

# DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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## Cultural History

**1. The name.** A coherent and structured notion of "culture" is requested. A student of exact, applied, and experimental sciences will generally emphasise the physical and mathematical language of technical and scientific culture. In contrast, a student of the humanities will tend to identify culture with philosophical, historiographical, artistic, and literary creations, whether in verbal or material forms, grammars, and symbolisms, as no textual or non-textual language exists beyond its legibility. Hence, the outline of an aporia of a synthesis that considers culture and its history. Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, ethnology, anthropology (Tylor, Wissler, L. White), and sociology (Durkheim) highlighted the complex communicative, educational, and coercive cultural locutions (repressive: Rousseau, Nietzsche, Freud, Lacan) in the social legacy conceptualised by P. Bourdieu within the theoretical habitus as a tension resistant to and overcoming the historicity of a system of symbolic representations facilitated by the internal order/displacement of signs.

Commenting on the biblical episode of the expulsion, Paradise Lost, Kant envisioned the Nature/Culture division as the transgression of instinct (the basis of the "civilising process" explored by N. Elias, *The Civilising Process*, 1987). This moment is a specific anthropological self-founding event that surpasses a pre-established "natural harmony," as humans gain "consciousness of reason, as a faculty to transcend the limits where other animals remain" (*Ideas for a Universal History*, 1994, p. 61; Sala, *Teoria de la Cultura*, 1999, p. 25). Examining the Kantian shift in *The Phenomenology of Spirit*, Hegel mobilised the Nature/History dialectic (explored as a discrepancy by Nietzsche, Foucault and Ricoeur), and in the insuperable synthetic limit—except through the post-Hegelian and metahistorical entry of the deos ex machina of utopia—he found the clear path to the hermeneutic division between Nature and Culture. C. Lévi-Strauss, delving into the cultural anthropology of proto-historic societies, interpreted the mythical apprehension of the opposition between the "natural" and cultural "artifact," a semantic field integrating terms such as "organisation," "hierarchy," "cult," and "work," and its humanising character (from Marx's *Theses on Feuerbach*; to Elias, H. Arendt). And while, in the concise assertion of Cicero, the term *cultus* anchors Greek *paideia* and the self-formative ideal of *logos*, alternatively, the root of *cultura agri* (*ager, natura*) is differentiated from *cultura animi* (of the spirit), for the Being allows itself to be cultivated. Alterity, however, insists on the paradox of the Latin (*ars*, root of "arar," ["to plough"]) craft,



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DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

artifice) and Greek (artys, "construction," poiesis, house) correlation: in the semiology of culture, the artistic field is united, inseparable as analogous *ars disserendi*, creative dialogism, is part of it (Archer, "Para uma arqueologia do conceito de cultura," [Towards and archaeology of the concept of culture] 2006). Contradicting Hegel, for whom the historical moment bears intrinsic legibility, homogeneity, continuity, and its own cultural significance (objectification of the Spirit in the phenomenological reality in which it is conveyed), Nietzsche opened a crack in the disjunctive, conflictual, discontinuous, and eruptive conceptual apprehension of cultural historicity. Obscure without access to the study of anthropological and historical time and to the space of its transitory and metamorphic revelations, culture is thus the world of representations of the world, including humans, fragmented even when evidencing the coincident historical locution of temporality and the essential object of this historicity. As attested by R. Chartier, if "the very representations of the social world are components of social reality," then the history of culture is (also) a history of cultural practices (in Hunt, *The New Cultural History*, 1993, pp. 230-33), adhering to the study of the production and circulation of texts, artifacts, and knowledge and their social and individual "reception." Colere (>cultus) associates the meanings of harvest, effort and product: culture is the attempt (school, choice, ex-colere) and crop. While today's media blubber tends to dismantle the arcane semiotic boundaries of bipartitions—elite culture and popular culture; scientific and mass culture, etc.—for the perspective of the history of culture, useful theoretical hypotheses have prevailed in the sociological pairs. But knowing that subjectivation—even in the most normative limits of the text—occurs at the moment of "reading," the de-subjectivation of the cognizant subject is thus the illusion nurtured by the sociological, systemic, and naturalistic paradigm while analysing culture as Enlightenment *scientia*, *cognitio naturalis rerum omnium*, degrading the rift of *vis libera*, *vis libertatis* that announces itself in its very enunciation.

**2. The "thing".** Having, at the very least, demarcated the terms of the problem, cultural consciousness is a relatively recent datum in that "recent invention" on a cosmic scale that is the human being (Foucault, Baudrillard). The movement of Erudition that preceded and followed the *Aufklärung* spread in small circles (more suited to the concentricity of the Enlightenment) and guides historical consciousness in the study of national literature. Understandably so. Particularism and providentialism, vital to traditional theogony and the cultural and political imagination that reflects the different levels of social aggregation thus partitioning the structure, would be refuted by the universalism of the Enlightenment, or rather, by its anthropocritical culture. To read those concepts, it is said that the idea of "nation" (a different idea from *patria*) demarcates unequally the diverse consciousness of social aggregation levels, given the hegemony of social syntaxes, not of political or religious syntaxes, which highlight the multiplicity and relative autonomy of various forms and horizontal and vertical formulations of social interdependence, to the detriment of the embryonic notion of "national" solidarity. Only in the 19th century, or the late 18th century, in Europe, was the struggle for cultural autonomy enhanced, no longer for the old enfranchisement of intermediate bodies. The Francocentric Voltairean civilisation and the German *Kulturkampf*, "fight for civilisation," in the Romantic and Idealist preludes would challenge the very



# DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

idea of material civilisation (Elias, *Teoria Simbólica [Symbolic Theory]*, 1994), mediating representations of the particular and the universal, the concrete and abstract, the empirical-sensible and intelligible, a matrix that the affirmation of European nation-states would convey in various forms, but more by accentuating national cultures and particularities.

