

DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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1923 Jaime Cortesão *Seara Nova* (Lisbon, 1921 – 1974)

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Seara Nova is not a publication intended to reveal historical collaborations, nor is History, as a specific field of knowledge, a concern of those who write and engage with the magazine. However, history occupies a prominent position in the thinking of the *seareiros* (contributors to the *Seara Nova* publication). This is because History cannot be pushed to the background or underestimated when an interpretive view of society as a whole is sought, and especially when this view is constructed to trigger reformative public intervention. Taking society as it is interpreted as a starting point involves a view of the past and therefore, it was the responsibility of the *seareiros* to reread and reinvent the explanations required. As early as 1923, Jaime Cortesão demonstrated the importance of history: “There is an enormous national crisis with deep roots. Portugal, which was once one of the most glorious nations in the world, is today experiencing considerable disrepute abroad. The current state of the art in Portuguese historical studies allows us to affirm that the organization of social classes through work, a strong social discipline, and a large *elite* of politicians, scholars, artists, and men of action educated in the school of hard experience and sacrifice are at the root of that past splendour” (Cortesão, *Intuitions*, pp. 5-6). A broad range of today's issues and difficulties have roots in the past, which need to be understood in order to be corrected and overcome.

The prevailing interpretation of the History of Portugal among Portuguese intellectuals when *Seara Nova* was first published, in October 1921, was still based on Oliveira Martins (with roots in Herculano), both in *História de Portugal* [History of Portugal] (1879) and *Portugal Contemporâneo* [Contemporary Portugal] (1881). This implied a view of the homeland as a victim of a decadent State, a depression that grew and worsened over the centuries after the golden period of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century had ended. This was in line with the *seareiros* reformists' assessment of contemporary Portuguese society, a vision they wished to refine to bring their reforming efforts to fruition.

As is often read in the essays of António Sérgio (always referencing Goethe), “writing history is a way of freeing ourselves from the past.” Only thus can we shed the burden that the past has condemned us to.

For in Sérgio's view, throughout the course of Portuguese history, “parasitism” had always been dominant: “the hunting of the Moorish infidel formed our nationality, the hunting of the black infidel incited the discoveries, and the hunting of the savage infidel was our profession in Brazil.” Furthermore, “Some of the dead need to be killed — historical Portugal is one of them.” (Samuel, *The Renaissance*, p. 158).



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However, the purpose of social and political, and especially cultural reform that had already brought together intellectuals in the “Portuguese Renaissance” from 1912 onwards (and later the *seareiros* from 1921 onwards) did not result in a single unified vision of the past among these protagonists-interpreters. Jaime Cortesão responded, rejecting the pessimism that appeared to overshadow many of his contemporaries' views of the past: “We were great through our work and honesty, through our thought and valour, and great through the originality and brilliance of our genius. Today we are not great because we are denationalised.” (Samuel, *The Renaissance*, p. 151). These words, spoken in 1913, appear to contrast with Sérgio's perspective, at a time when neither the future historian nor the budding essayist knew much about history... Because what inspired the poet Jaime Cortesão before the war was mainly the thought expressed by Teixeira de Pascoaes in his programmatic writings supporting the intended and indispensable Portuguese renaissance: *The Espírito Lusitano* [or *Saudosismo* Lusitanian Spirit or *Saudosismo*] (1912) and *A Arte de Ser Português* [The Art of Being Portuguese] (1915) — convinced that they contained “the good, sound Portuguese doctrine.” (Pascoaes, *Art*, p. 7). These were writings of an imaginary para-history, laden with fantastic argumentation. However, Jaime Cortesão, his companion, was already turning toward ethnography and the rigour with which Leite de Vasconcelos, Tomaz Pires, Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, Teófilo Braga, and others were approaching it, as diffused by the *Revista Lusitana*. This led to his *Cancioneiro Popular* [Popular Songbook] — an anthology preceded by a critical study (1914). Albeit with some inflection, *saudade* — “deliquescent nostalgia,” wrote Sérgio cuttingly and provocatively (Sérgio, *Correspondence*, p. 33) — still emerged as being central to the theoretical construction of whatever was meant by the Portuguese spirit in this work that sought to reach the “knowledge of the latent energies in the depths of the soul of the people.” (Cortesão, *Popular Songbook*, p. 9). But from early on, Cortesão understood that it was necessary to seek in “historicism” the virtues of the national genius to adapt them to the modern struggle”. (Samuel, *The Renaissance*, p. 151).

