

# DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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Once the independence of Brazil had been achieved (1822) and recognised (1825), the Portuguese possessions in Africa - above all - began to be seen as a sacred heritage of the homeland (and therefore an untouchable heritage) and as an economic solution to Portugal's difficulties at the time. As stated by Oliveira Martins in 1882 in *História de Portugal* [History of Portugal] (3rd ed.) "...only at the expense of colonial resources can we perhaps satisfy the multiple demands of economic, scientific and moral organisation, which are indispensable to the existence of a nation nowadays ". It was also the opinion of Luciano Cordeiro, a self-professed colonialist of the 1900s, that equatorial Africa "might mean another Brazil to us and it is extremely painful to see the time that has been wasted". (*Boletim da S.G.L.* [S.G.L. Bulletin], no. 1, 1876). This colonial presence was thus deemed to have existed uninterruptedly since the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Such a lengthy permanence justified present ownership, the primacy and continuity of which had to be highlighted in the face of the desires and ambitions of other European states. History was therefore a fundamental element of proof. "Historical arguments, diplomacy, and African policy went hand in hand. [...] history took on the pragmatic function as an instrument of the national State in its foreign policy". (S. C. Matos, "A historiografia portuguesa dos descobrimentos...", ["Portuguese historiography of the Discoveries..."], 1998, p. 56).

Such an interest in questions of knowledge of the history of expansion, also referred to as knowledge of geographical discovery, was sparked by the *Academia Real das Ciências de Lisboa* [Lisbon Royal Academy of Sciences] since, as mentioned by Abade [Abbott] Correia da Serra in 1790: "As far as we are concerned, the History of Portugal is not an indifferent study, or mere curiosity. The accomplishments of our forefathers had such consequences that the whole of the human race, even its strangest elements, is interested in them" (*Collecção de livros..* [Collection of books...] tome I, 1790, p. VII). The *Collecção de notícias para a História e Geografia das Nações Ultramarinas* [Collection of news for the History and Geography of Overseas Nations] would be published sometime later, in 1815. Erudition asserted itself and key documents for the study of the period and of the discoveries began to be published. The initiatives of the *Academia de Ciências* (1812-1841) were particularly noteworthy in this regard. From early on, historical knowledge - and the driving force behind those who took an interest in it - was mainly based on the opinion of Herculano, who had convincingly argued that the great period of the constitution of the Nation was the Middle



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Ages.

"In my view, Portuguese history seems to be naturally divided into two major cycles, each of which covers several social phases, or epochs: the first is that in which the nation is constituted; the second is that of its rapid decadence: the former is the Middle Ages; the latter is the Renaissance." He even went so far as to consider "the whole sixteenth century a century of decadence." (*Opusculos* [Booklets], vol. V, undated., pp. 126-127). He dated the beginning of this catastrophic collective depression back to the 1482 *Cortes* [assembly of the representatives of the estates of the kingdom] in Évora. He went even further: "neither discoveries, nor conquests, nor trade established by virtue of the sword, nor the luxury and majesty of an immense empire can teach us social wisdom today. (*Ibid.*, p. 135) However, the discoveries, undoubtedly the most brilliant tale of collective existence, opened up to the decadence that would sink the Homeland, leading to its fall into the hands of King Felipe II. Indeed, the Discoveries, by virtue of the royal absolutism that eliminated citizen freedoms, were the expression of that fatality.

Friar Francisco de S. Luís, a liberal, later known as Cardinal Saraiva, collected materials and produced the first well-organised chronologies, listing sources and citing the most important figures in the history of expansion during his political seclusion - "forced and painful leisure" - from 1828 to 1834 in the Serra de Ossa. The diligent writer compiled his findings in the *Índice Chronologico das navegações, viagens, descobrimentos, e conquistas dos portugueses nos paizes ultramarinos desde o principio do século XV* [Chronological Index of the navigations, voyages, discoveries, and conquests of the Portuguese in overseas countries from the early 15th century]. Despite the presumed "secrecy" under which he read the documents, making this a complex and demanding analysis, he was confronted with multiple difficulties in gaining access to testimonies, which thus conditioned the writing of the "series of our overseas undertakings." (Saraiva, *Obras Completas* [Complete Works] tome V, p. 48) "as history". In this *Índice Cronologico* [Chronological Index] he briefly referred to "the facts deemed most important, putting them in their purely chronological order, so as to be used as a guide, whenever we wished to expand our study, or learn more widely about this branch of our history, which we consider of as much interest to the literati, as glorious to the Portuguese." (*Ibid.*, p. 49) This was probably the first attempt at a comprehensive presentation of what was known about the overseas discoveries and accomplishments between 1412 and 1811.

