surprisingly Machiavellian and economistic», relying on António Sérgio to explain the non-development of sixteenth century Portugal (Luís Salgado de Matos, «Cardeal Cerejeira... », *Análise Social* [Social Analysis], 36 (160), 2001, p. 807).

Cerejeira only retained the method of positivism, stressing «albeit its rejection as philosophical» *Do positivismo*, Cerejeira reteve apenas o método, acentuando, no entanto, «refugado ele porém como filosófico» (*A Igreja e o pensamento contemporâneo* [The Church and contemporary thinking], 1924, p. 223). As regards the facts, this method was followed by political integralists and history teachers in Coimbra, which made it difficult for them to assume the role of understanding rather than explanation from an early stage, although in 1933 Joaquim de Carvalho had already transmitted a public alert in a speech during an opening ceremony in



DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

<http://dichp.bnportugal.pt/>

the Sala dos Capelos [Great Hall], when referring to a friend and colleague, a teacher of Aesthetics and History of Art: «As an art historian, [...] his studies were guided by explanation, and not only understanding. He is a positivist if I may so express. He inventories facts like no one else in our time, and pursues the objective connections between them, and if these facts and these connections do not spring forth with the scent of pure aesthetic sensibility, it is because they aspire to the perennial glory of scientific foundation. I do not know if the scientific approach is possible in art, because the artist does not circulate within the realm of facts, but rather within that of values» («Discursos» [«Speeches»], *Biblos*, 9, 1933, pp. 501-502).

The method imposed an external and internal criticism of the document in pursuit of rigour and certainty. Both A. de Vasconcelos and Cerejeira and, in fact, all the teachers assumed this approach until the 1930s. This trend, which was also followed by their students, became drier through Neo-positivism, whereby adjectives and moral judgements were prohibited, at least in the mid-1950s, the decade that was marked by the History crisis within the Faculty.

For example, Sílvio de Lima, when referring to Cerejeira, before the confrontation of ideas that victimized him during a period of intolerance and new cleansing, stated that among his colleague's many professional qualities was «the prudent critical attitude that prompted him to check before stating, so aware is he of the human passions that adulterate the facts» (Moreira das Neves, *O cardeal Cerejeira* [Cardinal Cerejeira], 1948, p. 199). In the case of Mário Brandão, suffice, for example, to consider the way he transcribed documents and the detailed reasoning of the text, an attitude that was extensive to his contemporaries, to immediately judge his probity. But no researcher, as far as I can remember, went so far as to issue a certificate proving the accuracy of the transcribed documents, by appealing to the authority of the University Secretary, as António de Vasconcelos, a lecturer in Dogmatics at the time, did in 1897, with the publication of Francisco Suárez. After becoming director of the Archive, he expressed the same concern in documents he published in the *University Yearbook 1900-1901* (p. 186). And in the biographical study of Brás Garcia Mascarenhas he began publishing in 1912, collected in a volume ten years later, he repeats: «It is all based on reliable and authentic sources, which we scrupulously quote, or copy into an appendix, so that any reader can easily verify the accuracy, and assess the legitimacy of our statements and conclusions» (p. 6). Salvador Dias Arnaut, who belonged to a third generation of historians, equally displays confidence in the detail, so as to allow for contrast. In *A crise nacional dos fins do século XIV* [National crisis in the late 14th century] (1960), this doctor requests the opinion of other coroners to describe the murder of Maria Teles in Coimbra by the son of Inês de Castro, John of Portugal, as he considered «the method of clinical history is analogous to that of History» (S. Dias Arnaut, «Oração ...[Prayer] », *Biblos*, 41, 1965, pp. 373-374).

It is worth noting that although the facts were "irremovable data", this was the starting point of history, which presupposed a theory, as recalled by Lucien Febvre (1878-1956) in 1947, fighting against a history that was not his own. This theoretical assumption was also accepted by traditional history when resorting to «ideas generales e hipótesis en la construcción histórica» (J. J. Carreras Ares, *Razón de Historia*, 2000, p. 148-149).



DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

<http://dichp.bnportugal.pt/>

Ideology was bound to be present, as is currently acknowledged in the historians of the regime, or in those who were able to synthesise, surpassing the researcher, to use terminology dating back to the time of António Sérgio's essays (1883-1969). Indeed, all historiography is ideological, which does not prevent its scientificity.

In the preface to G. Barros' (1833-1925) enriching editions of the initial volumes of the *História da Administração Pública* [History of Public Administration], T. Soares had already written that the author, besides the scientific method adopted and the «cold analysis of the facts and the serene and objective historical construction», always reveals «the guiding thread that directs and animates him, [which] reflects the 'person' who uses it to attain the so-desired synthesis» (volume I, 1945, p. XI). History is also autobiography and, therefore, contemporary history. But this dimension was not yet part of the objective of university historians, beyond sporadic occasions or the scope of some doctoral exam programmes, as well as, effectively, in the *Curso de Férias*.

The pulse of life can be expressed in many ways, but living history can be muzzled by the language through which it is expressed. In fact, and in the words of Frederick J. Teggart (*Theory*, 1960, p. 12) in 1918, by becoming a science, history eliminated «all literary ornaments and statements without proof» from its narrative. This was the approach adopted by Vasconcelos, although he was not bound by «Rankian passivity and neutrality» (Carreras Ares). It is a fact that the Theology professor was criticised in 1894 by Mendes dos Remédios, who was only a graduate at the time, on the emergence of his first historical attempt (*Evolução do culto de D. Isabel de Aragão* [Evolution of the cult of D. Isabel of Aragon]), for excessive erudition and a lack of literary ornament. He would have liked the author, who «investigates, assesses, interprets, analyses, dissects», to have «refrained from over-indulging in his mission as researcher and critic. He said what he wanted to say in as few words as possible, paying little attention to ornament». But the subject to be addressed, in the opinion of Mendes dos Remédios, required «the harmony of historical accuracy and artistic-verbal form» ("D. Isabel de Aragon", *O Instituto* [The Institute], 41, 1894, p. 916-917). However, this proposal bore no fruit and A. de Vasconcelos' style remained quite different from the "chaste and musical" (L. S. de Matos) style of Gonçalves Cerejeira in Eugénio de Castro's time. Additionally, in 1996, the president of the Lisbon Academy of Sciences acknowledged Vasconcelos, he who was so knowledgeable of the Portuguese language and grammar, «for the clarity of his writing and even the simplicity of his style, so suited to historical studies» (Brás Garcia Mascarenhas, 1996, p. VII). In 1936, Trindade Salgueiro referred to him as «an utter master of the language», besides also «a historian, philologist, exegete, sociologist and artist» (*Discurso* [Discourse], in *Doutor António de Vasconcelos. Homenagem* [Homage], Coimbra, 1937, p. 20). Vasconcelos always deemed rhetorical history incapable of becoming scientific.

Within positivism, the actors of history are the agents of progress, which makes it possible to establish a hierarchy of events, favouring those who contribute most to change and who are found in the political sphere (François Dosse). And they were so for many decades, as if Michelet had not existed, despite, for example,



DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

<http://dichp.bnportugal.pt/>

Cerejeira having noted in 1917, following others: former «history was an endless rosary of names and dates: one might say that those superior men created all history out of nothing» (Clenardo, vol. I, p. 158).

António de Vasconcelos had no taste for political history, although he had attempted it. He was devoted, above all, to certain modalities of the local history of the church and the university institutions of Coimbra, whose continuators, in the period under consideration, were primarily Mário Brandão, but also M. Lopes de Almeida.

