Universidade de Lisboa, Universidade Católica Portuguesa,
ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Universidade de Évora

PROGRAMA INTERUNIVERSITÁRIO DE DOUTORAMENTO EM HISTÓRIA:
Mudança e Continuidade num Mundo Global

Hegelianism in Portugal – History, Philosophy and Politics (c. 1865-1933)

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Tese especialmente elaborada para obtenção do grau de Doutor em História

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Index

Abstract 4

Resumo Alargado 5

Zusammenfassung 9

Opening Remarks and Acknowledgements 13

Introduction, Research Directions and Methodology 16

I. History 57

1. Cultural Transfers within the Horizons of Hegelianism 58

2. Philosophy of History, Theories and Complementary Models in Dialogue 94

3. Hegel, Theory of History and Historical Consciousness in Portugal 133

II. Philosophy 171

4. Hegelian Philosophy in the Context of its Portuguese Receptiveness 172

5. Hegel's Legacy and Hermeneutics 247

III. Politics 257

6. Political Manifestations, Ideology and Political Theory 258

7. Debates over Philosophy of Right and Conceptions of State 327

The Meaning of Hegelianism in Portugal: concluding remarks 354

Detailed Index 364

Sources and Bibliography 366

Annex 407

Erklärung 408

Abstract

This study focuses on the manifestation of Hegelianism as a current of thought, always multiple and varied, in the Portuguese intellectual landscape. It will encompass the dimensions of history, philosophy and politics, which are areas of knowledge and practice, but also present their own social and cultural spheres, where those thoughts sprang to life. The chronology of reference embraces a time of deep transformations, corresponding to the 1870´s generation up until the new political course in 1933 (Salazarism), which makes Hegel's thought all the more interesting.

Following the hypothesis that Hegelian developments in other cultural universes had, likewise, a reflex in Portugal, one of the main objectives of this study was the establishment of a possible typological framework. Since Hegel´s ideas came to be understood through a process of interpretation and appropriation, this will imply a hermeneutical perspective regarding the subject of Hegelianism.

The modern approaches of studying history, especially from the point of view of theory, owe much to the Berlin philosopher, because many concepts meant to understand recent traits of historical reflection trace back to him. His dialectical understanding will leave a lasting imprint on the discipline of philosophy. Finally, the ideas behind political struggles found in him an effective and dynamic theoretical basis.

This led intellectuals in Portugal to seek for the philosopher’s dialectical attitude, which I endeavor to demonstrate from a collection of different sources, mostly mediated by other cultures but also more directly through Germanized Portuguese nationals. These marks appear in a variety of contexts and take different forms, such as studies, correspondences, translations or even political discourses.

One could conclude that Hegelian philosophical currents were of utmost importance in the thinking about modernity and, even if not as thoroughly understood or studied as other intellectual movements, will probably have the most enduring presence in the Portuguese context.

Keywords: Intellectual movements, Cultural Transfers, Constellations, Dialectic, German Idealism, Exchange Portugal-Germany.

Resumo Alargado

A tese aqui apresentada tem como foco as marcas do Hegelianismo em Portugal enquanto corrente intelectual, sobretudo nas três grandes áreas de conhecimento em que o pensamento do filósofo teve maior expressão, constituindo-se estas respectivamente como diferentes partes da tese. Primeiramente a história, tendo Hegel introduzido novas teorias a esse respeito através das concepções de historicidade e consciência histórica. Depois a filosofia, com inovações no foro da ontologia, epistemologia ou ainda da metafisica dialéctica que constituem importantes avanços perante toda a filosofia anterior e definem a filosofia moderna. Finalmente a política, que pela via da hermenêutica filosófica do pensado de Hegel deu lugar a diferentes interpretações e tipologias, com claras conotações sociais, políticas e jurídicas, as quais se fizeram também sentir no meio intelectual português.

A cronologia de referência coloca o foco em primeiro lugar na geração de 70, que tem a sua gênese nos anos de 1865, quando muitos dos estudantes dessa geração terminam os estudos e se mudam para Lisboa. Já a data de 1933 é o fim de um ciclo, pondo termo definitivo ao sistema demo-liberal tradicional, sendo um marco ideológico-político importante no Portugal contemporâneo ao dar lugar à institucionalização de um novo período, pelo que se considerou ser uma boa data para além da qual, dentro do possível, não se deveria alargar.

O capítulo de introdução justifica essas escolhas e elucida os eixos directores da tese, bem como aponta preliminarmente os objetivos e hipóteses que guiaram a investigação. Nessa introdução também se apresentam as principais orientações metodológicos e perspectivas seguidas na elaboração da tese, que são as da 1. História Conceptual 2. História das Transferências Culturais 3. Teoria e Estética da Recepção 4. Hermenêutica e Constelações Intelectuais.

Na parte relativa à história (I.), o primeiro capitulo (1.) começa por abordar as transferências intelectuais, uma vez que o hegelianismo dialoga com diferentes correntes intelectuais. Dessa forma o pensamento de Hegel chega a Portugal sobretudo mediado por outras culturas, em vez de diretamente da Alemanha, com origens tão diversas como França, Espanha, Itália ou Inglaterra e também em menor grau de outros espaços como Suíça, Bélgica ou o norte da Europa. Ainda assim não se descartam contactos mais directos com o espaço germânico, através de estudantes, diplomatas e figuras ligadas à cultura alemã. Esses encontros implicaram processos de adaptação e transformação, cujo estudo teve de ter em

conta aspectos linguísticos, culturais e estéticos próprios da cultura e pensamento portugueses.

Um segundo capitulo (2.) equaciona a relação entre o hegelianismo e diferentes teorias da história, visto que essa corrente de pensamento dialoga com várias outras, tendo consequentemente expressões no pensamento histórico de intelectuais portugueses como Antero de Quental, Adolfo Coelho ou Fidelino Figueiredo. Nesses autores podemos encontrar vários conceitos de filosofia da história como razão, consciência ou espirito histórico segundo as concepções do filósofo alemão.

O capítulo subsequente (3.) aborda a nova concepção histórica de Hegel, com a sua noção de historicidade bem como um enfoque na consciência, e de como essas ideias vão ser apropriadas por vários intelectuais portugueses. Inicialmente, sobretudo entre os estudantes de Coimbra, desde José Júlio de Oliveira a Antero de Quental, intensificando-se depois a partir da geração de 70. A investigação histórica passa a olhar filosoficamente para o passado, no encalço da finalidade da história e dos seus movimentos, como por exemplo em Oliveira Martins ou Frederico Laranjo onde encontramos essa perspectiva. No hegelianismo sobressai ainda um sentido estético da história, pela sua dramatização enquanto palco onde o espírito se inteira da razão.

A segunda parte (II.) da tese ocupa-se do Hegelianismo no contexto da filosofia em Portugal. O primeiro capítulo (4.) foca-se principalmente no ensino da filosofia, assim como em autores interessados por questões filosóficas, o que nos leva a outras áreas de conhecimento em que a filosofia teve papel de relevo. Para atestar o conhecimento da filosofia de Hegel foi considerado um vasto leque de autores e áreas temáticas, uma vez que esse conhecimento foi progressivo, com o interesse acentuado no seio da geração de 70, ainda que então a sua filosofia não fosse tão bem compreendida.

Além da mediação cultural indirecta, também se explorou a possibilidade do um conhecimento da filosofia alemã mais directo, através de um contacto com o universo intelectual alemão, por exemplo em diplomatas, como Agostinho de Ornelas ou descendentes lusófonos, como o conde de Oriola. Os estudos de filosofia em Portugal tiveram um percurso de profissionalização difícil, sendo uma área de estudos marcada pelo autodidatismo.

Foram estabelecidos cursos de filosofia apenas no século XX com a fundação das universidades de Lisboa e Porto, bem como a reforma da universidade de Coimbra, pelo regime republicano. Esse conhecimento incipiente levou a equívocos em relação ao

entendimento da filosofia de Hegel que perduram no tempo, além de que paralelamente existem debates acerca das interpretações do pensamento do filósofo.

Consequentemente, um outro capítulo (5.) atende a essas interpretações filosóficas, que se podem definir como diferentes tipologias do Hegelianismo e se inserem num contexto transnacional. Pelo que a investigação segue as tendências da hermenêutica filosófica, o que só vem elucidar essa conceção de um universo tipológico do hegelianismo, que encontramos noutros capítulos e em vários intelectuais portugueses. As correntes de pensamento moderno podem certamente associar-se a várias dessas interpretações, que de uma maneira ou outra se apropriam de algumas das tipologias hegelianas.

Por fim, uma terceira parte (III.) do trabalho corresponde à dimensão política do hegelianismo, que é precisamente onde esse universo tipológico sobressai. Os alinhamentos ideológicos de diferentes grupos políticos deram lugar à inclusão de considerações filosóficas nos debates políticos. Nesse sentido, vários conceitos-chave do pensamento político moderno têm origem em Hegel, como por exemplo a sua nova concepção do trabalho ou ainda a teoria da sociedade civil. Nesse capítulo (6.) são aprofundadas essas ideias de acordo com três principais orientações políticas correspondentes ao socialismo, republicanismo-liberalismo e por fim ao conservadorismo. Cada uma delas apropriou Hegel de acordo com diferentes tradições, ainda que algumas sejam de mais difícil fundamentação, esse aspecto é, contudo, muitas vezes secundário para a sua mobilização política.

Por fim, um último capítulo (7.) mostra paralelamente como essas ideias se manifestam na concepção e aparelho de estado, através da filosofia do direito ensinada nas universidades e nas instituições do poder de estado. O ensino da filosofia do direito próxima do pensamento alemão tem em Coimbra uma longa tradição, mantendo-se até bem tarde com Cabral Moncada, que era admirador de Hegel e da filosofia do idealismo alemão. Esse hegelianismo encontra ressonâncias por exemplo em Martens Ferrão, Frederico Laranjo ou Bernardino Machado, nomeadamente na intensa actividade política e decisões governamentais destes. Em suma, este capítulo demonstra como os políticos e teóricos do estado procuram, na dimensão social da filosofia de Hegel, inspiração para as reformas que julgam necessárias.

No seguimento deste estudo, são então apresentadas as conclusões da tese, bem como assinalado o significado de Hegelianismo em Portugal. Em resumo, este vai seguir as tendências dessa corrente filosófica, mas adequada aos problemas próprios da realidade

nacional, integrando o pensamento sobre a modernidade. Os intelectuais vão colher do Hegelianismo 1. novos modelos e concepções históricas, 2. renovar o conhecimento filosófico, 3. convocar essas ideias para as lutas ideológicas e políticas, que se apresentam no estudo do direito e no aparelho de estado.

Palavras-Chave: Movimentos Intelectuais, Transferências Culturais, Constelações, Dialéctica, Idealismo Alemão, Intercâmbio Portugal-Alemanha.

Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Arbeit konzentriert sich auf den Hegelianismus als intellektuelle Strömung in Portugal, insbesondere in den drei großen Wissensbereichen, die den Kern des Hegelschen Denkens darstellen. Sie bilden die drei wesentlichen Teile der Dissertation: Erstens die Geschichte, wobei Hegel für seine Zeit neuen Theorien einführte, beispielsweise durch Konzepte wie Historizität oder Geschichtsbewusstsein. Zweitens die Philosophie, die Hegel durch innovative Konzepte in der Ontologie, Erkenntnistheorie oder Dialektische Metaphysik erweiterte und vorantrieb, ebenso definieren Teile seines Denkens bis heute die moderne Philosophie. Schließlich die Politik, in der durch die philosophische Hermeneutik von Hegels Denken zu unterschiedlichen Interpretationen führten und Typologien mit klaren sozialen, politischen und rechtlichen Konnotationen möglich wurden, die auch im portugiesischen intellektuellen Milieu spürbar waren.

Die Referenzchronologie legt den Fokus zunächst auf die Generation der 1870er Jahre, die ihren Ursprung im Jahr 1865 hat, als viele der Studierende dieser Generation ihr Studium abschlossen und nach Lissabon zogen, während das Jahr 1933 das Ende eines Zyklus darstellt und dem liberalen System ein endgültiges Ende setzt. Es ist daher ein wichtiger ideologisch-politischer Grenzstein im zeitgenössischen Portugal, da in dieser Zeit der Weg für die Institutionalisierung einer neuen Periode geebnete wurde, weshalb wurde es, als ein sinnvoller Endzeitpunkt erscheint, über den hinaus möglichsten nicht verlängert werden sollte.