However, hardly anything was known: "There were few national writers to consult, and those available were generally incomplete, sometimes discrepant in their narrations, and always sparse in terms of fifteenth-century news, which called for further research and confirmation. (*Ibid.*, pp. 47-48) Always in the exercise of whimsical erudition. Almost simultaneously, other contributions emerged, first from the Viscount of Santarém, with his *Atlas* and the publication of the recently discovered Parisian manuscript of the *Crónica do descobrimento e conquista da Guiné* [Chronicle of the discovery and conquest of Guinea] by Gomes Eanes de Zurara, in Paris, in 1841, and then the very famous and useful *Démonstracion des droits qu'a la couronne de Portugal sur les territoires situés sur la côte occidentale d'Afrique...* Historical arguments were needed to



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justify territorial claims. Both authors glorified - and mythicised - the figure and the work of Infante D. Henrique [Prince Henry the Navigator]. (M. I. João, *O Infante D. Henrique...*[Prince Henry the Navigator], 1994, p. 20) From the outset, it was necessary to distinguish the real from the imaginary and confront those who belittled Portugal's achievements. The priority of the Portuguese in navigating to the previously unknown had to be clearly stated and defended.

Even in propaganda works, history played a central role in every single argument employed in all colony-related material. This was a relevant subject on the eve of major European decisions - the Brussels (1876) and Berlin (1884-1885) conferences. Politics and economics were the main issues of focus, albeit always based on a historical account while trying to broaden the scope of geographical and historical knowledge – frequently referred to as historical-ethnographical to make up for the lack of documents on the African populations. It was important to get to know the latter now, not to simply exploit them.

It was felt that the Portuguese colonial heritage in Africa needed to be defended through historical justification - published and disseminated so that it would come to the attention of other interested European powers - so that it could be diplomatically and effectively achieved. Its enhancement was crucial and it needed to be made visible to other colonialist countries through overland exploration expeditions (A. Guimarães, *Uma corrente...*[A trend ...], 1984). Indeed, to a certain extent, both lines of defence - the intellectual/historical and the political – were reconciled in the *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* [Lisbon Geographical Society].

This Society was founded in 1875 precisely to define and guide the colonialist interests of the Portuguese. Luciano Cordeiro was one of its founders and main players, bringing his work as a historian to the colonial intent. He authored works on the population and initial colonisation of Angola, as well as other works on the Orient. As regards the presence of the Portuguese in Africa, his studies on African hydrography in the sixteenth century and a highly innovative study on "Viagens, explorações e conquistas dos Portugueses" ["Travels, explorations and conquests of the Portuguese"] (1881) (Cordeiro, *Questões Histórico-Coloniais* [Historical and Colonial Issues], 1936) are particularly noteworthy, the latter a well-documented piece on the European penetration into the African bushlands. This was a time when it was particularly useful to know more about the period prior to the arrival of the Portuguese. Those engaged in colonisation never dispensed with the aid of history to substantiate their interests. This was also why Luciano Cordeiro participated in the mission representing the country at the 1884-1885 Berlin Conference.

Behind these publications - often aroused by the vicissitudes of international politics - was the intention of gathering materials to be used later in a work synthesising the discoveries, the lack of which was already being felt. However, the purpose was not to advance a synthesis of the history of the discoveries and expansion - or even of colonisation, as was understood in the 19th century, although such synthesis was known to be necessary. The focus was to be on issues of the present time, but since they revolved around a right granted by permanence, they had to be justified by history. History - and the need for a history of the discoveries - penetrated society and awakened educated spirits, and the few existing history buffs were devoted to this



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undertaking. There was a pressing need to highlight Portugal's priority in many of the geographical maritime discoveries and see it accepted by the other countries with colonial interests.

The *Academia das Ciências de Lisboa* acknowledged the need to write and publish a *História dos Descobrimentos* [A History of the Discoveries], although no considerable development of the History of the Discoveries had occurred. Furthermore, the historians - or those with an interest in history - also agreed that the lack of indispensable knowledge from many of the sources hampered all progress in this work of synthesis.

