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Historiographical and Conceptual Exchange between Fernand Braudel and Caio Prado Jr. in the 1930s and 1940s: a Case of Unequal Positions in the Intellectual Space between Brazil and France¹

Paulo Teixeira Iumatti

ABSTRACT

This article deals with various aspects of Caio Prado Jr.'s elaboration of historical temporalities. It focuses on Prado's dialogue with the French historian Fernand Braudel in the 1930s and the 1940s. Our purpose is to highlight coincidences between Prado and Braudel's understandings of temporality and how those understandings may have been mutually influential. We suggest possibilities for further analysis of this intellectual exchange, using personal documents such as correspondence from the Private Archive of Caio Prado Jr. (IEB-USP). This article approaches Braudel and Prado's thought in a transnational perspective between France and Brazil, shedding new light on two intellectuals dear to Intellectual History and the History of Historiography.

KEYWORDS: Brazilian and French Historiography, Brazil-France Relations, Intellectual Exchanges, Caio Prado Jr., Fernand Braudel.

I.

THE diversity of temporalities put forth by the Brazilian Marxist historian Caio Prado Jr. in *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo* (1942) has been emphasized by several social scientists.² Prado's understanding of temporality broke with linearity typical of historians of his time and gave the impression of the multiplicity of historical time. At the beginning of *Formação*, Prado claimed that "the course of evolution" of a people could vary, allowing for ruptures and deviations. It could even become undefined, at certain levels: peculiar events to "the course of evolution", profound

¹ Translated by Ian Merkel, Ph. D. candidate, History and French Studies, New York University. A first version of this text was published in 2013: Paulo Teixeira Iumatti, "Pontos de partida para o estudo do diálogo entre Caio Prado Jr. e Fernand Braudel", *Caio Prado Jr.: legado de um saber-fazer histórico*, ed. by Antonio Gilberto Nogueira and Adelaide Gonçalves (São Paulo: Hucitec, 2013), 49-86.

² Aziz Ab'Saber, "Tempos e espaços na mira de um historiador", *História e ideal*, ed. by Maria Angela D'Incao (São Paulo: Brasiliense, Ed. da UNESP, 1989), 407-418; Maria Odila Leite da Silva Dias, "Impasses do inorgânico", *História e ideal*, 377-405; Otávio Ianni, *A idéia de Brasil moderno* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1992); Astor Antonio Diehl, *A cultura historiográfica brasileira* (Passo Fundo: Ediupf, 1998), 220; Paulo Martinez, "A dinâmica de um pensamento crítico" (unpub. Ph. D. dissertation, FFLCH-University of São Paulo, 1999), published without changes as Paulo Martinez, *A dinâmica de um pensamento crítico: Caio Prado Jr. (1938-1935)* (São Paulo: Edusp, 2008); Paulo Teixeira Iumatti, "Caio Prado Jr., historiador e editor" (unpub. Ph. D. dissertation, FFLCH-University of São Paulo, 2001), it will be published soon, under the title *História, política e diálogo com as ciências na trajetória e na escrita de Caio Prado Jr. nos anos 1930 e 1940* (São Paulo: Intermeios/História Social-USP, in print).

internal transformations to its balance or structure, or even both such circumstances could interfere so as to “drive it in other directions, heretofore unknown”.³

This article deals with various aspects of Caio Prado Jr.’s elaboration of historical temporalities. It focuses on Prado’s dialogue with the French historian Fernand Braudel in the 1930s and the 1940s. Our purpose is to highlight several aspects of coincidence between Prado and Braudel’s understandings of temporality and how those understandings may have been mutually influential. We suggest possibilities for further analysis of this intellectual exchange, using personal documents such as correspondence from the Private Archive of Caio Prado Jr. (IEB-USP). This article approaches Braudel and Prado’s thought in a transnational perspective between France and Brazil, shedding new light on two intellectuals dear to Intellectual History and the History of Historiography.⁴

To begin, it is worth mentioning that Fernand Braudel’s presence in Brazil and the impact produced in his work has been subject of scholarly attention since the early nineties. Scholars such as Carlos Aguirre Rojas⁵ and Erato Paris⁶ have filled the gaps left by biographers Pierre Daix and Giuliana Gemelli, who focused more clearly on the French and Algerian years of the author. More recent studies have systematically addressed those Brazilian years, in particular, Luis Corrêa Lima’s dissertation, defend-

³ Caio Prado Júnior, *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo* (São Paulo: Martins, 1942), 13. *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo* was translated into English as *The Colonial Background of Modern Brazil*. In this text, we will use the original Portuguese text.

⁴ Several studies that have approached these questions from different theoretical perspectives, have been crucial for the development of this article. They include: Christophe Charle, “Ambassadeurs ou Chercheurs? Les relations internationales de professeurs de La Sorbonne sou La IIIe. République”, *Genèses*, 14 (1994): 42-62; Peter Burke, “The Annales in global context”, *International Review of Social History*, 35 (1990): 421-432; *Pour une histoire comparée des intellectuels*, ed. by Michel Trebitsch et alii (Paris: Éditions Complexe, 1998); Patrick Petitjean, “As Missões Universitárias Francesas na Criação da Universidade de São Paulo (1934-1940)”, *A Ciência nas Relações Brasil-França (1850-1950)*, ed. by Amélia Hamburger et alii (São Paulo: Edusp, Fapesp, 1996); Jörn Rüsen, “Historiografia comparativa intercultural”, *A história escrita. Teoria e história da historiografia*, ed. by Jurandir Malerba (São Paulo: Contexto, 2006), 115-138; Masayuki Sato, “Historiografia cognitiva e historiografia normativa”, *A história escrita. Teoria e história da historiografia*, 157-174. See also François Hartog, “Tempos do mundo, história, escrita da história”, *Estudos sobre a escrita da história. Anais do encontro de historiografia e história política*, ed. by Manoel Salgado Guimarães (Rio de Janeiro: 7 Letras, 2006), 15-25.

⁵ Among the author’s several studies on the matter, reference will only be made to Carlos Antonio Aguirre Rojas and his work “Fernand Braudel, a América Latina e o Brasil: um capítulo pouco conhecido de sua biografia intelectual”, *Estudos Ibero-Americanos*, 26 (2000): 7-36; and see also, by the same author, *Braudel, o mundo e o Brasil* (São Paulo: Cortez Editora, 2003).

⁶ Erato Paris concludes her article on Braudel’s Brazilian period claiming that the Atlantic dimension of his thought was further developed, on the one hand, thanks to his involvement with the *annaliste* group of the University of São Paulo and the debate with scholars such as Ricard and Gilberto Freyre, and, on the other hand, to personal experiences as a professor lecturing on universal, though profoundly Mediterranean, history. During his time in Brazil from 1935 to 1937, Braudel would have globalized his perception of the Mediterranean “à travers des voyages ‘en arrière et en avance’, des fortes influences méditerranéennes dans l’atmosphère très latine de São Paulo, et bien entendu à travers le thème du panlatinisme, fleur de l’humanisme scientifique des *Annales*, ainsi que de la politique défensive de son pays des valeurs humanistes contre le danger du fascisme”. Erato Paris, “L’Époque brésilienne de Fernand Braudel (1935-1937) et les origines intellectuelles de La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l’Époque de Philippe II”, *Storia della Storiografia*, 30 (1996): 31-56. This article was republished by the same author in *La gènesse intellectuelle de l’oeuvre de Fernand Braudel: La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l’époque de Philippe II (1923-1947)* (Athènes: Institut de Recherches néo-hélléniques, Fondation Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique de Grèce, 1999).

ed in 2004 and published in 2009.⁷ However, because of the broad range of questions studied by Rojas, Paris and Lima and the primary sources left unexplored, the relationship between Braudel and Caio Prado Jr. remains insufficiently addressed in their work.⁸ As I mentioned earlier, certain Brazilian authors gestured towards an analysis of this relationship in 1980s, calling scholarly attention to the alleged “similarity” between the development of the problem of time in *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo* and in Braudel’s *La Méditerranée*. Geographer Aziz Ab’Saber wrote, for example, that in *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo*, Caio Prado offered a “Braudelian history” even before Braudel had “systemized” his theories on historical temporalities.⁹

Paulo Martinez was the first to analyze the contact between the historians, which started in 1935. According to Martinez, the dialogue between the historians resulted in the fact that *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo* “covers the different historical times studied by Fernand Braudel, the geographical, social and individual times”.¹⁰ Martinez also highlighted the proximity between Marxism and the methodological intents both of the founders of *Annales*, Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch, and Braudel himself.¹¹ In my own doctoral dissertation, I sought to demonstrate the specificity of how the question of time is portrayed in *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo*. I analyzed the various sources Prado used to elaborate his perspective on historical time, establishing bases for a study of the relationship between Prado and other scholars through the notions of dialogue and critical appropriation.¹²

Historians have provided critical perspectives on Braudel’s Brazilian years, especially regarding the vision that he had of Brazil and the posture that he had in the country.¹³ However, as is the case in Carlos Aguirre Roja’s work, they generally tend to minimize Braudel’s intellectual, symbolic, and institutional power held by the mid-1940s,¹⁴ especially after he became the head of the journal *Annales* and published his doctoral dissertation.¹⁵

When they consider Braudel alongside Brazilian intellectuals, historians tend to naturalize the unequal relationships between them. Martinez, for example, focused exclusively on Caio Prado’s alleged assimilation of Braudelian ideas, largely ignoring possibilities of mutual influence.¹⁶ In this article, we further analyze the relationship

⁷ Luís Corrêa Lima, *Fernand Braudel e o Brasil. Vivência e brasilianismo (1935-1945)* (São Paulo: Edusp, 2009). See also, by the same author, “Braudel e o Brasil”, *Fernand Braudel: tempo e história*, ed. by Marcos Antônio Lopes (Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2003), 169-182.

⁸ Aguirre Rojas, “Fernand Braudel, a América Latina e o Brasil”, 31-32.