Das einleitende Kapitel begründet diese Entscheidungen und erläutert die zentralen Aspekte der These und beschriebt vorab auf die Ziele und Hypothesen, die die Untersuchung geleitet haben. In dieser Einleitung werden auch die wesentlichen methodischen Orientierungen und Perspektiven vorgestellt, die bei der Ausarbeitung der Arbeit verfolgt wurden: 1. Begriffsgeschichte, 2. Kulturtransfers, 3. Rezeptionstheorie und Ästhetik der Rezeption, 4. Hermeneutik und Intellektuelle Konstellationen.

Im geschichtsbezogenen Teil (I.) geht es im ersten Kapitel (1.) zunächst um Intellektuelle Transfers, da der Hegelianismus mit unterschiedlichen Denkströmungen in Dialog tritt. Hegels Denken kam in Portugal meist vermittelt durch andere Kulturen an, sodass der portugiesische Hegelianismus so unterschiedlichen Ursprüngen wie Frankreich, Spanien, Italien oder England hat. In geringerem Maße kamen diesen auch aus anderen Räumen wie

der Schweiz, Belgien oder Nordeuropa. Dennoch sind direktere Kontakte mit dem deutschen Raum durch Studierende, Diplomaten und Personen, die mit der deutschen Kultur verbunden sind, nicht ausgeschlossen. Diese Begegnungen beinhalteten Anpassungs- und Transformationsprozesse, bei deren Untersuchung sprachliche, kulturelle und ästhetische Aspekte der portugiesischen Kultur und des portugiesischen Denkens berücksichtigt werden mussten.

In einem weiteren Kapitel (2.) wird die Beziehung zwischen dem Hegelianismus und verschiedenen Geschichtstheorien untersucht, da dieser Gedankenstrom mit vielen anderen im Dialog steht und daher im historischen Denken portugiesischer Intellektueller wie Antero de Quental, Adolfo Coelho oder Fidelino Figueiredo Ausdruck findet. Bei diesen Autoren finden wir aus den Vorstellungen der Geschichtsphilosophie des deutschen Philosophen abgeleitete Konzepte wie Vernunft, Bewusstsein oder Geschichtsgeist.

Das folgende Kapitel befasst sich mit Hegels neuer historischer Konzeption, mit seiner Vorstellung von Historizität sowie einem Schwerpunkt auf dem Bewusstsein und geht der Frag nach, wie diese Ideen von verschiedenen portugiesischen Intellektuellen übernommen wurden. Dies geschah vor allem unter Coimbra-Studierende, von José Júlio de Oliveira bis Antero de Quental, und dann intensivierte sich ab den 1870er Generation. Die historische Forschung beginnt philosophisch auf die Vergangenheit zu blicken, um den Zweck der Geschichte und ihrer Bewegungen zu verfolgen, wie etwa bei Oliveira Martins oder Frederico Laranja, wo wir diese Perspektive finden. Der Hegelianismus zeichnet sich auch durch ästhetisches Geschichtsbewusstsein aus, das sich als Dramatisierung der Geschichte als Bühne der Bewusstseinsbildung des Geistes mit der Vernunft äußert.

Der zweite Teil (II.) der Arbeit befasst sich mit dem Hegelianismus im Kontext der Philosophie in Portugal. Das erste Kapitel (4.) dieses Teil konzentriert sich hauptsächlich auf das Studium und Lehre der Philosophie sowie auf Autoren, die sich für philosophische Fragestellungen interessieren, was uns zu anderen Wissensgebieten führt, wie Geschichte oder Rechtswissenschaft, in denen die Philosophie eine wichtige Rolle spielte. Um die Kenntnis von Hegels Philosophie zu belegen, wurde ein breites Spektrum an Autoren und Themenbereichen berücksichtigt, da sich dieses Wissen im Lauf der Zeit entwickelt und verbreitet hat. Insbesondere interessiert daran war der Generation der 1870er Jahre, auch wenn Hegels Philosophie zu dieser Zeit noch nicht so bekannt war.

Neben der indirekten Kulturvermittlung wurde auch die Möglichkeit einer direkteren Kenntnis der deutschen Philosophie durch den Kontakt mit der deutschen Kultur untersucht, beispielsweise bei Diplomaten wie Agostinho de Ornelas oder portugiesischsprachigen Nachkommen wie dem Grafen von Oriola. Die Professionalisierung und Institutionalisierung des Philosophiestudiums in Portugal war ein schwieriger Weg, da es sich um einen Studienbereich handelte, der vor allem von Autodidaktik geprägt war. Philosophiestudiengänge wurden erst im 20. Jahrhundert mit der Gründung der Universitäten Lissabon und Porto, sowie durch eine Reform der Universität Coimbra, dass durch das republikanische Regime eingeführt würde. Das beginnende Wissen über Hegels Philosophie führte in Kombination mit der mangelnden Institutionalisierung des Studiums zu Missverständnissen, die über längere Zeit anhielten. Parallel dazu gab es auch Debatten über die Interpretationen des Hegelschen Denkens.

Ein weiteres Kapitel (5.) befasst sich daher mit diesen philosophischen Interpretationen, die als unterschiedliche Typologien des Hegelianismus definiert werden können, und in einen transnationalen Kontext zu einzufügen sind. Die Tendenzen der philosophischen Hermeneutik werden untersucht, da diese Konzeptionen eines typologischen Universums des Hegelianismus Aspekte erläutern, die wir in anderen Kapiteln und bei mehreren portugiesischen Intellektuellen finden. Strömungen des modernen Denkens können sicherlich mit mehreren dieser Interpretationen in Verbindung gebracht werden.

Ein dritter Teil (III.) der vorliegenden Arbeit betrachtet die politische Dimension des Hegelianismus, in der dieses typologische Universum gerade hervorsticht. Der Fokus liegt dabei auf der Einbeziehung philosophischer Überlegungen in politische Debatten. Mehrere Schlüsselkonzepte des modernen politischen Denkens gehen auf Hegel zurück, etwa sein neues Arbeitsverständnis oder auch die Theorie der Bürgerliche Gesellschaft (Civil Society). In diesem Kapitel (6.) werden diese Ideen anhand von drei politischen Hauptrichtungen untersucht, die dem Sozialismus, dem Republikanismus-Liberalismus und schließlich dem Konservatismus entsprechen. Jede von ihnen hat sich Hegel nach unterschiedlichen Traditionen angeeignet, von denen einige schwieriger zu belegen sind, dieser Aspekt ist jedoch oft zweitrangig gegenüber ihrer politischen Mobilisierung.

Abschließend zeigt ein letztes Kapitel (7.) parallel, wie sich diese Ideen in der juristischen Dimension und dem Staatsapparat durch die Rechtsphilosophie manifestieren, die an Universitäten und Institutionen der Staatsmacht gelehrt wird. Die Lehre der

Rechtsphilosophie, die dem deutschen Denken nahesteht, hat in Coimbra eine lange Tradition, die bis sehr spät bei Cabral Moncada fortgeführt wurde, der einem Bewunderer Hegels und der Philosophie des deutschen Idealismus war. Dieser Hegelianismus lässt sich beispielsweise bei Martens Ferrão, Frederico Laranjo oder Bernardino Machado wiederfinden, und zwar in deren intensiver politischer Aktivität und Regierungsentscheidungen. Dieses abschließene Kapitel zeigt, wie Staatspolitiker und Theoretiker die soziale Dimension von Hegels Philosophie als Inspiration für die Reformen nutzen, die sie für notwendig halten.

Im Anschluss an die Studie werden die Schlussfolgerungen der Dissertation sowie die Bedeutung des Hegelianismus in Portugal vorgestellt. Zusammenfassende, es wird die Tendenzen dieser philosophischen Strömung folgen, aber an die Probleme der nationalen Realität angepasst, um das Denken über die Moderne zu integrieren. Intellektuelle werden vom Hegelianismus 1. neue Modelle und historische Vorstellungen ernten, 2. philosophisches Wissen erneuern, 3. diese Ideen für ideologische und politische Kämpfe nutzen, die in der Untersuchung des Rechts und des Staatsapparats präsentiert werden.

Keywords: Intellektuelle Bewegungen, Kulturtransfers, Konstellationsforschung, Dialektik, Deutsche Idealismus, Austausch Deutschland-Portugal.

Opening Remarks and Acknowledgements

There is always a life behind any work, infinitely richer than the work itself, which can help explain the motivation behind it. As far as I remember, I was always meditative about the relations between everything in my surroundings, of how things came to be the way they are.

As a child, I would look at those connections and build a story around them. Those stories were a prelude to the onset of my interest in the study of history, particularly the aspects related to its explanation and theory, which led me to philosophy, and soon enough, Hegel's thought emerged.

As a school student, I was fascinated by the great civilizational movements that produced highly developed cultures, such as ancient Egypt and the classic Greece and Roman cultures, or even lesser-known ones to me, such as those in the Americas and the rest of Africa. They fed my imagination and the thought of masses of people passing on that accumulated human experience was an enjoyable picture.

Thus, this work that resulted from my PhD studies was something that, more than arising interest, brings me happiness. I have endeavored to complete it in the past few years, but the work began much earlier, not just with my studies revolving around the PhD degree. While I would not be able to tell exactly when it really started, I could say my master thesis was certainly a key moment. Upon its completion, everyone encouraged me to deepen the study of Hegel's thought, in search of the spoor of Hegelianism within the Portuguese intellectual context.

That first plunge was actually a study about Hegel, which I attempted to connect with Olivera Martins, since I thought the Portuguese thinker would be more appropriate for such a study, while the focus was on Hegel's philosophy and historical ideas. In that study I realized just how much Hegelianism was present in the cultural and intellectual landscape of the 70s generation, which left an enduring legacy and led later intellectuals to more elaborate studies.

The second moment of my studies, with the present PhD thesis, was a movement almost the other way around. Now I was committed to focus on the Portuguese intellectual landscape in search of Hegel. I aspired to demonstrate how the ideas emanating from the German philosopher come forward in the understanding of historical problems, the renewal of philosophical conceptions and the political ideas held by many Portuguese authors.

The research proved to be difficult and complex, not least because there is still much to uncover about the thematic in question. Adversity and difficulties also happened to me on a personal level several times. However, I was lucky enough to have much help in the hardships of life through the support of my family and friends. While at the same time, it was necessary for me to give support to those most dear to me, as my closer family faced the most difficult time ever, namely my father, my sister and above all my mother.

That support also came from my supervisors, which I am very grateful about, especially Sérgio Campos Matos with his tireless guidance and encouragement, always trying to convey confidence in the work I was doing. Along the way, I also made a lasting friendship with my second supervisor Klaus Vieweg and is caring wife Barbara, giving true meaning to the German word of *Doktorvater*(doctor father), as he surely was one to me with his unquestioning support, always ready to help within his possibilities and whenever necessary.

A special word of recognition also goes to Professor José Barata-Moura since much of this work, especially how it came to fruition, was inspired by the teaching he transmitted to me as a student, even if during the elaboration of the thesis, for various reasons, sadly I wasn't as much in contact with him. He still helped me very much in this work and I value him as a person, with his commitment and the seriousness of his work, which comes forward in his philosophical, social-political studies and reflections. His classes on German idealism still exert a powerful hold in my thoughts on the subject of Hegelianism.

These acknowledgments extents to many other persons, of which I will start by mentioning the personal of libraries and archives I have visited (named in footnotes), as well as the colleagues that helped me in Lisbon and Jena. I also reach my gratitude to Paula Lourinho, Nilza Sousa, Christine Wolf for reading and correcting parts of my thesis. I am thankful for the backing of all the friends I have made in Germany and England, as well as those in Portugal, especially my close childhood friends (Zé and Marco). Last but not least, of course, the ones I love the most, of which I count my parents, my sisters and her little kid Diana.

From the later ones, I would like to give the most deep-felt words of recognition to my mother, whose motherly love brought me into this world. More than material well-being, in a western-world society so much ruled by appearances and those kinds of things, she gave me nourishment in all necessary aspects for the formation of a truly human being, and led me to where I am now.

