

DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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



GODINHO, Vitorino Barbosa de Magalhães (Lisbon, 1918 - Lisbon, 2011)

Magalhães Godinho was the son of Vitorino Henriques Godinho and Maria José Vilhena Barbosa de Magalhães. His father, an army officer with the Army Staff course, was Chief of Staff of the Portuguese Expeditionary Force in Flanders in the First World War (1914-1918); he was a military attaché to the Embassy of Portugal in Paris and taught at the Escola de Guerra e dos Altos Estudos Militares [Higher Military Studies School]. He joined the 'young Turks', a group of army officers who sought to transform the newly proclaimed (5 October 1910) Portuguese Republic into a new, progressive regime; he was a member of parliament, Ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros e do Interior, [Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the Home Office] and, Director-general (and reorganiser) of Statistics. His promotion to general was barred by dictatorship officials (1926) and he became an officer in the Army Reserves with the rank of Colonel. On his mother's side, Magalhães Godinho came from illustrious families from the Aveiro region, as he was the nephew of army officer Manuel de Almeida Magalhães, a republican who supported the new regime from its first incursion in 1911, fought in World War 1 both in Africa and in France, was arrested as one of Sidónio's supporters and who played a major role in the fight against the monarchy in the North of the country; he was also governor of the Cape Verde and Macao colonies; another of Godinho's uncles, José Maria Vilhena Barbosa de Magalhães, was a renowned lawyer (President of the Portuguese Bar Association in 1933), a professor at the Faculdade de Direito de Lisboa [the Lisbon Law School], a member of parliament and Minister for Justice, Public Education and Foreign Affairs. A staunch and active democrat, he joined Afonso Costa's Portuguese Republican Party. He was eventually forced to resign from his position as full professor.

Magalhães Godinho's background, personality and fortune are partially ignored, his roots often unknown. "Our craft, particularly where it identifies with our life, often stems from remote roots. I can't recall now whether my taste for history was awakened by my intermittent reading of the bulky but never dull *História de Portugal* [History of Portugal] by Pinheiro Chagas [...], assisted by the civic booklets of Victor Ribeiro, or [...] reading Guizot's limpid *History of Civilization in Europe* [...]." A stimulating history of Portugal, a history of European civilization where learning and an attempted global view go hand in hand.



DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

His secondary school years, at Liceu Gil Vicente in Lisbon also began on a strong footing, where Câmara Reis and Newton de Macedo featured among some of the teachers he would never forget. Moreover, as a young man he sported the company of Seara Nova intellectuals, particularly António Sérgio. Citizenship and scholarly learning were always intimately intertwined. And it was precisely in Seara Nova that he published his first article, a review of a novel by Joaquim Leitão, a writer who has nowadays fallen into oblivion.

As a result of this stimulating camaraderie, particularly with Newton de Macedo, he completed secondary school at Liceu Pedro Nunes in Lisbon, after which he enrolled in the Ciências Histórico-Filosóficas [History and Philosophy of Science] first degree at the Faculdade de Letras [Faculty of Arts]. Utter disappointment. “That old building, which could only be accessed by descending a flight of steps, as shown by Rodrigues Lapa, who was therefore forced to leave, if he wished to keep his dignity; against a mental background of musty 19th-century positivism (nevertheless respectable when confronted with the ensuing cacophony) which numbed academic proximity, the yearning for philosophy dissipated and no stimulus was left for research.” This was not perceived negatively by Magalhães Godinho, quite the opposite: “We had the privilege of not having learned a single thing at university and so we were able to prepare ourselves as we saw fit.” He behaved as an “independent marksman”, teaching himself remotely while in close contact with the great masters, some of which he lists: Pirenne, Marc Bloch, Lucien Febvre, La Blache, Gordon Childe, Brunschvicg, Goblots, Pierre Janet, Piaget, Paul Guillaume, and so many, many others. And one must not forget his Portuguese masters, such as Jaime Cortesão, at the time exiled first in France and later in Brazil, António Sérgio and Duarte Leite and later, Veiga Simões.

His philosophical reflection gave birth to his first-degree dissertation *Razão e História* [Reason and History] after which he trained to become a high school teacher; he then joined the History group at the Faculdade de Letras as Professor Extraordinário “by friendly persuasion of archaeologist Manuel Heleno.” This marked the beginning of a career in History where his teaching responsibilities involved lecturing a great number of subjects: Oriental History, Classical History, Modern and Contemporary, General History of Civilization, Numismatics... while also having to teach practical classes (and the theoretical classes of a frequently absent Full Professor). The excessive workload at a time when professorships were scarce hindered early specialization and fostered comparativity. He began to reflect on the history of the Portuguese discoveries and expansion. Around 1943-1945, he published two pivotal works which were milestones in his career: *A Expansão Quatrocentista Portuguesa. Problemas das origens e da linha de evolução e os Documentos sobre a Expansão Portuguesa* [Fifteenth-century Portuguese Expansion. Origins and Evolution Line Issues and Portuguese Expansion Documents]. He first formulated questions, and only then searched for materials in archives and libraries – where very few things escaped his scrutiny – thus compiling his own sources. From a very early stage he perceived the historical source as the outcome of intellectual quest.