⁹ Ab’Saber, “Tempos e espaços na mira de um historiador”, 408. The idea was repeated partially by Diehl, *A cultura historiográfica brasileira*, 220.

¹⁰ Paulo Martinez, *A dinâmica de um pensamento crítico*, 199. Lincoln Secco agrees with Martinez’ interpretation: Lincoln Secco, *Caio Prado Jr.: o sentido da revolução* (São Paulo: Boitempo, 2008), 180.

¹¹ Martinez, *A dinâmica de um pensamento crítico*, 200.

¹² Teixeira Lumatti, *Caio Prado Jr., historiador e editor*, 2, ch. 6.

¹³ See, for instance, Corrêa Lima, *Fernand Braudel e o Brasil*; Ian Merkel, “Fernand Braudel and the Empire of French Social Science: Newly Translated Sources from the 1930s”, *French Historical Studies*, 40 (2017): 129-160.

¹⁴ See François Dosse, *A história em migalhas. Dos Annales à nova história*, tr. by Dulce Silva Ramos (São Paulo: Ensaio, 1992), 101-164.

¹⁵ Rojas Aguirre, *Braudel, o mundo e o Brasil*, 32-33.

¹⁶ The author and Bernardo Ricúpero reedited the review Braudel published in 1948 on books *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo* and *História econômica do Brasil*, which was preceded by a short presentation in which they suggested the dialogue between the historians: Bernardo Ricúpero and Paulo Martinez, “Apresentação. Fernand Braudel resenha Caio Prado Jr.”, *Praga-Revista de Estudos Marxistas*, 8 (1998): 131-

between Caio Prado and Braudel, considering the possibilities for dialogue and exchange between them, as well as the power relations that colored such exchange. By mapping out the complex intellectual exchanges between the historians, including shared readings, ideas and information, as well as specific social, political and institutional contexts, we explore the contours of their contacts and dialogues. We do this with by reading against the grain of pre-existing literature and incorporating previously unused sources from Caio Prado Jr.'s archive.

II.

The first contact between Caio Prado and Braudel took place at the University of São Paulo (USP). The then 33-year-old Braudel came to Brazil to teach History of Civilization, having replaced Émile Coornaert, and thus entered into the exiguous but effervescent São Paulo intelligentsia of 1935.¹⁷ As the historian of the 'French mission',¹⁸ Braudel gave courses in Ancient History, History of the Middle Ages and Modern History. In and outside of the classroom, Braudel's activities were part of an ideological project of 'panlatinism' based on France's universal *mission civilisatrice* and advanced by the French government's foreign affairs ministry. He was also an integral part of the university project formulated by São Paulo elites, strongly concerned with their social and national hegemony, even if the university ultimately served much less ambitious goals, largely training high school teachers instead of new elites at its beginnings.¹⁹

As for his own research, Braudel found himself in the middle of the process of re-direction, stimulated by his own empirical work, the teachings of his mentors Luc-

132. In 2002, Martinez published a paper in which he suggested certain possibilities for the study of Fernand Braudel's contribution in the spread of intellectual teaching and research practices in historical studies, in Brazil, from 1930 to 1950. See Paulo Martinez, "Fernand Braudel e a primeira geração de historiadores universitários da USP", *Revista de História*, 141 (2002): 11-27.

¹⁷ Fernando Novais, "Braudel e a Missão Francesa", *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Avançados*, 8, 22 (1994): 161-163; Martinez, *A dinâmica de um pensamento crítico*; Paris, *L'Époque brésilienne de Fernand Braudel*; Aguirre Rojas, "Fernand Braudel, a América Latina e o Brasil"; Aguirre Rojas, *Braudel, o mundo e o Brasil*; Corrêa Lima, "Braudel e o Brasil"; Corrêa Lima, *Fernand Braudel e o Brasil*.

¹⁸ On the mission and its context, it is worth mentioning only certain works or testimonies: Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes trópicos*, Coleção Perspectivas do Homem, 07 (Lisboa: Edições 70, 1993); Claude Lévi-Strauss and Didier Eribon, *De perto e de longe* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1990); Jean Maugué, *Les dents agacées* (Paris: Éditions Buchet/Chastel, 1982); Maria Helena Capelato and Lygia Coelho Prado, "À l'origine de La collaboration universitaire franco-brésilienne. Une mission française à la faculté de philosophie de São Paulo", *Préfaces*, 14 (1989): 100-105; Irene Cardoso, *A universidade da comunhão paulista* (São Paulo: Cortez, 1982); Paulo Teixeira Iumatti and Júlio Vellozo, "Conhecimento, política e instituições no Brasil (1889-1934)", *Reflexos: revue pluridisciplinaire du monde lusophone*, 2 (2013), <http://revues.univ-tlse2.fr/reflexos/index.php?id=448> (last access on: 20/07/2017); Guy Martinière, *Aspects de la coopération franco-brésilienne* (Paris: Maison de Sciences de L'Homme/Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 1982); *História das ciências sociais no Brasil*, ed. by Sergio Miceli (São Paulo: IDESP/Vértice, 1989); Pierre Monbeig, *um geógrafo pionnier*, ed. by Hervé Théry and Martine Droulers (Paris: IHEAL, 1991); Maria Helena Capelato, Raquel Glezer and Vera Lúcia Amaral Ferlini, "A Escola Uspiana de História", *Estudos Avançados*, 8, 22 (1994): 349-358; Petitjean, *As Missões Universitárias Francesas*; Hugo Suppo, "A política cultural de França no Brasil entre 1920 e 1940: o Direito e o avesso das missões universitárias", *Revista de História*, 142-143 (2000): 309-345; Caio Prado Jr. e a Associação dos Geógrafos Brasileiros, ed. by Paulo Teixeira Iumatti, Manoel Seabra and Heinz Dieter Heidemann (São Paulo: Edusp, 2008); Pierre Monbeig e a geografia humana brasileira, ed. by Heliana Angotti Salgueiro (Bauru: Edusc, 2006).

¹⁹ See, among others, Cardoso *A universidade da comunhão paulista*; Capelato and Coelho Prado, "À l'origine de La collaboration universitaire franco-brésilienne"; Petitjean, *As Missões Universitárias Francesas*.

ien Febvre and Henri Pirenne, and recently published secondary literature. During this period, Braudel had access to new documents from the French foreign ministry, especially commercial ones, as well as other archival material that he brought with him to Brazil. He also became interested in more general questions regarding the Mediterranean Sea, understood as a maritime space (according to authors such as P. Miceli, C. Rojas, E. Paris and L. C. Lima, Braudel's experience living in Brazil during such period were crucial to such end). Such questions, in turn, referred to structural levels far beyond the conscious decision-making of historical actors.²⁰

As we will demonstrate, the economic, social and cultural questions regarding the Mediterranean Sea were also among Caio Prado's principal interests during this period. This, in part, may have been because Caio Prado attended some of Braudel's classes during his first year teaching in Brazil, and it is therefore at USP where one must begin as a starting point for an analysis of possible dialogue between them. However, as we will demonstrate, the two scholars' set of shared interests largely transcended USP and the professor-student relationship that they had there.

In Brazil, Braudel experimented with and advanced a new geographic, economic and social perspective in dialogue with *Annales* historiography and other neighboring disciplines (it is worth bearing in mind that from the 1930s, Caio Prado Jr. signed the *Annales* journal).²¹ In both the natural and human sciences, previously dominant paradigms were being relativized, and in France in particular, political history was being challenged – even if it preserved its traditional institutional power basis.²² Bloch and Febvre's emphasis on 'totality' and interdisciplinarity, in addition to discussions promoted by the *Centre International de Synthèse*,²³ were part of Braudel's intellectual horizons. Braudel's early *annaliste* perspective would be remembered years later by another professor of the 'French mission', Jean Maugüé, and has been analyzed by several scholars.²⁴ Equally important to Braudel's intellectual trajectory was the open-mindedness toward new discovery with which he approached Brazil and his thesis in a moment of considerable professional uncertainty.²⁵

Many scholars have emphasized Braudel's interactions with the Brazilian environment as one of the factors that could have contributed to his writings on temporality in *La Méditerranée*.²⁶ Considering Caio Prado's conceptualizations of time, is it possible to establish some sort of approximation between the two scholars in this respect, especially concerning Braudel's 'Brazilian' period?

²⁰ Pierre Daix, *Fernand Braudel: uma biografia* (Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo: Record, 1999).

²¹ *Livro Caixa* no.1, Editora Brasiliense's Archive.

²² Olivier Dumoulin, "Changer l'histoire. Marché universitaire et innovation intellectuelle à l'époque de Marc Bloch", *Marc Bloch aujourd'hui*, ed. by André Burguière and Hartmut Atsma (Paris: Édition de l'EHESS, 1986), 98-99.

²³ See Paulo Teixeira Iumatti, "Caio Prado Jr. e as Ciências Naturais", *Estudos Sociedade e Agricultura* (UFRRJ), 14 (2000): 103-128; Teixeira Iumatti, *Caio Prado Jr., historiador e editor*.

²⁴ Maugüé, *Les dents agacées*, 94-95. See also Aguirre Rojas, *Braudel, o mundo e o Brasil*, 24-30; Martinez, *A dinâmica de um pensamento crítico*, 200-201; Corrêa Lima, *Fernand Braudel e o Brasil*.

²⁵ Paule Braudel, "Origines Intellectuelles de Fernand Braudel", *Fernand Braudel: uma biografia*, 143. See also Paulo Miceli, "Sobre história, Braudel e os vagalumes. A Escola dos Annales e o Brasil (ou vice-versa)", *Historiografia brasileira em perspectiva*, ed. by Marcos César de Freitas (São Paulo: Contexto, 1998), 259-270.

²⁶ Aguirre Rojas, "Fernand Braudel, a América Latina e o Brasil", 33; Paris, *L'Époque brésilienne de Fernand Braudel*, 43-44; Miceli, "Sobre história, Braudel e os vagalumes".