The activity of the Academia in the publication of documents was noteworthy from the beginning of the century. Indeed, on 8 March 1877, the Academia decided to go ahead with the writing of a "critical history of the Portuguese navigations and discoveries since the 15th century" (S. C. Matos, *Idem*, p. 57). Hence, Pinheiro Chagas delivered his lecture on the *Descobrimentos portugueses na África* [Portuguese Discoveries in Africa] (1877) to encourage this achievement, and its need was acknowledged. This responsibility fell to João de Andrade Corvo, and then, as a result of his death, to Pinheiro Chagas, as a result of whose death, to Zófimo Consiglieri Pedroso. Pinheiro Chagas proceeded to publish *Os portugueses na África, Ásia, América e Oceânia...* [The Portuguese in Africa, Asia, America and Oceania] (1890) and *Os descobrimentos dos Portuguezes e os de Colombo* [The Discoveries of the Portuguese and Columbus] (1892). Contributions began to accumulate in an effort that, alas, proved to be premature. The time had not yet come to achieve the desired results, and therefore became a vague and unrealised project. Nevertheless, the number of sources and published studies had considerably enlarged as a result of the attempt.

In *História de Portugal* [History of Portugal] (1879, 3rd ed. extended in 1882), *O Brasil e as colónias portuguesas* [Brazil and the Portuguese Colonies] (1880) and in *Portugal nos Mares: ensaios de história e geographia* [Portugal in the Seas: essays on history and geography] (1889), Oliveira Martins problematises the history of the discoveries for the first time, although he does not separate it in terms of method and discipline from the whole History of Portugal. The *Infante D. Henrique* [Henry the Navigator] is lauded as the author and promoter of the discoveries: he is responsible for the attraction to Prester John and the attempt to undo the fanciful legends of the Atlantic, regarded as the Dark Sea, about which horrors and wonders were dreamt. In his ambitious mind "there was room for his enterprises: to conquer the Moroccan empire, or at least its coastline, to ensure trade from Sudan; and at the same time to conquer the dark forces of the islands of that unknown sea, continuing along the western coasts to visit and explore them. Tenacious and unyielding, D. Henrique sacrificed everything for the progress of his enterprise [...]." It was to him that Portugal owed "the honour of preceding the European nations in the work on the recognition and allegiance of the entire globe." (O. Martins, *Historia de Portugal*, tome I, 1882, 166-167) The prince settled in Sagres surrounded by a kind of Renaissance "academy" of educated people and experts in cosmography and the art of navigation. "Having considerable wealth, he established an observatory and a nautical school in Sagres, for the study of navigation and cartography." (Id., *Os filhos...* [The children..., p. 124).

The aim of the Infante was "to uncover the secrets of the islands and continents, the gulfs and inlets,



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veiled by the black-blue mantle of the Dark Sea." (Id., *Historia...*, 1882, p. 170). The discoveries were not made by chance but with the aid of existing knowledge, which was progressively expanding. The navy, which had developed since the time of *D. Sancho I* [King Sancho I], was of great importance. When the Infante died in 1460, the navigation movement came to a halt. Oliveira Martins also highlights the conquest of Ceuta (1415) and the disaster of Tangiers (1437) in the North African enterprise. However, the occupation of fortified settlements in Morocco was an incident in national life, which "is only one episode in the great history of the overseas discoveries and conquests [...]." (*Ibid.*, p. 188)

However, the author jumps from the Infante to the expedition of Vasco da Gama to the Orient, highlighting the expedition of Afonso de Paiva and Pêro da Covilhã. Pedro Álvares Cabral's voyage is also worthy of attention to then elaborate on D. Francisco de Almeida, Afonso de Albuquerque, and D. João de Castro. But things eventually go wrong: "Initiated anarchically, the occupation of India was, from beginning to end, an anarchistic exploration." (*Ibid.*, p. 296) Various reasons accounted for this inability: "To explore the Orient from a commercial point of view, Dutch-style, was something our genius did not allow." (*Ibid.*, p. 298) The presence of the Portuguese in the Orient is thus narrated. In the wake of Herculano, Oliveira Martins argues that *A catástrofe* [Catastrophe] (1500-1580) began during the reign of King Manuel I, followed by *A decomposição* [Decay] (1580-1640) and resulted in *A anarquia espontânea* [Spontaneous anarchy] (1777-1826).