Quite didactic in form (the Documents were first and foremost intended for his students at the Faculdade de Letras) he raises questions and suggests ways of studying to understand the meaning of the Portuguese



DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

expansion. Right here the historical source is viewed as a manifestation or expression with cultural meaning. It involves using what Lucien Febvre termed as a mental tool “Sources are compiled in correlation with the construction of the facts themselves.” “The construction of documentation [...] is, in itself, a historical fact and simultaneously a source as it is a cultural work that sheds light upon mental attitude in its entirety, a comprehensive tool [...]” “To my mind, whenever possible, history should be grounded predominantly on published sources and it would be ideal if it were grounded exclusively on such sources so that its interpretations could be verified by all (the universal nature of verifiability is indispensable in science).”

The Documents were a “breath of fresh air in the stiff national historiographical practice.” The great figures of the regime were, however, vigilant and Alfredo Pimenta, a guardian of Catholic-political orthodoxy, alerted Salazar to the “writer who embodies the most evil doctrine”, the author of a book “full of venom”, a “scientifically null” book, “wrong and sinful in doctrine.” As far as the accuser was concerned, the author, much like his Coimbra master, Sílvio Lima, who had commended the book, were pioneers of “historical materialism”! Complaints were lodged against his teaching and the Faculdade council decided to inspect his classes, an unacceptable action of policing which, it should be noted, was to be conducted by his fellow professors, and only Manuel Heleno voted against this. This was the breaking point, and Magalhães Godinho left the Portuguese University for the first time. The students protested and left with him to go to Ateneu Comercial de Lisboa [The Lisbon Commercial Atheneum] where he taught freely between 1944 and 1946. At the end of his long life, he wrote about this saying: “the regime was coherent when it dispensed with my services.” Several students from that first group would eventually focus on research: Jorge Borges de Macedo, Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho, José Gentil da Silva, Julião Soares de Azevedo, Joel Serrão, Artur Nobre de Gusmão, Mário Soares.

But Magalhães Godinho needed to make a living to support himself and his family. He focused on book editing, and translation. Portuguese readers will thus be able to read pivotal texts, of mandatory reading even today, an example of which is “Marcha da Humanidade” [The March of Humanity] released by Edições Cosmo in Lisbon. He also worked for himself. Among the works he published during this period *A Crise da História e as suas Novas Directrizes* [The Crisis of History and its New Directives] is particularly noteworthy. In this work it is possible to measure the gap between the longings of the historian in the making and what history – teaching and research – was like in Portugal at the time: one need only look at the publications of the highly pro-government Academia Portuguesa da História [Portuguese Academy of History], and the issues raised therein. *A Crise da História* is clearly dated. The update for which Magalhães Godinho fought was eventually attained, mainly as a result of his actions, inspiration, and supervision.

At the time he was already influenced by the *Annales*, and his view of the history of civilization encompassed the “history of all men, a history of the total man; more concisely: a human history.” A relevant part of this whole is played by economic history: “technical expertise and production and distribution relations determine all social organics and, from a general viewpoint, determine culture and politics. In short: economy exerts an



DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

influence on all aspects of human life (to some extent by reason of its universality).” Technical progress, always taken as that which finds its roots in Condorcet, leaves a trail of quasi-illuminist empathy for the classics. Thus, he moved on to a history of technical advances, highlighting their importance. Technical – geographical environment: action-reaction of mankind and nature. Also, the history of culture and mentalities shifted to the forefront in the work of one of Lucien Febvre’s distant disciples (for the time being), dazzled already by *Le problème de l’incroyance au XVIe siècle* [The Problem of Unbelief in the 16th century].

“Placing economy and technique, religion and science, art and forms of mentality, law and the social-political system at the centre of history is tantamount to an integral recasting of the concept of what we call history.” The reach and globalization of societies’ knowledge brings to bear new problems, enables new difficulties to be overcome, and offers a response to the crucial structural question “what is history for?” It is worth noting that the then still unknown *Métier de l’historien* [The Historian’s Craft] (1949) by Marc Bloch opens in precisely the same way. What then is history for? It is “a means for perceiving our present worries and difficulties, a means to be used as a common construction of a truly human society. History must be a tool to understand today’s society and the perplexities of a present-day way of thinking.” Furthermore, “history represents the genetic explanation in the entirety of knowledge.” The seminal and unique *A Crise da História e as suas Novas Directrizes* further reveals the author’s ever-present concern with the teaching reform, which had remained archaic and compliant with outdated conceptions.