After the war (1914-1918), the harsh confrontation between Cortesão and Sérgio in the early days of *Águia* faded almost to the point of disappearing. The role of historical knowledge in underpinning the reformative activity desired by *Seara Nova* may be found in both. This role is much less visible in Raul Proença, although not ignored — one need only recall how he immediately embraced Sérgio's argument in the essay on the capture of Ceuta. (Amaro, *A Seara*, p. 65). Despite differences in interpretation and an emphasis on distinct characteristics, the *seareiros* were in agreement on the urgency of halting the decline in which the nation was mired. They invoked the severe flaws of the nation's past that could be said to be structural. Later frustrations would lead to a more complex and explanatory interpretation of the past.

According to Sérgio and the *seareiros* (who the essayist joined in 1923), the conception of the past of the nation always involved a critical view of the structure of the State, emphasising the negative role played by the dominant social groups over the populace. As a young *seareiro* wrote: “Tradition in Portugal is the communal parasitism of the State, the formidable imbalance of professions which has led to the wastage of our natural resources, and this tradition has long been diagnosed as the main Portuguese disease.” (Castro, *À margem* [On the Margin], p. 2). Even the triumph of the bourgeoisie in 1383 paradoxically resulted in the rise and



predominance of the literate class, “at once an effect and a cause of social parasitism.” He concludes on this second period: “The nation, therefore, never educated itself in the discipline of work, having been prematurely absorbed into the mercantile specialty of trade speculations, intimately linked to the work of the Cavalry; this fact, the ruin of the former nobility, the worsening of agricultural poverty, and the corresponding parasitism of the literati and bureaucracy, are the chief characteristics of the new regime inaugurated by the social revolution of 1383-1385.” (Sérgio, *Considerações* [Considerations], pp. 16, 18, and 19-20).

The overseas expansion would see the growth of the slave trade, the products of the islands (sugar from Madeira), and African goods, especially gold, which allowed the monarch to spend his ample income. After Gama’s voyage and the establishment of the Cape Route, pepper and Eastern riches would be brought to Lisbon, benefiting other societies, as Portugal had no manufactured goods to trade for imported goods. It was also necessary to consider that the State was always at the centre of what occurred in the evolution of the nation's history: everything depended on it. “This statism, or the custom of relying on the State to manage our lives, turning it into a father figure and provider for all of us; this academicism, or education through word and book, cultivating memory and verbosity, rather than initiative, method, perseverance, and mastery of ourselves and our working tools; this bureaucratism, or universal thirst for public employment and the corresponding inability to earn an independent living, which reduces political parties to gangs of budget raiders: these three national vices are three features of the same vice — state communism — developed through centuries of corrupt economic education. The educator in our country must begin by analysing them.” This view of society is indispensable, for as the State is not the same as the Nation, “no reform will be effective without reforming the public spirit, healthily guided.” (Sérgio, *O problema* [The problem], pp. 30). This is why the men of *Seara Nova* placed such emphasis on educational reform. Education should not be limited to instruction but should include civic education, which they never tired of advocating. (Sérgio, *Education*). The elite they sought to promote — and, if possible, recreate — had to be the opposite of the dominant group thus far. An elite that would be independent of the State.

Setting out to trigger a process of general reorganisation of the country, the *seareiros* could not ignore that what they sought to reform had historical roots. Lessons from the past were needed, a past that also had glorious moments. Social discipline, an *élite* educated through experience and sacrifice, as expressed by Jaime Cortesão in 1923, to continue affirming that since the 16th century, “moral dissolution” had led to parasitism. None of the attempts made in the last three centuries had resolved the grave distortion in which the Portuguese found themselves entangled. (Cortesão, “Intuitos” p. 6).