Special attention to colonisation was still lacking but would come later, in another work - *O Brasil e as colónias portuguesas* [Brazil and the Portuguese colonies]. The distinction between colonisation and trade is central to this work- agricultural colonisation in the unoccupied Atlantic Islands in contrast with the populated African coastlines. But also in Africa and Brazil the attraction to the inland areas, the "exploration of the hinterlands", to discover precious metal mines and retain the workforce (O. Martins, *O Brasil...*, 1920, pp. 16-19). Brazil was gone, it was independent, and what mattered now was the African continent: where there might still be a "possible future" but a "doubtful present" (*Ibid.*, p. 198). This was where history was not always the most useful tool for analysis. "While in Africa they [the Portuguese] were already drawn to the inland to hunt down negroes, before going in search of mines, the same occurred in America, where the *bandeiras* [expeditions] trailed the hinterlands to *capture Indians*." (*Ibid.*, p. 19)

Although disperse, the articles composing *Portugal nos mares* [Portugal in the seas] also contained useful reflections on Portuguese expansion. Despite these decisive contributions, the Portuguese historiographic milieu was still unable to accomplish a synthesis and make use of what was being produced by erudition. Another publication - less elaborate and targeting a wider public - was *História de Portugal* [History of Portugal] (in 8 vols, 1869-1874) by Pinheiro Chagas, which did not exert a lasting influence that could be compared to the work of Oliveira Martins.

It was not by chance that the great centenary commemorations - aimed at exalting the identity and consciousness of nationality - were linked to the Discoveries. Exalting the memory of the golden period of





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nationality might boost energies and trigger a rebirth of collective will. Hence, it was Camões in 1880, Prince Henry the Navigator (more modestly and mainly significant in Oporto, his birthplace) in 1894, Vasco da Gama's voyage to India in 1898, and the discovery of Brazil in 1900. The only exception was the Centenary of the *Marquês de Pombal* [Marquis of Pombal] in 1882, which sought other grounds, and that of *Santo António* [St. Anthony], which was a fiasco, in 1895 (M. I. João, *Memória... [Memory...]*, 2202, pp. 52-55). However, and rightly so, Portugal participated in the Spanish commemorations of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. The history of the discoveries was thus used in a programmed patriotic exaltation.

Related to this movement of interests behind the publication of many studies and documents on the discoveries and colonisation - in which the *Trabalhos Nauticos dos Portugueses nos séculos XV e XVI* [Portuguese Nautical Works in the 15th and 16th centuries] of Sousa Viterbo should not be forgotten - some historians were advancing remarkable hypotheses and stimulating interpretations. Such was the case of the multiple publications - especially from England - of Jaime Batalha Reis, a true geographer capable of thinking shrewdly like a historian. He was interested in demonstrating Portugal's priority to discover seas and lands: mainly inland Africa, since this was required to defend the Portuguese colonies against the greedy advances of the European powers. Indeed, Batalha Reis was even invited to participate as "a kind of geographic consultant to the Portuguese missions" in several international meetings (J. Batalha Reis, *Estudos... [Studies...]*, 1941, p. 485). In fact, the methodological tools of the incipient discipline appeared to derive more from geography than from history.

The *História dos descobrimentos, da expansão e da colonização portuguesas* [History of the Portuguese discoveries, expansion and colonisation] seemed inevitably bound up with the practice of international politics as it was being defined and responded to by the powers that be.

This subject was also addressed in school textbooks - as can be seen in the book published by Pinheiro Chagas in 1895. However, a global and articulated vision that would define the content and demand the autonomy of the History of the Discoveries and Portuguese Expansion was still lacking. It was therefore necessary for writers intending to study a given figure or event to present long introductions to the history of the Discoveries. This was the approach adopted in 1882 by J. M. Latino Coelho in his *Vasco da Gama* (1885), in 1894 by Fortunato de Almeida on Prince Henry the Navigator (1894) and Faustino da Fonseca on the discovery of Brazil by Pedro Alvares Cabral in 1900 (1908). A more general attempt, although not so successful, was made by Emiliano Augusto de Bettencourt in *Descobrimientos, guerras e conquistas dos portugueses em terras do ultramar nos séculos XV e XVI* [Discoveries, wars and conquests of the Portuguese in overseas lands in the 15th and 16th centuries]. Latino Coelho relied mainly on works on the history of geographical knowledge. He managed to skilfully frame Vasco da Gama's voyage within a network of information on geographical knowledge from ancient times to the period when the Portuguese began their navigations. This is what structured the entire work and lent it an unequivocal broad meaning. In the meantime, Richard Henry Major, an Englishman, had already published his biography of Prince Henry the Navigator



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(1868), which was translated into Portuguese a few years later (1876). They would all drink from this cup.

But on another centenary with far less festive exuberance, namely that of Prince Henry the Navigator in 1894, the first work attempting to present a synthesis of the Discoveries emerged: this work was authored by Fortunato de Almeida, a geography and history teacher at the *Liceu de Coimbra* [Coimbra High School]. His aim was to frame the entire work (and historical figure) of Prince Henry the Navigator, to the point of extending the scope of his work from the discovery of the African coast to the voyage of Fernão de Magalhães (the discovery of America, the sea route to India and Brazil). These were interpreted as "a result of the work of Prince Henry the Navigator".