**3. Limits.** Another problem is cataloguing the content, limits, and historical formulations of an identity and national culture, in this case, the Portuguese. There are, of course, empirical mediations prior to the modern formation of the nation-state, in the unifying medieval prerogative of writing and its teaching in the Dionysian General Studies, which emphasises exclusive, regional, and estate-based identities. In the chronicles of the 15th century, the increasing subjective status of the narrator does not lose the unequivocal sense of the significant —> significance circulation, only the humanism of the 16th century changes the function of the sign (A. J. Saraiva, *O que é a Cultura?*, 1994, p. 148; on Foucault, *The Order of Things*, 1975), opening culture to the diverse expression of unity. The political-military autonomy of the medieval Kingdom, vassalage and belief in common ancestry ("Iusitana," Garcia de Resende) are invoked from the historiography of the 19th century, in the Latin, Visigothic and Suevic origin (S. Silva Pinto, G. Azevedo); and, with Herculano, in the municipal and Mozarabic resistance to Islam; and with O. Martins, T. Braga (Mozarabism, "traditional lyricism"), in the Celtic acculturation of primitive northern (A. Sampaio) and southern (A. Sardinha) cultures. In Martins' view, "the names of the places, people, and deities of Lusitania seemed to have Celtic roots, and this was the origin of the Portuguese genius, in terms of its 'vague and elusive' quality; in Lusitanian heroism, what it revealed of 'nobility'; in 'our letters or thought, a deep or sentimental, ironic or gentle tone' as opposed to the 'affirmative character'; to the 'fury,' and the specific characteristics of Castilian civilisation, which, unlike the Portuguese, would be 'violent without depth'" (*História de Portugal*, 1879, evoked by Mattoso, *A Identidade nacional*, 1998). To the factors of common identity, forged in violent "cultural policies" (Expansion, Inquisition, Index prohibitorum)—Catholics (most faithful kingdom); Europeans and cosmopolitans (more "worldly" than "continental": it was easier to get to Goa than to Braga, according to Gorani in the 18th century); the strong Hispanic attraction of letters felt between the *siglo de oro* and the 17th century)—united variables that distinguish rural and regional identities, small homelands in the Ancien Régime: Between Douro and Minho, of very fruitful propagation, the Transmontana forge; Beiras, the estates of the rural nobility and letters in Coimbra; the commercial and agricultural South of the Tagus and the maritime emporium of Lisbon defining Estremadura, Alentejo to be conquered, the industrious Algarve, the wandering Islands between the old and new World. Refractions of *Volkgeist*, the Herderian "spirit of the people," as objects of scholarly discourses, mythical syntaxes of fixed identities in a closed circuit, as explained by Sousa Santos ("11/92...", *Via Latina*, 1991, p. 58), "are the general ideas of a country without a philosophical or scientific tradition. The mythical excess of interpretation is the compensatory mechanism for the lack of reality typical of restricted cultural elites, closed (and marginalised) in the brilliance of their ideas." While the diffusion of the press and books, of the railways and the normative and unifying State (code, school, prison, asylum) reinforced the "cultural"



# DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

consciousness of identity, it is not surprising that only in the 19th century, especially post-1870-90, did cultural invocation tend to have greater expression among us, coordinated in the Iberian space, and not only in the context of historiographical affirmation, at a time of an intense debate on nationalism/Iberism among intellectual elites and a historical and cultural foundation is sought to legitimise the empire, but also, as Nietzsche accuses, in how the 19th century was chosen as the century of History (G. Menod, *Revue Historique*, 1876), marked by the "excess of History," mythologising origins and succession, facilitated by new social, technical, educational and informational conditions, of the creation and communication of cultural assets. Today, the examination advances on how, under the banner of nationalism (1880-1974), historiographical debate and pedagogical, scientific (congresses, symposiums), and social mediations (commemorations, civic hagiographies) polarise the invention of identities and traditions and enhance imagined communities (Hobsbawm; Gellner, A. Smith; Catroga, S. Campos Matos).

#### **4. From Erudition to Enlightenment.**

Beyond the hagiologies and genealogies that established the powers in historical ecclesiastical traditions and the great figures, erudition and encyclopedism played a prominent role in the formation of a literate and elitist cultural consciousness. Guiding the movement of Academies since the 18th century (although frail a few decades later, the Royal Academy of History was founded in 1720), repertoires were established and coded the linguistic sphere and consciousness and inventoried bibliographic materials. In the case of the former, the lexicography of R. Bluteau, *Vocabulário português e latino* [Portuguese and Latin vocabulary], (1712-1721; 1727; expanded in archaisms in Viterbo's *Elucidário* [Compendium] 1798), or Fonseca (1771) and Ramalho (1855), while Morais (1789), Constâncio (1836), Domingos Vieira (posthumously, 1871), and others, compiled spoken and scholarly Portuguese into dictionaries. In the case of the latter, following the great humanist repositories of the 16th century, *De Auctoribus Scientorum* or *Bibliotheca Universalis*, an erudite inventory was also created in the 17th century, and *ad usum delphini*, of Portuguese writers in the context of the claim of historical (materialised in *Monarchia Lusitana*), political and cultural autonomy, against the Philips, a plan a century later translated by Barbosa Machado in the *Bibliotheca Lusitana* (1741-58), a collection "of all the sciences cultivated by Portuguese geniuses" and a "Literary Theatre" of their "greatest figures." The author confirms failed or vanished previous attempts by F. Galvão de Mendanha, M. Severim de Faria, M. de Faria e Sousa, F. Manuel de Melo, J. Soares de Brito, and A. Caetano de Sousa. This inventory was expanded, updated, and corrected in the mid-19th century in the *Dicionário Bibliográfico Português* [Portuguese Bibliographical Dictionary] by Inocêncio F. da Silva, completed by Brito Aranha, as the grammatical movement (still conceived in the manner of Aristotelian taxonomy) and the repositories sharpened the literate consciousness of cultural belonging. Public instruction projects timidly emerged in a country where, even in 1900, illiteracy was around 80%. Meanwhile, autonomous collections and the *História e Memórias da Academia Real das Ciências* [History and Memories of the Royal Academy of Sciences] (1st series, 1779-1839), especially *Memórias da Literatura* [Memories of Literature], explored the history of literature, linguistics,



# DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

and law (Torgal, Mendes & Catroga, *História da história em Portugal* [History of history in Portugal], 1996, pp. 29-31), investigating and strengthening relevant links and peripheral chains of semantic jurisdiction to a culture literally created in and by literate centres. The significant systematic effort is owed less to *The True Method of Studying* (1746) by Luís António Verney, complemented in *Apparatus* and translated by Teodoro de Almeida in *Philosophical Recreation* and the *Cartas sobre a Educação da Mocidade* [Letters on the Education of Youth] by Ribeiro Sanches, but rather through a profound teaching reform project, to clarify if not institute a matrix of Portuguese culture and methodise its unequal productions, at the same time, as noted by Sérgio (Ensaio [Essays], VII, 1954), sowing a "civic apostolate." It is known how the unrelenting ideological struggle between the Oratorians and Jesuits was established throughout the 17th-18th centuries, influenced by Cartesian rationalism (or even later by Newtonian physics) fought by the Thomistic Aristotelianism of the Coimbra course, a peripatetic philosophy taught by the Society in the Arts colleges and its own. New didactics and grammar, and the emphasis on the study of national history (Letter VIII) and language (Letter I), to the detriment of ecclesiastical history and Latin—the language of European treatises that linked them in a common linguistic space for centuries —, encouraged the teaching of modern languages, with a clear emphasis on French and Italian, and demanded the comparative study and lexicographical organisation of verbal, lexical, and syntactic reciprocities with Portuguese, whose discipline and orthographic simplification were proposed. However, such a challenge was insufficiently heeded: while the rational dawn opened by Pombalism was visible in the learning of the empiricism of the world and exact sciences, it was barely more than illusory in humanistic studies. The broad lack of solid philosophical training in middle and higher education would negatively condition the historical and philological inquiry into the national culture. Tied to the hegemonic canonical-theological matrix of the Portuguese university, institutional study progressed in the field of Law (Ecclesiastical History, History of Roman and Portuguese Law, History of Canon Law), mostly penned by Pascoal de Melo Freire (*Historiae Juris Civilis Lusitani*, 1788), but the historical examination of culture as an autonomous object was distant, outlined or merely circumscribed to literary tradition and grammatical, poetic, rhetorical study. In the historiographical field, erudition, the compilation of sources, and diplomatics (João Pedro Ribeiro, Viscount of Santarém) took logical priority, as in the mid-19th century Alexandre Herculano would still certify in *Portugaliae monumenta historica*, an effort to resume the erudite and academic tradition that the social and political-military evanescence of the century had thwarted, as noted by Oliveira Martins ("Notes on historiography," *História de Portugal*, 1920).