Pierre Hourcade, head of the Instituto Francês [French Institute] in Lisbon, with the initial assistance of Marcel Bataillon and Lucien Febvre and later of Fernand Braudel, hired Vitorino Magalhães Godinho as a researcher of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique [the French National Centre for Scientific Research], in 1947, thus allowing him to prolong his stay in Paris until 1960. His education was therefore completed amidst the broad horizons of the great masters of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études*. Lucien Febvre authored the preface to Magalhães Godinho’s first major work of economic history – *Prix et monnaies au Portugal. 1750-1850* [Price and Money in Portugal. 1750-1850]. He became involved in seminars, wrote for the *Annales*, founded the Association Marc Bloch (fostering the emergence of a branch in Portugal – the Sociedade Portuguesa de História da Civilização [Portuguese Society of the History of Civilization] and remained in close contact with the masters of French historiography of those golden years. They were, indeed, fruitful years marked by the support of Lucien Febvre in the management of the 6th department of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études*, and again from 1956 onwards, of Fernand Braudel. At the time, Paris was the hub of progress in historical knowledge. Historians brought together in a common attitude, in non-converging works, and when viewed from a distance well worthy of the name – the *Annales School* - even if they themselves refused to acknowledge it. This was a major scientific endeavour, seeking to historicise all the social sciences, imbuing history with objects, theories, and methodologies from the other social sciences. It represented the fulfilment of the wishes voiced in 1929 by Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, which continued, albeit more imperialistically, under Fernand Braudel. Magalhães Godinho, a member “à part entière” of the



DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

group – would lecture with Maurice Lombard and Pierre Mombeig in São Paulo, and as an integral part of the French mission, in 1954 –, is worthy of special reference here not only for the oceans in his ongoing doctoral thesis but also for his concern regarding the connections and transferences of economic theory to history.

.In the field of economic history, he researched the application and validity (or anachronism) of the key theories then in use. Suffice to mention the theory on the industrialisation process, inspired by Schumpeter, that he would perfect by applying it to the Portuguese reality where commercial depressions, the driver of technical innovation, played a key role. The outcome of this analysis was the explanatory process – that the Portuguese citizen sought to understand in view of the frustrations and blockades in the growth and development of his homeland – that would be successful in Catalonia (as concluded by Pierre Vilar and Jordi Nadal). And this is not all.

Theoretical depth does not mean that erudition, the basic tool of the craft, is undervalued. New archival fonds are open to exploration. In his Preface to *Prix e monnaies au Portugal 1750-1850* – second issue of the collection “*Prix – Monnaies – Conjonctures*”, Lucien Febvre, bordering on irony and admiration, writes: “il ne fait pas bon, avec lui, se tromper d’une journée dans la chronologie, ou négliger l’apport d’une brochure passée inaperçue.” Magalhães Godinho, admirably mastering the monetary issues of the Middle Ages (as is clear in his thesis), boldly marches ahead to the 18th and 19th centuries, clarifying not only the price-money connection, such as the industrialisation problems and the problems of the Portuguese market, but also providing an overview that comprehends Brazil, Africa, and Asia.

The economy of the Portuguese empire, originating from his 1959 thesis, is first and foremost the history of a choice, the origins of a course doomed to failure. By connecting the disconnected and unveiling the hidden, the Portuguese society moved towards a precocious mercantilisation which would eventually reject the modernity to which it had portentously contributed. Determining the origins of this blockade is the core of his *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial (1963-1971)* [Discoveries and the World Economy (1963-1971)], in which this commercial network emerges on a transoceanic scale, primarily geared towards the study of money (an issue worthy of further research). But that is not all. From production to consumption, exotic products are closely monitored, and political history as well as social and cultural history are intertwined in admirable explanatory cohesion. The empire, spaces, society, men; also, the original inhabitants of the Canary Islands (the Guanches), the Blacks from Africa, the Hindustani, the Amerindian, the Indonesian, the Chinese, the Japanese, all those with whom the Portuguese had contact, in a diaspora beyond the empire itself, constitute an amazing dispersion brought to light by Magalhães Godinho’s studies on the Portuguese and on emigration. He does not dwell excessively on political history, though he may occasionally refer to it, in a style that appears to be painstakingly elaborate when addressing such issues to show events and how they are factually woven and intertwined. The writer, as the historian must be, excels himself in the elaborate reconstruction of narratives.



DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

Having obtained his “doctorat d’État” [doctorate] in 1959 from the Sorbonne (where Fernand Braudel was one of the examiners), Magalhães Godinho was ready to proceed in his career as researcher at the CNRS when Adriano Moreira, head of the Instituto Superior de Estudos Ultramarinos [Higher Institute of Overseas Studies], challenged him to return to his homeland and embark upon the exhilarating mission of launching a different path for the overseas civil service. Magalhães Godinho accepted this chair, hoping that he would now be given research conditions to educate Portuguese disciples at the service of Portugal. Utter frustration. He did not sign the message of congratulations sent to Salazar at the outbreak of the colonial war. And in 1962 during the academic crisis, as a citizen he boldly urged the director of the institution (Father Silva Rego was acting as deputy for Adriano Moreira, who had been appointed Minister) to convene the council of the Institute to make an official statement on the serious events that were undermining Portuguese universities.