This world surely is complex and full of contradictory aspects, as Hegel rightly points out. Hence, one may wonder what are we doing here? A very wise person, my mother, once told me, by the way of such question, that love is the reason. The search for the absolute, unconditioned and of an infinity that could be grasped by human beings was sought by modern philosophers, especially with the German idealism philosophical movement. I could say without a doubt that, if there is something eternal, love would surely be it.

In a society so closed in and atomized, however, family can become more of a problem, if through its manifestation people take things for granted, clouding their minds and emptying their innermost feelings in this experience of ours. The transfers of this to other facets of our life can lead a person to more careless stances, as I personally experienced from someone close in the middle of my PhD years. While in the last years of this period of my life, I rediscovered the importance of family and its fundamental role of giving support, especially when faced with painful experiences and loss.

It reminded me of my childhood and how family can also provide a safe place for development, a role that we could and should very well expand to other spheres, because, as Hegel said, it is only the first sphere of ethical life. The world of pains and suffering, I believe, can always be overcome if we share the responsibility that we have to ourselves and the others, instead of running away from it.

The need to assist someone very close to me in a situation of adversity was a stronger reminder of this. Whilst the completion of this thesis, in spite of the sorrows which sometimes can make it difficult to carry on, also became my responsibility. For instilling this awareness in my spirit, I thank you my dear parents, without you this work would not ever be possible. This thesis is dedicated to my loving mother.

Introduction, Research Directions and Methodology

The study of Hegelianism raises several questions and hypotheses regarding its introduction in Portugal, first and foremost because this current of thought has a vast branch of conceptions, with emphasis on different aspects of Hegel's thought in followers and interpreters of his philosophy. This has led to a split within the movement itself, generally portrayed as the young vs old Hegelians, or often against the backdrop of ideological alignments of the left and right political spectrum. However, the problem goes beyond a separation into two camps but points instead to many different types of relationships and engagements with Hegelianism.

Consequently, one can conjecture that the marks this philosophical current left in Portugal follow those same disputes about the constitution of Hegelianism, remarkable for its multiplicity and extension. Hence, some questions emerge, such as: how direct was this contact with German philosophy, or does this mediation take place on a wider scale together with other cultures in Europe? If that is the case, did the Portuguese connection follow any particular course of development? and are there different phases or prevailing typological insights into Hegelianism at any given time? While this also bears the question of how early and how long it took for a deeper account of Hegel's philosophy compared to other countries.

Therefore, one hypothesis advanced in the thesis, notwithstanding the title *Hegelianism in Portugal*, is that there was actually a multiplicity of *Hegelianisms* that converged in the Portuguese territory. They find support especially in the various intellectual elites, leading us to highlight the plural dimension of dialogues with the philosopher. But then again, the idea behind Hegelianism, conceived as a current of thought open to hermeneutical considerations, encompasses within itself already such character.

The issues raised above relate to one objective of this thesis, which is to trace the typological universe of Hegelianism in Portugal, according to the readings and interpretations present in the authors who were in contact with this philosophy. This involves studying the intellectual movements in Portugal, while taking into account the reception of broader philosophical thoughts. Because even though Hegelianism is the focus of this study, in the process of circulation of ideas, there is often a mixture of different currents of thought.

Another aim is to determine the forms of transmission of Hegelianism, as well as to investigate the ways and places through which it is disseminated. Thus, the research intends

to deal with the mechanisms allowing that, whether these are, for instance, based on the level of institutions, such as universities and political bodies of the state, or culturally based, via associations and cultural productions, or even, in other cases, coming from a political-civic background such as parties and political organizations.

Finally, this work assesses the level of knowledge that Portuguese intellectuals had in regard to Hegel's philosophy, as well as the weight certain ideas may have had on the Portuguese cultural landscape, both in its historical, philosophical and political dimensions.

The intellectuals would be the group in which, due to the more thoughtful character and the degree of abstraction of some formulations, this penetration would be favorable. However, those could be professors, artists or politicians, which would lead us to other questions: In which areas of knowledge was Hegel present? What literary works followed Hegelian aesthetic models? What role did Hegel's theory of the state play in a given political project? These are the questions that will guide this work.

We can find this Hegelian thought in Portugal through a variety of written records, published as monographs, articles, or parliamentary speeches. Moreover, other sources point to handwritten materials, such as correspondence, or reading notes, as well as marginalia in works of a philosophical nature, present in the personal libraries of some authors. Today, it is possible to consult some of those, such as Oliveira Martins, Antero de Quental, or António Sérgio, with the first two authors having had the catalog of their personal libraries even published.

Based on the topics discussed there are also secondary questions and sub-hypotheses, one of those is the references to Hegel having various levels of insertion, which relate to the typologies by which his philosophy came to be interpreted. There are references at the level of validation of already installed opinions, others engage more directly with Hegel while indulging in his philosophy, yet in other authors Hegelianism is implicit without being, however, directly mentioned.

Finally, this points us to the following question: what is the degree of involvement of the actors and what kind of dialogue do they engage in? I would venture to advance that the specific interest of the persons in question is the key to elucidating this inquiry. Hence, the relevance of approaching each Portuguese author individually, as much as possible, before entering into broader relationships in the context of intellectual constellations, as well as cultural, social or political groups.

This investigation extends likewise into three different sections, with the first section dedicated to examining the connection between Hegelianism and history. Here, the emphasis is on the pivotal role played by the concept of historical consciousness, which originated from the German philosopher and stands as a landmark of modernity. This is particularly relevant in thinking about Portugal as a nation, in contemporary times[1].

The concerns of history with the past extend into the future and present, due to the recognition of the historicity of all reality, which establishes a relationship with temporality along the notion of different historical times. Hegel's philosophy of history is equally relevant to the dialogues between various historical theories.

Another part of the work deals with philosophy, more specifically in search of the connections to Hegelianism, and more broadly speaking to German philosophy, in the philosophical thought of Portugal. This leads to an overview of the history of philosophy in Portugal, focusing mainly on its teaching and development as a subject of study. Therefore, the heart of this chapter is concerned with the reception of this current of thought in academic, intellectual and cultural circles concerned with philosophical topics.

The part focusing on philosophy, also contains a short chapter where I will address some concerns regarding hermeneutics and the different typologies of Hegelianism, according to the problematic surrounding the dialectical philosopher.

Finally, in the third part, the focus is on the political appropriations of Hegelianism in the Portuguese context. The focus will be on analyzing these appropriations from both a socio-political and ideological standpoint, while also considering the state apparatus and conceptions of right. The emergence of party politics, within the framework of civil society, as well as the creation of the modern state are two important elements to consider.

State of Research

As for the state of research on the topic under study in this work, it could be said that, for the most, there is no encompassing study of Hegelianism, as a current of thought in the Portuguese intellectual landscape between 1865 and 1933. Besides my previous research on

[1] See in this regard, Sérgio Campos Matos, *Consciência Histórica e Nacionalismo (Portugal – séculos XIX e XX)*, Livros Horizonte, Lisboa, 2008, pp.7-14.

the marks of Hegel in Oliveira Martins[2], there are some other studies, although quite limited in their scope and objectives, pointing in that direction.

The studies that are closest to this topic are, for instance, the article by Vamireh Chacon on the reception of Hegel in Portugal and Brazil[3], as well as the opening chapter of Orlando Vitorino's book which is an introduction to Hegel's philosophy of right, where the Portuguese reception of Hegel along a European framework is envisaged[4]. However, they do not address the subject to its full extent, or from the perspective of Hegelianism as a current of thought.

On another level, there are, on the one hand, numerous works that indirectly allude to Hegelianism in the Portuguese culture, such as specific studies about the thought of Portuguese authors, in particular Antero de Quental and Oliveira Martins, or philosophical developments in relation to Portugal[5]. Among these are, for example, the studies by Joaquim de Carvalho[6], António Sérgio(1974)[7], Catroga (1981)[8], Carmo Ferreira (1992)[9] and Leonel Ribeiro dos Santos (2002)[10].

While on the other hand, we have studies in which the interest that Hegel aroused in Portugal is not its immediate concern, but which give general outlines about his philosophy and delve into the issue of its interpretations. In the Portuguese context, this group includes,

[2] See Bruno Gonçalves, *The Reception of Hegel in Portugal: the case of Oliveira Martins*, Dissertação de Mestrado, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2016.
[3] See Chacon Vamireh, "A Recepção de Hegel em Portugal e no Brasil", in *Hegel, a Moralidade e a Religião,* Jorge Zahar editor, Rio de Janeiro, 2002, pp. 144–152.
[4] See Orlando Vitorino, *Introdução filosófica à filosofia do direito de Hegel*, Sociedade de Expansão Cultural, Lisboa, 1961.
[5] See for a sumarized overview the recent study of Henrique Jales Ribeiro, *Estudos sobre a Filosofia na Europa e em Portugal: De Antero de Quental a Leonardo Coimbra*, Edições Minerva Coimbra, 2013.
[6] Joaquim de Carvalho "Hegel e o Conceito de História da Filosofia" in *Obras Completa de Joaquim de Carvalho*, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisboa, 1978, pp.457–472.
[7] See the preface by António Sérgio to the new edition of J.P. Oliveira Martins, *Teoria do Socialismo: evolução política e económica das sociedades europeias*, Guimarães & Ca. Editores, Lisboa, 1974.
[8] See article "O problema político em Antero de Quental. Um confronto com Oliveira Martins" later improved in: Fernando Catroga, *Antero de Quental: história, socialismo, política*, Notícias Editorial, 1a. ed., Lisboa, 2001.
[9] See Manuel J. Carmo Ferreira, *Hegel e a justificação da filosofia: Iena, 1801-1807*, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, Lisboa, 1992.
[10] See Leonel Ribeiro dos Santos, Antero de Quental: uma visão moral do mundo, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, Lisboa, 2002.

for example, the studies of José Barata-Moura[11], Magalhães-Vilhena[12], Eduardo Chitas[13] and Diogo Ferrer[14].

However, at an international level, we have a large variety of studies, first of all, those that have intentionally dealt with the reception of Hegel in individualized national contexts, which therefore have greater affinity with this work. From these, I would highlight in France the works by Eric Puisais[15] and Andrea Bellantone[16], among an overwhelming number of books and articles on this topic[17]. In Italy, one can also find a large number of studies[18], of which I emphasize *Il primo Hegelismo Italiano* by Guido Oldrini[19]. Neighboring Spain, albeit on a smaller scale, also has a number of studies about Hegel's presence there, namely those by Manuel Pizán[20] and Juan García[21].