**5. "National Culture".** The Enlightenment wave was soon subsumed by a cultural bureaucracy that downgraded it into university apostilles. The movement of ideas that preceded and accompanied Liberalism in 1820 and 1834 was not unrelated to the desire to constitute a Republic of Letters that would regenerate culture and, within it, Portuguese society. Romanticism and its tolerant *sema*, which furnished its worldview—without omitting the repressive impact that the tribunal of faith represented in the Iberian cultural space for three centuries—found in History the pedagogical role of liberal citizenship, tempering the excessively abstract



# DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

and cosmopolitan perspectives typical of 18th-century Enlightenment vulgarisations. Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira, seen as a master by Herculano, wrote "Reflexões sobre o método de escrever a história das ciências, particularmente o da Filosofia" ["Reflections on the Method of Writing the History of Sciences, particularly that of Philosophy"] (1844) in line with his concerns about the philosophy of language and philosophical language ("Considerações sobre a gramática Filosófica" [Considerations on Philosophical Grammar] 1813, *Essai sur la Psychologie, comprenant la théorie du raisonnement et du langage*, 1826), leading Joaquim de Carvalho in his analytical survey of philosophical historiography (1946) to examine him more as a philosopher linked to the "spirit of the system" than a historian of ideas. While monographs were rare, the teaching of the history of philosophy at the former Colégio das Artes was notable for opening, against the trend, the philosophical foundations of cultural inquiry that did not abstract from a broad rational basis and metaphysical dispute. A new literary and historiographical sensitivity would be born for the knowledge of the customs of peoples and their linguistic (romances) and psychological particularities. Cultural historiography was still far off, but the pedagogical vein opened by Romanticism with Almeida Garrett (*Da Educação* [On Education] 1829), in a "brilliant intuition" probing the "Portuguese innards" (O. Martins, *Portugal Contemporâneo* [Contemporary Portugal] II), appealed to the mediation of national mythologies (Catroga & Archer, *Sociedade e cultura portuguesas* [Portuguese society and culture], 1996); although the inventions and ideas of national cultures throughout the 19th century did not disguise the lack of consistent and continuous cultural practices. The term "national art" was only coined in that century, and "national culture" also became popular at that time: popular culture, moulded in the legendary soil of Romantic cultivation, was chosen by Garrett in the *Romanceiro* [Collection of ballads], *Cancioneiro Geral* [General Songbook], and *D. Branca*, by Herculano in *Lendas e Narrativas* [Legends and Narratives] and in the historical novel, a modality of an intimate nature and the psychohistory of everyday life. While fiction, in the historical melodrama and diegetic romance exhausted by ultra romanticism, sought quests and readings, it lost all its methodological plan in narrative fantasy and genre canon. A paradigm of institutional inquiry, it is from the *História da origem e estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal* [History of the origin and establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal] that in the twilight of the 19th century, the vein of studying cultures, marginal until then in historiographical terms, such as Jewish and Islamic cultures (M. dos Remédios, A. Baião, J. Lúcio de Azevedo, C. Michaëlis, J. de Carvalho, Israël Révah, A. J. Saraiva, A. Borges Coelho, etc.), emerged. Herculano's text (and *Cartas sobre a História de Portugal* [Letters on the History of Portugal]) would serve as the basis for Antero de Quental's obstinate diagnosis, *Causas da decadência dos povos peninsulares* [Causes of the Decline of the Peninsular Peoples], of a society which, in its contempt of freedom, condemned the historical fate of its culture and expectations of "reform". Hence, the Generation of the 70s and the *Programa de trabalhos para a geração nova* [Programme of Works for the New Generation], designed in the Democratic Conferences, proposed a "cultural revolution" as a didactic defeat of this polis, between the cidade e as serras [city and the mountains], tumultuous and apathetic in its cultural (un)consciousness, which Eça de Queirós masterfully carved in *Abranhos* and *Acácios*.



# DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

While the historian Oliveira Martins (1845-1894) explored interdisciplinary avenues (Catroga, "A Historiografia de Oliveira Martins" ["The Historiography of Oliveira Martins"] 2001), he mobilised cultural perspectives of history, and perhaps already a singular conception of the history of culture. Many pages, particularly from the Biblioteca das Ciências Sociais [Social Sciences Library] characterise a model of approaching the comparative study of culture, a Hegelian moment of superior objectification of the Spiritus. In his excursions into the history of religions and theological, deistic, and metaphysical ideations, under the influence of D. Strauss and E. Renan, such as in *O Helenismo e a Civilização Cristã* [Hellenism and Christian Civilisation] (1880) and *Sistemas de Mitos Religiosos* [Religious Myth Systems] (1882), he analyses the historical moment of the rational rift from anthropological determinism (meso-ethnological) in the relative historical indeterminacy (chance, emergence of great men) that could only be explained by the recourse to a psycho-constitutive typology, the cultural genius. Thus, he saw the triumph of reason and the conscious expression of thought at the apex of historicity, for the abstraction of the species and the metaphysics of Law, bound in the categorical notion of Morality, founded human reason (Oliveira Martins, *Elementos de Antropologia* [Elements of Anthropology], 1987 (1880), pp. 164-65) upon the instinctive and unconscious mass. In this case, the particular stamp of Iberian civilisation stems from the blend of "primitive" cultures and "Indo-European ideas" (Oliveira Martins, *História da Civilização Ibérica* [History of Iberian Civilisation], 1885, p. XXXIII). And although at the end of his life he subverted the terms in which he posed the question (A. J. Saraiva, , *Para a história da cultura em Portugal* [Towards the History of Culture in Portugal], 1946, I), advocating an appeal to the reincarnation of the collective unconscious, it does not invalidate the complex weave of cultural factors that determine the pathos of the nation, an affective synthesis of a history. Yet by placing history on an intermediate and mediating epistemic plane between the positive sciences and metaphysics, beyond any methodological and scientific mimetism, aiming at the evolutionary apprehension of diverse civilisations (although "the systematic understanding of history" does not allow for "the idea of a straight and progressive evolution in all its points"), he mobilised the knowledge of ideas and cultural productions as a central element in the study of the "progress of the humanisation of the Spirit" (Oliveira Martins, *O Helenismo e a Civilização Cristã*, 1985, pp. 1-20); thus, the *História de Portugal* (1879) ends with the question: "Will the flame of an undefined thought still smoulder, latent and unknown?". Before the Biblioteca, Martins published the essay that is innovative in many respects: *Camões, Os Lusíadas e a Renascença em Portugal* [Camões, The Lusiads, and the Renaissance in Portugal] (1872; 1891), urging the diachrony of "symbolic intuition," creative sensitivity and fantasy, in examining the paganism and Neoplatonism of the poem (Chapter IV) tied to the biography and epoch of Camões, to clarify in the affective homeland the object of a "collective will" that surpasses ethnicism and finds effective lessons in history and in its own cultural humus. In exploring the psychological strand, by ploughing the idiosyncratic path of which he is the proto-memory, Martins marks the subsequent work, open to ontogenetic and organic-evolutionary elucidations that over a century had ground to thrive. The psychological exegesis of Sebastianism as a "manifestation of the intimate natural genius of the



# DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

race," "abdication of history," "simple explosion of despair," critically weighed later by the essayism of S. Bruno, A. Sérgio, A. J. Saraiva, and E. Lourenço, would persist as one of the great cultural myths (*saudade* (.) *do que ia morrendo aos poucos* [longing (...) for what was slowly dying], J. Serrão, *Do sebastianismo ao socialismo* [From Sebastianism to Socialism], 1969-1988) throughout the 20th century. Likewise, in another strand, the organicist vision of history and the nation allowed for the "cultural" rooting in medieval corporatism, the theme of themes in unitary and nationalist historiography, a catechism officialised by Salazarism in its schools, pulpits, and tribunes.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, Teófilo Braga's (1843-1924) work is noteworthy for its methodological innovation derived from French positivism, the organicism and systemic evolutionism of Mill and Spencer, and for attending to the autonomy of the cultural fact, albeit by reifying it. Alongside the prolix commentary on the Comtian system, filtered through Littré's elitism (cf. *O Positivismo; Traços gerais da filosofia positiva*, [Positivism; Broad outline of positive philosophy] 1877; *Sistema de sociologia* [System of sociology] 1908), Teófilo emphasised the urgency of historicising literary production: *História da literatura portuguesa. Introdução* [History of Portuguese literature, Introduction], 1870 (and the response to Antero, Martins, and P. Chagas, *Os críticos da História da literatura portuguesa* [The critics of the History of Portuguese literature] 1872, who, according to Antero, accused him of upholding the ethnological school in the study of culture), *História da Poesia Portuguesa* [History of Portuguese Poetry], 1870-72, *Teoria da história da literatura portuguesa*, [Theory of the history of Portuguese literature], 1872; 1895, *Manual de História da Literatura Portuguesa* [History of Portuguese Literature Manual], 1875, *História do romantismo português* [History of Portuguese Romanticism], 1880, *Modernas ideias da literatura portuguesa* [Modern ideas of Portuguese literature] 1892, without excluding cultural and educational institutions, a study popularised by German and French historiography, and in the wake of J. Silvestre Ribeiro (*História dos estabelecimentos científicos, literários e artísticos* [History of scientific, literary and artistic establishments] 1871-89), especially in *História da Universidade de Coimbra nas suas relações com a instrução pública portuguesa* [History of the University of Coimbra in its relations with Portuguese public instruction] (4 vols., 1892-1902), which would only be matched a century later in *Universidade(s). História. Memória. Perspectivas* [University/ies. History. Memory. Perspectives (Coimbra, 1991, VII centennial). From the positivist and sociological matrix, he poured the political and ideological combat, which was at its peak, into *História das ideias republicanas em Portugal* [History of republican ideas in Portugal] (1880), where the commemorative strategy, the "affective synthesis of modern societies," supported the republicanism of which he was a significant ideologue. In the field of popular culture, by demanding the ontogeny of the romantic programme established by Garrett and Herculano, Teófilo contributed to the catalogue of sources, sometimes imaginatively (*Romanceiro geral coligido da tradição* [General collection of ballads compiled from tradition] , 1867; *História da Poesia Popular Portuguesa* [History of Portuguese Popular Poetry], 1867: *As origens* [The origins], 1902; *Ciclos Épicos* [Epic Cycles], 1905; *Cancioneiro Popular* [Popular Songbook], 1867; *Contos tradicionais do povo português* [Traditional tales of





# DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

the Portuguese people] 1883; *O Povo Português nos seus costumes, crenças e tradições* [The Portuguese people in their customs, beliefs and traditions], 1885, 2 vols.; *Romanceiro Geral Português* [Portuguese General Collection of Ballads] 1906), a field explored by Adolfo Coelho and Consiglieri Pedroso. Highlights include biobibliographies: Camões (1873; 1880; 1880 bis, 1894; 1917), Camilo Castelo Branco (1916), *O Judeu* [The Jew] (António José); and poetic collections (Camões, Bocage, João de Deus). In the History of Theatre area, emphasising popular manifestations, he published materials and syntheses.

It may be said, in the episteme of historiographical practice, that his work is overdetermined by narrow positivism and conditioned by the political agenda of republican proselytism, which detract from its analytical rigour and dispassionate understanding of the issues under debate. With inherent and unilateral parallaxes of the programme and flaws in the writ conferring it apparent solidity, ultimately weakening it in the epistemological instance, Teófilo's work is a reference in the transition from the 19th to the 20th century in cultural history, whether through the "institutional" or literary incursions, which he attempted to move to the level of the grand explanatory syntheses. But while they satisfied and opened evident didactic purposes, on the other hand, they closed themselves in a dogmatic summary.

Given the widespread realisation, post-1870-90, and the intellectual denunciation of degeneration (M. Nordau), the Neo-Darwinist version of "decadence," in the hands of various nationalisms the haecceitic dogma of "Portuguese culture" would become the bastion of battles that nationalised almost every branch of knowledge: in *Águia* [Eagle] and *Renascença Portuguesa* [Portuguese Renaissance] materials from lyrical and oneiric stratigraphies are carted for a mythical reconstruction, later encapsulated in ontological manifestos by Teixeira de Pascoaes (*Saudosismo*; *A Arte de ser português* [Yearning: The Art of being Portuguese]); Lusitânia is the legitimate banner of the group of researchers investigating native lineages in ethnology and philology (Leite de Vasconcelos, J. M. Rodrigues, Carolina Michaëllis), soon abusively translated into Mugense anthropology (Mendes Correia); in architecture, the contemporary dispute over the "Portuguese house," triggered by Raul Lino; in the plastic arts, the "Portuguese primitives" were discovered, and the endless contention over the panels of St. Vincent; finally, in the increasing international isolation that the dictatorship (and Portuguese society) experienced between the end of World War II and the colonial wars, the finding of a "Portuguese philosophy" would be the swan song of Europe's southwestern eccentricities, at a time when they no longer prospered in the cultural market and exposed the excentric, peripheral labyrinth of these illusions. In the literary field, particularly that of poetry, the claimed nationalisation would be illogical, as it is the creative area that refracts the profound linguistic singularity in a semiotic arrangement. Thus, the doctrinal programme was summarised in the reification of "Portuguese civilisation," which suppressed distant investigation. The *politique d'abord* of the authors of *Nação Portuguesa* [Portuguese Nation] with António Sardinha, essayist of the traditionalist "re-Catholicising" and "re-Portugueseising" confrontation with republican, secular, and liberal culture, rekindled the old flames of the 18th-century quarrel between *castiços* [nativists] and *estrangeirados* [overly open to foreign influences at the expense of the native culture]; L. Cabral de Moncada, in the 17th-



# DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

century controversy with A. Sérgio and the seareiros better fits this denunciation of ideological and cultural "imports" in the conditioning of the narrow agenda of operation, although he later expands on qualified readings of the history and philosophy of Law, such as P. Merêa, cross-border and useful areas for cultural history, and in the analytical field, in Verney's "iluminismo português" ["Portuguese Enlightenment"] (1941), mysticism (1950), and Krausism. While Fidelino de Figueiredo (1889-1967), leading the *Revista de História* [History Journal](1912-28), *Letras* [Journal of Letters](S. Paulo, 1938-54), and the National History Society, bound nationalist historiography, he did so considering the Hispanic character (*Notas para um Idearium Português* [Notes for a Portuguese Ideology], 1929), a colloquy with Ganivet (*Idearium español* [Spanish Ideology], 1897), to which he tried to erect the beams of the theoretical debate. Often misinterpreted (to which academic alignment, the plight of the Biblioteca Nacional, the revolt of the fifis are not unrelated), Figueiredo interpreted in the Martinian style the "regenerative heterodoxy that did not fit within the short Portuguese horizon" (*As Duas Espanhas* [The Two Spains], 1932; in the 1959 ed.; p. 193) in the Generation of the 70s. Attached to the "humanistic" field and the history of literature, also to the theory of history (*O espírito histórico* [The Historical Spirit], 1910), he aimed to found the "synthetic and philosophical spirit in historical studies" in an "interpretative organisation" (Torgal, Mendes & Catroga, *História da história* [History of History], 1996, pp. 227-31), from which approaches to literary history (*História da crítica literária em Portugal, Estudos de Literatura* [History of Literary Criticism in Portugal, Studies of Literature], 1915-1951, *Depois de Eça de Queirós... [After Eça de Queirós...]*, Antero) and typically elitist approaches to essayism would stem, influenced by Ortega's rebellion of the masses (*Menoridade da inteligência* [Inferiority of Intelligence], 1932, *O Dever dos intelectuais* [The Duty of Intellectuals], 1935), which typifies the "predominance of the crowd, the consequent lowering of the moral and mental level of the average man, the rise of chieftains who live on these inferiorities and flatter them, and the undeniable nervous health of the multitudinous and vegetative man compared to the chosen man" (*Cultura Intervalar* [Interval Culture], 1944, pp. 17-18), at a time when the vox populi deafened those living in ivory towers.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, the encyclopaedic task saw advances: the *Dicionário Universal Ilustrado* [Universal Illustrated Dictionary], for example, was succeeded in the mid-20th century by the *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira* [Great Portuguese and Brazilian Encyclopaedia], the most extensive informative repository, both biobibliographical and thematic, and still useful today for the propaedeutics of cultural research up to that era. A notable leap in quality was achieved with the *Dicionário de História de Portugal* [Dictionary of the History of Portugal] edited by Joel Serrão (1963-1971), which translated and introduced advancements in academic creation, opening new horizons in the field of economic and social history, clearly influenced by the Annales School. This work was supplemented in 1999 by A. Barreto and M. F. Mónica to cover the Estado Novo period, but here from the perspective of sociology and political science, making it a useful tool for those dedicated to historiographical research on culture, cultural movements, and intellectuals, although these topics do not find their core focus therein. It is also noteworthy that for the first



# DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

time, D. Peres' *História de Portugal* [History of Portugal] (1929-58) includes chapters on "cultural institutions," authored by J. Carvalho, as a counterbalance to the hegemonic political and factual history, distancing itself from the apologetic history (J. Ameal, C. Beirão, A. Pimenta) that was normative during the Estado Novo and from the ontologising tendency that "culturalism" (Delfim Santos, Á. Ribeiro) was beginning to outline. This culturalism promoted ahistorical readings of identity based on other teleological and eschatological overdeterminations, stripping history of what it intrinsically possesses—histor, the anthropological testimony of time. As for synthetic proposals, the boom of Histories of Portugal in the 1980s and 90s brought forth methodologies and perspectives that were radically different, if not opposed: the "new history," which shifts cultural history towards intellectual and social movements (eds.: A. Reis, A. H. de Oliveira Marques, Id. and Joel Serrão, J. Medina); the embryonic postmodern (or post-serial) history, which analyses the diachrony of ideas in genealogical and cross-cutting dimensions (ed.: J. Mattoso); and the political history with its "national" succession (J. Veríssimo Serrão, J. H. Saraiva), factualist and haecceitic in historiographical treatments, isolating the historicity of culture in episodic events or reading it in the sarcophagus of the "national destiny."

It is not feasible to mention all the Histories of Literature (with the fair exception of the *História da Literatura Portuguesa* [History of Portuguese Literature], A.J. Saraiva / Ó. Lopes, resistant to the customary and critical versions (Reis, C., ed., 1993-2001; Alfa, ed., 2001-2003), Histories of Philosophy (with inherent risks, the overall diligence of the P. Calafate ed., 1999-2001, more than a century after Lopes Praça's meagre endeavour), Education (R. de Carvalho, 1986, A. Nóvoa, 1987), Arts, Science, intellectual and doctrinal movements, thematic dictionaries, proceedings of innumerable congresses and symposia, monographs, theses, projects that provide a qualitative account of academic and cultural life after the revolution of 25 April and which, as a whole, attest to the exploratory phase, which was credited with and correlated to the democratisation of teaching and the explosion of scientific research fostered by new post-1974 conditions and accession to the European project in 1986. However, it may be said that despite ample documental, empirical and theoretical support, there was still a lack of a systematic transdisciplinary vision of an endeavour that calls for diachronic syntheses of Portuguese culture and frees it from the small, self-absorbed circle of 'national culture'.