Clearly lending his support to students and to “University independence”, Magalhães Godinho was of the opinion that it befell the University and only the University proper to solve its problems, arguing furthermore that it was urgent to “express sharp disapproval of the way in which the Education Ministry” had conducted itself therefore “being the only one to blame for the situations created “ and also rebuking how the Ministry “had failed the University”, saying in short the very same things other supporters of the regime, Marcello Caetano for one, were saying. Upon receipt of the letter dated 13 May 1962, Father Silva Rego finding it over-fieri, sent it to the Ministério da Educação [Ministry of Education], from where the letter was forwarded to the Ministério do Ultramar [Ministry of Overseas]. A disciplinary process was launched, culminating in his mandatory resignation and, even though he won an appeal and was readmitted, he was expelled once again and permanently. There was no room within the Portuguese University for this highly qualified scientist and citizen. Magalhães Godinho always blamed Adriano Moreira for this, saying: “It was an honour to be the only full professor to be dismissed”. Having won the appeal to the Supremo Tribunal Administrativo [Supreme Administrative Court], he was once again readmitted and once again expelled – the two decisions were published in the same issue of the Diário do Governo [Official Gazette].

It is against this background that he published *A Economia dos Descobrimentos Henriquinos* [The Economic Motives for Portuguese Expansion under Henry the Navigator], commissioned for the commemorations of the 5th Centenary of the death of Infante D. Henrique [Prince Henry the navigator] and which Caeiro da Matta had felt compelled to reject since, in his opinion, “it was altogether guided by a different spirit to that which had presided the commemorations in honour of Prince Henry.” Another historian’s (supposedly Armando Cortesão, who had recently become a supporter of the Estado Novo [New Regime] regime he had erstwhile fought) response to the author was that this work was “overly economic, quasi-Marxist” and that the book’s main flaw was that it focused solely on economics! Plainly, a blatant lie. The reasons for this rejection were altogether different, coherent with Salazar’s reasoning and conduct. Salazar,



DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

or others on his behalf, as it should be noted that Infante D. Henrique was a key symbol of religious devotion aligned with the dictatorship. Daring to question the sanctity, as it were, of the chaste knight was shocking indeed. “Such great impudence passes for wit.”

A Economia dos Descobrimentos Henriquinos does not deal with economics alone, as argued presumably from ignorance. The difficulty lay precisely in the way economics, society and culture were intertwined, whether in harmony or in conflict. This was not good for those who, in the run-up to the colonial war, needed to make a pure visionary of Prince Henry, a chaste saviour of the souls of slaves (sold with a view to converting them to the Catholic faith – according to the unforgettable description made by Zurara...). If the truth be told, Magalhães Godinho belittled Prince Henry as the angelical figure who was forced to abandon the abrupt cliffs of Sagres to move to tough concrete economic, social, and political conditions where he may have stood out but did not dominate: other figures, other forces at stake, other diversified competing interests were present. And Portugal is not a rectangle cut off from the motivations and strategies of the neighbouring peoples of the Mediterranean or the Atlantic.

Expelled from the university, Magalhães Godinho remained in Portugal as an editor, writer, researcher, and literary director of several publishing houses. At Sá da Costa, he prepared and partially re-wrote the Portuguese edition of Enciclopédia Focus [Focus Encyclopaedia]. Again, with Cosmos, this time with the collection Rumos do Mundo (Destins du Monde/World Destinations), of Febvre – Braudel, the very same Cosmos where shortly before he had edited, annotated, and compiled the scattered works of Duarte Leite. He resumed his work on the collection project “A Marcha da Humanidade”. Among other works, he gave a valuable contribution to the Dicionário de História de Portugal [Dictionary of the History of Portugal] edited by Joel Serrão, where many of the articles later to be published in his indispensable Ensaios [Essays] appear. He also published the magnificently illustrated Portuguese edition of his doctoral thesis.

Since his early days as a student, he had been an actively engaged citizen both politically and civically, and it was as a citizen that he continued to intervene, namely when he took part in the authorized Congresso Republicano [Republican Congress] in Aveiro, where he gave a conference which was later published as a book, O Socialismo e o Futuro da Península [Socialism and the Future of the Peninsula]. These may have been years of frustration, of difficulties, but were nevertheless years abundant in personal publications.

France, however, had not forgotten him and the Naval Academy awarded him a major prize in 1970: the publication of his doctoral thesis. In the following year, by recommendation of Albert Silbert and Michel Mollat, he was hired as full professor at Clermont-Ferrand, where he lectured until 1974 and where he was awarded a doctorate honoris causa. These were quiet years in an Auvergne he claimed as his own, while Marcello Caetano's stale salazarismo rotted, crumbling apart from within. He wrote a critical review of the 1972 education reform – an unequivocal sign of its breakdown - but editorial misfortunes caused it to be published



during the 25th of April revolution in 1974. Such misfortunes obviously led to his being appointed Ministro da Educação e Cultura [Ministry for Education and Culture].