Braudel's reflections on the persistence of the past in the present in Brazil, present in his writings of the 1930s, are widely known. Such persistence surely was part of Braudel's conceptualization of the *longue durée*.²⁷ It must be remembered, however, that Braudel's observations did not differ substantially from those of other French and even Brazilian intellectuals during the same period, including those of the modernist generation. The perspective of reciprocal relations between past and present through observation and interpretation, inspired by Human Geography and/or Ethnology, was not only present in a range of French authors, including Marc Bloch's research into French rural history,²⁸ but also in other members of the 'French mission' and in a number of Brazilian writers contemporaneous with Braudel.²⁹ Thus, it is impossible to know who was the "foreign professor" Caio Prado Jr. referred to, in an oft-cited footnote of *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo*, as having told him he envied Brazilian historians who "could personally witness the most vivid scenes of their past".³⁰

However, it is worth turning our attention in particular to another member of the 'French mission' who preceded Braudel and who also had a keen eye to the question of temporality: the geographer Pierre Deffontaines. Deffontaines is perhaps one of the most controversial intellectuals of French Human Geography,³¹ probably due to

²⁷ See, among others, Martinez, *A dinâmica de um pensamento crítico*, 197-199; Corrêa Lima, *Fernand Braudel e o Brasil*, 141.

²⁸ Marc Bloch, *Introdução à História* (s. l.: Publicações Europa-América, 1997), 102. Lucien Febvre had already organized the conceptual framework of the geographers, according to K. Pomian, including the distinction between the physical and the human environment, and, in the latter, slow changes and quick variation. Febvre therefore took an important step towards the integration, in history, of that which, "35 years later, would be coined by Braudel as 'long term'". Quoted by Daix in *Fernand Braudel: uma biografia*, 203-204. Krzysztof Pomian, "L'heure des Annales – la terre – les hommes – le monde", *Les lieux de mémoire*, ed. by Pierre Nora, 2 (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), 377-429. See also Lutz Raphael, "The Present as Challenge for the Historian. The Contemporary World in the Annales E.S.C., 1929-1949", *Storia della Storiografia*, 21 (1992): 25-44. José Carlos Reis studied the new understanding of historical time by the first historians of the *Annales*, Febvre and Bloch, having addressed their relations with Braudel's understanding, having claimed that both have substantial common elements. See José Carlos Reis, *Nouvelle Histoire e tempo histórico. A contribuição de Febvre, Bloch e Braudel* (São Paulo: Ática, 1994).

²⁹ See chapter 3 in Paulo Teixeira Iumatti, *Caio Prado Jr., uma trajetória intelectual* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 2007), 51-74. See also the footnote 7 in Bernardo Ricupero, *Caio Prado Jr. e a nacionalização do marxismo no Brasil* (São Paulo: Editora 34, 2000), 161-162.

³⁰ Caio Prado Jr., *The Colonial Background of Modern Brazil*, tr. by Suzette Macedo (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), 443. Prado Jr., *Formação*, 8. Thanks to Ian Merkel for reminding me to expressly comment this quote.

³¹ See the introductory text written by Manoel Seabra and the transcription, translation and full reproduction of his correspondence with Caio Prado Jr. in *Caio Prado Jr. e a Associação dos Geógrafos Brasileiros*, 220-240. Here are only some of the studies on Deffontaines: Claire Delfosse, "Le rôle des institutions culturelles et des missions à l'étranger dans la circulation des idées géographiques – l'exemple de la carrière de Pierre Deffontaines (1894-1978)", *Finisterra – Revista Portuguesa de Geografia*, 65 (1998): 147-158; Marieta de Moraes Ferreira, "Diário pessoal, autobiografia e fontes orais: a trajetória de Pierre Deffontaines", *Anais do I Simpósio de História do Pensamento Geográfico* (Rio Claro: UNESP, 1999), 131-138; Bernard Merigot and Gérard-François Dumont, "Les causes du peuplement selon Pierre Deffontaines (1894-1978)", *La Géographie Française à l'époque classique (1918-1968)*, ed. by Paul Claval and André-Louis Sanguin (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996), 319-330; Horacio Capel, "Pierre Deffontaines y el desarrollo de la Geografía Humana", *Revista Bibliográfica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 810 (2009), <http://www.ub.es/geocrit/b3w-810.htm> (last access on: 30/05/2017); Federico Ferretti, "Pierre Deffontaines et les missions universitaires françaises au Brésil: enjeux politiques et pédagogiques d'une société savante outremer (1934-1938)", *CyberGEO: European Journal of Geography*, 703 (2014), <http://cybergeo.revues.org/26645>; DOI: 10.4000/cybergeo.26645 (last access on:

his support to the Vichy régime from 1940 to 1943. He was Caio Prado Jr.'s primary mentor – as Prado himself would acknowledge throughout his life.³² Caio Prado maintained close relations with Deffontaines beginning in 1934, when he attended Deffontaines's courses, undertook field research, and co-founded the Association of Brazilian Geographers. Braudel became a member the following year, in 1935 – by which point Deffontaines had already left São Paulo for Rio – participating intermittently in the Association during his time in Brazil.³³

Deffontaines published a book entitled *El Mediterráneo* in Spain in 1948, one year prior to Braudel's publication of his dissertation. To be sure, the Mediterranean was a subject and a place dear to geographers of the time. From 1930s through the 1940s, geographers would either come closer to or move away from the interpretive model suggested by Vidal de la Blache for the Mediterranean world.³⁴

It is clear that the assessment of Deffontaines' book – which is not the subject of this article – is immediately relevant for any study on the relations established between Caio Prado and Braudel. Interestingly, in the case of *La Méditerranée*, except for a few quotes,³⁵ Deffontaines was largely ignored. As for Caio Prado, when referring to the type of constructions and buildings used in the Mediterranean, he quoted studies written by Bruhnes and Deffontaines in his 1935 article on ethnic influences in the State of Paraná.³⁶ In *Formação* Caio Prado also cited Deffontaines' study on the donkey fair in Sorocaba (São Paulo state, Brazil), equally published in *Geografia* in 1935.³⁷

Both Braudel and Caio Prado reinterpreted, in their own way, different schools of thought of Human Geography in the 1930s.³⁸ In what concerns Human Geography

15/05/2017); Pierre Deffontaines, *Journal de guerre. 1939-1944* (Lille: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2015).

³² Caio Prado Jr., "Entrevista a Jary Cardoso", *Folhetim*, supplement of the newspaper *Folha de São Paulo*, 21/05/1978; Antonio Candido, "A força do concreto", *História e ideal*, 24.

³³ See the minutes of the AGB meetings in the CD-ROM, included in *Caio Prado Jr. e a Associação dos Geógrafos Brasileiros, Livro de Atas da Associação dos Geógrafos Brasileiros* (São Paulo, 1934-1935), 29-33. Code: CPJ-AGB001, Caio Prado Jr. Archive, IEB-USP.

³⁴ Pierre Deffontaines, *El Mediterráneo. Estudio de Geografía Humana* (Barcelona: Editorial Juventud, 1948). On the French geographers and the Mediterranean, see Paul Claval, "Les géographes français et le monde méditerranéen", *La géographie au temps de la chute des murs. Essais et études*, ed. by Paul Claval (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1993), 51-69; Larissa Alves de Lira, *O Mediterrâneo de Vidal de la Blache. O primeiro esboço do método geográfico (1872-1918)* (São Paulo: Alameda, 2013). For a more contemporary discussion on the 'invention' of the Mediterranean, whose zenith would be Braudel's work, based on the assessment of the first *Géographies Universelles*, see Florence Deprest, "L'invention géographique de la Méditerranée: éléments de réflexion", *Espace géographique*, 31 (2002): 73-92.

³⁵ Deffontaines was co-author with Delamarre and Bertoquy of *Les problèmes de géographie humaine* (1939), quoted on page 30 of *La Méditerranée*. See Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1949) and its translated version to Spanish *El Mediterráneo y el mundo mediterráneo en la época de Felipe II*, I, tr. by Mario Monteforte Toledo, Wenceslao Roces (México, Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1953), 30. On page 40, note 162, Braudel referenced "[...] the Deffontaines hypothesis, synthesized in Jean Bruhnes, *Géographie humaine*, 4th ed., p. 184 [...]", Braudel, *El Mediterráneo y el mundo mediterráneo*, 40.

³⁶ Caio Prado Jr., "Contribuição para o estudo das influências étnicas no Estado do Paraná", *Geografia*, 1, 2 (1935): 214-219. In relation to this article, see specifically chapter IX of Deffontaines' *El Mediterráneo*, 155-177, in which he focuses on the types of housing in the "vast Mediterranean".

³⁷ Prado Jr., *Formação*, 382.

³⁸ See, among others, Pomian, "L'heure des Annales"; *Deux siècles de géographie française – choix de textes*, ed. by Philippe Pichemel, Marie-Claire Robic and Jean-Louis Tissier (Paris: C.T.H.S., 1984); Numa Broc, "La Nouvelle Géographie, Lucien Febvre et les *Annales*", *Regards sur la Géographie française de la Renaissance*

and its approach to temporality, it is worth mentioning a text written by Deffontaines. In this text, he observed that the everyday break imposed by night, which placed an obstacle on human activity, did not have the same duration and meaning in all places. The same could be said for sleep.

The hours of sleep vary according to region: there are peoples that sleep early and those that sleep late, which is also the case for waking up; this affects the entire lifestyle, daily activities, times of meals and work. [...] It is the other way around in Portugal; where people eat and sleep early; this is also the case in Spanish and Portuguese America; it is therefore a fact of civilization, and not an adaptation to the environment. [...] There is also the siesta, this second night of warm countries, though it is not generalized in these regions; there is no such practice in Brazil, whereas Mediterranean countries appreciate it; one could make a map of it.³⁹

Though Deffontaines' text was written in 1966 and therefore not during his time as Prado's professor, it nonetheless illustrates the opening of Human Geography to the plurality of time. But the most interesting point is that, in the case of Deffontaines, this opening was already eloquent in the 1930s. In fact, Deffontaines' doctoral dissertation on Middle Garonne (1932) was deemed by J. L. M. Gulley as the "most idiosyncratic" French regional monograph ever written. It most certainly broke with the then standard model for regional monographs, namely Albert Demangeon's study *La Picardie* (1905). In Deffontaines' thesis, temporal structure played a very important role, suggesting a break with linear time.