**6. Essayism**, an original, agile hypothesis, a critical exercise cohabiting with Cartesian doubt, according to Sílvia Lima's synopsis (*Ensaio sobre a essência do ensaio* [Essay on the essence of the essay] 1944), provides a significant diagnosis and dialogue in the creation of inquiries into the history of culture, paving the way for new insights, some later empirically evidenced. Under the initial matrix of O. Martins and in dialogue with his theories, António Sérgio (1883-1969), a doctrinaire and paideuta, cannot be relegated in the *Ensaaios* [Essays] to the historiographical site he did not seek, or only theoretically sought without empirical research. However, he opened up fundamental cultural clues and issues, initially in 'Espectros' ['Spectra'] (*Ensaios* [I], 1920) and 'O Reino Cadaveroso ou o problema da cultura em Portugal' ['The Cadaverous Kingdom or the Problem of Culture in Portugal'] (1926, *Ensaios*, II, 1929), and in the diverse exegesis of authors, works, essential themes,



# DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

from Camões to Antero (he is one of the Anterians of the first half of the century, along with J. Carvalho, Leonardo Coimbra, J. Bruno Carreiro) and from Oliveira Martins, in the ideal of democratic paideia and citizenship, to constant 'pedagogical digressions' on Sebastianism and the humanist ideal. In the preface, Sérgio thus condensed his work (Ens. I, pref. to the 2nd ed.), with some accuracy: 'The paths of renewal that I initiated in our history consisted much less in the interpretations proposed and the analytical work with which I intended to support them, than in the very circumstance of wanting to interpret and understand, and in the new mentality with which I viewed things'. To him, in an asubstantialist view of culture, not exempt from some ontic inference, historical and cultural inquiry, like any form of knowledge, was not a blind stringing together of facts and dates, characters and works, but rather a Kantian ideation of the spirit between freely invented concepts. Sérgio's central role – alongside Raul Proença, the thinker who best challenged the siege of democratic culture in the constrained Portuguese arena, and who himself was a piêce de résistance within the intellectual resistance to the Estado Novo – does not omit the assertive induction of the polemicist and the hall of mirrors in which his image is pre-emptively superimposed. The confrontation of Eduardo Lourenço's essayism (b. 1923) with the rationalism of the Sergian matrix would achieve the greatest development, largely shaping the research agenda, both before and after 'the symbolic flight into the imperial imaginary' (Portugal como destino [Portugal as destiny] 1999, p. 56): Heterodoxia [Heterodoxy] (I, 1949) undeniably belongs to those who were referred to by Menéndez y Pelayo, *contre coeur*, on the Iberian soil as prone to mysticism, and who choose heresy over the monological aridity from which only the epics dare to escape or, like Lourenço, 'mystics without faith'. The cycle initiated in *O Labirinto da Saudade* [The Labyrinth of Yearning](1978), a "mythical psychoanalysis of Portuguese destiny" (and the unfinished discussion it sparked, see J. Gil, *Portugal, Hoje. O Medo de Existir*, [Portugal, Today. The Fear of Existing], 2004), which was already announced in *Heterodoxia II* (1967), continued in *Portugal como destino* (1999) and *A Nau de Ícaro* [The Ship of Icarus] (1999). Meanwhile, in *Nós e a Europa* [We and Europe] (1988), *O Esplendor do Caos* [The Splendour of Chaos] (1998), and *A Europa Desencantada* [Disenchanted Europe](1994), Lourenço debates constructive paths for the community amid the ruins of its prophetic mythology. A fundamental theme of his essayism, culture, imagology, and the projective and prospective labyrinth of hetero- and self-representations, "a critical discourse on the images we have forged of ourselves" (*O Labirinto da Saudade*, 1978, p. 52), just like images "ideas have their shadows" (*Poesia e metafísica* [Poetry and metaphysics], 2002, p. 70), is moulded into a kind of "existential historiography", as he mentions (2000), which is resistant to apodictic justifications: "my reading of Portuguese culture, in general, of its meaning, of its functioning, has little to do with a sociological reading. The symbolic is invisible to the sociological lens, at least as long as sociology remains implicitly and explicitly tied to the Durkheimian idea that 'social facts are things' and as such susceptible to 'scientific' reading" (Lima, *Existência e filosofia: o ensaísmo de Eduardo Lourenço* [Existence and philosophy: The essayism of Eduardo Lourenço] 2008). The rejection of the place of truth, and this the spirit of heterodoxy, implies the prior "rejection of perspectives that claim to hold the truth about it" (Gil &



# DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

Catroga, O ensaísmo trágico de Eduardo Lourenço [The tragic essayism of Eduardo Lourenço], 1996, p. 17), a tragic aporia of a community that, through intellectual mediations and figurations, attracts clients yearning for orthodoxy.

**7. Historiography of culture, or culture as historical research.** After the pioneering Curso Superior de Letras (1858-61), the Republican reform that established the Faculties of Arts (III-1911) redefined the objective impetus in historiographical studies. For the first time, conditions were created for the vast and scattered branches of humanities not only to establish their own disciplines (Philological, Classical and Modern Sciences; Historical Sciences; Philosophical Sciences, subsuming Psychology) but also to define logical and methodical bases for the epistemic and pedagogical connections. The plan of Verney, revisited by L. Mouzinho de Albuquerque (1823), found ground to flourish. It is only possible to outline the movement in its most clear and prominent stages of development: it was Joaquim de Carvalho (1892-1958) who first and most clearly formulated the methodological question raised by the history of culture, by calling for analytical and hermeneutical transdisciplinarity, reaching the most demanding historiographical level, that of the very episteme for its clarification and the most solid philosophical training for its discussion. However, while he endorsed the Neo-Kantian effort, particularly from Marburg, which founds modern epistemology (Wissenschaftslehre, translated into English as epistemology) by refuting panlogism and extensive and analogical scientific-natural taxonomy in the nosological field of human sciences, J. Carvalho opened up the methodological path, already paved by H. Cohen; P. Natorp and E. Cassirer, but did not theorise it. Instead, he benefitted (with Dilthey) from eideticism to clear gnosiology from scientific explanations and clarify aporias of knowledge (Erkenntnisproblem) in the various fields of Sciences and Philosophy, testing them in the encompassing light of Weltanschauung, a "worldview" whose experience (Erlebnis) would provide the comprehensive framework (more than explanatory) of spiritual activity – which would make a coherent and consistent reading, not allowed by the mass of artistic, philosophical and scientific representations, in fragmentary chaos or in disciplinary orthodoxy. Thus, he followed the path of a history of ideas on which, with authority, he endowed the foundations and aspiration to a "science of rigour," as suggested by the example of Husserl in philosophical convergence.