Between July and November 1974, he attempted to act on two different fronts: immediate reforms with a view to adapting the ministry and what was left of the education apparatus to the democratic process, and the launch of the foundations for a major structural reform. Five months during which his agenda (for once this was a minister with an agenda!) and his actions – requiring authority and a strong state that did not align with totalitarian or demagogic adventures, where doing would result (in a very Enlightened way) from what had to be done - clashed with an anarchist, opportunistic and pro-communist reality. It was therefore foreseeable that he would slam that door and go home, unemployed once again. He had been a full professor at the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa [Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities of the New University of Lisbon] since 1978. He had once again failed in his aim to endow the country with research and an integrated social sciences education, which would articulate history and sociology, economy, geography, anthropology. He wanted a learning unit which would lay the ground for a different logic for higher education but that was something that his colleagues (and not the authorities of those days as he himself wrote) could not understand. That was even the case of some of his colleagues who apparently were very close to him. Perhaps they feared an ascendancy that would preclude them from defending their own very specialized fields of knowledge... The model was that of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études*, as envisioned by Magalhães Godinho, interdisciplinary in all situations, which after all was not what happened in Paris... But what came to be did not improve in any way what the three Faculty of Arts were able to achieve.

Vitorino Magalhães Godinho was not appointed chair of History. He was pushed (or thought it best to move) to Sociology where he eventually created a group of disciples and followers who knew how to combine Social Sciences and History: Francisco Bethencourt, Rui Santos, Pedro Tavares de Almeida, Jorge Pedreira, Diogo Ramada Curto (who eventually drifted away from his master). People who either worked with him or who kept his company also joined this group, such as David Justino, Maria Eugénia Mata, Nuno Valério and Jorge Crespo. Joaquim Romero Magalhães, Aurélio de Oliveira, João Marinho dos Santos were not included. These were the people who supported the first phase of the journal *Revista de História Económica e Social*, launched by the group of disciples from the Instituto Superior de Economia e Gestão [Higher Institute for Economics and Management] (1979-1989). It was also in the 1980s that the Associação Portuguesa de História Económica e Social [Portuguese Association of Social and Economic History] was founded, with an ever-growing number of members and relevant events, which Magalhães Godinho chaired and to which he lent his support.

Never faltering, always open to cooperation whenever perceiving the need to intervene, he was appointed director of the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa [Lisbon National Library] in 1984, a position for which he was the most obvious candidate due both to his preparation and vocation. Alas, he had little time to put in place a well-thought-out plan by means of which he aimed to bring the Biblioteca to the leading position and prestige it had enjoyed in the days of Jaime Cortesão and Raul Proença. Being unable to do this was extremely painful for



DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

Vitorino Magalhães Godinho; he had allowed himself to become entangled in the ungodly warped ways of a public administration in which he had no faith. Failing to raise the Biblioteca Nacional to its rightful prominent place was also a severe blow to Portuguese culture. In 1988, on his retirement, his disciples, admirers, and followers published *Estudos e Ensaios em Homenagem a Vitorino Magalhães Godinho* [Studies and Essays in Honour of Vitor Magalhães Godinho] which featured articles by Frédéric Mauro, Alberto Tenenti, Albert Silbert, Immanuel Wallerstein, S. N. Eisenstadt, Michel Morineau or Suzanne Daveau, besides articles by his Portuguese fellow researchers and disciples.

Magalhães Godinho considered his life had been oriented by three major vectors: teaching, scientific research, and civic intervention. By turning 70, teaching would come to an end although he continued to hold conferences, take part in meetings and occasionally (as was the case in 1993) act as examiner in academic proceedings. His teaching days had, however, come to an end.

His permanent enriching and lively contact with students was now over, but he lived for another 23 years, without ever forbearing the remaining two activities he had begun at an early age; he continued to publish very many books and articles, released here and there, and wherever his collaboration was requested (invitations he often declined). He integrated the Comissão de Ciências Humanas e Humanidades [Committee for Human Sciences and Humanities] of the European Science Foundation, where he drove key factors for research, such as accepting being elected for the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro [Brazilian Institute for History and Geography], as a correspondent of the Academia Brasileira de Letras [Brazilian Academy of Letters], and member of the British Academy. He was awarded a prize by the Balzan Foundation, in 1991, the highest tribute to his teaching activity and to the quality of his research and work as a historian. He never ceased to perform his civic duties, with public interventions that were, at times, feisty. He was a researcher without a work centre, though he often advocated for its foundation; he dreamt it might be a kind of Instituto Português de História dos Descobrimentos e da Expansão Europeia [Portuguese Institute of the History of Discoveries and European Expansion]. Only after such an Institute was founded, could meaningful commemorations be held – since 1947 he had been fighting against the commemorativism fostered by the official bodies. The foundation of this Institute had either failed as a result of his proposals being rejected, or in view of the total autonomy he demanded. It was a shame that these differing positions failed to be reconciled to enable Magalhães Godinho to supervise works on the Portuguese reality. In 1990, he published *Mito e Mercadoria, Utopia e Prática de Navegar – séculos XIII – XVIII* [Myth and Merchandise/Commodities, Utopia and The Practice of Navigation - 13th-18th Centuries].