Deffontaines had chosen an area that was not acknowledged as a "pays" in traditional nomenclature; he sought to demonstrate Middle Garonne's geographic individuality without giving special treatment to its physical geography. Deffontaines's thesis was far more human than geographic, in the increasingly scientific space that geography occupied. Furthermore, while on the one hand, Deffontaines resorted to a peculiar retrospective chapter structure, on the other, he described the details of historical change in chronological order. For example, he described the transformations seen in the nineteenth-century landscape before doing the same for the eighteenth century. He also began his description of the nineteenth century before ending his description of the eighteenth.⁴⁰ Among such transitions, rural life incessantly assumed new forms of occupation of the soil.⁴¹

à nos jours, I (Perpignan: Presses Universitaires de Perpignan, 1994); *La Géographie Française à l'époque classique*; Anne Buttmer, "Some contemporary interpretations and historical precedents of social geography: with particular emphasis on the French contributions to the field" (unpub. Ph. D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1964), and, by the same author, *Society and milieu in the French geographic tradition* (Chicago: Association of American Geographers, Rand MacNally and Company, 1971); Susan W. Friedman, *Marc Bloch, Sociology and Geography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

³⁹ "Les heures du sommeil varient suivant les régions: il y a des peuples couche-tôt et des peuples couche-tard, et de même pour le lever; cela affecte tout le genre de vie, l'emploi du temps de la journée, les heures des repas et du travail. [...] Au Portugal, c'est l'inverse, on mange tôt et on se couche tôt; il en est de même respectivement en Amérique espagnole et portugaise; c'est donc là un fait de civilisation et non d'adaptation au milieu. [...] Il y a aussi la sieste, cette deuxième nuit des pays chauds, mais elle n'est pas générale en ces régions; le Brésil ne la pratique pas, tandis que les pays méditerranéens l'apprécient; on pourrait en faire la carte". Pierre Deffontaines, "Introduction à une Géographie du Sommeil et de la Nuit", *Géographie générale*, ed. by Pierre Deffontaines and Mariel Jean-Bruhnes Delamarre (Paris: Pleiade, 1966), 1059.

⁴⁰ See footnote 2 in J. L. M. Gulley, "The Practice of Historical Geography. A Study of the Writings of Professor Roger Dion", *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 52 (1961): 169-183.

⁴¹ Pierre Deffontaines, *Les hommes et leurs travaux dans les Pays de la Moyenne Garonne: Agenais, Bas-Quercy* (Lille: S.I.L.I.C., 1932), 162.

According to Paul Claval, Deffontaines offered the most original contribution for understanding the logic of historical reconstruction for geographical purposes. Deffontaines would often start in the present – describing the landscape around him, the networks of villages, small market towns and cities that structured the region – only to go back to the origin of each feature.⁴² Thus, Deffontaines's focus and purpose were retrospective in nature: he sought to unveil the complexities of the present in a world in which the mere observation of contemporary conditions failed to provide sufficient answers. Such a focus was very close to that of Caio Prado Jr. in *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo*.

Must one therefore consider Deffontaines's work as a source common to both Caio Prado and Braudel? Unfortunately, this question cannot be answered definitively in the present moment. Nonetheless, it allows us to build upon the work of authors such as K. Pomian. We can say, without reserve, that historians such as Braudel and Caio Prado in the 1930s, inspired by studies in Human Geography, were already thinking through multiple temporalities, breaking with linear time and reconsidering the relationships between past and present.

III.

Despite their overlap in São Paulo, the contact between Caio Prado Jr. and Fernand Braudel in 1935 was not particularly intensive. At the very least, Caio Prado took some of Braudel's courses;⁴³ and they both attended three meetings of the Association of Brazilian Geographers together. Caio Prado, then serving as secretary, recorded the content of the meetings in the Association's book of minutes.⁴⁴ On May 6th, questions related to Cartography in the State of São Paulo were assessed by the Geologist Luiz Flores de Moraes Rego. On June 3rd, the French physician and ethnologist Jehan Albert Vellard read a text on the Chaco Boreal, which would be published subsequently in *Geografia*, the recently founded journal of the Association, and José Orlandi showed a film of the field research conducted by Deffontaines at the *Pico do Jaraguá* (State of São Paulo). On October the 7th, in the last meeting Braudel attended, Moraes Rego brought a book by Guilherme Milward on the Geology of the State of Goiás and gave a talk on the general features and physiography of the Brazilian Northeast (*Aspecto Geral e Fisiografia do Nordeste do Brasil*), of which a synthesis would be published in *Geografia*.

Braudel's attendance at the first of these meetings took place precisely when Caio Prado was in the process of writing his article on the influence of the ethnic factors in the northern portion of the state of Paraná.⁴⁵ However, the French historian missed Caio Prado's communication on the subject, given on May the 20th.

In that period Caio Prado was also occupied with several projects, many of them non-academic. They included the so-called National Freedom Alliance (*Aliança Nacional Libertadora*), for which he was imprisoned early in November of the same year.

⁴² Paul Claval, "The Historical Dimension of French Geography", *Journal of Historical Geography*, 10 (1984): 233.

⁴³ Martinez, *Caio Prado Jr., a dinâmica de um pensamento crítico, 194-198*; Florestan Fernandes, "A visão do amigo", *História e ideal*, 28.

⁴⁴ *Livro de Atas da Associação dos Geógrafos Brasileiros*, 29-33, Caio Prado Jr. Archive, IEB-USP.

⁴⁵ Prado Jr., *Contribuição para o estudo das influências étnicas no Estado do Paraná*.

By the time Prado was imprisoned, Braudel was still a new professor at the university. A letter from Braudel penned to Caio Prado roughly ten years later, in 1945, seems to confirm how little they interacted between 1935-1936:

I have not forgotten your visit to Paris, which made me regret not having gotten to know you better earlier. I am happy to connect with you once again, by mail.⁴⁶

On the other hand, in the texts Caio Prado wrote in 1936 while in prison, there is considerable overlap with generalizations common to the members of the ‘French mission’. When Prado wrote of Brazil’s colonial history in *Zonas Tropicais da América* [*Tropical Zones in America*],⁴⁷ for example, he essentially referred to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in a ‘Latin American’ perspective. He shared with Braudel the sense that History transcended what would later become national spaces. On a different level, Prado’s *Zonas Tropicais da América* resembles the first works of Manoel Bomfim⁴⁸ (Caio Prado took notes on Bomfim’s book *O Brasil na América* from 1929).⁴⁹ In addition to sharing certain aspects with Braudel, Prado’s manuscript appears to refine a comparative bias common to Brazilian intellectuals of the end of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century.

Zonas Tropicais reflects an important moment in the development of the main concept at the core of *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo*, the “Meaning of Colonization” (*Sentido da Colonização*): in order to understand the Portuguese colonization in America in the context of the European expansion overseas it was necessary to consider that the course followed by the tropical colonies was entirely different from that of the sister colonies in the temperate zone of America. In the latter, colonial settlements were established in the true sense of ‘settlement’ – according to Prado, the term had been consecrated since Leroy-Beaulieu’s classic work, *De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes* –, and served to filter off the excess population of Europe, which in the New World built up an organization and established a society upon European models; in the tropics, an entirely original type of society emerged. It was a society based on the enterprise of the white colonist who applied coerced labor from Amerindians or imported Africans to a land that was prodigal in resources. Seen as a whole, the colonization of the tropics appeared as one vast commercial enterprise, more complex than the old trading stations but retaining many of their characteristics, the foremost objective being the exploitation of the natural resources of a virgin land for the benefit of European commerce. This was the true *meaning* of tropical colonization, of which Brazil was one of the results, and this explained the fundamental elements, both economic and social, of the historical formation and evolution of the American tropics.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ “Je n’ai pas oublié votre visite à Paris qui m’a fait regretter de ne pas vous avoir mieux connu autrefois. Et je suis heureux de cette occasion de renouer avec vous, par correspondance”. Fernand Braudel, *Typewritten letter to Caio Prado Jr.*, Paris, 8/11/45. Code: CPJ-CP-BRAU002. Caio Prado Jr. Archive, IEB-USP.

⁴⁷ Caio Prado Jr., *Zonas Tropicais da América*, São Paulo, 11/07/36, Manuscript, Notebook *Notas 1936*, 89-117. Code: Box 107 [CPJ-CAD029-03]. Caio Prado Jr. Archive, IEB-USP.

⁴⁸ Manoel Bomfim, *América Latina: males de origem* (Rio de Janeiro: Ed. A Noite, 1903).

⁴⁹ Cards CPJ-FIC-109-112. Caio Prado Jr. Archive, IEB-USP.

⁵⁰ Prado Jr., *Colonial Background*, 20; Prado Jr., *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo*, 25-26; Prado Jr., *Zonas Tropicais da América*. See also Paulo Teixeira Iumatti, “O percurso para o *Sentido da Colonização* e a dinâmica da historiografia brasileira nas primeiras décadas do século XX”, *Caio Prado Jr. e a Associação dos Geógrafos Brasileiros*, 142-145.

Zonas Tropicais da América demonstrates the importance that the first years of university life in São Paulo had upon Caio Prado. Prado's contact with Braudel was indeed part of this rich ambience. But in Braudel's view, as his letter suggests, the most fruitful contact with Caio Prado occurred in Paris, around two years later. Braudel returned to France in 1937, the same year Caio Prado went to Paris after being freed from prison in Brazil. In Europe, Caio Prado participated intensively in university life. From late 1937 until 1939, he attended courses at Sorbonne and participated, although informally, in Congresses. Furthermore, like Braudel he conducted research at the Bibliothèque Nationale. Caio Prado went back to Brazil in March 1939 and did not return to Paris to 1945.