However, from the 1930s onwards, political history may be noted in the bibliography of Damião Peres and Lopes de Almeida and, later on, in Salvador Dias Arnaut and even in the initial phase of Luís Ferrand de Almeida (1922-2006), albeit alongside other features. Political, diplomatic, military and institutional history, the latter being fostered by the historians of the Faculty of Law, some of whom also taught at the Faculty of Arts, at a time when the study of societies had not yet been imposed. Moreover, this trend had already been mapped in 1901, at least for the Curso Superior de Letras, and the legislator had decreed that: the study of homeland history «is based, in particular, on the political, diplomatic, colonial history and national institutions». This current was also in line with the majority of research conducted in Portugal from 1928 to 1939, as may be seen in the charismatic *História de Portugal* [History of Portugal] under the direction of Damião Peres, in seven volumes plus a further two supplements, the first of which, by the literary director, published between 1954 and 1958. As has already been calculated, in this work, political history had by far the most pages in relation to the other themes.

The content of this work was of a national nature and stemmed from nationalistic intentions, such as those integrated in the double commemorations of the foundation of nationality and the liberation of Portugal in 1640, an opportunity to exalt the "Portuguese World". But the history that was made and has been made up to current times is national, before the generalisation of transnational and global history. I am convinced that in the period under analysis, no Portuguese mission departed to a foreign country to study its history. The nation's affairs were what had to be studied as a priority. The aim of the *Revista Portuguesa de História* [Portuguese History Journal](RPH), a body of the Institute of Historical Studies which began publishing in 1940-1941, was to study the nation, as was the *Revue Historique* for France, which had begun in 1876 and Madrid's Centre of Historical Studies' (1910) programme. Patriotism, wrote Merêa in 1940, is not incompatible with objectivity, when duly understood, and thus he continued to be considered, even in 1962 by Torquato Soares, specialised in research on the origins of Portuguese nationality and municipal institutions.

With the advent of a new power in 1926, «the law of the nation» became increasingly identified with «the law of the state», while the pursuit to «reveal the soul of the nation» was conducted through history (A. M. Hespanha, «Historiografia jurídica [Legal historiography] », *Análise Social*, 18 (72-74), 1982, pp. 800 and 804), a common approach among some literary trends, which led to a search for the past in bygone eras. History «as the evolution of law and institutions helped to present an inter-classicist ideal of nation, in which the forums, courts, municipal ordinances, etc., were adequately included", as taught at Madrid's Centre of Historical



DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

<http://dichp.bnportugal.pt/>

Studies (Mártinez Millán, «La historiografía sobre el siglo XVI español», in José António Munita Loinaz, ed., XXV años de historiografía hispana (1980-2004), 2007, p. 111), where T. Soares had studied in 1934. The Middle Ages predominated in the pages of the afore-mentioned História de Portugal, just as the historiography produced and taught in the 4th Cluster of History until the April Revolution was mainly medieval, as shown by the collaboration in the RPH from 1941 to 1974, and as was the case with the contents of other journals outside Coimbra. In fact, this practice had been handed down from the monarchy, as may be understood in the restructuring of the Curso Superior de Letras in 1901.

The absence of the Contemporary Age, which was also evident in other departments of the Faculty, despite its formal admission by the titles of the curricular units, as far as History, teaching and research beyond 1789 were concerned, was sometimes attempted in relation to general history. However, it should be noted that in view of the course load allocated to the subjects of Modern and Contemporary History and the History of Portugal within the scope of the various restructuring processes, it was not always possible to teach contemporary history in a system of intensive courses, as was then the practice. On the other hand, the lack of experts in this area, a shortage that was also felt in other countries, the internal opposition to the suppression of subjects or, conversely, the budgetary imbalance due to increased teaching hours, as well as the formal aspect of many documents only coming into the public domain one hundred years later, may have weighed more heavily than an eventual assumption of an ideologically devalued 19th century - although in politics there is always more than one meaning to take into consideration. However, the battles waged nowadays for contemporary history have also been mirrored in the defence of modern history against the prevalence of medievalism. In fact, in around 1933, J. de Carvalho praised the example of Damião Peres for extending his research activity beyond the Middle Ages. Modern times were «relegated to curiosity», when «all eras are worthy of historical consideration and lend themselves like the Middle Ages to circumspect and scientific examination» («Discursos pronunciados na cerimónia de doutoramento... » [«PhD ceremony speeches... »], Biblos, 9, 1933, p. 503). And in the Curso Superior de Letras, as early as 1901, the decreased weight of the Middle Ages in relation to antiquity and modernity was ordered.