It would fall to Sérgio to draft a *Bosquejo da História de Portugal* [A Sketch of the History of Portugal], a summary that could serve the group’s programmatic goals and provide a historical introduction to the *Guia de Portugal* [Guide to Portugal], directed by Raul Proença (within the scope of the work undertaken at the National Library of Lisbon, led by Jaime Cortesão). This publication was part of the patriotic need to show the country to the Portuguese people. The land and its people were seen through the marks left by time, an awareness that would contribute to the reform of mentalities — and politics — is what *Seara Nova* proposed. António Sérgio



then produced a stimulating *Sketch*, which would become the first interpretative milestone that could be said to be *Seara Nova's* own — or that the *seareiros* could have adopted.

In the very first period of Portuguese history, referred to by Sérgio as “Incorporation and organisation of the territory,” a geographical-economic reality began to impose itself, determining the formation and characterisation of social groups and triggering particular political events. Here, Sérgio introduces an idea that is dear to him: “the location of our ports was the most significant geographical factor in Portugal’s independence.” The foreigners who used them helped prevent the territory’s incorporation into Castile. From the notable series of monarchs of the first dynasty, King Dinis stands out as the model king. The development of the territory, especially the protection of agriculture, pointed to this. However, there was no continuity, and both the dynasty and the period ended with the crisis of 1383-1385 and the solution that followed the social uprising. It is here that the consideration arises that the bourgeoisie of coastal merchants opposed the aristocracy that owned the “hinterland.” The former supported the revolutionary cause of King John, the Master of Avis, while the rural lords supported the heir of King Fernando. “Aljubarrota, therefore, consecrates Portugal’s independence, the new orientation of society, and the fall of much of the old aristocracy, replaced by new people.” (Sérgio, *Bosquejo*, p. 13).

Thus, a new perspective was opened for the second period, that of “Overseas Expansion.” This would be the period of great splendour in Portuguese history, beginning with the elite at the court of the new sovereign, continuing through his children, the “illustrious generation, high-ranking princes” of whom Camões would speak. Sérgio immediately underlined the economic factors, particularly the arrival of “much gold and slaves, who have begun to replace whites in labour throughout the southern half of the country, to the great detriment of the stability of the populace.” (Sérgio, *Bosquejo*, p. 28). The great opportunity to advance from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean would materialise with Bartolomeu Dias, and Vasco da Gama would later reach Calicut, opening up expansion to the East.

However, things did not turn out as expected: “In distant lands, far beyond the reach of the monarch, one can only imagine how easily it was for breaches to occur. Soon, both the State and private individuals were plunged into the worst economic and moral perversions. We bought Oriental goods with gold and foreign-manufactured products (from Italy, France, Germany, etc.); mere intermediaries, thus our productive capacity withered, and we lived on high-interest loans [...]. We had no industrial activities that could develop with this trade from the East.” And the conclusion was inevitable: “Thus, we spread throughout Asia, as far as the Moluccas, in a prodigious and anarchic display of energy.” (Sérgio, *Bosquejo*, pp. 33-34). Conversely, he mentions favourably the colonisation activities based on sugarcane agriculture and sugar production in Brazil. Indeed, later in the 18th century, due to gold, which paradoxically became “the lucky break,” Brazil “made reform unnecessary.” And, once again, the same issue persisted, with parasitism continuing to dominate. The attempt by Pombal would later gain prominence, “extremely energetic, but tyrannical, a man who set out to accomplish much but distorted the reforming ideas of the Portuguese elite of his time.” (Sérgio, *Bosquejo*, p. 36).



To conclude, the third era would arrive: “Attempts at internal remodelling.” This should certainly have followed the independence of Brazil. However, the reforms of Mouzinho da Silveira, which aimed for this, remained incomplete, and the *Fontista* policies of external loans spilled over them, blocking the necessary internal transformations. Additionally, the Republic neither addressed nor “solved the fundamental problem of nationality: creating jobs in the metropolis for citizens’ activities through the modification of the agrarian regime, making use of hydraulic resources, modernising work methods, importing scientific labour, and establishing a new, fundamentally active and productive pedagogy.” (Sérgio, *Bosquejo*, pp. 50 and 59-60).