Although yet to be fully unexplored, various sources suggest a rich dialogue between Caio Prado and Braudel in the 1940s. But the period of most intense intellectual overlap between the two, if not necessarily contact, seems indeed to have taken place in Paris – something completely ignored by scholars of both Braudel and Caio Prado – precisely in the period in which Prado was working on *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo*, and Braudel, on *La Méditerranée*. In Caio Prado's archive, the evidences of such dialogue are eloquent: besides the letters written by Braudel, there are some manuscripts in which Caio Prado focuses on themes very similar to those of the French historian, like the Mediterranean cultural areas of Europe, in the case of Prado's travel notes to the Netherlands (1938).⁵¹ But what was the nature and significance of such dialogue, considering that it took place at a time when both historians were producing their most important works?

In his letter dated January 31, 1940, less than one year after Caio Prado Jr. had returned to Brazil from Paris, Braudel wrote to the Brazilian historian: “[...] I think about our conversations of yesterday – let us hope there will be those of tomorrow”.⁵²

The letter was written shortly before Braudel's probable exchanges with German authors such as Max Weber, Werner Sombart, Georg von Below, Friedrich Meinecke and Otto Hintze. These exchanges, brought to light by Pierre Daix, are documented in Braudel and Lucien Febvre's correspondence from the early 1940s.⁵³ In 1929 Otto Hintze published a long review on the first volumes of Sombart's work on modern capitalism in *Historische Zeitschrift*, referring to former's interpretation of pre-capitalist economy and its evolution.⁵⁴

Hintze was one of the leading names of German social history of the first half of the twentieth-century. He theorized about the multiplicity of time, and his works, published posthumously between 1941 and 1942, addressed such multiplicity in similar ways to Braudel. Brazilian historian Sérgio Buarque de Holanda recalled this par-

⁵¹ Caio Prado Jr., *Anotações sobre os Países Baixos*, s. l., c. 1938, Manuscript, Notebook, 01-26, Code: Box 107 [CPJ-CAD020], Caio Prado Jr. Archive, IEB-USP. Prado started the text with a quote from Italian historian Francesco Guicciardini – an author very cited in Braudel's *La Méditerranée*. See also Braudel, *El Mediterráneo*, I, 595-663.

⁵² “[...]je pense à nos conversations d'hier. Espérons qu'il y aura celles de demain”. The historian would then write brief lines on the 'current' events, having claimed that at that point, in the early 1940s, his horizon had shifted towards Germany. Fernand Braudel, *Letter to Caio Prado Jr.*, Paris, 31/01/40, Code: CPJ-CP-BRAU001, Caio Prado Jr. Archive, IEB-USP.

⁵³ Daix, *Fernand Braudel: uma biografia*, 204-205.

⁵⁴ Otto Hintze, “Der Moderne Kapitalismus als historisches Individuum”, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 3, 139 (1929): 467.

allel in the late 1970s. According to Holanda, some of Hintze's perspectives resembled those that Braudel proposed. Hintze's description of history in two levels or fundamental rhythmic forms was comparable to Braudel's three rhythms ('ternary model'): in Hintze's conceptualization, one was the evolutionary rhythm, occurring substantially in the unconscious and instinctive domain; whereas the other, the dialectic rhythm, depended more on conscious and spiritual factors.

The first rhythm moved more coherently and constantly, whereas the second rhythm was marked often by abrupt contrasts that ebbed and flowed. However, neither of these two levels – comparable, in geology, to the theories of both naturalists and volcanologists – sufficed in and of itself for a sound understanding of historical processes. After all, historical processes did not follow strict logical patterns, but corresponded to changing, oftentimes fleeing and inconsistent schemes, which could be approximately reduced to those two fundamental forms.⁵⁵

In his analysis of Braudel's intellectual trajectory, Pierre Daix highlighted Braudel's readings German historians and their economic approaches for the first temporal framework of his thesis on the Mediterranean. This was despite the fact that in the first volume the economy was not the primary focus. The letters exchanged between Braudel and Febvre in the summer and early autumn of 1941 offer a glance into the moment in which Braudel broke with 'traditional historical time' and thus resorted to two additional historical times frames or durations: the *longue durée* of human geography and the time of economic conjunctures, generally counted in decades. These two prevailed over the *courte durée*, essentially composed of events.⁵⁶ Such a rupture was after Braudel had acquired a substantial quantity of new material on the Mediterranean economy of the sixteenth century, comparative navigation among European powers, and transportation by land and sea for various periods.

There is no direct evidence of any contact between Caio Prado Jr. and the German authors Braudel read in the early 1940s. The only exception is Werner Sombart, whose work Prado quoted in *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo* about the early colonization of Brazil:

[...] The Jews also play an important role in this phase of Brazil's colonization; even if one does not accept the nationalist exaggerations of Werner Sombart, who attributes the implementation of sugar plantations in Brazil exclusively to them, they nonetheless were an enormous part of its success.⁵⁷

It is clear that this excerpt does not address the core of the arguments included in Prado's work. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that Sombart is one of the few authors Caio Prado quotes in his work. Prado was even accused of assimilating an inaccurate "identification of capitalism with 'mercantilism'" from the German Historical School.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, "O atual e o inatual na obra de Leopold Von Ranke", *Leopold Von Ranke: história*, ed. by Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (São Paulo: Ática, 1979), 59-60.

⁵⁶ Daix, *Fernand Braudel: uma biografia*, 205-206.

⁵⁷ Prado Jr., *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo*, 87.

⁵⁸ Ronald de Oliveira Rocha, "'O capitalismo mercantil' de André Gunder Frank e Caio Prado Jr.", *Teoria & Política*, 1, 3 (1980): 73-78. See also Carlos Nelson Coutinho, "Uma via não-clássica para o capitalismo", *História e ideal*, 116. It is also worth mentioning that Sombart would adhere to Marxism before refuting it, and that militant Leôncio Basbaum observed, in 1933, that Sombart was the first University professor to

Sombart was an author that Braudel cited throughout his life. In Sombart's work, Braudel found affinities with his own, especially concerning some of the sociologist's conceptualizations and arguments. Both authors went back to the beginning of capitalism, the Italian Renaissance, and advocated for a tripartite model for the economy: the self-sufficient domestic economy, the economy of small producers exchanging goods, and finally, the capitalist economy. All three economies were interconnected by a dialectic relationship, according to Wolfgang Mager ("reliées entre elles par un rapport dialectique"). For both Braudel and Sombart, the main source of capitalist profit was *not in production*, but in the *circulation* of industrial goods (precisely the aspect considered most salient by Caio Prado in his conceptualization of Brazilian history).⁵⁹ Such profits came about through the exploration of distant lands and unequal exchange. Despite Braudel's appreciation for Sombart, he disagreed with the latter on certain essential questions, such as the 'dynamic' of modern capitalism. Braudel sought to refute Sombart's idea, inspired by Weber, that the capitalist spirit and bourgeoisie mentality gave rise to capitalism.⁶⁰

IV.

As we have seen, while Caio Prado was in Paris, from December 1937 to March 1939, he certainly met with Fernand Braudel. Until the early 1940s, the principal themes of research for both historians converged in an irresistible fashion. During this period, Caio Prado also, in his own way, dedicated himself to understanding the "Mediterranean economy of the sixteenth century, comparative navigation among European powers, and transportation by land and sea for various periods". As for Braudel, after his important and intense encounter with Lucien Febvre, he reread and reclassified his many index cards in preparation for writing his thesis, all while publishing book reviews on 'Latin America' in the journals *Revue Historique* and *Annales*.⁶¹ At the same time, in Paris, Caio Prado conducted most of the bibliographical research for his chapter on the 'meaning of colonization' in *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo*. Prado's index cards, located in his archive, classified under 'Portugal' contain an important number of call numbers from the Bibliothèque Nationale.⁶²

Prado's file is comprised of six cards containing bibliographical listings and seventy-eight cards with summaries, reviews and information on selected topics. In addition to the published documents and works written by Portuguese and Spanish authors, Prado also listed the following books, which he could not locate at the Bibliothèque

write a book acknowledging the importance of Marxism. Hersch Basbaum, *Cartas ao comitê central* (São Paulo: Discurso Editorial, 1999), 65.

⁵⁹ "The analysis of a country's commercial structure always reveals, more clearly than any individual analysis of particular sectors of production, the essential character and organization of an economy. It provides a synthesis which both summarizes and explains this economy. Our study of colonial trade at the beginning of the last century will, therefore, put the finishing touches to the foregoing account of the colonial economy". Prado Jr., *Colonial Background*, 265. Prado Jr., *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo*, 226.

⁶⁰ Wolfgang Mager, "La conception du capitalisme chez Braudel et Sombart", *Fernand Braudel et l'histoire*, ed. by Jacques Revel (Paris: Hachette, 1999), 145-147.

⁶¹ Aguirre Rojas, "Fernand Braudel, a América Latina e o Brasil", 30-31 and, by the same author, *Braudel, o mundo e o Brasil*, 14-15; Côrrea Lima, *Fernand Braudel e o Brasil*, 147-148.

⁶² It is possible to check the call numbers at the library's website: <http://www.bnf.fr/pages/catalogues.htm>. Last access on: 02/07/2016.