This book contains some of the key facts he had brought to public knowledge on Portuguese and world expansion. Always questioning the entity of Portugal, what it means to be Portuguese, seeking to inflect what was being written on the history of the discoveries and enable an overview of enormous wealth where



DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

permanence and innovation, economies, societies, cultural structures, and mental tools are displayed. In relation to this book, Boxer stated: “I have never written a book of such intellectual dimension.”

These were the years of commemoration of the Portuguese discoveries, events against which he had often protested as they appeared to be an outmoded form of dwelling on memories connected to a backward way of thinking: “under the guise of commemorations, we have lived these years characterized by tumultuous changes in society, simultaneously watching the unfolding of a panoply of tradition where tradition itself is promoted as a value criterion.” “Commemorations ritualise the itinerary followed by societies, abiding by the ideological intentions of the epoch in which they are celebrated; often proposing or basing themselves on mythologies, they drive men away from the problems they have to face.” Only research “conducted scientifically, rigorously and impartially” can be a way-out for the negative and detrimental side of commemorations. He published this in the journal *História* [History] in 2000. Regretfully, he viewed what was being done as a waste of public funds. And he knew that this was a lost battle. This may well be why he contemplated “saying goodbye to the discoveries”, which was something that never came to pass.

However, his attention was occupied with other issues related to his constant concerns and interests. He took an extended break marked by a thematic shift to the First Portuguese Republic. He used old family papers to write a biography of his father, colonel Vitorino Henriques Godinho, entitled *Vitorino Henriques Godinho. Pátria e República (1878-1962)* [Vitorino Henriques Godinho. Homeland and Republic (1878-1962)]. He managed to steer away from the dangers of filial affection, but nevertheless displayed a natural attitude of affection towards the person whose biography he was writing, though viewed from a neutral standpoint. His admiration is extended to other family members and friends, namely colonel Manuel Maia Magalhães and general João Pereira Bastos. On the basis of their information, he proceeded to provide a general overview of the Republican regime, its successes, and many failures, its commitment to World War 1 and the actions of the expeditionary forces, evidencing an unbeknownst knowledge of military technique and tactics he clearly took relish in dwelling on. But above all, he was attentive to rectify the growing abundance of revisionist views. He thought best to fight such “archaic re-idealizations” since, as always, one must understand and explain “Portugal and the Portuguese.” This is the title of a work he had often contemplated publishing, a book upon which he had reflected and planned with collaborators but one he had never written.

Vitorino Magalhães Godinho wanted to undertake a major work to understand and explain Portugal, a pivotal work to understand ourselves as being Portuguese. Obviously, as in all major tasks where comprehensiveness is the goal, this work was doomed to incompleteness. Even so, these writings and publications are immense and force us to move towards the unveiling of the complexity of a past that must, with its successes and failures, be researched. Therefore, there are many titles to which he contributed with this construction of our duty while seeking to reflect on the present reality, on a national reality which he could neither forget nor suspend. He alerted to a crisis he had rapidly detected, stemming from a course of the economy which denied the contribution of other human sciences, confining itself to a shallow “economic



DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

theory". New contributions emerged, paying special attention to the construction of Europe, with a natural democratic mistrust of what was being discussed in the private assemblies that excluded citizens. He thought that the constitution of Europe had to be discussed and approved by the whole community, not only by a few leaders. He thought that it was necessary to Mudar de rumo [Change Course]. Without separating Portugal's problems from the problems of Europe, such is the title of one of his last books of civic intervention.

In 2004, he published an extensive essay, grounded on vast erudition and a historical re-interpretation, the seminal work Portugal a emergência de uma Nação [Portugal and the Emergence of a Nation]. A community of land and people, how did Portugal form and construct itself? What combination of elements – often conflicting elements – resulted in this nation, one of the first in Europe to present itself as such? What politics, economies, social clashes and ways of life, collective existences and individual wills came together to form this Kingdom in a Hispanic Peninsula that appeared to be a space for one State alone? Portugal State-Kingdom (Nation), the finishing line of a complex history, whose establishment was acknowledged in 1479-1480 with the Treaty of Alcáçovas-Toledo, signed by the Portuguese monarchs and the monarchs of Castile and Aragon. This Treaty put an end to the closely preceding and long-standing royal and aristocratic conflicts, the course of which must be followed to fully understand how national identity and cohesion are enrooted therein. Magalhães Godinho used a concept he himself had coined, namely the historical-geographical complex. A Peninsular framework in which it is incorporated. Particular relevance was given to military conflicts and maps, which Godinho had been vindicating since the end of the 1940s, when he had claimed to lecture all his classes with a map before him.