Consequently, the studies on Hegelianism, according to the prism of its inclusion in other cultures, naturally has an extensive bibliography and, from China[22] to the United States[23], one can find works on this thematic in the context of many countries. However, for

[11] See José Barata-Moura, *Estudos sobre a Ontologia de Hegel: ser, verdade, contradicão*, Avante, Lisboa, 2010.
[12] See Vasco de Magalhães Vilhena, *Marx e Hegel: Marx e o "caso Hegel"*, Livros Horizonte, Lisboa, 1985.
[13] See Eduardo Chitas, *Hegel e o Pensamento das Luzes: para o estudo da formação da consciência moderna*, Tese de Doutoramento em Filosofia, Lisboa, 1989.
[14] See Diogo Falcão Ferrer, *Lógica e realidade em Hegel: a Ciência da lógica e o problema da fundamentação do sistema*, Centro de filosofia da Universidade de Lisboa, Lisboa, 2006.
[15] Eric Puisais, *La Naissance de l'Hégélianisme français*, 1830-1870, Harmattan, Paris, 2005.
[16] Andrea Bellantone, *Hegel en France*, 2 volumes, Hermann, Paris, 2011.
[17] See for instance M. Kelly, "Hegel in France to 1940: A Bibliographical Essay" in *Journal of European Studies*, vol.11, n. 41, 1 Março 1981, pp. 29–52; Jacques d'Hondt, "Hegel et les Socialistes" in *La Pensée: revue du rationalisme moderne*, vol.157, Junho 1971, pp. 3–25; Georges Canguilhem, "Hegel en France" in *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses*, vol.28–29, 49 1948, pp. 283–297.
[18] See, in addition to the work of Guido Oldrini cited below, also the following authors: Sergio Landucci, "L'hegelismo in Italia nell'età del Risorgimento" in *Studi Storici*, vol.6, n. 4, 1965, pp. 597–628 ; Augusto Guzzo e Armando Plebe, *Gli hegeliani d'Italia: Vera, Spaventa, Jaja, Maturi, Gentile*, Società editrice internazionale, 1953 ; Luciano Aguzzi, *Riforma religiosa, hegelismo, comunismo e il problema del Risorgimento in Italia nel pensiero e nell'opera di Giambattista Passerini (1793-1864)*, Ateneo di scienze lettere e arti., 1985.
[19] See Guido Oldrini, *Il Primo Hegelismo Italiano*, Vallecchi, Firenze, 1969.
[20] See Manuel Pizán, *Los hegelianos en España y otras notas críticas*, Cuadernos para el Diálogo, Madrid, 1973.
[21] See Juan Ramón García Cué, *El hegelismo en la Universidad de Sevilla*, Excma. Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, Sevilla, 1983.
[22] The interest for Hegelianism has taken place also in China, with various books published on the subject since the beginning of the 20th century, as it can be read in the stdy of Martin Müller, *Die chinesischsprachige Hegel-Rezeption von 1902 bis 2000: Eine Bibliographie*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main, 2002.
[23] See compilation of source texts of American Hegelians along with a critical study on the subject edited by William H. Goetzmann, *The American Hegelians: An Intellectual Episode in the History of Western America*, with assistance from Dickson Pratt, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1973.
Or more recently also in this vein the selection of writings of the Saint Louis Hegelians edited by Michael H. De Armey and James A. and James A. Good, *The St. Louis Hegelians*, 3 Volumes, Thoemess Press, Bristol, 2001.

the establishment of some intended links to Portugal, it will make more sense to confine this problem to Europe, to countries such as Italy, Spain and especially France[24].

While at the same time, one should not overlook the fact that some works studying Hegelianism, within the framework of certain national cultures, are sources and not studies. They coexist with successes, as the authors are contemporary to the phenomenon that they were addressing[25].

The state of research, briefly referred to above, corresponds to the reception of Hegel out of the context from where it originates. However, in Germany itself, one can study this reception among the intellectuals who came into contact with his thought, even if some will not remain within the horizon of Hegelianism. This issue is subjacent in the hermeneutical interpretations of Hegelianism that spread to other cultures, since those are often based on the issues that had been first raised in Germany, which highlights the relevance of looking into such studies.

Moreover, critical studies in relation to the problem of hermeneutics are another valuable development, especially the contribution of Raimund Beyer[26]. In his work about Hegelianism, one finds a typology that goes beyond the traditional division between left, moderate and right Hegelians, comprehending rather lines of force in some of those interpretations, which were also widespread in other cultural spaces. In some studies, scholars examined Hegel from a hermeneutic perspective, emphasizing the broader repercussions of Hegelian thought in the philosophical and cultural dimensions[27].

There are, likewise, studies specifically on Hegel, such as biographies or philosophical-historical outlooks, which address, at the same time, the problem of interpreting his philosophy. The recent study of Klaus Vieweg is one such case, whereby the philosopher's life is drawn out to show how freedom was his most important concern, despite the arguments otherwise that point, for example, to absolutism, state power or a rigid system as a curtailment of freedom[28]. This biography dispels various misconceptions, just as other studies

[24] According to Álvaro Manuel Machado, this was main culture mediating the cultural transfers coming from Germany during a certain historical period, especially in Oliveira Martins: "O iberismo e a França como cultura intermediária em Oliveira Martins" in *Revista da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas*, vol.2, 1988.
[25] See for example Eugène Poitou, "Les disciples de Hegel" in *Revue Nationale et Étrangère Politique Scientifique et Littéraire*, vol.15, 1863.
[26] See Raimund Beyer, *Hegel-Bilder: Kritik der Hegel-Deutungen*, De Gruyter, Berlin, 1964.
[27] See in that regard the no less important work, relating to the interpretations to which Hegel was subjected, of Henning Ottmann, *Hegel im Spiegel der Interpretationen*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 1977.
[28] See Klaus Vieweg, *Hegel: der Philosoph der Freiheit*, C.H Bech Verlag, München, 2019.

of this nature have done by broadening the knowledge of Hegel's life and thought, and must therefore form part of the considerations of this work[29].

Finally, I would further add that this thesis belongs to the field of intellectual history, and can therefore also benefit from the current state of studies in this regard. It is therefore advisable to carefully address some accounts of its different trends, not with the intention of following in the footsteps of the fashion of occasion, but rather in order to familiarize oneself with possible ways of approaching these issues, focusing on the problems and conceptions that have developed around this field of studies[30].

The orientation of this research must, however, always be present when considering the bibliography on this subject. Because, as already mentioned, this work does not dispense a critique of the traditional history of ideas. This study is far removed from a history that takes refuge in the power of ideas, which alone would have the capacity to govern the world, without taking into account social and political contexts, the author's intentions and the actual cultural and socio-economic structures that allow the existence of those same ideas[31]. The angle of research from conceptual history, in line with Koselleck's efforts, is one such example that goes beyond the traditional history of ideas[32].

The Methodological Guidelines

[29] There are various other biographical studies on Hegel such as, for an English-speaking audience, the well-known and somewhat recent work by Terry Pinkard, *Hegel: A Biography*, Cambridge University Press, 2000.
[30] See for a perspective on this issue in recent years Anthony Grafton, "The History of Ideas: Precept and Practice, 1950-2000 and Beyond" in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol.67, n. 1, 2006, pp. 1–32 ; See also for a perspective that defends the power of ideas Isaiah Berlin e Henry Hardy, *The power of ideas*, Princeton University Press, Second Edition., Princeton, 2013 ; or For a French-speaking perspective on this same topic for example, François Dosse, *La marche des idées: histoire des intellectuels, histoire intellectuelle*, Découverte, Paris, 2003; Michel Leymarie e Jean-François Sirinelli, eds., *L'Histoire des Intellectuels Aujourd'hui*, Presses universitaires de France, Paris, 2003.
See also for a dialogues between intellectual historical and various modern philosophical tendencies Dominick Lacapra, *Rethinking Intellectual History: texts, contexts, language*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1983.
[31] Those challenges faced by history ideas, increasingly led further research to address those questions, opening up the renewal of this research field, as it was then rebranded intellectual history from what we are told in the study by Donald R. Kelley, *The Descent of Ideas: The History of Intellectual History*, Routledge, New York, 2002.
See also for a critique of the power of ideas, albeit in a different context José Barata-Moura, *Estética da Canção Política*, Livros Horizonte, Lisboa, 1977, pp.115–126.
[32] See in this regard Reinhart Koselleck, *Vergangene Zukunft: Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten*, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1979.

As an introduction to the present work, I will also draw an outline of the methodological meridians orienting it. This is first preceded by a reflection upon the concept of Hegelianism and broadly speaking of what conceptualization engenders, in its effort to understand the basis of reality through a grounding in thought. The process dimension in the Hegelian nature of concepts carries, as such, the ability to producing a coherent account of the manifoldness of reality in a condensed form.

Accordingly, concepts should indeed be one of the first elements to study, when the subject at hand is intellectual history, and this is especially true in the exchanges of cultural productions. Thus, the condensate and all the instances, in which a concept presents itself, are as such expanded in its significance.

It is precisely in the sphere of culture where concepts reach consummation, therefore, this acquired polysemic nature in living communities can ascertain the actual power of a given concept. Whereby they are not limited to a singular abstract occurrence, but comprise, rather, intertwined concretely conceived relationships in a wider intercultural context. Conceptualization structures the thinking of being, asserting determination into the dynamics of the movement of thought, while departing from a simple immediate. Furthermore, cultural exchanges imply a variation and enrichment of the concepts, making them more capable of playing an active role in the understanding of the realities they enfold and their transformations.

The research direction of this work on the topic of Hegelianism in Portugal will be based on four different approaches. I believe these approaches are more adequate in accounting for a phenomenon of an intellectual nature, and I will explain the justification for choosing them in the different parts that compose this introduction as I move on to expound them.

The first one is that of conceptual history, as earlier paragraphs lead us to suppose. Secondly, one should consider the reception theory and the examination of the relation between author, text and reader in light of the receptive and productive sides in the process of reception. Third comes hermeneutics, with its questions of what the interpretation of a text entails, especially in terms of the typologies of intellectual constellations. Finally, in the methodological concerns of this work, one should also consider the notion of cultural transfers and an overview of the problems inherent to intellectual history.

I. The concept of Hegelianism and the conceptualization problematic

In relation to the subject of focus here, one of the first questions to be raised is how we can understand Hegelianism as a concept. Should this concept exclusively relate to the followers of Hegel? Or should it also comprehend other thoughts which touch upon Hegel's philosophy? Do not thinkers or even critics who occupied themselves with Hegel also take part in the discussion of what Hegelianism stands for? However, the generalization of Hegel's thought into the realm of culture, with the tendency to see Hegelian philosophy in every corner is something to be wary of. A qualitative differentiation seems, therefore, to be necessary in order to determine the modalities and the scope of what this concept embraces in its differentiated totality.

A similar problem arises with Marx's followers and the difference between Marxist and Marxian. According to the interpretations, one of both terms can either on the one hand signify a closer relation to Marx or even the thought of Marx himself, or on the other hand imply merely an inspiration, or reading and inclusion of some of his thoughts.

The detractors of this second way of appropriation, more often than not, see it as a deterioration or falsification of the original thought, which may in fact have a degree of truth, according to each concrete situation, but that is not always necessarily the case[33]. Raimund Beyer attempted for his part to introduce the concept of *Hegelei* in his work in order to define those who had a more orthodox view of Hegel's philosophy, in opposition to those who undertook critical readings, or who simply occupied themselves with his philosophy, without a deeper engagement[34].

In any form of thought, particularly in its systematization, there is an underlying basis that unifies its theoretical substrate in what one could call a doctrine. If, however, a doctrine is crystalized into dogma, it becomes then deficient of movement and is affected by a certain blindness[35]. Kant is one of the first German philosophers to criticize this doctrinarian principle.

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[33] For instance, the term Marxian usually refers to a partial use of Marx`s theory in the field of economics, while others on the contrary consider Marxian to be the thought of Marx himself, as opposed to the Marxist though which would constitute the more ideological and partial thought based on Marx`s works and political activity.

[34] Interestingly enough, we actually first find this term in the writings of Marx, especially in his letters, where refers to Hegelei in the same manner as Raimund Beyer, without however developing as much on the subject as Beyer did.

[35] See in this respect Hegel himself "Der Dogmatismus der Denkungsart im Wissen und im Studium der Philosophie ist nichts anderes als die Meinung, daß das Wahre in einem Satze, der ein festes Resultat ist oder auch der unmittelbar gewußt wird, bestehe." G.W.F Hegel, *Werke 3: Phänomenologie des Geistes*, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 2014, p.40.

However, he attributes this tendency not to reason or understanding per se but rather to an erudite historical self-contained methodology that isolates itself from the freedom of thought[36].

The manifestations of this dogmatism are particularly visible in its religious forms, but the existence of sects and groups (politically, economically, artistically or organized in any other form) restricted into a certain set of beliefs are a good example of a secularized version of this same principle. It is probably because of this dogmatic nature of some Hegel followers that the term *Hegelei* came to be used by Marx, in order to denote this almost religious-like orthodoxy.

The main question coming out of this reflection is whether the concept of Hegelianism should not be more open and include contrary thoughts or at least qualitatively different ones? This suggestion, when the answer is positive, would be useful for the studying and understanding of Hegel's reception in other cultural universes different from the ones his conceptions emanate from; especially in the case of countries where there was no Hegelian school of thought, or a firmly cultivated tradition on Hegel's philosophy, but where nevertheless an important dialogue with the German philosopher took place.

As a result, we could see in those authors a sort of Hegelianism or ideas that fell under the scope of their contact with Hegel. This is what some would loosely say as being "influenced" by the philosopher, even if they were not Hegelian in the sense of a perfect overlapping with his thought or even of a closer relation with his ideas.