This was a decisive aspect, while Carvalho probed and wrote in the full-blown century of epistemology (E. Mach, Dilthey, Meyerson, B. Russell, Brunschvicg, Bachelard, G. Canguilhem, Popper, A. Koyré, Cavaillès, Piaget, later Althusser, Kuhn, Foucault, Suppe), emerging from the dual explosion of scientific knowledge since the mid-19th century – marked by evolutionism and the theories of relativity (1905; 1916) – and the intense debates, in gnosiological and scientific theory, from monistic materialism to logical positivism, from structuralism and Marxism to Kantian restitution and the philosophies of Existenz. All this also characterised the growing interest of the social sciences, particularly humanistic and philosophical studies, in the scientific propositions and the historicity of their own foundations, concepts, and conclusions, in a long debate that symmetrised "truth" and "scientific progress," rekindling the philosophical aporia of devenir (becoming) and



# DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

human past and better stimulating historiographical studies in this interrogation. As summarised aptly, the history of culture, as methodically understood and constructed by Carvalho (*Bildung*), would only be possible in the broadest philosophical vision that disciplined the various fields of knowledge in a hermeneutic rationality – from the history of science to the history of literature and the history of philosophy – and hence the demanding instance that constituted a historiography to which the sectorial responses of the various fields of knowledge were essential but thus, *per se*, insufficient. The vast erudition, in the documental and bibliological manner of J. P. Ribeiro and Herculano, the confirmation of the philological contribution, in the heritage of Carolina Michaëllis, the lesson of sources and their meticulous examination in the vein of the methodical school, the critical *sagesse*, the self-constructive episteme, if knowledge is human creation and invention, made Carvalho the university representative of a quality then on the verge of extinction in schools – that of the cleric, a scholar who does not sacrifice himself on the public altar to *politique d'abord* and who carries the independence of mind and ethics against the various winds of totalitarianism and dictatorial tides that ravaged Europe post 1917-1922. An undeniable pioneer of the History of Ideas, by creating the confederation of cultural studies under the historiographical aegis and reinforcing the philosophical basis that underpins thought, Carvalho called for the correlational and global episteme for the phenomenology of culture without which any effort would be piecemeal and partial. Under his influence in Coimbra, and regardless thereof, the essayism of E. Lourenço and the teachings of Sílvio Lima were nourished; in *Theory of History*, the latter would testify to the relational and rational aptitude of interpretation, in his capacity as a translator of a "mental architecture" (Hegel). Without expelling analytical idealism, Lima conditions the knowledge of the "past" to the projective mediations of a Diltheyan historical reason in which "historical" is already the restricted field that allows for the apprehension of the spirit, self-knowledge of reason investigated in the domain of the history of ideas, as much as the very ground where *raisonner*, the process of thoughts, is legitimised in its inventive intelligence, thus subtracted from the substantialisation of culture – and from culturalisms of diverse kinds that converged in the shadow of repressive tutelage (Á. Ribeiro, A. Quadros, A. J. Brito) – and rejecting its abusive reification. A creator of profound pages of an original and innovative history of ideas, a major case being *O Amor Místico* [Mystic Love], an exegesis that establishes connections between the history of religions with psychoanalysis and the comprehensive and hermeneutic lesson, he did not explore it methodically to instead theoretically formulate the analytical model.

Under the philosophical guidance of Vieira de Almeida in Lisbon, who did not explore the empirical path of cultural study but rather the theory of history, and the essayistic influence of Sérgio, historiographical research was propelled by a remarkable generation that pioneered the study of Portuguese culture. Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1918-2011), who ventured into social and economic history, left behind essays and leads for new perspectives (demography and cultural creation, comparativism, history of historiography) that were highly useful to the historiography of culture, especially by addressing sociology that appeared to be obstructed. António José Saraiva (1917-1993) made the transition to cultural history from literature and humanistic studies



# DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

(F. Figueiredo, Hernâni Cidade, R. Lapa, even banished): closely related to Marxian theories, increasingly challenged due to Marx's negative view of ideological instances and the economic base posited by dialectical materialism, in the preface to *Para a História da Cultura em Portugal* [Towards a History of Culture in Portugal] (2 vols., 1946-1961), in the eclipse of freedom, he courageously denounces the absence of fundamental cultural conditions for the study of the history of culture and the university's abandonment of its formative, critical, and enlightening munus in studying a culture that has experienced a series of "discontinuous eruptions" since the 16th century without an "internal guiding line": "the university is destined to be surpassed by events. Today it is already a small island resisting the new order of things and the new order of culture for which it is unprepared" as while in Portugal, culture is "denied," and its Faculties of Arts are "fish nurseries," whose fate will be "death in the open air." This problem is not dissociated in the extensive bibliography (e.g., *História da Cultura em Portugal* [History of Culture in Portugal] 3 vols., 1950-62; *Herculano e o Liberalismo em Portugal* [Herculano and Liberalism in Portugal] 1949; *A Tertúlia Ocidental* [Western Discussion Group] 1995, a thorough revision of his own theories from the 1940s to 1960s) where the best analytical position is found in *Correspondência* [Correspondence] (2004) by and to Óscar Lopes. The heterodox path of the apostate of real socialism (from *Dicionário Crítico* [Critical Dictionary] 1960 to *Maio e a Crise da Civilização Burguesa* [May and the Crisis of the Bourgeois Civilisation]; 1969-70) is marked in the final phase by a pronounced tendency towards the "seed of subjectivity," gnosticism, and mysticism, where the anthropological subject emerges as a "poor seeker of the absolute" (*História e Utopia* [History and Utopia] 1991; *O que é a cultura?* [What is culture?], 1993; 2003: "Man has merely replaced the word God with the word nature, with the word reason"), a vision that aligns him with the paradoxical "prophetism" of Agostinho da Silva (1906-1994), author of significant readings from the Pessoa locus, *Um Fernando Pessoa* [A Fernando Pessoa] (1959), *Reflexão à margem da literatura portuguesa* [Reflection on the sidelines of Portuguese literature] (1958) which, after texts and critical publications by Gaspar Simões, Jorge de Sena, A. Casais Monteiro, and before J. do Prado Coelho and G. Rudolf Lind, dialogues within the essentially new hermeneutics chosen by E. Lourenço (1973; 1983, 1986) in the poet of *Mensagem* [Message] and heteronyms. The exegetical discovery of F. Pessoa, which was conveyed by *Presença* [Presence] (1927-40) with difficult visibility and public adversity, is one of the great tasks to which the critical and essayistic renewal and literary experts have devoted themselves (M.<sup>a</sup> Aliete Galhoz, L. R. Guyer, E. Prado Coelho, T. Rita Lopes, R. Zenith, M. P. da Silva, Silvina R. Lopes), engaging with the vision of the philosophy of language and philosophy itself (R. Jakobson, 1973; G. Deleuze, J. Gil, 1999), and freeing the poet from the anonymity to which he seemed condemned, a Platonic target of the Aristotelian crossfire between "pragmatic" nationalism and "realist" internationalism.