"The Peninsula is divided between a Kingdom which is a maritime State-Nation, the only peripheral state with this status, and a complex with a dynastic unity of kingdoms and seigneurs, in the periphery, nationalities submitted to a centre which is fully a State in itself."

A remarkable book, once again, raising problems, seeking answers to a clear complexity where structure, conjuncture, and events combine and are valued by the social scientist historian according to a plethora of very rich explanatory reasonings. Portugal a emergência de uma Nação was not to be the final publication in his long fruitful career. He produced other works disseminating ideas even beyond his 90th birthday, which was celebrated by the *Jornal de Letras, Artes e Ideias*, whose director José Carlos de Vasconcelos was always open to Godinho's collaboration both as historian and citizen. His collaboration with *Jornal de Letras* comprehends the publication of several of his interviews.

In 2008, *A expansão quatrocentista portuguesa* was released, the first edition of which dates back to 1945, with an enriched re-edition in 1962 (with the title *A economia dos descobrimentos henriquinos*). This edition – which took the title of the first edition – was retouched to feature many updates, as well as substantial additions in a structurally identical design. This is Vitorino Magalhães Godinho's masterpiece, key to understanding why Portugal went to the Atlantic and overseas; why a small kingdom from the European Finisterre launched itself into the discoveries and then into the colonisation of vast spaces on several continents; how its location –



DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, not far from the Islamic world with which it was confronted and fought – can help understand this movement towards other places; how its commercial activity triggered its curiosity and decision to seek other worlds; how the need for precious metals and cereals led to conquest and war; how the strategic situation in developing businesses in the late Middle Ages led to Portugal's insertion in the major defining lines of Modernity. Old and new pages, using and reusing, where some chapters may represent an opening for new studies on the maritime discoveries as the material viability of the navigations and their technical apparatus call for explanation. All this in light of reinterpreted sources not a farfetched, hunch-based imagination. The nautical experience in the Atlantic needs to be considered, that “technical humanism that stands between the world of more or less, or even of the arbitrary, of the absence of a distinction between what is possible and what is impossible, of the predominance of bookish authority over inquisitive research, and the era of modern science – experimental mathematics [...]” With empirical observation and the dawn of science, economy must be placed in the centre “but an economy perceived as a cultural and technical domain, not a self-contained parlance.”

This book is a synthesis of methodology – a method of analysis and historical construction -, a masterpiece of the author's style. For a good reading and understanding of *A expansão quatrocentista*, one must read *Documentos sobre a expansão portuguesa*, another of Godinho's works republished in the meantime. Indeed, in the work of this author, innovative reflection is combined with erudite and documentary mastery. Creation and reflection combine with rigorous information to build magnificent historiographic constructions. Furthermore, his erudition is a problem issue in itself in that the questions he raises derive from thorough reflection on the theme and related themes. This is the right time to find the elements he needs to support his efforts to discover the discoveries in Portuguese History. This was supplemented by his work *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial* [Discoveries and World Economy] where he offers a comprehensive view of the Portuguese expansion in the 15th-17th centuries, covering both its successes and failures. With the understanding of structures, conjunctures, and events interacting (interwoven without adopting Braudel's three-tiered view) to bring us before total history. The “total History” or “global History” ingrained in the longings of the *Annales* historians were seldom as successful as that.

The anthology of texts by Alexandre Herculano dates back to Godinho's late years, with a problematic foreword in which he also offers a reinterpretation of Portugal from the times of Liberalism. He called him “Herculano, the citizen and historian in the world of progress.” This view of the historian was constantly as an interpreter not only of the past but also having the duty to explain the present in order to open new paths for the future. Hence his proximity to the liberal, studying this twofold dimension, where political and cultural aspects are inevitably enhanced – always in accordance with the old methodology he had developed from the teachings of Lucien Febvre. And where, once again, as always, the history of science and the history of technical developments are brought to the foreground. Because the explanation of the man – besides the



DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

exceptional genius that history does not unravel – is contained in the social environment in which he lived and acted. Seeking to alter what he perceived as wrong, trying to right paths that had gone astray. In those last original pages of a work that comprehends seventy years (from 1940 to 2010), the reader who is familiar with Magalhães Godinho's work may often find a parallel felt and perchance loved by the writer with his object of study.

Particularly in his last years he sought motivation for a much-cherished project: the relationship between history and Romanesque fiction. In this regard, he converges with Herculano, who devoted a part (perhaps the least interesting nowadays) of his work to writing. In the words of the liberal historian, it was a question of, “restoring the heart of what is dead with the heart of what lives, the genius of a people long gone by the genius of a living people.” Further ahead he quotes Alfred de Vigny to use the formula he deems exceptional: “History presents collective movements, social actions, but does not go deep into the intimacy of the human being. That is only possible in fiction.”