At the same time, there was a need to combat the delirious romanticism that had settled in Portugal, along with the accompanying—or causing—creative incapacity. “This romanticism, making us incapable of modifying the present and preparing for the future, equally prevents us from intelligently evaluating the past.” This was the opinion of Raul Proença, who added: “We see in the enterprises of our ancestors, in Henry the Navigator, in Nuno Álvares, in the princes of Ceuta, mere adventures of triumphant sentimentalism, unrestrained mysticism, Bergsonian intuitions, voices of the Race, sphinx-like purities, artesian wells of creative sensitivity.” But, the *seareiro* countered, “all these enterprises were works of meditated and methodical organisation, of a high practical spirit, carried out with all the scruples, all the details, and all the circumspection of realistic intelligence.” (Proença, *Páginas* [Pages], 2nd series, p. 158). This was *Seara Nova*’s stance on history, distancing itself from and combating empty lyrical outbursts and backward-looking invocations, even when embellished in poetic *saudosista* beauty in the style of Teixeira de Pascoaes. For the *seareiros*, it was necessary to return to the spirit of the 5th of October, but “return by advancing,” as stated in the magazine’s initial manifesto. Thus, the romanticised fantasies supported by history had to be thwarted.

It was António Sérgio’s goal to attack irrationalism and patriotic sentimentalism, under the pretext of Carlos Malheiro Dias’s *Exortação à Mocidade* [Exhortation to Youth] in 1924. The attack and controversy culminated in the masterful *Tréplica* [Rejoinder] (Sérgio, *O Desejado*; Dias, *Exortação*; Sérgio, *Camões*; *Idem*, *Tréplica*; Castro, *À margem*). Like many other of *Seara Nova*’s positions, the controversy was intended to provide a “gradual work of collective education.” Reflection, along with rational disciplines, ‘the effort upon oneself, the sense of measure, clear vision, modesty, and critical sense’ stood in opposition to romantic rapture (Reis, *Raul*, p. 17). For Vitorino Nemésio, still a student in Coimbra, it was a confrontation between “a good servant of reason” and a “fanciful paladin,” “with clear signs of heroic intoxication.” Mário de Castro preferred “a conflict between two types of mentality, in which the ghost of King Sebastian appears as a mere precipitating reagent.” (Castro, *À margem*, pp. 5 and 9).

This would be a notable clash, not over the historical King Sebastian but over the inconsequential sentimentalism that was settling into society, largely generated by anti-rationalist philosophies and also by political *saudosismos* imported from abroad, especially from the *integralists*. The controversy thus ended, with Sérgio not responding further to the attacks that the *integralists* and others continued to launch against him. Manuel Múrias even referred to him as an “illustrious bungler.” Of the small book on Camões and King Sebastian, he wrote that it was nothing more than “jumbled nonsense, with refined bad faith stitched together



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from texts not always faithfully translated.” In addition to “absurd statements,” one had to account for his “habitual ignorance” and “unbridled critical spirit.” (Múrias, *Politics*, pp. 63, 64, and 68). The *integralists*, supporters of a return to absolutism, would not forgive those who believed in moving towards democracy. That was the issue, that was the great debate.

Closer to a historical controversy was that in which Sérgio engaged in *Seiscentismo* (the 1600s), although it had been interrupted by the death of António Sardinha, the other contender. (Múrias, *O Seiscentismo*; Sardinha, *O Século XVII* [The Seventeenth Century]; Sérgio, *Seiscentismo*). Lateral controversies of the central goal, which was to provoke society to implement the indispensable reforms: in the economy and in education. “What is pressing is to educate for and through work, to produce in order to educate and through education. The resolution of the two most serious problems – the educational and the economic – must be tackled simultaneously.” (Cortesão, in Cardia, *Seara*, vol. I, p. 256).