The predominance of medieval studies in research involved the publication of sources, an aim that was extended to the Modern Age. This curious trend was handed down from the 19th century by historians who were not yet professionals, fostered by the suppression of the religious orders and the opening of the archives, in addition to the institutional activity committed to the collection of older sources. This line of action has been eagerly recovered by the current teaching staff.

In the 4th Cluster's historiographical activity, Economic and Social History were specifically absent from research until the 1960s. This line of research, as is known, was reshaped in 1928-1929 by the Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, although Paul Mantoux (1877-1956), Henry Hauser (1866-1946) and Ernest Labrousse (1895-1988) were the precursors of Economic History in France, while in Portugal during the same



DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

<http://dichp.bnportugal.pt/>

period its initiators were Lúcio de Azevedo (1855-1933), Francisco António Correia (1877-1933), Moses Amzalak (1892-1978) and Costa Lobo (1840-1913), mainly in relation to the social side.

The Annales, which did not follow a unique path, would open an offensive not only against professional historians but also, and as highlighted by Carreras Ares, against the philosophers of science, such as those of the Vienna Circle, by «subsuming an isolated case into general laws, as in any other science» (Razón de Historia, 2000, p. 226). However, it should be noted that the new historiography would only take hold in England and Germany long after the 1950s. Vicens Vives, in Spain, only truly encountered the historiography of the Annales in 1950.

March Bloch was known in Coimbra in the forties, which was a highly intense historiographical period for the 4th Cluster of the Faculty, driven, as was the case with other similar institutions, by the dynamics stemming from the commemorations of the double centenaries and Portugal's non-entry in the World War. However, the problem-centred approach to history in the field of research had not yet arrived, although T. Soares, acquainted with the work of Marc Bloch (shot on 16 June 1944), had immediately recognised its message, concluding that he had managed «if not to deviate, at least to widen the path of historians» («Marc Bloch», RPH, 3, 1947, p. 634-654). This was a highly expressive metaphor for those who were not set to change, but likely to widen the horizons of a living and ethical history, ending, in 1961, by «recognising the need to use the operative conceptualisation suggested by the sources» (Marinho dos Santos, on another subject).

The development of medieval studies after A. de Vasconcelos is owed to T. Soares, who displayed an open-minded approach to new historiographical trends and was a disciple-maker. He, as also his colleagues, was up to date with recent bibliography, having spent time in Spain and Belgium, some of which was compulsory reading for Medieval History students. He was not, therefore, unaware of the economic and social factors developed by some of these authors, nor most likely were the other teachers in general, and in particular Damião Peres, the author of economic topics, devoted to Numismatics (and to the Mint), besides being a teacher and researcher of the History of Portugal and of the overseas discoveries and expansion, of which he became an expert and a communicator of knowledge. But it was also true that the economic, financial, statistical and sociological areas did not belong to the curricula of the Faculties of Arts, while their beginnings and development were studied within the host institutions, as well as the hostility of the beginnings in some areas. The defence against a materialist vision of History and suspicion on the part of the regime towards the social sciences, which remained even after April 1974, did not allow for the establishment of curriculum plans for similar subjects within the Faculty of Arts, even from a historical point of view. But among the contents of a General History of Civilization, as it was understood around 1950, «economic regimes, social organisations of law and state, science and technique, moral and religious ideas and philosophical and artistic conceptions [...]» (L. S. Cabral de Moncada, «Introdução ao estudo da História» [«Introduction to the study of History»], 1950, p. 104) were considered. Some aspects of economic history were already part of G. Cerejeira and other teachers' lessons after 1930. However, in the Lisbon History Cluster, some of the teachers who followed



DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

<http://dichp.bnportugal.pt/>

Virgínia Rau's example dedicated their research to economic history-related matters, although from a political perspective they were rebellious.