The problem is therefore not about the names we give to things, of whether someone is a Hegelian, a Hegelianist or some other differentiating word, because, as we have shown in the case of Marx, it seems quite arbitrary which term signifies what. The pure thought or perfect reflection of Hegel's thought in someone else's thought is in a certain way a mystification, and we would have again to agree with Beyer that a complete reception of Hegel is actually never to be found[37].

However, a point of criticism regarding Beyer is that not all reception of Hegel deserves this epitome either, in fact, Beyer's background is in law despite having written about Hegel's

[36] Immanuel Kant, *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der bloßen Vernunft*, mit einer Einleintung und Anmerkungen herausgegeben von Bettina Stangneth, Felix Meiner Verlag, Hamburg, 2017, p.154.
[37] "Eine volle „Hegel-Rezeption" (Rezeption im Sinne einer Total-Übernahme) finden wir im Grunde nie." *Hegel – Bilder: Kritik der Hegel-Deutung*, Dritte überarbeitete und ergänzte Auflage, Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1970, p.8.

reception. Therefore, professional philosophers could argue his lack of training and expertise in philosophy is a handicap, notwithstanding being quite knowledgeable about cultural, political and juridical issues regarding Hegelianism.

In that respect, recent research has put into question many judgments and descriptions given to Hegel's philosophy, which is worthy of a wall made up of lasting myths and legends according to Jon Stewart[38]. In reality, much of the cataloguing is made in the heat of ideological and political struggles, which either way, on the one hand, could use Hegel's authoritative thought as an example to praise or decry, strengthening the author's own arguments independent of the actual content or subject.

In which case, although they may be an "invention", yet still belong to the movement around Hegelianism, because the discussions invoke the German philosopher, even if assumptions may prove to be erroneous. But all this reflects a greater dynamic of narrowing Hegel's thought under strict limits, whereby in the case of history for instance, one is not capable of thinking universality together with relativity as noted by Vieweg[39].

To sum it up, Hegelianism encompasses the discussions and the uses within its space of thought (*Denkraum*). Therefore, the task at hand comes down to defining the concept of Hegelianism and other associated terms, alongside the process of reflecting on the issues that accompany such concepts, which can become empty words, without an operative content, or taken as self-evident. Their true significance is then to be found in the totality of the movement, which implies the recognition of different historical manifestations, that lead to the actualization of Hegel´s thought.

A Hegelianism taken to be inclusive, composed of multiple and at times divergent trends, is what we are looking for as a concept that could define the realities of countries like Portugal, Spain or France in their own appropriation of Hegelian ideas.

[38] See Jon Stewart (ed.), *Hegel Myths and Legends*, Northwestern University Press, Illinous, 1996.

[39] "Der Generalverdacht gegen den Universalismus, gegen weltbürgerliches Denken konzentriert sich in der Rede vom ‚Terror des Allgemeinen'. Meist wird so getan, als ob man die Besonderheiten ohne Allgemeinheit, ob man Endlichkeit ohne Unendlichkeit, Vielheit ohne Einheit denken kann, ein offenkundiger logischer Fauxpas, der unausweichlich zum ‚Terror des Besonderen' führt. Weltgeschichte und Weltbürgerrecht muss Hegel zufolge nicht nur als ethnische oder kulturelle Besonderheit gedacht werden, sondern auch als ein alle ethnischen oder kulturellen Besonderheiten oder Schranken übergreifende Allgemeinheit." Klaus Vieweg, *Das Denken der Freiheit: Hegels Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, Wilhelm Fink, München, 2012, p.503.

The same problem arises in an early form in the Hegelians descending directly from Hegel, especially when it comes down to Hegel's spiritual bequest[40]. However, such issues were probably already present when Hegel was still alive. At Hegel's funeral, Förster delivers a speech before his grave, on behalf of the philosopher's students and friends, in which he says that the job of Hegel's followers was to uphold his work and ideal since:

"preserving, proclaiming and affirming his teachings is now our profession. It is true that no Peter will arise who would have the presumption to call himself his governor, however, his kingdom, the kingdom of thought, will continue to spread not without opposition, but without resistance; the accomplished throne of Alexander no successor will ascend."[41]

It was, however, not clear what this preservation could have meant. Because Hegel had shown that no thought could really be thought out without someone thinking it for oneself, in which case one lets this thought go through the self.

This "going through", which leads the subject to the conception of the object, has on the one hand, at the beginning, a limitation of the subject, avoiding in this way pre-conceptions. While on the other hand, it results in an alteration or externalization of the object, that was first thought and then enriched by the subject.

Would then this "kingdom of thought" not also lead to different views, especially when it comes to envisaging society and politics? The underlying question is therefore whether these views still have a basis in Hegel's Philosophy.

Eduard Gans in his necrology is much clearer in this respect when he says:

"Hegel leaves a lot of witty students, but no successor. For philosophy has for the first time completed its circular course; its advancement is to be accepted only as a thoughtful treatment of the material according to the manner and method which the irreplaceable deceased has as sharp and clear stated and described"[42]

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[40] See for an up to down research on Hegelianism in Germany "Die Hegel-Schule" in *Die Philosophie Des 19. Jahrhunderts: Deutschsprachiger Raum 1830–1870*, Herausgegeben von Gerald Hartung, Band 1, Schwabe Verlag, 2023.

[41] "Seine Lehre zu bewahren, zu verkündigen, zu befestigen, sei fortan unser Beruf. Zwar wird kein Petrus aufstehen, welcher die Anmaßung hätte, sich seinen Statthalter zu nennen, aber sein Reich, das Reich des Gedankens, wird sich fort und fort nicht ohne Anfechtung, aber ohne Widerstand ausbreiten; den erledigten Thron Alexanders wird kein Nachfolger besteigen. " *Hegel in Berichten seiner Zeitgenossen*, herausgegeben von Günther Nicolin, Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1971, p.477.

[42] "Hegel hinterläßt eine Menge geistreicher Schüler, aber keinen Nachfolger. Denn die Philosophie hat fürs Erste ihren Kreis-Lauf vollendet; ihr Weiterschreiten ist nur als gedankenvolle Bearbeitung des Stoffes nach der Art und Methode anzunehmen, die der unersetzlich Verblichene ebenso scharf als klar bezeichnet und angegeben hat" idem, ibidem, p.496.

For Gans, it comes down to the manner and method of working out the material, but this manner and method brings, within itself, different readings and interpretations of Hegel. A century later, it is still up for debate, as Georg Lasson puts into question in one of his works, what would be meant by Hegelianism[43].

The relation of this problem with the foreign reception of Hegel brings with itself a further complexity, namely, the question of what kind of Hegel was brought there. Eduard Gans also refers to this in his necrology a couple of sentences earlier saying:

"foreign nations finally became familiar with his works and his name as well. The French especially took from his philosophy of history. Cousin, Chateaubriand, Lerminier, [Jules] Michelet, as well as most recently the Simonists got to know, studied, and drew from him; the English bought his writings to put them in their library."[44]

As we can see, the mention goes especially onto the French, while the English are witty bookkeepers, which sounds almost sarcastic. Nevertheless, in a sense both reflect the importance and respect Hegel had acquired among scholars and the literate culture. France was the country that played an important role in the dissemination of Hegel's philosophy to other European countries, particularly to southern Europe.

Cousin and other intellectuals around him were the first bearers of Hegel's philosophy in a rudimentary form, but we can see Hegel's influence on a much broader array of intellectuals, including for instance the historian and politician François Guizot. In his *Histoire de la Civilization en Europe* (1st edition 1826) he makes notice of an alliance between history and philosophy which is necessarily found in the modern study of history, leading up to a philosophy of history[45].

The early socialists and particularly the Saint-Simonists are another very important component of Hegel`s reception in France and, as Eduard Gans points out at the time he wrote his text, this was a more recent development. This exchange starts shortly before Hegel's death, when some ideas of Hegel arrived in France through Victor Cousin and are passed on

[43] See Georg Lasson, *Was heißt Hegelianismus?* Reuther & Reichhard, Berlin, 1916.
[44] "Auch fremde Nationen hatten sich endlich an Seine Werke und an Seinen Namen gemacht. Die Franzosen ergriff namentlich seine Philosophie der Geschichte. Cousin Chateaubriand, Lerminier, Michelet, so wie zuletzt die Simonisten, kannten, studierten ihn, zogen ihn aus; die Engländer kauften seine Schriften, um sie in ihre Bibliothek zu setzen" idem, ibidem, p.495.
[45] See François Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilization en Europe – Depois la Chute de l'Empire Romain*, Didier, Libraire-Editeur, Paris, 1846, p.92.

to various progressive thinkers, some going as far as to travel to Germany in order to study philosophy there. In the process, many of these ideas were radicalized, forming part of the intellectual basis leading up to the 1848 revolutionary uprisings in Europe.

Lerminier, Auguste Ott, Jules Le Chevalier and Gustave d'Eichthal are some of the Saint-Simonists who will publish works in which the topic of Hegel's philosophy comes forward[46]. The relationship between Hegelianism and these earlier socialists is, however, a complex one. A recent study regarding this subject shows that the followers of Saint-Simon, as well as other earlier socialists such as Pierre Leroux, were not always receptive of Hegel`s ideas, hence Hegelianism in France was for these socialists quite selective[47].

Moreover, the provenience of many of their ideas is dubious, some, as in the case of Pierre Leroux, were captivated by Schelling and attributed generally accepted advances in philosophy to him, rather than Hegel[48].

The left Hegelians which would be more prone to have a closer relation to these French socialists, were not always in such a position. This is quite clear in the case of Prevost who stayed in Germany for some time but under the roof of Förster, who had a closer contact with the more orthodox section of Hegelianism. While Gans represented the more liberal or progressive tendency, as a result of which he had his share of problems with the Prussian authorities because of his ideas. At any rate, Gans' tendency was never the dominant force, in those who were tasked with or were more willing to teach Hegel's philosophy.

Therefore, it is not surprising that Lerminier will have some reticence with regard to Hegelianism, as he finds some kind of illiberality in Hegel's writings[49], particularly in his philosophy of right and the handling of the state there (this will be a point of strength in the later conservative interpretations of Hegel's philosophy of right).

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[46] Lerminier, *Philosphie du Droit*, Paulin, Libraire-Editeur, Paris, 1831.
Auguste Ott, *Hegel et la Philosophie Allemande ou Exposé et Examen Critique des Principaux Systèmes de la Philosophie Allemande depuis Kant, et spécialement de celui Hegel*, Joubert, Libraire de la Cour de Cassation, Paris, 1844.

[47] See Norbert Waszek "Saint-Simonismus und Hegelianismus – ein Forschungsfeld" in *Hegelianismus und Saint-Simonismus*, Herausgegeben von Norbert Waszek, Mentis, s.d, s.l, 2002, pp.28-30.

[48] See in that regard Warren Breckman, "Politik in symbolischer Tonart: Pierre Leroux, der romantische Sozialismus und die Schelling-Affäre" in *Hegelianismus und Saint-Simonismus*, Herausgegeben von Norbert Waszek, Mentis, s.l, 2002, pp.201-228.

[49] "Especially Hegel's natural right will offers us an admirable critique of the past, but it has no tendency towards the future, and in its practical application something of illiberal" – "surtout le droit naturel de Hegel nous offrira une vue critique admirable sur l'histoire du passé, mais pas de tendance vers l'avenir, mais dans l'application pratique quelque chose de stagnant et illibéral" *Philosophie du Droit*, Vol. 2, *op. cit*. p.25.

This distrust with regard to Hegel will lead to a more cautious relation with the left Hegelianism. In Marx's later exchanges with the French socialists, it becomes evident that these differences of opinion hindered their ability to carry a common project of a magazine, where French and German intellectuals would be the contributors.

One of these socialists, which Marx calls the metaphysician of the socialist movement, is Pierre Leroux. He was one of these earlier socialists to have a special interest in philosophy, studying, among others, Schelling and Hegel. He will distance himself from Hegelian ideas and in his acquaintance with Schelling pends to an admonishment of Hegel's metaphysics. The point of Schelling being that "the philosophy of Hegel is false, that it is a system, because Hegel wanted to make the whole out of that which is nothing but a fragment of a noble whole"[50].