In addition to António Sérgio's interpretative essays, another type of investigative history also gained entry into *Seara Nova*: that which was due to Jaime Cortesão's discovery of historical research, which he began practising only in the early 1920s. (Magalhães, “No trilho” [“On the Trail”]). Not initially to support his civic and political actions, but as a historian embarking on a committed career in which his aim was to resolve some of the crucial problems of historiography, particularly source criticism. The turning point came in 1922 when he collaborated on *História da Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil* [History of the Portuguese Colonization of Brazil], directed by Carlos Malheiro Dias, from which a volume emerged titled *A expedição de Pedro Álvares Cabral e o Descobrimento do Brasil* [The Expedition of Pedro Álvares Cabral and the Discovery of Brazil]. Structuring his thought through historical research, an article published in *Lusitania. Revista de Estudos Portugueses* [Lusitania. Journal of Portuguese Studies] would mark his position on sources and their treatment: “On national secrecy regarding the discoveries.” *Seara Nova* – to whose board Cortesão belonged – was attentive to this new direction and in 1922 published a paper presented to the Academy of Sciences in which Cortesão's principles were emphasised in the historical interpretation, especially the cosmopolitan nature of the discoveries. This cosmopolitanism reinforced the theory that the isolation of the Iberian Peninsula was one of the causes of Portugal's woes. Returning to cosmopolitanism was necessary in the fight for the country's modernisation. Without this openness to the outside world, it would not be possible. Cortesão significantly quoted Sérgio in this regard – who had not yet joined the *Seara* group: “The value of António Sérgio's work mainly lies in providing a new and powerful argument for the now widely accepted theory that the Portuguese discoveries were carried out by an elite of thought and action, fully aware of their cosmopolitan interest, guided not only by creative audacity but by indispensable qualities of method and organisation.” (Cortesão, in Cardia, *Seara*, p. 336). The widespread acceptance of this idea was more of a hope than a reflection of reality, but it was aligned with the *Seara Nova* directors' doctrinal efforts.

After his work on the expedition commanded by Pedro Álvares Cabral, which resulted in the discovery of Brazil, Jaime Cortesão delved into historical problems as they were being reconsidered in Europe's more advanced academic circles, particularly in France. The influence of Henri Pirenne would prompt a remarkable



revision of historical matters, especially regarding the interpretation of history through geography. In 1925, Cortesão gave a lecture in Lisbon, at the *Universidade Livre*, aptly titled *As relações entre a geografia e a história de Portugal* [The Relationship between Geography and the History of Portugal]. Knowledge of space (and its importance for studying societies over time) became one of Jaime Cortesão's crucial contributions to the History of Portugal – hence his pursuit of understanding the art of navigation and the tools developed to achieve this undertaking. This complemented Sérgio's legacy, which was primarily focused on economics and sociology. However, in Cortesão, geographical understanding would be emphasised. The interaction between man and his environment was something that touched the former doctor more than any other Portuguese historian of that period. "A tomada e ocupação de Ceuta" ["The conquest and occupation of Ceuta"] (Cortesão, "O sigilo" ["Secrecy"]; Id., "A tomada" ["The conquest"]) Consequently, deserved prominence was given to the hypothesis raised by Sérgio and discussed by David Lopes, although other research was also taken into consideration, such as that of Pedro de Azevedo and Teixeira de Sampaio. With considerable delay and excellent bibliographic support, Cortesão relished in highlighting Portugal's situation in large-scale commerce, between the North Sea and especially the Mediterranean Sea, the sea through which valuable goods brought from Asia travelled, particularly spices. Sérgio believed that large-scale trade was in crisis and that the conquest of Ceuta could solve it; Lopes' stance was that the city was an important maritime port with strategic interest for combating piracy. He agreed with Pedro de Azevedo, pointing out that the interests of the "merchant class" and those of nobility ultimately converged in the enterprise of Ceuta. However, as always, Cortesão was bolder and managed to envision in the conquest of the African stronghold the beginnings of a "plan for discoveries and, consequently, for a larger expansion." Moreover, he foresaw that its "ultimate goal was India and its commerce." He enthusiastically concluded that this was how "a national salvation act was executed." (Cortesão, "A tomada", pp. 26-27).

Positions were beginning to align, despite the fact that in Cortesão historical figures were still prominent, while in Sérgio's, social groups were already the veritable protagonists of historical processes. These positions also reflected what was happening in *Seara Nova*, which analysed society and sought action by individuals in the development of a different governing mentality in Portugal.

In 1926, Cortesão would publish a pamphlet at the National Library on the Treaty of Tordesillas (*Le Traité de Tordesillas et la découverte de l'Amérique*), and before 1930, he also presented Portugal at the Antwerp International Exhibition with a synthesis text entitled *L'Expansion des Portugais dans l'Histoire de la Civilisation*. There, he would open new developments in the chapters of expansion history with which he was collaborating in the *História de Portugal* by Barcelos. That same year would see the publication of what is considered the culmination of the first phase of Cortesão's work, "one of his masterpieces and one of the high points of Portuguese historiography" of the 20th century: "Os Factores Democráticos na Formação de Portugal" ["The Democratic Factors in the Formation of Portugal"] (Godinho, *Presença*, p. XIII).