"When writing some commemorative works in 1898 on the discovery of the sea route to India, I was convinced that the history of Portugal's maritime undertakings was yet to be written (Fonseca, F., *A Descoberta do Brasil* [The Discovery of Brazil], 1908)". This was not just about knowledge and glorification for domestic consumption. It was important to show and make clear that Portugal was at the forefront of the discovery enterprise and that the role played by the Portuguese in the world had to be highlighted. It was therefore also a work of patriotism. This is how the republican, politician, writer, and journalist Faustino da Fonseca understood it. He was part of Pedro Álvares Cabral's voyage in the peninsular expeditions to discover the American continent.

It was necessary to frame the discoveries in order to understand and explain them in the absence of a work of reference to ground all these events. Both Fortunato de Almeida and Faustino da Fonseca paid far less attention to what was known about geographical discoveries and a historical framework than Latino Coelho. The latter, more cultured and more concerned with finding explanations for the discoveries, also tried to frame what was known to have happened in Portugal within the European context. However, there was still no work of synthesis illustrating the 15th and 16th century discoveries. This was a gap pinpointed by many.

The centenary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus in 1892 was also deemed important for historical knowledge in Portugal, thus leading to the publication of *Alguns documentos do Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo acerca das navegações e conquistas portuguesas...* [Some documents from the Torre do Tombo National Archives on the Portuguese navigations and conquests...], among other works, since it was considered impossible to dissociate the study of Portuguese expansion from Castilian expansion. In 1904, a physician and geography and history teacher at the *Liceu de Lisboa* [Lisbon High School] published *Historia da Geographia. A epopeia geographica dos Portuguezes durante os séculos XV e XVI*. [History of Geography. The geographic epic of the Portuguese in the 15th and 16th centuries]. This was a somewhat limited attempt that clearly highlights the need to begin with the geographical knowledge of the ancient peoples, moving on to medieval times and the adventures of Marco Polo to arrive at Prince Henry the Navigator, and then the sea route to India, and even following Fernão de Magalhães (Acácio Guimarães, *Historia da Geographia* [History of Geography], 1904).

This absence of a structured and autonomous history of the discoveries in Portuguese and in Portugal



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was partly filled by *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen* (*História da época dos descobrimentos* [History of the time of the discoveries]) authored by Sophus Ruge (1831-1903), which played a central role in the historiography of the Portuguese discoveries. This work is not only noteworthy from a historiographical point of view, it also takes geographical science into consideration and its importance for history.

In fact, the "geographical discoveries" are placed right at the centre of the work's constant quest. This was a key starting point, since the "enlargement of the physical horizon necessarily leads to the enlargement of the intellectual horizon and imprints the seal of intellectual virility on the people who have come to conquer this horizon." (S. Ruge, *Idem*, undated, p. 15). A Eurocentric vision "of the countries inhabited by the cultured peoples" (*Ibid.*, p. 16), which extended to the farthest reaches of China, as would be expected, to pursue the starting point of the World before the great European expansionist currents in the late Middle Ages. The Western peoples were centred around the Mediterranean, while those on the eastern side - around the Indian Ocean - lacked centrality. The cold regions of the North and desert regions of the South were not included in this space. This was an area where the establishment of trade dated back to ancient times. Hence, "The Orient of the ancient world" became "The Western part of the ancient world". The "First Explorations", an erudite vision of the classical past, were reviewed with special attention to the movement of the Phoenician peoples in the Mediterranean.

A Eurocentric view, but grounded on knowledge and the remarkable development of extra-European history. With engagement and the reference to matters that rarely appear in histories written in the 19th century – a case in point is the attention given to the organisation of the Mongolian countries in the mid 13th century. This made it possible to enhance the missionary efforts undertaken by the papacy, and subsequently narrate the voyages of the Polo brothers and other voyages - real or imaginary - that fed the imagination of Western Europeans. Only after this understanding of the world (which occupies the first eighty pages) does Prince Henry the Navigator enter the scene on the western side of the ancient world, where he reproduces the habitual inventions of a palace and seafaring school in Sagres.

He strictly follows what was then known about the discovery of the west coast of Africa until 1460, to move on to the expeditions of Diogo Cão and Bartolomeu Dias. He also further discusses the voyages of Vasco da Gama, Pedro Álvares Cabral, and João da Nova. He reports at length on the accomplishments of D. Francisco de Almeida and Afonso de Albuquerque - and those who followed him in order to focus on the presence of the Portuguese in the Moluccas, China, and Japan. He then shifts from Portuguese expansion in the eastern seas to the voyage of Fernão de Magalhães and the issues raised by the presence and exploration of the Moluccas. He considered Fernão de Magalhães "one of the most eminent navigators of all time, if not perhaps the greatest of all. (*Ibid.*, p. 410).