Thus, the problem comes down to the relation between finite and infinite, which in Hegel must be thought of in dialectical unity, while Schelling on the other hand thinks of the infinite as something immediate, or rather unmediated, because if there is mediation then there is no longer a true infinity. In this same journal, Pierre Leroux does not hide away the importance Hegel has played in the recent developments of philosophy, particularly by thinking out the relation of finite-infinite in the figure of God. But he opines this is actually a deviation of the original thought of Schelling, and considers Hegel an early discipline of Schelling gone rough.

He confesses however that he was under the influence of what he understood to be Hegelianism because "we have abandoned our first ideas, without however being able to give up showing what a great event the resurrection of Schelling was and the judgment pronounced by him against the school of Hegel, and another thought came to us (which perhaps will not satisfy our reader but agrees with our love of truth)"[51].

The difficulty of many of these French intellectuals to grasp Hegel's dialectical thought, leads them to a conception of Hegelianism that is quite at odds with many of the young Hegelians, aligned with Feuerbach – who precisely gives greater importance to sensibility and the human feelings – which evidently draws them closer to Fourier's theory of passions and other French early socialists.

[50] See Pierre Leroux "la philosophie de Hegel est fausse, que c'est un système, parce que Hegel avait voulu faire un tout de ce qui n'était qu'un fragment d'un tout plus noble" *La Revue Indépendante*, Paris, 1842, p.22.
[51] "Nous avons donc abandonné notre première idée; et ne pouvant cependant renoncer à montrer quel grand évènement c'est que la résurrection de Schelling et l'arrêt prononcé par lui contre l'école de Hegel, il nous est venu une autre pensée (qui ne satisfera peut-être pas nos lecteurs, mais qui convient à notre amour de la vérité)" *La Revue Indépendante*, Paris, 1842, p.19.

It is also far from the truth that Hegel endorsed this praise of sensibility, however, he also did not deny its importance but rather saw its limitations, if restricted to the realm of appearance. The fixing up of certain forms of sensibility and conceiving them as constituting the essence of a given something, would consequently produce a static account of reality.

Nevertheless, the young Hegelians were not unaware of the problem posed by Hegel's tendency to outstretch himself into the realms of thought, according to his French critics. Pierre Leroux endorses a critique of God in Hegel as only an idea, since he thinks there is in Hegel a logical pre-formation of the thought of God, in such a manner that God would only be brought into existence through thought, more precisely men's thought.

The considerations of Leroux came to the attention of Marx, as he saw the similarities between Feuerbach's ideas and those of Leroux. He attempted to bring both philosophers together, in the envisioned collaborations to the earlier mentioned journal. His wishes, however, never came to fruition, but he still speaks his mind about the incomprehension of Hegel by the French socialists, considering that "for Pierre Leroux and his kind, Schelling still goes as the man who in the place of transcendental idealism set reasonable realisms, in the place of abstract thought set the thought with flesh and blood, in the place of textbook philosophy set world philosophy. The French romantics and mystics call him: "I the union of philosophy and theology", the French materialists: „I the union of flesh and idea", the French skeptics „I the destroyer of dogmatism" with one word „I … Schelling!"[52]

The concept of Hegelianism was for some of these French intellectuals diminished in its dimension, because they understood Hegel's concepts in the sense of the traditional concepts that are found in the metaphysicians of the Enlightenment. Reason for instance (as set forward by those), gains a different meaning in Hegel, because it is no longer based on intelligence and the faculty of understanding, but rather contains other dimensions of life within (spiritualized reality – thought). The refusal or incomprehension of dialectics is for Rosenkranz principally blamed on Victor Cousin, according to which he made it impossible for

[52] "Dem Pierre Leroux und seinesgleichen gilt Schelling nämlich immer noch für den Mann, der an die Stelle des transzendenten Idealismus den vernünftigten Realismus, der an die Stelle des abstrakten Gedankens den Gedankenmit Fleisch und Blut, der an die Stelle der Fachphilosophie die Weltphilosophie gesetzt hat! Den französischen Romantikern und Mystikern ruft er zu: "Ich die Vereinigung von Philosophie und Theologie", den französischen Materialisten: "Ich die Vereinigung von Fleisch und Idee", den französischen Skeptikern: "Ich der Zerstörer der Dogmatik", mit einem Wort: "Ich... Schelling!"" Karl Marx letter to Ludwig Feuerbach from 3. October 1843 in Marx und Engels, *Werke*, Band 27, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1963, p.420.

the French to grasp dialectics, because he conserves formal logic and the old empirical psychology.

The lack of differentiation between Hegelian conceptual innovation in regard to what came before, is maintained by other would-be Hegelians, accuses Rosenkranz, who names Leroux and Comte as examples[53]. In a correspondence with K. Michelet, however, Hess is more positive towards the French reception of Hegel, because even if there is no thorough contact with Hegel's philosophy, this exchange was still something to be valued and Hess does not disregard this more eclectical aspect of reception[54].

The interesting part of Rosenkranz's argument transpires in the article's title "August Vera" from those reflections just cited. The text expounds on the recent philosophical interest for Hegel in Italy, although more than half of the text is composed of a biographical note on Vera. The main idea behind it is that while some proclaim Hegel is fading away, in other cultures the rediscovery of Hegel in new tones of originality comes as something of a surprise, especially for those prognosticators.

This opening up of Hegelianism to a wider reception in light of the interest shown in other European nations, gives at the same time rise to new interpretations or even appropriations and reconfigurations of Hegel. Although not always corresponding to Hegel's actual philosophy, these were original creations motivated by their studies of his texts, and many of those authors tried to understand Hegel through the lenses of the culture they belonged to.

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[53] "Er machte es, trotz der Anstrengungen von Barchou de Penhôen, von Ott, von Slomann, von Bénard, von Vacherot und Anderen, den Franzosen unmöglich, sich das eigentliche Princip der Hegel'schen Philosophie, die Dialektik, zu assimiliren, weil er die alte formale Logik und die alte empirische Psychologie conservirte. Die principienlose Indifferenz des Cousin'schen Eklekticismus wurde zwar auch von Anderen, als Hegelianern, z. B. von Leroux und Comte, angegriffen, allein er behauptete von der Sorbonne aus seine Herrschaft." Karl Rosenkranz "August Véra" in *Der Gedanken*, Vol.7, Nicolai'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Berlin, 1867, p.193

[54] "Den Franzosen ist allerdings dieser Geist erst in neuerer Zeit erschlossen worden, nachdem jüngere Schriftsteller, wie Renan und Taine welche Deutsche Tiefe und Ausdauer in ihren Studien mit Französischer Eleganz des Styls und Französischem Esprit zu verbinden wussten, das Interesse der jüngern Französischen Generation für Deutsches Denken und Forschen rege machten. " … "Wer den Franzosen „Leichtsinn" zum Vorwurfe macht, sollte bedenken, wie rasch sein eigenes Urtheil ist. Ich habe einen jungen Franzosen gekannt, der, seinem ganzen Geiste und Wesen nach, durch und durch Franzose ist, dessen Interesse für die Hegel'sche Philosophie erregt wurde, der sich desshalb entschloss, die Deutsche Sprache zu erlernen, sie wirklich in wenigen Monaten so weit inne hatte, dass er jedes Deutsche Buch geläufig las und verstand. Und wissen Sie, in welchen Deutschen Schriften er unsere Sprache in so kurzer Zeit erlernte? Es ist kaum glaublich: in Hegels Werken! Herr Olivier, so heisst der junge Mann, ist an der *bibliothèque impériale* angestellt, ein College von Ernst Renan. Ihr Pariser Correspondent mag sich von der Wahrheit meiner Angaben selbst überzeugen." Hess and Michlet, "Über Französische Philosophie" in *Der Gedanke*, Vol.3, Nicolai'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Berlin, 1862, pp.135-136.

The works of Hegel, if taken in their inner development, could only be fully understood in the context of German idealism where the problems they addressed sprang into life and had an actual living existence in the debates, particularly among the more literate sectors of society.

The reception of Hegel in the south of Europe, however, is not just an indirect movement mediated through France, this is especially not the case in Italy and even Spain. There were, for instance, contacts with Hegel's philosophy of right, and German idealism for that matter, that took place through various other channels than the interest for Krause and Ahrens.

However, in Portugal this could also be the case, because, at first, it might be surprising that Hegel came forward so strongly in the 70s Generation (*Geração de 70*). But if we dig further in search of how they were acquitted in the meanders of the recent philosophy, as students in Coimbra during the 60s, then this mediation is probably complemented by sources of a more direct mediation coming from Germany or even a direct participation of Germanized Portuguese nationals in Hegel's lecturers and seminars, as well as in the constellations that formed around his thought.

For instance, we are told by K. Michelet that, around 1861, someone actually asked a Hegelian philosopher for advice about the teaching of philosophy in Portugal given that "a member of the Portuguese embassy has for short taken advice on which textbooks were to be recommended for the classes of philosophy in the University of Coimbra"[55]

Were these some of the books that would be used by the students in Coimbra in the 60s? Another interesting fact, that needs to be thoroughly researched, is the enrolment of count of Oriola at the University of Berlin, in the studies of jurisprudence in 1825. Did he listen to Hegel's lectures or did he take part in Eduard Gans seminars? If so, what did he bring from this experience to his former homeland? All these questions left open for now, need further investigation.

This introduction on the concept of Hegelianism tries to draw a broader view of the possibilities of interpreting the philosopher, particularly in an inter-cultural context. The desiderate of such reflections was to try and make clear that Hegelianism is in dialogue with

[55] "vor kurzer Zeit [hat] ein Mitglied der Portugiesischen Gesandtschaft bei einem Hegel'schen Philosophen in Berlin unter der Hand Raths erholt, welche Lehrbücher für den Unterricht in der Philosophie auf der Universität Coimbra zu empfehlen seien" Karl Michelet "Geschichtsphilosophische Übersicht" in *Der Gedanke*, Vol.2, Nicolai'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Berlin, 1861, p.80.

various other forms of thinking. This is why this concept should not be closed into itself, but rather be open to accommodate other possibilities, in a dialogue between Hegel's philosophy and other interpretations constituted in the concrete situation of each country.

But even if one does away with the interpretations, that one considers to hardly find support in Hegel's philosophy, such interpretative readings and probably also appropriations along the way, still encompass a relational dimension to what one could call Hegelianism in *stricto sensu*. In an approach based on conceptual history, this possibility of a relationship would never be closed, even if it had, as an intermediary, the figure of the limit of what this Hegelianism would consist of.

It is now apparent, from what has been written so far, that the multiple interpretations of a concept or its hermeneutic power, leave possibilities open to relate these concepts to various positions (world-views, sets of beliefs, forms of thinking and so on). Therefore, as Koselleck says, one could speak about an appropriation of concepts, as they are not purely theoretical, but have an actual presence in our reality. The way in which we perceive these possibilities is not indifferent, when it comes to the readings of Hegel's philosophy, especially during the period in which Hegel lived, as these appropriations of concepts were much more acute.

According to Koselleck, we could thus speak of a receptive and productive side of language, which seems to apply very well to Hegel's reception as:

"The language is both receptive and productive, it registers and is at the same time a factor of perception, recognition and knowledge. No reality can be reduced to its linguistic interpretation but without such linguistic achievements there is – at least for us – no reality. In this determination of difference, however, it is included the compulsion to read each of these concepts two sided ways. Because every word can have a variety of meanings that are appropriate to the changeable reality, semantics exists as a scientific method. And because a fact cannot be reconciled once and for all to the same concept, it evokes a multiplicity of designations which do justice to its changeability. That is why onomasiology exists as a scientific method. Both methodological approaches, the sematic and the onomasiological views, are therefore necessary in order to analyse and describe the historical change of both concepts and the reality to be grasped by the concepts"[56].