Joel Serrão (1919-2008) also contributed to the new scene, from the perspective of cultural history, through annotated editions of Pessoa's works (*Cartas* [Letters] to Armando Cortes Rodrigues, 1945; *Portugal – Introdução ao problema nacional* [Portugal – Introduction to the National Problem], 1978; *Da República* [On the Republic] 1910-1935, 1979; *Ultimatum e páginas de Sociologia Política* [Ultimatum and pages of Political



# DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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

Sociology] 1980) and essays (F. P. Cidadão do imaginário [Citizen of the Imagination], 1981). His unique position in the historiography of contemporary culture in the second half of the 20th century arose from his sociological approaches to culture, including literature (following a period linked to economic and technical history), which he explores in *Temas de Cultura Portuguesa* [Themes of Portuguese Culture] (2 vols., 1960-65) and *Temas Oitocentistas* [19th Century Themes] (2 vols., 1959-62), where his methodological plan begins to be explored ("Para a história cultural do século XIX português" "Towards the Cultural History of 19th Century Portugal") with the aim of antinomically studying "social groups," "precisely: routine and innovation – in the tools of daily work; in the logical support of thought; in the language that expresses it; in affective reactions and particular conflicts; in action and passiveness; in ideas, feelings, will, actions; in ideological currents (survivals of the past, needs of the present, aspirations for the future)" (I, p. 45). The guidance and collaboration in the aforementioned DHP, the "probing" of chosen themes, Cesário Verde (1955, 1957; 1964); Sampaio Bruno (1960); Antero and the ruin of his programme. 1871-1875 (1988, still echoing Gurvitch's reading of Proudhon), broadening the scope of the diachronic essay of concepts and key ideas, as indicated by critical relativism (*Do sebastianismo ao socialismo* [From Sebastianism to Socialism, 1983), and the history of ideas (*From "Regeneration" to the Republic*, 1990), accentuated in a historiography that did not lose the essayistic sense and the dialectical vein against assertive conclusions that tend to establish doctrine and, when not, to block criticism. Thus, the history of culture is an unstable terrain of migrations and shifts of analytical objects. José-Augusto França (b. 1922) comes from art and literature, such as praxis and critique in refined studies, to the comprehensive vision of culture encapsulated in *Os Anos Vinte em Portugal* [The Twenties in Portugal] (1992), beyond his own repository of lived writing ([*Memórias para o século XXI* [Memories for the 21st Century], 2000), a perspective where conceptual vehicles, ego-history, and the analytical lens of the historian intersect without colliding; in search of the sociocultural facts he had pursued since *O Romantismo em Portugal* [Romanticism in Portugal] (1973; 1993): his *Zé Povinho* (1975) withstands historiographically with the robust plasticity of Bordalo. Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho (1920-80), whose interest in the history of science (*Esmeraldo in Situ Orbis* by Duarte Pacheco, 1961; 1991; *As invenções técnicas e a história da Humanidade* [Technical Inventions and the History of Humanity], n.d.) did not overlook the correlation with Modern culture ([*Portugal e as origens do pensamento Moderno* [Portugal and the Origins of Modern Thought], 1980; *O Renascimento Português* [The Portuguese Renaissance] 1981), explores a sociological analysis of culture that brings him closer to Vítor de Sá (1921-2003), a major promoter of the History Centre at the University of Porto, where some influence of J. Carvalho is evident methodologically but not interpretatively (after Amorim Viana and Proudhon, 1960), less so in Óscar Lopes, who is attentive to the relative "superstructural" emancipation, as seen, most clearly, in Sá's *Antero de Quental* (2nd ed., 1977) compared to his *Antero de Quental. Vida e legado de uma Utopia* [Antero de Quental. Life and Legacy of a Utopia] (1983). Maria Helena da Rocha Pereira (b. 1925), without delving into hard historiography, in her notable lessons (*Estudos de História da Cultura Clássica* [Studies in the History of Classical Culture], I and II), anthologies, and translations,





# DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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establishes a unique framework for the study of classical, modern, and contemporary culture (hence the wise forays into Camões and Pessoa), demanding an education that does not degrade humanistic studies curricularly, and in them, the broad cultural vision that all historiography requires.

J. S. Silva Dias (1916-1994), initially in Coimbra (1958-79) and later at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa (FCSH, 1980-86, where he founded the journal *Cultura – História e Filosofia* [Culture- History and Philosophy]), tended to interpret cultural history as the history of ideas, i.e., the major ideological movements (political, religious, philosophical, artistic), in analogy or affinity with German philosophical and cultural historiography, initiated by L. Fèbvre in his monumental study of Luther. Specifically, at Coimbra, he pioneered courses introduced in the 1957 university reform, which for the first time—though J. Carvalho's tutelage had paved the way—aimed at the methodological and epistemic autonomy, in historiographical terms, of cultural history (History of Portuguese Culture, History of Modern Culture; Seminar of Portuguese Culture), a project which, after the 25th of April 1974, enabled him to found and consolidate the Institute of History and Theory of Ideas (FLUC) and the influential *Revista de História das Ideias* [Journal of the History of Ideas](1977), today directed by F. Catroga. In his youth, close to integrist and integralist doctrines (*Escândalo da Verdade* [Scandal of the Truth], 1943; *O problema da Europa* [The problem of Europe], 1945; *Humanismo social* [Social humanism]1949), Silva Dias systematically collected sources compiled in *Portugal e a Cultura Europeia. Séculos XVI a XVIII* [Portugal and European Culture. 16th to 18th Centuries] (1952), vast material which already announced one of his reference works, *Correntes do sentimento religioso em Portugal. Séculos XVI a XVII* [Currents of Religious Sentiment in Portugal. 16th to 17th Centuries] (2 books., 1960), whose absence of the second volume does not diminish the epochal and global vision structured around the "attitudes and thoughts and the vital expressions of religious sensitivity, in view of the problems of the experience and conception of Christianity in its relations with the realisation of man's destiny in the Cosmos" and "its spiritual projections in a given cycle of culture" (*ibid.*, X). From here, the disambiguating function of *A Política Cultural da Época de D. João III* [Cultural Policy in the Time of King John III] (1969), *Os Descobrimentos e a Problemática cultural do século XVI* [The Discoveries and the Cultural Questions of the 16th Century] (1973), and *O Erasmismo e a Inquisição em Portugal* [Erasmianism and the Inquisition in Portugal] (1975) became polarised in the semantic corollary sacralisation/desacralisation (see *Pombalismo e Projeto Político* [Pombalism and Political Project], 1984, or *Os Primórdios da Maçonaria Portuguesa* [The Beginnings of Portuguese Freemasonry], 1980, in collaboration with Graça Silva Dias), which guided a line of research with a strong presence in Coimbra (cf. *O Sagrado e o Profano* [The Sacred and the Profane], RHI, 1986 and 87) and Lisbon (in the history of political ideas, J. Esteves Pereira, Z. Osório de Castro, increasingly attracted to the history of ideas from a feminine perspective). In this historiographical disambiguation effort, Fernando Catroga, who from the 1970s onwards would become a major representative, would focus on Death-Memory-Desacralisation as the core of his cultural history.

# DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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