Cortesão would seek the emergence of nationality in the occupation of the territory and the lifestyles of the populations in the various regions. The community was constituted by this combination of diverse social



backgrounds, albeit with some level of foreign colonisation. As was his habit, Cortesão sought sociological theories to serve his purpose. He would look to geographers, sociologists, and also to economists (though mainly related to commerce) for support to find reasons that would explain the origin of the Nation. He would no longer seek timeless and imaginary reasons—which were always impossible to prove—to advance in an understanding of the administration of the territory.

A central point in explaining national affirmation in the 14th century was "the profound economic renewal of the country." It was the response to the external demand for wine and salt, olive oil, and fruits. Exports of honey, wax, leather, pelts, and wool were also noted. Joining the inland economy with that of the coastal regions would be accomplished. "Inland, the agricultural and pastoral work; on the coast, the exploitation of salt and the fishing that has extended from our coast to abroad." Thus, "a new type of national life was created: long-distance maritime trade, based on agriculture." "In Portugal, it was from the very movement of the communes that the supreme concept of the Nation would be born; and once the causes that hindered the development of the popular classes here, even more than in the rest of Europe, had disappeared, democratic principles would resume their march until the advent of the Republic.." Thus, he sought what might be called "the democratic conception of Portuguese history?" It is possible. "But in any science, what matters is that its conceptions are...scientific." Special attention was given to the revolution of 1383: "Portugal comes of age; its domestic politics are dominated by secular and civilist trends, an essential condition for the dignity and freedom of peoples; and the State reaches the form of organisation that allows it to solve the great problem of Europe's expansion and the understanding of the planet." (Cortesão, *Os factores*, pp. 14-15, 89-91, and 157).

The *Seara* group, formed in 1921, rapidly paved the way as a movement of ideas, occasionally influencing political power. It was continuously committed to maintaining the republican regime and public freedoms. Thus, it distanced itself from military coups and fought the situation created on 28 May, particularly through Raul Proença's writings. Later, some of its members would conspire and take up arms in the revolution of 3-7 February 1927—against the military dictatorship—and Cortesão was one such case. Some would exile themselves shortly after the military uprising—this was the case of Sérgio, who left when he was warned that he was about to be arrested. Others would be dismissed and persecuted by the troops, the monarchists, and the clerics who had joined them. This is clearly evidenced in the pamphlets written by Raul Proença in 1926. Some went into exile, while others were imprisoned. Cortesão would go to France and Spain, and in 1940, he would even be banned from his homeland upon his return. *Seara Nova* would no longer be able to maintain the same reformist concerns in the years that followed: its focus would shift to the possible resistance against the *Estado Novo*. Sérgio would experience this through his internal exile, beginning with his return in 1933, and Cortesão in Brazil after 1940. Thus, the history of *Seara Nova* would remain, as perhaps José Rodrigues Miguéis would have written, as one of the group's "imperfect chapels," though with some accomplishments.

In 1929, a Spanish translation of the *History of Portugal* was published by Labor Publishing in Barcelona. Its text had already been translated into English in 1928 (Sérgio, *Sketches*), but the Portuguese original would not be printed until 1972 (Sérgio, *Breve*). This would mark the endpoint of those early years of ongoing work



towards reforms in Portugal. Here, history occupied a central role as an intellectual tool for action upon society. However, for Sérgio, it was history without archival research—mere reflection on matters that were left to investigative history, which he often disparaged as purely archival erudition. On the contrary, what Sérgio proposed, as Jaime Cortesão would say thirty years later, was "a critical assessment of the past, a moral rule for the future." (Sérgio, *Combates*, vol. II, p. 281). And this, after all, would be the ultimate utility—and necessity—that the *seareiros* attributed to the History of Portugal: to serve as a showcase for a critical vision of the past and to establish a regulatory norm for the moral behaviours of society in the future.