[56] "Sprache ist sowohl rezeptiv wie produktiv, sie registriert und ist zugleich ein Faktor der Wahrnehmung, der Erkenntnis und des Wissens. Keine Wirklichkeit läßt sich auf ihre sprachliche Deutung und Gestaltung reduzieren, aber ohne solche sprachlichen Leistungen gibt es - jedenfalls für uns - keine Wirklichkeit. In dieser Differenzbestimmung ist aber die Nötigung enthalten, jeden Begriff zweiseitig zu lesen. Weil jedes Wort eine Vielfalt von Bedeutunge haben kann, die der wandelbaren Wirklichkeit angemessen sein sollen, gibt es die Semantik als wissenschaftliche Methode. Und weil ein Sachverhalt sich nicht ein für alle Mal auf einen und denselben Begriff bringen läßt, ruft er eine Mehrzahl von Benennungen hervor, die seinem Wandel gerecht

The concept of horizon of expectation and space of experience can be itself a model of looking at concepts. In the case of Hegelianism, I believe, it is clear from what was said up until now, that the concept of Hegelianism does not always coincide with its actual experiences. One can have, for example, more or less expectations about Hegel's reception in other countries, in the sense that intellectuals there were to be able to grasp the Hegelian dialectical method. However, this is not always the case, because as we know, many of these concepts have a multiplicity of meanings, that fall outside Hegel's scope.

In an earlier work, I have also occupied myself with the thematic of concepts, and how they are determinant for our understanding of history, particularly if we want to understand times of transition. The cultural aspect of concepts is, in many respects, the basis on which a concept can actualize itself. Thus, precisely on the plane of culture is where a continuum exists, that allows for the conservation of both earlier and recent understandings of a given concept. They interpenetrate each other and, when a new reconceptualization takes place, one understanding does not immediately replace the older forms. The need for time and the workings of history, in the domain of culture, is another important dynamic to account for in the methodology of conceptual history.

Lastly, as a consequence, it is important to note that giving special attention to the history of concepts is a decisive step for the proper handling of the material. Because a work which refers to the intellectual history of a greater part of Europe, must have necessarily in its nature exchange, appropriation and creation of concepts, which every reception of ideas encompasses if considered as a cultural transfer.

II. Reception theory

In order to study Hegelianism in its foreign reception, the problems inherent to the reception of ideas is also another factor to be taken into account[57]. While the theories of

werden sollen. Deshalb gibt es die Onomasiologie als wissenschaftliche Methode. Beide methodischen Zugriffe, der semantische und der onomasiologische Zugriff, sin also erforderlich, um den geschichtlichen Wandel sowohl der Begriffe wie der von den Begriffen zu erfassenden Wirklichkeit analysieren und beschreiben zu können." Reinhardt Koselleck, *Begriffsgeschichten Studien zur Semantik und Pragmatik der politischen und sozialen Sprache*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 2006, p.62.

[57] This was indeed something noted by Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas" in *History and Theory*, vol.8, n. 1, 1969, pp. 3–4.

reception have been fruitful in the study of literary works they can have a broader applicability, because they find not only justification in the modern market-oriented economy and book production, in which the interest and success of a literary works has economic effects on publishers. In our case, more so because it explores the relation between the reader and writer and how the attribution of meaning takes place, both in the process of reading, as well as in the construction process of literary works[58].

The Reader-Response Theory of Anglo-Saxon origin and the German *Rezeptionsästhetik* put the focus back onto the reader. In the case of Hans Jauss, with his aesthetic theory of reception, not because the attribution of meaning is primarily on the side of the reader. He thinks, instead, that aesthetic experience, which does not begin with the comprehension or interpretation of the text, takes place on the level of the effect and significance of the text to the reader in the course of historical processes. Only then could the reader make an aesthetic judgment, which would amount to an act of reception. The act of interpretation is, for the proponents of Rezeptionsästhetik, distinct from this first act of reception[59].

In his reception theory Hans Jauss differentiates therefore between three activities of the aesthetic experience: the productive, receptive and communicative activities. The receptive and communicative activities have been, for the most part, not taken into account. As a result, people have taken literary works as ready-made products, while in reality they undergo the receptive and communicative phases in the process of aesthetic experiencing.

There are precisely these dimensions In the reception of Hegel, in which his works were meant to be read by his students, especially noticeable in the lectures later published, and the receptive side of his production was in a dialectical relation to the receptive activity of his audience. The explanations and compendiums which accompanied many of his works, were a result of that dialogue between his readers, which contained within itself the receptive and communicative phases.

When we further go on to the interpretations of Hegel and the divisions that took place within it, then these receptive and communicative sides also generate differentiated products. Could we say that, for instance, the *Science of Logic* was the same book for either the left or

[58] See Todd F. Davis and Kenneth Womack, *Formalist Criticism and Reader-Response Theory*, Palgrave, New York, 2002, p.51.
[59] See Hans Jauss, "A Estética da Recepção: Colocações Gerais" in *A Literatura e o Leitor, textos de Estética da Recepção*, seleção, tradução e introdução de Luiz Costa Lima, Editora Paz e Terra, São Paulo, 1979, pp.45-46.

right Hegelians? This would be one of the questions posed by the *aesthetic theory of reception*. The productive, receptive and communicative activities influence one another in such a manner that the groups formed around Hegelianism could, accordingly, only be identified as a group through an inter-subjective dialogue that produces normativity.

The *Reader-Response theory of reception* is, however, more subjective in its outcomes. What the reader sees in the text and can identify with, is on a closer look what he sees as its own, since the reader makes himself part of the text, in the effort to penetrate its meaning. The meaning is therefore a movement coming from the unity, that identifies a given literary work to how the text is to the self. Therefore, there is a sort of separation of the work itself and its fruition, to which the work only in the subject enjoys the dynamic and variability of different meanings, that can be attached to it by the activity of interpretation.

This view diminishes therefore the scope and the reach of work from its own perspective, because in its unity it accommodates and is able to exteriorize different dimensions that are not immediately present. This subjectivist theory presupposes, from the beginning, that the subject is primarily an interpreter[60].

The German tradition of reception theory goes against this tendency of seeing the interpretation as the main activity of the reader. An inter-subjective dimension and the enjoyment of the aesthetic experience will only later, through a historically situated community of readers, be able to give meaning to the work, because the ways in which they can experience it are determined by possibilities of the space of experience and not completely from one's own expectations.

However, the problem of the work and the immanent dimension of its reception, which would lead us to its objective content, are still partially deformed by fixing up, beforehand, the significance of a work to its inter-subjective dimension that generates the aesthetic experience.

If we look for example at Hegelianism in Hegel's time, the liberal critic of his philosophy of right were already to be found in Alexander von Humboldt. While the later criticism, in regard to what some classified as a statist-conservative Hegelianism, is a dimension that early recipients of his work could have found. However, through the appearance of new figures of reality, these gained afterward a preponderance that they did not have before. The later

[60] See Todd F. Davis and Kenneth Womack, *Formalist Criticism and Reader-Response Theory*, Palgrave, New York, 2002, p.75.

developments were, therefore, immanent to the work of Hegel, precisely because of its multi-sided readings.

This issue comes down on the one hand to the actuality of a work, to which the preponderance or renewal of certain aspects can be, at times, difficult to grasp in their unity On the other hand, there is also the originality of the work, which is always historically determined. Therefore, certain aspects could still be under the surface, or not fully developed, in all their forms.

There was naturally in the originality of Hegel's work an actuality, and, to the same extent, can actualize his originality, with the discovery of new instances of reality in which his work is a suitable basis for thinking, and possibly transform, such realities. The actuality and originality of Hegel's works must be, henceforth, conceived in a dialectical relation. Its actuality and originality are always relative to the whole movement of reception.

To conclude this point on reception theory, which was motivated by the problem of Hegel's reception, highlights an interesting turn with the recent emphasis on the subject, which draws attention to some neglected aspects of reception[61]. In the history of Hegelianism, we find different traditions and ways of reading and thinking about Hegel's writings, which only shows the relevance of reception theories, since they also investigate how a text is received and interpreted in its various configurations[62].

Perhaps, philosophical hermeneutics can help in better understanding the creation of the author, and the objectivity of his work, because the work itself, which is the object of interpretation, also occupies in it a central place (although the inter-subjective intricacy still remains).

III. Hermeneutics

The history of hermeneutics stretches back to ancient age, but the modern discipline of philosophical hermeneutics began with a university colleague of Hegel, with whom he had some conflicts regarding matters of religion. Friedrich Schleiermacher, a theologian at the

[61] See for a critical overview on this subject Robert C. Holub, *Reception Theory: a critical introduction*, Routledge, London, 2003.
See also Peter Burke, "The History and Theory of Reception" in *The Reception of Bodin*, Brill, Leiden – Boston, 2013, pp. 21–37.
[62] See in this regard Hans Friedrich Fulda, *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel*, Beck Verlag, München, 2003, pp.305-319

University of Berlin, started by exploring the nature of our understanding and how it affects the ways in which we interpret texts. Apart from Hegel, he was probably the most famous figure of the Berlin University at the time of Hegel's magisterium, with each of their classes reaching at some points a hundred students.

In the study of religious aspects interpretation is the key. However, for Schleiermacher there is a stricter line as to what constitutes a correct interpretation and what leads to the misunderstanding of a given text. A correct interpretation is therefore one that can get closer to the meaning that the subject, or the interpreter, finds the author intended for the text. To know the author's intention is the main objective.

The understanding of text and how one can arrive at an approximation of that first primordial meaning is, therefore, determined by the grammatical and psychological moments of language, when we formulate or communicate our thoughts. Consequently, in the psychological moment, language is seen as a means of communication, and in the grammatical moment on the contrary, the language subordinates communication[63].

Since then, the sense of truth or verisimilitude has been the central concern of hermeneutical studies, but it will assume very different forms that go beyond the text and the intentions of its author. However, one does not need to go further in this exposition, onto a thorough history of hermeneutics, because firstly it would be difficult to have an all-encompassing history of it. Secondly, it would probably also prove more unproductive than one would expect, leading us away from our focus here on Hegelianism.

Although, it would still be interesting to have a look at for instance Droysen and his hermeneutical method applied to history. The suggestion, however, is to focus on Gadamer, who is probably the main figure of modern-day philosophical hermeneutics.

In his main work on Hermeneutics *Truth and Method*, different angles of the problem of interpretation accompany the topic of hermeneutics and how it encompasses much more than just understanding. One important element in the process of interpretation is what one could call expectation, or in other words what impels someone into a pre-conception or pre-opinion, because before we actually understand something there is always some image, even if a distant one, of the sense that this something could have[64].

[63] Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Hermeneutics and Criticism and Other* Writings, translated and edited by Andrew Bowie, Cambridge University Press, 1998, p.50.
[64] See for Gadamers's explanation of the pre-conception role in the process of interpretation, idem, ibidem, pp.274-312.

To give an example closer to the topic of this work, one could say that before the Portuguese authors got to know Hegel's philosophy they already had an idea of "in which sense" dialectic could be understood, "in which sense" one would take various concepts and categories used by Hegel, such as spirit, infinity, reconciliation and so on. In other words, understanding always implies a historical and cultural substratum that draws one into pre-conceptions.

To go beyond this pre-conception, one must break the limits of our own understanding. For Gadamer, the standpoint in which one is situated limits his horizon of possibilities. If one has a too narrow horizon, then we cannot reach beyondness, and one is actually limited to what is near and known. This would make tradition in that case much more present, almost necessary, in the process of understanding.

Although, this valorisation of what is unknown could point in the direction of a glorification of the irrational, and the hidden dimensions of reality, which at the beginning of the twentieth century we see in figures such as Dilthey or Max Weber and then later in the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory. In the case of Gadamer, however, one should not forget that he was a student of Heidegger and in this case, the motivation for the examination of the pre-conceptions, in our process of judgment and understanding, lies rather in the dimension of time.

Gadamer attempts to give an account of a unified experience of time, in which the past sinks into the present and, at the same time, this later is drawn into the past. As a result, in order to explain his theory of historical time, he forges the concept of the fusion of horizons. The two-folded movement between the text and its present, between the past and present as experienced in time, implies that these moments are not detached from one another.

This idea is close to the notion of historical consciousness, with its movements between the past and future, which could be seen as a horizon that, according to historical times, can be narrower or wider. This dimension has particular significance when it comes to national realities or, in the case of this study, a particular phenomenon within a national reality. Hence, a consideration of historical consciousness in its different forms must form part of this research[65].

[65] See for a study about historical consciousness and the making of a Portuguese intellectual identity Sérgio Campos, *Consciência Histórica e Nacionalismo: Portugal, séculos XIX e XX*, Livros Horizonte, 2008.