The Portuguese version of *History* by Sophus Ruge was the first work to advance an overview of what was known and thought at the time on such matters. However, its German original was not recent, as it dated back to 1881 – and was included in vol. XIII of the great *História Universal* [Universal History] directed by





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Wilhelm Oncken (1838-1905). The latter had the advantage of seeking a comprehensive view of the entire European expansion throughout the world, not just of one nationality or other. The efforts of the Portuguese, the Spanish and the English are all duly explained.

Manuel Maria d'Oliveira Ramos, professor of the Curso Superior de Letras [former faculty of Arts] and later of the Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa [Lisbon Faculty of Arts], is responsible for the Portuguese version of the *Historia da época dos descobrimentos* [History of the age of discoveries], "revised, expanded and complemented with numerous notes on the Portuguese maritime epic". This publication is believed to have been released in around 1916. And there were consequences: its translation and publication are likely to have contributed decisively to the creation of the chair of *História dos Descobrimientos e da Colonização* [History of the Discoveries and Colonisation] in Portuguese Universities. Professor Oliveira Ramos most likely promoted the creation of this chair. This occurred in 1918 - a few years after the publication of the translation of the *Historia da época dos descobrimentos* - probably as a result of its emergence. It is not bold to assume that the creation of the chair in the curriculum of the History and Geography degree in the Faculties of Arts was likely triggered by this work. Thus, the discipline became autonomous, while remaining part of the Universal History of reference.

The diligent translator Oliveira Ramos decided to complete the work with "Notas em apêndice ao volume da "Historia da época dos descobrimentos" de Sophus Ruge" ["Notes appended to the volume of Sophus Ruge's "History of the Discoveries"]. Once again he felt a synthesis of the history of the discipline was necessary, where the solution to two difficulties needed to be found: the national biases and the geographical secrecy that obscured the documentation. This author understood perfectly well the need to relieve the "heroes" of the burden imposed on them, to highlight what had been achieved "through the effort, and through the skill of the poor seamen, who are part of the immense legion of those 'left out' of the great epics of the golden centuries" (S. Ruge, *Idem*, undated, p. 485). Seeking as it were to clean all the excrescences that had accumulated, in the discovery or rediscovery of Madeira, the voyage to the Canary Islands and the arrival in the Azores.

Expeditions in the 14th century were rare and non-sequential. He also dismissed (Afastando também) part of Prince Henry's legend and discussed the purpose of reaching India by sea. Additionally, he gave attention to the Northwest passage by the Corte-Real brothers, the conflicts among the governors of India, David Melgueiro's attempt to cross the Northeast and the southwestern voyage of Fernão de Magalhães. The voyages of Christopher Columbus were also worthy of particular attention. And his substantial notes culminate in an inquiry into the penetrations of the Portuguese in Africa, America, and Asia which, of course, was still part of the colonising interests of the time. A history of the Portuguese discoveries was thus outlined, with excellent critical judgment, although it was still a preparatory synthesis of a larger, never-to-be-pursued work. It should be noted that Professor Oliveira Ramos paid special attention to cartography, naturally so, given his military background. In fact, he always referred to the discoveries from a geographical viewpoint.



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The beginning of the 20th century was a historiographical period marked by great erudition: this was the period of publications in the *Arquivo Historico Portuguez* [Portuguese Historical Archive] directed by Anselmo Braamcamp Freire. It was also the period when the publications of Joaquim Bensaúde were particularly prominent, with *L'astronomie nautique au Portugal à l'époque des grandes découvertes* and *Histoire de la science nautique portugaise à l'époque des grandes découvertes* (1912 and 1921 respectively), and the publications of Luciano Pereira da Silva with *A astronomia dos Lusíadas* [The astronomy of the Lusíads], among other texts.

Issues related to the scientific knowledge of the past centuries took shape and translated into publications presenting the formulation of essential problems. Efforts to interpret and problematise also emerged in these early decades of the century: António Sérgio is worthy of mention with his "A conquista de Ceuta" ["The Conquest of Ceuta"] (1920), which triggered numerous controversies, in particular the conciliatory positions of Jaime Cortesão (1925) and David Lopes (1924) and the radical stance of Mário de Albuquerque (1930). The work of Damião Peres, who did not get involved in controversy and sought to pave the way for erudition to be used in an attempt to ascertain the relevant facts of the matter, is also worthy of note. Beginning his research on the island of Madeira, he then proceeded to produce scholarly, enlightening articles (1926).