Nationale: *La revolution industrielle au XVIII siècle* (1905), by Paul Mantoux; *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (1926), by R. H. Tawney; *Edelmetallproduktion und Wertverhältnis zwischen Gold und Silber seit der Entdeckung Amerikas* (1879), by Adolf Soetbeer; *Storia economica – età moderna* (1934), by Gino Luzzato; *Le commerce français à Seville et a Cadix aux temps des Habsburg* (1932), by Albert Girard; and *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain 1501-1660* (1934), by Earl Hamilton. However, he was able to locate the following: *The Mesta, a Study on Spanish Economic History 1273-1836* (1920), by Julius Klein; *An Introduction to English Economic History* (1888), by William Ashley; *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India 1497-1550* (1899), by Richard Stephen Whiteway; and *The Portuguese in South Africa* (1896), by George McCall Theal.

Some of these works and additional documentation were further detailed in the cards, including, among others, Viconde de Santarém's *Quadro elementar das relações políticas e diplomáticas de Portugal com as diversas potências do mundo desde o início da Monarquia Portuguesa* (1842-1860); José Soares da Silva's *Memórias para a história de Portugal* (1730-1732); Diogo do Couto's *Observações sobre as principais causas da decadência dos portugueses na Ásia*, published by Antônio Caetano do Amaral, of the Royal Academy of Science of Lisbon (1790); Fernão Lopes's *Chronica Del Rey D. Joan* (1644); Henrique Lopes de Mendonça's *O Padre Fernando Oliveira e a sua obra náutica*, published in 1898 in the *Memórias da Academia Real de Ciências de Lisboa*; Souza Viterbo's *Trabalhos náuticos dos portugueses nos séculos XVI e XVII* (1898), published by the press of the Royal Academy of Science of Lisbon; Charles de Lannoy and Herman Vander Linden's *Histoire de l'expansion coloniale des peuples européens* (1907); Richard Henry Major's *The Life of Prince Henry of Portugal, Surnamed the Navigator and its Results* (1868); Julian Corbett's *Drake and the Tudor Navy* (1898); Lucien Gallois's *Les géographes allemands de la Renaissance* (1890); Henri Schaeffer's translation of *Histoire de Portugal* (1840); Antonio Pedro de Carvalho's *Das origens da escravidão moderna em Portugal* (1877); and Francisque Michel's *Histoire du commerce et de la navigation à Bordeaux* (1866-70).⁶³

Each of the cards is a piece to a far more complex puzzle – namely, Prado's perspective of Brazilian history within the context of European trade and maritime expansion in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This period was seen as key for understanding Brazil's entire history, as well as the challenges that the country faced in the present, held back by the persistence of the colonial heritage. After Caio Prado had read the above books and documents – none of which, incidentally, he cited in *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo* – he seems not to have changed his main point-of-view, already developed in previous publications.⁶⁴ He nonetheless expanded his knowledge on the specifics of European expansion since the beginning of Modern era, especially in relation to the colonization of different parts of the Americas.

Even though *Formação do Brasil Contemporâneo* primarily dealt with the transition from the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, Prado's research was much broader. Indeed, in order to construct the idea that would be at the heart of the book, Prado researched a great deal into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the period to which Braudel, too, dedicated most of his efforts.

With this in mind, it is important to note that in *La Méditerranée* Braudel quoted

⁶³ CPJ-FIC-092 at the Caio Prado Jr. Archive, IEB-USP.

⁶⁴ Teixeira Iumatti, "O percurso para o *Sentido da Colonização*", 127-167.

many of the same authors reviewed or consulted by Caio Prado in Paris. This coincidence opens up several possibilities for comparative studies. The authors that Prado and Braudel shared in their readings were all engaged, to various degrees, in debates surrounding the ‘origin of capitalism’. While in Paris, Caio Prado reviewed Henri Sée’s book, *Les origines du capitalisme moderne* (1926), focusing on Sée’s explanation of the rise of industrial capitalism with the fall of the colonial pact.⁶⁵ Another author of note was the American scholar Earl Hamilton, who published *American Treasure and the Rise of Capitalism (1500-1700)* in 1929, a work that had already become an important source of discussion.⁶⁶ Hamilton’s article linked the arrival of enormous amounts of precious metals from the New World to the rise in prices in seventeenth-century Europe, arguing the Price Revolution played a key role in the rise of capitalism.⁶⁷

Caio Prado Jr. included Hamilton in his research bibliography assembled at the Bibliothèque Nationale. Hamilton was one of the pioneers of quantitative history. Braudel cited his work extensively in *La Méditerranée*, especially in chapter II of part two, focused on the study of precious metals, currencies and prices in the sixteenth century. This volume also includes the article *Monnaies et Civilisations* Caio Prado reviewed between 1947 and 1948, as we will see.

Braudel started his chapter by analyzing the revolutionary role played by precious metals in Mediterranean history. In so doing, he shined light on the history of the region’s currencies, prices, economies, all of them interconnected, as well as “the entire life of this sea, whose destinies it guided”.⁶⁸ Hamilton was one of the leading historians on the subject. He produced consistent statistical studies that revealed the substantial impact caused by the inflow of metals from the Americas.

Braudel advanced the argument that the precious metals constantly escaped the Spanish treasury to “circulate all over the world”.⁶⁹ In several passages, Braudel admitted to having largely based his claims on Hamilton’s work⁷⁰ (Even Hamilton’s most severe critics would not deny his contributions).⁷¹ In one such passage, we can clearly see how close Braudel’s interests were to those of Caio Prado. It would not be difficult to imagine a dialogue between them on questions such as mining, both production and depletion, frauds, etc.⁷²

V.

In Braudel’s letter to Caio Prado from 1940 with World War II underway, he referred to the ‘conversations from yesterday’ (i. e., from 1937 to 1939) that he had had with Caio Prado. Although Braudel regretted not having gotten to know Caio Prado better in 1935 in São Paulo, he looked forward to their ‘conversations of tomorrow’. But

⁶⁵ Caio Prado Jr., *Decadência do Pacto Colonial*, Paris, 16/04/38, Manuscript, Notebook no. 9 *Notas. História*, 92-98. Code: Box 106 [CPJ-CAD001-006]. Caio Prado Jr. Archive, IEB-USP.

⁶⁶ Pierre Vilar, *Desenvolvimento econômico e análise histórica* (Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 1982), 82, 79-106.

⁶⁷ “[...] The conclusion is inescapable that the discoveries of America and of the Cape route to the East Indies were highly important factors in the rise of modern capitalism. [...] The price revolution set in motion by American gold and silver contributed directly to the progress of capitalism [...]”. Earl Hamilton, *El florecimiento del capitalismo y otros ensayos de historia económica* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1948), 7-19.

⁶⁸ Braudel, *El Mediterráneo*, I, 389.

⁶⁹ Braudel, *El Mediterráneo*, I, 404.

⁷⁰ Braudel, *El Mediterráneo*, I, 424, 433, 445.

⁷¹ See Vilar, *Desenvolvimento econômico e análise histórica*.

⁷² Braudel, *El Mediterráneo*, I, 449.

the dialogue between Braudel and Caio Prado resumed only after the War's end in 1945, at Braudel's initiative. Braudel would soon become a central figure of *Annales*:

I met my friend Maugué in Paris, who spoke to me at length about Brazil and all our Brazilian friends. He also informed me that you published a new book and spoke marvelously of it. Must I add that I am quite curious and looking forward to reading it? [...] So much so that I would like to review it for Lucien Febvre's journal, the old *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale* that was published intermittently during the war. The journal will reestablish the same rhythm as previously, starting in January, under a new title.⁷³

In the same letter, Braudel explained that he had become co-director of the journal, and was hoping to establish "the closest possible relationships with foreign countries, especially with Brazil, whose history we know too little in France" ("des relations aussi étroites que possible avec l'étranger, avec votre pays particulièrement dont nous connaissons trop peu l'histoire chez nous"). He also asked Caio Prado (who had become a publisher himself in 1943) whether Brazilian publishing houses could send:

recently published books to be reviewed, as done with books from England, the United States and elsewhere? Could you, yourself, from time to time send us notes, reviews or articles appropriate for the journal?⁷⁴

It is impossible to say the extent to which the cooperation was actually put into practice (though Caio Prado himself never published in *Annales*). Nonetheless, around the same time that Braudel published his principle oeuvre, between 1948 and 1949, he also published a review in the new *Annales* of Caio Prado's work. The cited works included both *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo* and *História econômica do Brasil*.⁷⁵

What impact could the reading and/or rereading of these works have had upon Braudel's intellectual journey? In the footnote to the review, Braudel explained that he had read the second edition of *Formação*, published in 1945, the same year that he had written the above letter to Caio Prado, as well as the first edition of *História econômica* also published in 1945. This suggests that the books were available to Braudel with sufficient time to be included into his conceptualization of *La Méditerranée*, which he was then writing or, at least, revising.

In Braudel's review, he focused principally on Prado's *História econômica do Brasil*. This was because he believed *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo* to be only the first in a series of volumes on Brazilian history. Braudel highlighted various historiographical

⁷³ "J'ai retrouvé à Paris mon ami Maugué qui m'a parlé longuement du Brésil et de tous nos amis brésiliens. Qui m'a appris aussi que vous aviez fait paraître un nouveau livre dont il m'a dit merveilles. Ai-je besoin d'ajouter que je suis curieux et impatient de le lire? [...] D'autant que je voudrais en faire le compte rendu dans la revue de Lucien Febvre, les anciennes *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale* qui ont paru de façon intermittente pendant la guerre, mais vont reprendre au même rythme qu'autrefois, à partir du mois de janvier, sous un titre nouveau". Fernand Braudel, *Typewritten letter to Caio Prado Jr.*, Paris, 08/11/45, Code: CPJ-CP-BRAU002, Caio Prado Jr. Archive, IEB-USP. In fact, in his memoir, Jean Maugué mentioned he deemed the *História econômica do Brasil* to be a noteworthy work, revealing full understanding of the "entire play of historical materialism". See Maugué, *Les dents agacées*, 98.

⁷⁴ "Les livres nouvellement parus, pour compte rendu, como le font celles d'Angleterre, des États-Unis et d'ailleurs? Pourriez-vous, vous même, de temps à autre, nous envoyer des notes, comptes rendus ou articles qui cadrent avec l'ensemble de la revue?", Fernand Braudel, *Typewritten letter to Caio Prado Jr.*, Paris, 8/11/45.