Although there was no local model of encouragement, the Coimbra History Cluster was extremely active in this area in the 1940s, inviting foreign experts to give lectures and lessons on the subject, publishing some of their results, or hosting works, among the publications of the IEH, of a clearly economic nature, as well as publishing collaboration in the RPH of the same nature.

The project for the economic history courses by foreign teachers, to be taught on an annual basis when possible, and initially focusing on Portugal's medieval trade relations with Flanders, emerged in 1939, instigated by Paulo Merêa and implemented by T. Soares, being scheduled to begin in 1940, the year of the centenary. The arrival of Professor Charles Verlinden (1907-1996), from the University of Ghent, was one of the initial aims, but the invasion of Belgium in 1940 delayed his arrival until after the end of the war, and he remained in Coimbra for continuous periods in the academic years 1946-1947 and 1948-1949. Yves Renouard (1908-1965), who had recently published *Les hommes d'affaires italiens au Moyen Âge*, also lectured to students (and even outside the University) on his specialisation area for a fortnight in March 1949 and again in 1950.

The course given by Verlinden in the academic year 1946-1947 was, however, still of an introductory nature to Economic History, clearly showing the state of the subject as far as research and teaching were concerned in Coimbra. It was, in fact, geared towards «de permettre aux étudiants d'apprendre à penser économiquement à propos du passé» (*Introduction à l'Histoire Économique*, 1948, p. 7). Nine chapters of lessons and a document appendix of 38 texts by important authors were a good starting point to address the problematic, which was deepened in the first term of the academic year 1948-1949, with particular emphasis on Portuguese trade relations in the Middle Ages.

The lack of research on Economic History at FLUC and the opposition observed in Lisbon to Virgínia Rau's continuators contributed to the delayed emergence of the «narrative history eclipse». In fact, as highlighted by Paul Ricoeur, «the methodology of economic history consisted more in a continuity with March Bloch and Lucien Febvre's anti-positivist combat than in a rift. Indeed, what the founders of the Annales school had wished to combat was, in the first place, the fascination with the single, unrepeatable fact» (*Temps et récit*, vol. I, 1983, p. 193). Serial history, as noted by F. Dosse, interpreting Foucault, «defines its object by constructing homogeneous series of documents, thus leading the historian to bring to light events that could not appear without him» (*Renaissance de l'événement*, 2010, p. 147).

The aforementioned activity of the 1940s geared towards Economic History in Coimbra contributed to overriding «the absence of a criterion of choice, and therefore of any problem, in the elaboration of what counts as a "fact" in history. » (Ricoeur, *ibidem*), helping to raise internal barriers by the late 1950s, a necessary period for reforms fostered by some intellectual freedom, an escape valve from the regime, and also the time of Portugal's accession to the EFTA (1960), promoting exports and the internationalisation of culture. This period



DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

<http://dichp.bnportugal.pt/>

in France corresponded to that of the second generation of the *Annales*, which imposed economic and social history in an internal context of the country's reconstruction from the end of the Second World War, beyond the international situation, while also being concerned «with the relations between ideology and the economy», as synthesised by Marie-Paul Caire-Jabinet (*L'histoire en France*, 2002, p. 168). The «golden age of economic and social history in France» (*ibidem*) effectively occurred in the 1950s and 1960s, which was naturally reflected in Portugal, although even in 1965, the official doctrine as far as the Theory of History was concerned was that of the cult of singular facts. Those who argued that History is constructed with ideas and not facts «only pursued the major political-economic-cultural lines of the evolution of peoples and civilizations». Without an «objective, documented, meticulous analysis of the singular facts, of transfinite essence, irreducible to the abstract definition of ideas, there is no History as an understanding of a past existence, but rather an Ideology as the mental recreation of a possible past which also possibly never existed» (Miranda Barbosa, «Doutoramentos solenes» [« PhD ceremonies»], *Biblos*, 41, 1965, pp. 378-379).