One cannot forget that the historian and the (political) citizen are two faces of the same personality. Thus, analysing the author of *História de Portugal*: “Discordance, (when it exists) between the historian and the politician is grounded on the attitude of each. The historian verifies and records, the politician assesses in view of certain values and then chooses paths. Therefore, we see Herculano, a defender of complexity in the civilization process, which in his view should be guided by the two principles of citizenship and freedom on the one hand, and by the improvement of the material conditions of existence on the other hand, emphasizing the inventions and innovations (to use current terminology) that changed the life of humanity.” It is to be noted that this text is linked to the “Foreword” to Gustave Glotz or the “Introduction” to Condorcet, he had published in 1946. Naturally nuanced and restructured (and mostly enriched in complexity), the reasoning of Magalhães Godinho remains, however, unaltered in time. As if he were referring to himself, Herculano “emphasises the relevance of technical developments for the general history of civilization.” These are key pages to understand the critic and the criticized, the first to understand, with several biases, the Renaissance, and the Modern Age, the other who establishes a dialogue with him, as if he were right before him, explaining to him what he should have thought and written. “Herculano is unfair”, particularly because he ignores the breakthrough of modern science “with algebra, Descartes’ analytical geometry, Galileo’s mechanics, Kepler’s astronomy and later Leibnitz’s and Newton’s calculus. That religion has a thinker such as Pascal, philosophers such as Hobbes, Spinoza, Loxke, and Bayle publishes his Dictionary, the source for all Enlightenment.” In conclusion, “our problem is the future, and the liberty-inequality dilemma.” In the 19th century, as also today, when historian and citizen Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, as one, sought to understand, in a restlessness that saw no appeasement.

The scientist-historian brought many questions and problems to Portuguese history. Some wholly new, others barely sketched in the writings or interpretation proposals of António Sérgio, Duarte Leite, Jaime Cortesão, Veiga Simões and David Lopes. And a few others, among Portuguese authors. These questions

DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

and answers, fortunately for many of his readers, he continued to collect in volumes of *Ensaio e Estudos* [Essays and Studies] in the articles dispersed here and there. He always made amendments and retouched his style to ensure a rarely easy reading but one that is always crystal-clear in its formulation and stimulating in its reflection proposals. Where action proposals for all abound, based on history as a science and used as a way of thinking.

Primary references: *A crise da história e as suas novas directrizes*, Lisboa, Empresa Contemporânea de Edições, 1946; *Les grandes découvertes*, separata do *Bulletin des Études Portugaises*, Coimbra, Coimbra Editora, 1953; *A economia dos descobrimentos henriquinos*, Lisboa, Sá da Costa, 1962; *Os descobrimentos e a economia mundial*, Lisboa, Arcádia, 1963-1971; *A estrutura da Antiga Sociedade Portuguesa*, Lisboa, Arcádia, 1971; *Portugal, a Pátria bloqueada e as responsabilidades da cidadania*, Lisboa, Presença, 1985; *Mito e mercadoria, utopia e prática de navegar, séculos XIII-XVIII*, Lisboa, Difel, 1990; *Les Sciences Humaines et la mutation du Monde*, Lisboa, Ed. Colibri, 1998; *Le devisement du Monde. De la pluralité des espaces à l'espace global de l'humanité, XVe-XVIe siècles*, Lisboa, Instituto Camões, 2000. *Portugal a emergência de uma Nação*, Lisboa, Edições Colibri – Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2004; *Vitorino Henriques Godinho. Pátria e República (1878-1962)*, Lisboa, Assembleia da República – Dom Quixote, 2004; *A expansão quatrocentista portuguesa*, Lisboa, D. Quixote, 2008; *Ensaio e Estudos. Uma maneira de pensar*. Lisboa, Sá da Costa, vol. I, 2009; *Ensaio e Estudos. Compreender o mundo de hoje*, Lisboa, Sá da Costa, vol. II, 2010; *Os problemas de Portugal. Os problemas da Europa*, 2ª ed., Lisboa, Ed. Colibri, 2010; *Alexandre Herculano. O cidadão e o historiador. Antologia*, com colaboração de Eurico Gomes Dias, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional / Casa da Moeda, 2010.

Secondary references: *Estudos e Ensaio em homenagem a Vitorino Magalhães Godinho*, Lisboa, Sá da Costa, 1988; *Le Portugal et le Monde*, vol. L dos Arquivos do Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisboa – Paris, 2005; MAGALHÃES, Joaquim Romero, “Oração de Sapiência proferida na abertura solene do ano lectivo”, in *Notas económicas. Revista da Faculdade de Economia da Universidade de Coimbra*, Coimbra, Faculdade de Economia da Universidade de Coimbra, nº 30, 2009; *Review Fernand Braudel Center*, Binghamton University, vol. XXVIII, nº 4, 2005.

Joaquim Romero Magalhães