⁷⁵ Fernand Braudel, "Au Brésil: deux livres de Caio Prado", *Annales Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 3, 1 (1948): 99-103.

elements of *História econômica do Brasil* that were in line with the priorities of *Annales*. They included Caio Prado's attention to economic and social history, his original contributions to historical themes from 1850 onward, encompassing industrialization and political economy, and his analytical approach to historical landscapes. Nonetheless, Braudel thought that Caio Prado, even if attentive to the life of the "vast world" and the intervention of great banking trusts, limited himself too often to the Brazilian horizon. As broad as this horizon was, it was still a prison for the historian.

Braudel also commented critically on Caio Prado's temporal schema: according to Braudel, Caio Prado resorted to chronology and emphasized things that changed over those that persisted. His history was far more conjuncture-oriented than structural in nature, and it focused on the living realities of the relations between things in detriment to the things themselves. In his conclusion, Braudel observed that in *História econômica*, Caio Prado gave little attention to the question of prices and the cyclical and inter-cyclical crises of which Brazil's history were part, both from an economic and human standpoint.

As for *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo*, Braudel considered it the richer of the two books. In it, colonial heritage was seen as fully alive, albeit transformed. Braudel, in his brief but enthusiastic words dedicated to the book, emphasized the importance of Caio Prado's reflections on time. Caio Prado's accurate description of the time period – the early nineteenth century – and his understanding of change over time clearly impressed Braudel.

The author, I repeat, is not fond of immobile histories, unengaged in time, nor of chronological pieces of paper that are too thin and therefore inconsistent. Therefore unreal. For him, history is movement, sudden development, living hydrography. In the beginning of this first part of the nineteenth century, when everything is about to accelerate, it is not only the topography of visible parts [that is important], but also the springs, trickles of water, streams and all the bubbling of life against the onslaught of time that are brought into question.⁷⁶

In short, the main theme that Braudel referred to in his review was Caio Prado's methodology and conceptualization of time. Based on this fact, as well as on other sources that we have analyzed, it is possible to discuss the role played by Braudel's reading of *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo* as part of his repertoire of reflections and bibliographical references that would lay the theoretical and empirical foundations for *La Méditerranée*. In this sense, an analysis of the question of time in *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo* proves fruitful for scholars both of Braudel's work in general, as well as for understanding the possible interactions between Braudel and Caio Prado. As just one example, certain theorizations in *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo*, such as those on the nature of history in the last chapter, are similar to those concerning the nature of knowledge and the role of individuals in history, present in the conclusion of Part 1 and the general conclusion for *La Méditerranée*.⁷⁷ Another example: the way

⁷⁶ "L'auteur, je le répète, n'a pas le goût de ces histoires immobiles, mal engagées dans le temps, feuilles chronologiques trop minces et par suite inconsistantes. Donc irréelles. Pour lui l'histoire est mouvent, rebondissement, hydrographie vivante. Au début de cette première partie du XIX^{ème} siècle où tout va se précipiter, c'est non pas la seule topographie des parties visibles, mais bien les sources, les filets d'eau, les rivières, tout ce bouillonnement de vie à l'assaut du temps qui est mis en cause". Braudel, "Au Brésil: deux livres de Caio Prado", 103.

⁷⁷ Prado Jr., *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo*, 340-377; Braudel, *El Mediterráneo*, I, 317-327, and II, 539-550.

Braudel discussed the forms of transhumance and criticized its rigid classifications by geographers. Braudel instead argued for studies more attentive to history and to complexity, praising an author dear to Caio Prado, the geographer Jules Blache.⁷⁸ Braudel's considerations are close to those of Caio Prado in his chapter "Currents of settlement" ("Correntes de povoamento") from *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo*.⁷⁹

In regards to Caio Prado's possible interpretations of Braudel's work, it is worth noting that Caio Prado frustrated Braudel's expectations and never wrote the second volume of *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo*. In 1947, he was elected state representative of São Paulo for the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB) and during the following years he spent much more time in politics than he did writing academic works.

In those years Braudel, an informal ambassador and representative of French culture and historiography abroad, was pursuing all sorts of connections with Latin America. In this context, he returned to São Paulo, staying in the city from May to December. As Professor of History of Modern and Contemporary Civilization at USP, he had the

opportunity to renew and expand his bonds – personal and academic – with Brazilian historians and intellectuals, most importantly, but also with the academic worlds of Argentina and Chile.⁸⁰

Given the tone of the correspondence exchanged between Caio Prado and Braudel, it is very likely that Braudel and Caio Prado met in São Paulo that year. Interestingly

"We should add that the illogical and incongruous nature of facts makes it not only difficult to interpret them, but is also the reason why all the situations we have analyzed above are so vague and undefined – a vagueness and uncertainty that resides in the facts themselves and that no artifice of historical explanation can dissemble. The facts only stand out clearly and become meaningful as a whole when such situations have matured. [...] An even after the first clearcut facts have emerged, how many events must yet occur before the process runs its course, solving all its contradictions only for a new process to emerge, with new contradictions derived from that solution, an incessant repetition and renewal? [...] But we have seen that in this period the latent contradictions were beginning to make themselves felt and to manifest themselves in alarming symptoms which challenged the entire colonial structure. Where would it lead, this confused, complicated, contradictory process, a process that can be likened to a whitecapped sea in which the waves rise and fall, clash and merge, pursue each other toward the shore, only to lead to the same final end as they mass themselves to crash violently against the shingle or to sweep a long line of spray across the sand? [...]", Prado Jr., *Colonial Background*, 430-431.

⁷⁸ Braudel, *El Mediterráneo*, I, 40-41, esp. 40 note 162.

⁷⁹ Prado Jr., *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo*, 65. "Up to now we have seen what can be regarded as a cross-section of settlement in Brazilian territory, its distribution pattern at a given point of time, the turn of the eighteenth century. However, this is only a partial view, since we are not dealing with a static population; at that very moment great changes were taking place. Colonization had not yet settled down. New territories, hitherto deserted, were occupied, others, already opened up, were abandoned; populations flowed from one point to another, becoming denser in some, decreasing in others. Settlement was still far from stable, and its structural pattern at any given moment is no more than provisional, reflecting trends rather than results achieved. It is from this point of view, then, that the pattern of settlement should more profitably be analyzed. / The problem is all the more important since it is from the movements and shifts in the country's population pattern in the period we are considering that emerged the Brazil which prepared itself in the course of the last century to become what it is today. The evolution of settlement may be divided into three main phases, each having its own specific point of departure and deriving its initial impulse from particular and well-defined historical circumstances. [...]", Prado Jr., *Colonial Background*, 73. "Summing up, it may be said that the main thing to remember from the analysis of these movements of people in the colony's central-southern region during the period under review is their extreme complexity. [...]", Prado Jr., *Colonial Background*, 89.

⁸⁰ Aguirre Rojas, "Fernand Braudel, a América Latina e o Brasil", 16. See also Martinez, "Fernand Braudel e a primeira geração de historiadores universitários da USP".

enough, in 1948, when Caio Prado was once again imprisoned after having been impeached from his office as state representative (this time for three months), he read at least one part of tome VII of *Geographie Universelle*, entitled *Méditerranée, peninsules méditerranéennes* (Part one: Généralités – Espagne – Portugal), written by Max Sorre and Jules Sion.⁸¹ However, after being released from prison, Prado's return to intellectual activity did not signify a definitive return to history, but instead a trajectory that would lead to the philosophical and geographic studies published from the 1950s onwards. These studies were published parallel to his contemporary work on politics and the economy.

Even though he did not continue publishing history books, Caio Prado never entirely abandoned history. He incorporated new readings and sources into the second edition of *História econômica do Brasil*, published in 1949, including an additional chapter on the consequences of World War II from the perspective of the development of Brazilian economy.⁸² In this chapter, there is no clear indication of a debate with Braudel. That said, Caio Prado analyzed trade balances and unbalances as well as the problem of currency, which were precisely the questions for which Braudel had criticized the first edition of the book in *Annales*.

Furthermore, in Caio Prado's archive, we came across an even more suggestive text. Directly following his notes on Marc Bloch's papers published in the *Annales* from 1947, Caio Prado penned a small handwritten review of Braudel's study published in the same in 1946, *Monnaies et Civilisations. De l'or du Soudan à l'argent d'Amérique. Un drame méditerranéen*.⁸³ This study would become part of the second edition of *La Méditerranée*, in chapter two of part II.⁸⁴ It is very likely that Caio Prado's readings and notes on Braudel were renewed thanks to his recent communication with the latter. It is impossible to determine, however, whether Prado wrote his review before or after Braudel's second stay in Brazil, or for that matter, before or after Caio Prado became aware of the review published in *Annales* in 1948.

Nonetheless, in Caio Prado's unpublished review of *Monnaies et Civilisations*, one can find evidence of his attention to Braudel's critiques of his own work in *Annales*. Remember that Braudel had criticized Caio Prado for limiting his analysis to the Brazilian horizon, without spreading his analysis to the South Atlantic in general (Prado had done exactly this in his unpublished manuscripts, surely inspired in part by Braudel's classes and conversations). Braudel also criticized Caio Prado for not having focused on the question of prices and cyclical and inter-cyclical crises in which Brazil's history was inserted. In Caio Prado's notes on Braudel's article, he commended Braudel for having attempted to establish a parallel between the most important movements of the history of the fifteenth to eighteenth-centuries and the develop-

⁸¹ Caio Prado Jr's library reveals he annotated the following in his copy of the book: "April 1948/Independent F. P. Quartel". Hence, this was one of his last readings when in jail. The only chapters of the work containing marginalia are chapter five, entitled *La place de la Méditerranée dans L'Humanité*, and chapter six, *Traits d'ensemble* – under the second part of the book, *La Péninsule Iberique*. Maximilien Sorre, Jules Sion, *Méditerranée, peninsules méditerranéennes. Geographie Universelle*, VII, ed. by Paul Vidal de la Blanche and Lucien Gallois (Paris: A. Colin, 1934), 57. Caio Prado Jr.'s Library, IEB-USP.