Notwithstanding this position taken in the Sala dos Capelos, perhaps in a critical and friendly manner towards the work of the academic who was awaiting the award of a doctoral degree, there were already those in the field treading other paths which all shifted in different directions with the whirlwind of April 1974. Economic and Social History reached its peak in the curriculum between the revolution and the late 1970s, before post-modernism imposed itself and universalism gave way to daily life and micro-history- before the rebirth of the event, the history of differences, which are also national, as the generation of 1910 had invented.

It was in the late 1950s, and especially in the following decade, with the continuation of the 1957 reform, which brought autonomy to the degree in History, multiplied the subjects and reduced the workload attributed to older professors, that the History Cluster began to witness a boost in its teaching staff. This was the result of the recruitment of second assistants, in the areas of Archaeology, Numismatics and Modern History (and for History of Art in 1968, a professor extraordinarius), at the same time as two new medievalists, as mentioned above, completed their doctorates and embarked on their careers, having already taught most of the new entrants.

Father Avelino de Jesus da Costa's dissertation was not innovative in terms of method, but already contained elements that heralded the new historiographical times ahead by including issues related to historical demography linked to desertification, and to economic history in a regional / local space of the Braga diocese at the time of Bishop D. Pedro, but with elements from the 11th to 15th centuries, namely those referring to the censuses.

These subjects would be included in teaching and research from the sixties onwards, and like the earlier examples in Lisbon, with historical demography and quantitative and serial history and their techniques becoming a part of practical classes and students' research, since they were still obliged to write a degree dissertation. These themes were driven by Luís Ferrand de Almeida, who at the time was focusing on the history of techniques, one of the forms of renewing historiography, and especially by myself, at the time more



DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

<http://dichp.bnportugal.pt/>

concerned with historical demography and economic and social history, as testified in my doctoral dissertation (2 vols., 1971-1972). It was also the initial period when M. Lopes de Almeida published his collection of documents on the University's arts and crafts, and when Mário Hipólito and Jorge de Alarcão, who had specialised in England, altered the teaching and research of Numismatics, Prehistory and Archaeology, prompting a glorious phase of development for the latter. At the same time, José Sebastião da Silva Dias (1958), who succeeded Joaquim de Carvalho, announced new horizons in the History of Culture which, in France, were reflected in the development of the so-called history of mentalities and structuralism, before the history that was being made was almost turned inside out by post-modernism. Furthermore, Salvador Dias Arnaut, whose great influence was conveyed through the disciples he was able to create, developed and instilled a love for the new local history, also a trigger for historiographical innovations, where his passion for History had begun. In around 1967, he was again a pioneer when he wrote «the most detailed, documented and 'delicious' synthesis ever published» on «the art of eating in the Middle Ages» (L. F. de Almeida, «Notas», [«Notes»], RPH, 31, vol. I, 1996, pp. 41-42), a theme that would later be continued within a broader history of daily life. And years later, on the theme of Inês de Castro, reconverting himself like so many others, he invested «man, woman, life, death, love» with a new sensibility, framed now by a nascent history conjugated in the feminine («Os amores de D. Pedro», [«The loves of D. Pedro»] 1985, pp. 403-414).

Although late, the new history was on its way, delayed by a conservatism cloaked in politics that a new, more independent generation followed as best it could, wielding the torch that from 1911 until the April revolution had sought to illuminate the past paths of Man, whose conceptual scripts had become increasingly complex. But this was a new caesura in the History Cluster of the Faculty of Arts of Coimbra, whose teaching staff had seen the entry of promising figures in the run-up to the April 1974 revolution. These names blossomed in the ensuing period, multiplying, and bringing a new expression to historiography and the teaching of History, while maintaining a specific feature that its school had assumed since its foundation.

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DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

<http://dichp.bnportugal.pt/>

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