However, a discipline entitled "History of the Discoveries, Expansion, and Colonisation" had not yet been formed. This was because the subject was still taking its first steps in a construction that might be considered autonomous from the other fields of history and appeared to already have designs on its own goals and methods. This documental research may account for the official creation of a chair of "History of the Discoveries" in the Faculties of Arts, which only occurred in 1918, the teaching of which may be safely said to have begun in 1920. It was a well-known fact that Manuel Maria d' Oliveira Ramos wrote the introduction: "he created and illustrated the chair of "History of the Portuguese Discoveries and Colonisation" - according to Orlando Ribeiro (*Aspectos e problemas* [Issues and problems] 1955). And so, it followed that in Lisbon, Manuel d' Oliveira Ramos would oversee this chair, while in Coimbra the Faculty of Arts looked to a Professor of Medicine, João Serras e Silva, for support. In Oporto, the chair was offered to Damião Peres. A history of the discoveries and expansion or colonisation had yet to be written and published. But the path had been opened.

It was around that time, in 1922-1924, that the monumental *História da Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil* [History of the Portuguese Colonisation of Brazil] directed by Carlos Malheiro Dias was published. This was the first attempt at a general history, albeit limited only to the American territory of Portuguese colonisation (sadly, incomplete). It was, however, a very ambitious attempt, with the remarkable collaboration of Portuguese historians, especially Jaime Cortesão and Duarte Leite.

Around the same time, the Marquis of Jácome Correia also published *Historia da descoberta das Ilhas* [History of the Discovery of the Islands] (1926), where he sought to present an overview of the discoveries prior to the colonisation of the Azores islands - unfortunately without mentioning the bibliography he had used.

However, in the *História de Portugal* [History of Portugal], directed by Damião Peres (1927-1937),



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many pages were devoted to the history of the discoveries and expansion, authored by Jaime Cortesão (nine long chapters), with some participation from David Lopes on the Moroccan domination. In those chapters, Jaime Cortesão constructed the essentials of a History of the Discoveries and Expansion from the 15th to the 19th centuries. "J. Cortesão a réussi à peindre un tableau lumineusement intelligent et alerte, digne d'un sujet immense, et ses contributions érudites ne sont pas de moindre valeur." (V. M. Godinho, *Le Portugal...*, 1971, p. 256) The structure of an autonomous discipline was then masterfully presented, albeit within a work of a general nature. While he was building this formidable work, he presented a short summary of that same history in 1930, in the proceedings of the Exposition Internationale d'Anvers, under the title *L'Expansion des Portugais dans l'Histoire de la Civilisation*. In 1933, the indispensable *A marinharia dos descobrimentos* [The seamanship of the discoveries] was published by A. Fontoura da Costa. Spanish research on the subject was no further advanced, and in 1931, Gonzalo de Reparaz referred to the great discoveries having begun with the "scientific and methodical enterprise of the Infante Don Enrique [Prince Henry the navigator]" (Reparaz, *La época...*, 1931, p. 5). He had to resort to foreign bibliography, mainly Portuguese, in addition to that of his exiled friend, Jaime Cortesão.

Directed by António Baião, Hernâni Cidade and Manuel Múrias, the *História da Expansão Portuguesa no Mundo* [History of Portuguese Expansion in the World] (1937-1940) was published by Luís de Montalvor's Editora Ática [Ática publishers], harnessed by the so-called great Double Centenary celebrations of 1940. In some chapters, the general structure of the History of the Discoveries and Expansion had been refined. And some of the issues that were worth developing and exploring had also been rekindled amid many conventional and regressive pages. Around the same time, the great *1º Congresso de História da Expansão Portuguesa no Mundo*, [1st Congress on the History of Portuguese Expansion in the World] was being held, whose proceedings in 1937-1938 brought many novelties - and a lot of old junk, paying lip service to those who ruled the country. And it exalted convenient real and imaginary glories.

This longstanding effort finally bore fruit in 1943 with the publication of the first *História dos Descobrimientos* [History of the Discoveries] by a Portuguese author, also resulting from the individual work of Damião de Peres. It also most likely stemmed from his teaching needs for the discipline of History of the Discoveries, first in Oporto and then in the *Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra* [ Faculty of Arts of the University of Coimbra] (from 1933 to 1959, with a short break from 1936 to 1939 when Manuel Lopes de Almeida taught this subject). However, this work was far too limited, since it only mentioned Portugal's accomplishments: only in an early chapter, without much development, is there a brief general explanation for European expansion, and even then, against the backdrop of what had occurred in Portugal.