⁸² Caio Prado Jr., "A guerra e suas consequências" ["The war and its consequences"] (1949), *História econômica do Brasil* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1953), 305-309.

⁸³ Republished in Fernand Braudel, *Les ambitions de l'histoire* (Paris: Éditions de Fallois, 1997), 352-375.

⁸⁴ Braudel, *El Mediterráneo*, I, 389-454.

ment and availabilities of metallic currency, whose fluctuations throughout the three centuries in question were summarized in the article.

In the first period, Braudel analyzed the importance of gold traded between Europeans and Arabs with the Far East, prior to the Mediterranean Renaissance. In such trade, imported goods from the East were paid for with European and Sudanese gold. During the second period, Portuguese explorations and trafficking on the West African coast deviated the flow of Sudanese gold, bringing about a relative decline in Italian cities, which would only prosper again when silver started flowing into Europe from the Americas. Silver first arrived in Antwerp, but because of the interruption of trade routes, it was subsequently redirected to the Mediterranean, via Barcelona and Italy. This was when the rebirth of Italian trade occurred, whose bankers once again took control of European finance. In the final period, Europe once again felt the currency crisis with the decline in productivity of the Spanish-American mines (and the shift of the previous metals from the Americas toward the Pacific and to local consumption in the second half of the seventeenth century). This crisis lasted, according to Braudel, for an entire century. If this is true, Europe would only pull itself back up with the inflow of Brazilian gold in the eighteenth century.⁸⁵

Clearly, the critique Braudel has addressed to *História econômica* in the prestigious *Annales* echoed in Prado's reflections on economics and history by the end of the 1940s. In this sense, we would like to emphasize one last aspect of Braudel's review, comparing it to some formulations of *La Méditerranée*.

We have seen that one bibliographical reference in common to both Braudel and Caio Prado in the Paris years was the work of the American economic historian Earl Hamilton. Despite Braudel's enthusiasm for Hamilton's research, which we underlined above, he did not embrace his central arguments wholesale. Toward the end of *La Méditerranée*, Braudel criticized Hamilton's emphasis of the decline of Spain and the Spanish Mediterranean in the sixteenth century:

[...] Perhaps I could have overcome such difficulties had the historian-economists provided me with greater assistance. What in fact prevented me from doing so, inducing [me to take] each step with prudence – precious and bad advice – was the monumental work of Earl J. Hamilton and his latent opposition to the fascinating, but perhaps too beautiful, conclusions of François Simiand and Ernest Labrousse. Hamilton's data do not allow the long breath of inter-cyclical crises to pulse. Instead, they take away our interrogation. For Hamilton, in the seventeenth century, eager to live, everything rises vertiginously... Other than Hamilton's works on Spain, we have no or almost no other information, we repeat, on Mediterranean prices. [...]⁸⁶

While Hamilton's works constituted perhaps the most immediate and important references for Braudel's understandings of the history of monetary flows, prices and their role in the economic life of the sixteenth-century, for Braudel they proved to be inadequate for the perception of cyclical, especially 'inter-cyclical', crises. Similarly, in 1948, in his review of Caio Prado Jr.'s *História econômica do Brasil*, Braudel argued that it lacked a more thorough assessment of the question of prices and cyclical and inter-cyclical crises in Brazilian history. Braudel referenced the 'great book' written

⁸⁵ See card CPJ-FIC-012 at the Caio Prado Jr. Archive, IEB-USP.

⁸⁶ Braudel, *El Mediterráneo*, II, 546-547.

by his fellow countryman Ernest Labrousse, probably the *Crise de L'Économie Française à la fin de L'Ancien Regime et au début de la Révolution*, published in 1944:

He also overlooks the question of prices, which seldom receives more than a glance, and does not take cyclical and inter-cyclical crises into consideration, which have crafted, to absurd levels, Brazil's economic and human matter. In these areas, the great book of C. E. Labrousse – so revolutionary in spirit – probably has not had the time to generate curiosity and reactions on the other side of the Atlantic.⁸⁷

This aspect of Braudel's review suggests that beyond his purely academic arguments, he was advancing the editorial line of *Annales* as well as the historiographical tradition that it represented. Furthermore, one can see an attempt to further guidelines for "Latin American" historiographical production under the auspices of maintaining and extending French hegemony. Starting in 1933, Labrousse refined François Simiand's methodology on the studies of salary and price series. As is known, his research continued in the works of the 6th Section of the École Pratique des Hautes Études.

During this later period at the École Pratique, ambitious collective research projects were conducted not only into quantitative history of prices and salaries, but also into production and trade in leading French, Spanish and Italian cities and regions during the Old Regime. The best example, of course, are the ten volume thesis entitled *Seville and the Atlantic, 1550-1650*, written by Pierre and Huguette Chaunu. Using extensive archival sources from and about Seville, the Chaunus quantified the records concerning trade of the Atlantic merchant fleet and thus arrived at an improved framework for understanding Spain's economic cycles than Hamilton had before them. From 1946 to 1948, however, Chaunu was only a student fascinated by Braudel's courses on Latin America. Georg Iggers argued that it was only in the 1950s that the historians of the Sixth Section began to seriously work with quantitative methods, thereby reviving interest in the works of Hamilton, Simiand and Labrousse,⁸⁸ so closely followed by *Annales* in the 1930s.

VI.

Braudel and Caio Prado overlapped significantly in the period between 1930 and 1950, and this article has suggested several possibilities for further study on the relationships between them. The historical evidence demonstrates that they were in contact in 1935, from 1937 to 1939, and from 1945 to 1948. From an external perspective, such contact seems far from being essential to either historians' intellectual trajectory, and it is clear that the principal bases upon which their works were built were not the same. Caio Prado Jr., a Communist, used Marx and his interpreters as the main sources for understanding historical temporality, evidenced in *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo*. Nonetheless, Caio Prado's Marxism was not doctrinal, and his

⁸⁷ "Aussi est-il insuffisamment attentif au problème des prix, abordé toujours de biais, et ne tient-il pas compte assez large des crises cycliques et intercycliques qui ont, jusqu'à l'absurde, travaillé la matière économique et humaine du Brésil. En ces domaines le grand livre de C. E. Labrousse – si révolutionnaire sur le plan de l'esprit – n'a sans doute pas eu le temps, d'éveiller curiosités et réactions d'outre-Atlantique". Braudel, "Au Brésil: deux livres de Caio Prado", 102.

⁸⁸ Georg Iggers, *New Directions in European Historiography* (Middleton, Conn.: Wesleyan U. P., 1984), 60-61.

approach inspired by Human Geography demonstrates considerable overlap with Braudel.

As we have shown in this article, Caio Prado likely became aware of several bibliographical references and research topics from his contact with Braudel and Deffontaines. The degree to which such contact was influential for the way that he wrote *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo* and advanced his intellectual projects more generally, however, remains open to debate.

According to Jean Mauguïé, who taught alongside Braudel in the first years of USP, the Brazilian students who attended his courses were well aware of their individual intellectual profiles and indeed cultivated them.⁸⁹ In this respect, it is worth citing at length one of Braudel's letters to Caio Prado, dated May 6, 1946:

[...] It is likely that you will see this with other eyes [ileg.], you think differently... Which, in fact, would not go against me and would give me the desire, on the contrary (if I had not already) to meet you again and talk. Whether it be here or there. It could be at the Bibliothèque Nationale, but it is not out of the question that someday I will pass through São Paulo again.⁹⁰

Clearly Caio Prado's works, especially *Formação do Brasil contemporâneo*, played a role in Braudel's intellectual trajectory. Why has it remained in silence? Although such influence is hard to measure and is surely far from structural in nature, we hope to at least have brought it to the surface.

Evidently, each of these intellectuals' works has its own specificities, and in this sense a comparative approach to them is undoubtedly limited. Nevertheless, we found it important to shed light onto Caio Prado's contacts with French authors and Braudel in particular. They demonstrate Prado's pursuit of dialogue with one of the world's leading centers of academic production, on the one hand, and a possible appropriation by authors from that center of his work and ideas, on the other.

Based on Braudel's dialogue with Caio Prado, we can see that Brazil was not only a source for the former's contact with Human Geography, but also a building block for his intellectual network, a network that was surely relevant for the historian's assumption of dominating institutional positions in the postwar French establishment. In this light, there would be no division between the Brazilian period and the postwar, or perhaps even between Braudel's biographical trajectory and his work. France's dominant intellectual position would persist in Latin America and Brazil more particularly long after the 1930s during the heyday of the 'French missions'.

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⁸⁹ “[...] all my listeners had one thing in common: each one was known for a specificity maintained in quite a jealous fashion. Caio Prado was the communist, Chaves, the economist. Cruz Costa, was the man who best knew French literature”. (“[...] tous mes auditeurs avaient un point commun: chacun était connu pour une particularité qu’il entretenait jalousement. Caio Prado, c’était le communiste, Chaves, l’économiste. Cruz Costa, l’homme qui connaissait le mieux la littérature française”). Mauguïé, *Les dents agacées*, 97.

⁹⁰ “Mail il est probable que vous qui voyez cela d’un autre oeil [ileg.], vous pensez différemment... Ce qui certes ne me contrarie pas et me donnerait au contraire (si je ne l’avais déjà) le désir de vous rencontrer et de bavarder avec vous. Ici ou là. Ne serait-ce qu’à la Bibliothèque nationale. Mais il n’est pas exclu que je repasse quelque jour à São Paulo”. Fernand Braudel, *Letter to Caio Prado Junior*, Paris, 06/05/46, Code: CPJ-CP-BRAU003a, Caio Prado Jr. Archive, IEB-USP.