The journeys and destinations of each of the two central authors are established in 1929/1930, in the *Historia de Portugal* by António Sérgio and *Os Factores Democráticos na Formação de Portugal* by Jaime Cortesão—a title that is a whole programme and not coincidentally explained in the *História do Regímen Republicano em Portugal* [History of the Republican Regime in Portugal]. A necessary concept to ground the political proposals defended by the group, this search into the past aimed to build a solid foundation for a desired future. These endpoints were, at the same time, meant to be starting points. Both Sérgio and Cortesão saw history as a means of applying their ideas to the interpretation of the country's social reality and as a way of thinking to ground the reformist action of Portugal in their time. However, while Sérgio sought levers for indispensable national reform, starting with the production and distribution of wealth, Cortesão primarily sought the foundations of popular sovereignty and its manifestations in the past. Two different approaches with the same goal: to promote the emergence of a new mentality. For Sérgio, it was primarily about finding an elite to lead the reforms, while for Cortesão, it was about understanding the mechanisms that led to popular demonstrations and democratic achievements that sustained the Nation's expression and its expansion throughout the world. Two positions that were not initially divergent, but exile would bring them even closer together. Though Cortesão came from republican militancy and Sérgio from monarchical liberalism, they had converged early on in defence of the democratic regime. *Seara Nova*, in which a degree of aristocratism of well-thinking people was evident, fell within the current that sought to develop a rational critique of what exists, a rationality that should prevail even in politics. In fact, the aim of the *seareiros* was to create intellectual elites to serve as vehicles to transform mentalities (and thus improve governance). *Nemo nos conducit* (no one leads us) was the excuse for everything to function poorly. Sérgio countered that with profound reforms in all aspects (not just in education), whenever the negative could be transformed into a positive: *Ducit* (leads). (Sérgio, *Essays*, II). This was the intention propagandised by *Seara Nova* so that Portugal could advance on a new path. Finding and preparing competent helmsmen. And in this, Sérgio the essayist and Cortesão the historian were aligned. Through the effort of sustained intellectual work, they sought to transform the country, ensuring that its inhabitants enjoyed another abundance, one generated by work that produced wealth and was rooted in freedom.

Finally, it was the very "spiritual and constructive revolution" to which the *seareiros* were devoted. (Sérgio, *Correspondência* [Correspondence], p. 38). Dispelling the ghosts of the past, which they sought to understand and interpret in order to better distance themselves from them, without wishing to return to them because, as



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Cortesão would confess, "no nation can live perpetually and exclusively on its traditions." It was necessary to start from a grounded historical interpretation "so as not to fall into a narcissistic traditionalism." (Cortesão, *At* 40). Thus, they sought to combat the "nationalism" that Raul Proença classified as "retrospective and sentimentalist, living off the dead and the memory of the dead, like a kind of necrolatry, leading us to the constant remembrance and commemoration of past glories." (Proença, *Pages*, IV, p. 17). For the *seareiros*, on the other hand, history imposed a critical vision and incited a clarifying and reforming prospective for society. And the "most important reform—the preliminary condition of all others—is always the reform of mentality." (Sérgio, in *Seara Nova*, p. 37). A national reform that, according to Raul Proença, should be a "structural, organic modification of our collective life." (Proença, *Páginas...*, 2nd series, p. 257) - the purposes and trajectory mercilessly interrupted by the dictatorship.

Although conditioned and always carefully monitored, the magazine continued to host essayists and other writers and accepted historical writings, especially on contemporary history, from authors such as Fernando Piteira Santos, Joel Serrão, Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho, and José Manuel Tengarrinha – some using pseudonyms. Under the direction of Augusto Casimiro (1961-1967), Rogério Fernandes (1967-1969), Augusto Abelaira (1969-1973), and Manuel Rodrigues Lapa (1973-1975), it maintained the same orientation, advocating for the establishment of democracy – without defining a specific form, given the different political positions and social ideals converging within it. The collaboration of historians – starting with Jaime Cortesão, who did not accompany António Sérgio in his departure in 1939 – continued, but there was no continuity in the attempt to find a common historiographical support for the critical doctrine that has been referred to as 'prospective patriotism' (Amaro, "A revista" ["The magazine"], p. 31) which the magazine sought to sustain.

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