Regardless of how the History of Damião Peres is regarded, it is undoubtedly the first autonomous work to consolidate and justify the autonomy of this scientific discipline. In it, the author seeks to address the many issues that require the analysis of great scholarship. And this had been long overdue. More than a century had passed since the initial attempts of Friar Francisco de São Luís. Here, in this pivotal work, territory



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by territory, domain by domain, the dates and all the facts concerning the discovery and occupation are ascertained. From the arrival in Madeira in 1419 to the concession of a captaincy in North America to João Álvares Fagundes in 1521. It closes with a brief overview of Portugal's collaboration in the discovery initiatives of other states. It is still an essential work today. This work had been long-awaited and had withstood the passage of time: a scholarly basis that is useful for ascertaining the facts about the discoveries and expansion - significantly less as far as colonisation is concerned. With several editions, and still mandatory for students of this subject, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho rightly referred to it as "a synthesis of acquired results and the state of play."

In the same year that Damião Peres published his *História dos Descobrimentos*, and in the wake of the works of Duarte Leite, Jaime Cortesão and Veiga Simões, the publications of a young Vitorino Magalhães Godinho emerged on the subject. His work changed the course of the problems and research, especially after his reflection entitled *Dúvidas e problemas àcerca de algumas teses de história da expansão* [Doubts and problems regarding some theories on the history of expansion] (1943).

It was clear that quite different paths needed to be followed. Sometime later, he developed a key work that resulted in the submission of his thesis *L'économie de l'empire portugais* in Paris in 1959. He was joined in the 1930s by Charles Boxer, an expert on the history of Japan, who beginning with Macao, went on to study the Portuguese empire, finally arriving at Brazil, culminating in the publication of *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire* in 1969.

In the meantime, the defence of old-fashioned, regressive visions that were of interest to the Estado Novo [New State] was left to Idalino da Costa Brochado, Dias Dinis, Domingos Maurício, A. da Silva Rego, and António Brásio, some of them with notable erudite capacity but all armed with undeniable pious intentions. They could not compare with what was being accomplished and prepared in the other historiographical field: Avelino Teixeira da Mota emerged in the wake of other naval officers who were also historians, reaching top positions in the Portuguese historiography of the expansion. The 1940s and 1950s also saw the beginning of the work of António Carreira on black and mestizo Africa and that of the young Joel Serrão, who advanced indispensable elements for the history of the island of Madeira and the Atlantic constraints. In the 1950s, Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho and Luís de Matos asserted themselves in academic France: both were responsible for pivotal research, especially from the innovative perspectives of the Portuguese and Latin texts of the 15th and 16th centuries. Virgínia Rau and Jorge Borges de Macedo were preparing to occupy top positions at the Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa and from time to time published articles on the history of Expansion: on the island of Madeira, on the Orient, and on Brazil. They were mainly interested in demographic and commercial issues.

In 1954, the Comissão Nacional das Comemorações do V Centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique [National Committee for the Commemorations of the 5th Centenary of the Death of Prince Henry the Navigator] was created. Along with other initiatives and several grandiose and spectacular events, two indispensable



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works were published: the *Portugaliæ Monumenta Cartographica* by Armando Cortesão and A. Teixeira da Mota and the *Monumenta Henricina* by Dias Dinis.

It was the duty of the Comissão to politically guide the commemorations at a time when Portugal's colonising engagement was being questioned internationally. As if unrelated to these issues, crucial works such as those of Jaime Cortesão (*História dos Descobrimentos*), Duarte Leite (*História dos Descobrimentos*), Luís de Albuquerque (*Introdução à história dos descobrimentos* [Introduction to the History of the Discoveries]) and Damião Peres (*História dos Descobrimentos*) appeared on the market. However, all of them lacked the official seal of approval, while Salazar's followers denied Vitorino Magalhães Godinho the publication of *A Economia dos Descobrimentos Henriquinos* [The Economy of Prince Henry the Navigator's Discoveries]. Nevertheless, that year devoted to Prince Henry marked the definitive autonomy of studies on the History of the Discoveries and Portuguese Expansion - much less on colonisation, which continued to be an understudied subject - for obvious reasons.

Following this remarkable eruption in 1960 - regardless of its reason or motivation - academic works continued and came to prominence in the ensuing decades. However, the studies of Luiz Filipe Reis Thomaz soon gained recognition for their originality and methodological innovation.

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