As for Gadamer's idea of the fusion of horizons and the tensions inherent to the historical processes, he makes it clear as to why we need that concept and what task hermeneutics has in it, since following his explanation:

"If these horizon set apart from each other do not exist, why do we speak of a >Fusion of horizons< at all and not simply from the formation of a horizon that pushes its limits to the depths of tradition? To ask this question means to recognise the peculiarity of the situation in which understanding becomes a scientific task and that the situation must be worked out as hermeneutic. Every encounter with tradition, which is carried out with historical consciousness, experiences in itself the tension between the text and the present. The hermeneutic task is not to cover up this tension in a naive approximation, but to develop it consciously. For this reason, it belongs necessarily to hermeneutic conduct the draft of a historical horizon which differs from the present horizon." [66]

Another important element in Gadamer's analyses are the categories related to truth. In this respect, one should not forget that for Hegel truth is always the product of mediation, and is never absolute in the sense of an immediate. The evocation of Hegel in the mediation between history and truth is therefore only natural for Gadamer[67]. This mediation is, however, always caught up in a given present, which one cannot fully depart from. But by drafting this concept of a historical horizon, in the process of understanding, one can overcome those limits or in his words:

"The draft of a historical horizon is therefore only phase-moment in the process of understanding and does not solidify into the self-alienation of a past consciousness, but is rather caught up in the present-day horizon of understanding. In the process of understanding, there is a real fusion of horizons, which at the same time brings about its abolition with the drafting of the historical horizon"[68].

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[66] "Wenn es nun diese voneinander abgehobenen Horizonte gar nicht gibt, warum reden wir dann überhaupt von >Horizontverschmelzung< und nicht einfach von der Bildung des einen Horizontes, der seine Grenze in die Tiefe der Überlieferung zurückschiebt? Die Frage stellen heißt, sich die Besonderheit der Situation eingestehen, in der Verstehen zur wissenschaftlichen Aufgabe wird, und daß es gilt, diese Situation als hermeneutische Situation erste einmal auszuarbeiten. Jede Begegnung mit der Überlieferung, die mit historischem Bewußtsein vollzogen wird, erfährt an sich das Spannungsverhältms zwischen Text und Gegenwart. Die hermeneutische Aufgabe besteht dann, diese Spannung nicht in naiver Angleichung zuzudecken, sondern bewußt zu entfalten. Aus diesem Grunde gehört notwendig zum hermeneutischen Verhalten der Entwurf eines historischen Horizontes, der sich von dem Gegenwartshorizont unterscheidet." Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*, Band 1. Hermeneutik, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, 1999, p.311.

[67] Idem, ibidem, p.347.

[68] "Der Entwurf des historischen Horizontes ist also nur ein Phasenmoment im Vollzug des Verstehens und verfestigt sich nicht zu der Selbstentfremdung eines vergangenen Bewußtseins, sondern wird von dem eigenen Verstehenshorizont der Gegenwart eingeholt. Im Vollzug des Verstehens geschieht eine wirkliche Horizontverschmelzung, die mit dem Entwurf des historischen Horizontes zugleich dessen Aufhebung vollbringt." idem, ibidem, p.312.

The positive outcome of Gadamer's theory, to the problem of interpretation, is in his examination of how our understanding works in the hermeneutic process. The connecting possibilities, which one is drawn into, are not closed in but rather encompass external dimensions to the understanding, that could have never been thought out if one restricts himself to understanding in the first place. Hegel's critique of the "Gesunder Menschenverstand" or what is usually called common sense by Anglo-Saxonic authors, raises questions precisely in regard to the limitations of understanding and how reason is something distinct from it[69].

The possibilities opened from the standpoint of a philosophical hermeneutic are, therefore, more suitable for drawing a relation between Hegelianism and its continuation in the other differentiated thoughts, and most importantly for this study also distinct cultures, which have their own traditions of thought. In the specific case of Hegelianism, the hermeneutical study of Raimund Beyer is a helpful insight into typological research. This could fit to the tradition of the Portuguese Hegelianism hermeneutics, as this study also delves into its typology. For this reason, it is beneficial to dedicate oneself more thoroughly to his work in the next following lines.

The idea of occupying oneself with Hegel's philosophy in order to develop one's own thought, whereby many possibilities of connecting it back to the Hegelian philosophy come through, was already proposed by Beyer and could be seen as a working model guiding this study. Notwithstanding, all the safeguards mentioned earlier about the kind of knowledge he possesses of Hegelianism, he said anyhow that:

"One can speak in philosophy of a continuous engagement with Hegel. However, the constant discussion of Hegel conveys more than critical appreciation under each current aspect. It contains several and different opportunities, which reveal a wealth of "connecting possibilities". At the same time, all these references to Hegel - which are truly philosophically represented by activity words - acquire a very special effect, which is based on the inherent power of Hegelian philosophy, that is, on the occupation with the object. Even effective phenomena, such as continuation, renewal, further education, supplementation, etc., which are merely "external" moments, are given special continuation, renewal, and other qualities in Hegelian philosophy; they become a continuation of "continuation," "critical" renewal to

[69] See G.W.F Hegel, Werke 3: *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 1986, pp.63-67.

the "renewed" criticism, whereby in each case the accents of such a process with Hegelian terms remain set"[70].

This idea that some external moments are actually continuations in the unity of the same movement, and that even internally Beyer finds many connecting possibilities in Hegel's philosophy itself, is something we have precisely mentioned before in relation to the limits of Hegelianism. When could one say that some thought is no longer Hegelian in its consideration, when it occupies itself with the same issues of the Hegelianism movement?

According to Beyer's book, it is then justified to look at Hegelianism in other forms of thought, therefore, he attempts to draw a Hegel typology of those that were concerned with the same problems as Hegel. He defines two main types of Hegelianism, one corresponds to the critical reading of Hegel, endeavoured above all by the Marxist tradition, and the other is what goes under his concept of:

"Hegelei – that is the conscious, emphatically polemical introduction of ideology (worldviews) into philosophy, while remaining at the same time on the ground of idealism and undialectical materialism"[71].

Such division by Beyer could naturally draw criticism from scholars of Hegel's philosophy, since one can argue that Beyer's reading is already an interpretation of the constitutive elements of that philosophy, following a more radical way of alignment against an orthodoxy, that was disconnect from those same constitutive elements he identifies.

However, the validity of his method in relation to a horizon of thought that we could call Hegelianism, in which several doctrines are put in relation, does not imply that we have

[70] "Man kann in der Philosophie von einer dauernden Hegel-Beschäftigung sprechen. Die ständige Auseinandersetzung mit Hegel vermittelt aber mehr als kritische Würdigung unter jeweils aktuellem Aspekt. Sie beinhaltet mehrere und unter sich verschiedene Chancen, die eine Fülle von „Anknüpfungsmöglichkeiten" offenbaren. Dabei gewinnen alle diese - echt philosophisch durch Tätigkeitsworte repräsentierten - Bezugnahmen auf Hegel eine ganz besondere, eben von der Eigenkraft der Hegelschen Philosophie ausgehende, also vom Beschäftigungsobjekt eingebrachte Wirkung. Selbst lediglich „äußerliche" Momente darstellende Wirkungserscheinungen, wie Fortsetzung, Erneuerung, Weiterbildung, Ergänzung usw., werden bei der hegelschen Philosophie besonderen Fortsetzungs-, Erneuerungs- und anderen Qualitäten zugeführt, sie werden zur fortgesetzten „Fortsetzung", zur „kritischen" Erneuerung oder zur „erneuerten" Kritik, wobei jeweils die Akzente eines solchen Vorgangs mit hegelschen Termini gesetzt bleiben." Raimund Beyer, *Hegel-Bilder: Kritik der Hegel-Deutung*, dritte überarbeitete und ergänzte Auflage, Akademie Verlag, 1970, p.8.

[71] See Raimund Beyer "Hegelei - das ist das bewußte, betont polemische Einbringen von Weltanschauung in die Philosophie bei gleichzeitigem Verbleiben auf dem Boden des Idealismus oder eines undialektisch genommenen Materialismus." idem, ibidem, p.9.

to accept his typification of a certain group. Even if they may seem valid, as was the case with the corresponding concept of *Hegelei*.

As one will later realize, this concept does not only contain per definition those who were uncritical of Hegel, or those who fixed his thought in religious like sectarian ways. It also includes those who undertook Hegel in a critical way but were plagued by a deficient dialectic or were, one-side critics and, at the same time, appropriations that could not think contradiction in the same way Hegel does in his philosophy. Among those he also includes the idealist readings of Hegel.

One fundamental characteristic of these *Hegelei* is the character of their system. Beyer considers therefore that: the more one moves away from Hegel's systematic character, the closer one comes to the *Hegelei*. Paradoxically, this seems to be the exact opposite of what one would expect. However, Beyer takes the system in the exact same way as Hegel, and before him Fichte and the romantics, with his understanding of what truly constitutes a system.

The partition and sect forming goes against the idea of a system, because it includes all the differences in unity. The relationships between the parts would only have a true reality if they are thought together in their relational unity. In this way, one could say that the character of the *Hegelei* system is actually their lack of systematicity[72].

The typology that Beyer follows corresponds in a way to the hermeneutic process subjacent to the readings of Hegel. They capture divisions already present from within society and regarding this point, one could also speak of a Hegel hermeneutic and make analogies to certain ways of thinking about his philosophy. From the different hermeneutic directions explored by Beyer, for its Portuguese reception one should particularly emphasize the revolutionary, the official and the restorative Hegel.

When it comes to the revolutionary Hegel, the French Revolution is always in the background and the political observations of the German philosopher are in this respect helpful, for us to understand his relation to revolution. In Hegel's philosophy, however, one could find material itself and work out this perspective of a revolutionary Hegel, besides informal demonstrations of such support[73].

[72] See idem, ibidem, pp.40-41.

[73] "Hegel soll jedes Jahr am 14. Juli, dem Tag des Beginns der Französischen Revolution, ein Glass Champagner genossen haben" Klaus Vieweg, *Hegel: der Philosoph der Freiheit*, *op. cit.* p.18.

The general orientation of some Hegel's writings, especially his earlier ones such as *Die Deutsche Verfassung*, or his later writing on the English Reform Bill, would be the candidates for this first way of approaching the issue, from a more political perspective[74].

Regarding a more theoretical perspective, Hegel's dialectic is probably one of the most revolutionary aspects of his thought. Beyer correctly notices that dialectic does not remain in the contradiction, it does in fact contain contradiction within itself as a driving force, but the determinant advancement of the dialectical movement is in the breaking point. The point where disruption erupts, and a reversal in the relation of the opposing forces occurs. This negation of the negation is a fundamental law of dialectics[75].

The category of contradiction is an integral part of dialectics, but the point is precisely that only through the resolution of contradictions does dialectic set its movement and the processuality of contradiction is recognized. The category of reconciliation [Versöhnung] is, as a result, in a dialectical relation with contradiction [*Widerspruch*] and only by their separation do we break the revolutionary character of Hegelian dialectics. The conservative readings of Hegel tend, in this respect, to give weight to the idea of reconciliation, maintaining in such a manner, the subsistent contradictions in an unresolved form through that separation.

The hermeneutics of the official Hegel, or in another sense the conservative reading of his philosophy, hold this category of reconciliation to be one of the most important in Hegel's dialectic. Moreover, the idea of a course in world history by which revolution and reform are equivalent can lead, according to Beyer, to a statist view of Hegelian philosophy.

The Prussian government attempted this for all, through the notion that, in their strife for perfectibility, men make themselves. Notwithstanding, such advancement of humanity should be cemented by the given powers, who could provide the conditions for such a state of affairs.

The category of *Aufhebung* would then be problematic for such a reading of Hegel, if only taken in its conservative aspects, because in the state where stability at all costs is intended, how could one accept a notion that the state is an unfinished product? This is something to be found in Hegel, because according to Beyer "If one considers the successes

[74] See idem, ibidem, pp.110-111.
[75] See idem, ibidem p.114.

of this >finishing up<. This >finished up state< in popular unphilosophical self-congratulation will certainly be addressed as the good, finished up (and unique!) state"[76].

How is this judgment of Hegel to be harmonized with the Prussian state's ideology? A difficult task indeed. It could only be achieved by having a partial view of Hegel's writings, and this is duly noted by Marx and Engels in various letters at the time of Prussian reformism. The state was taken as self-sufficient and capable of developing a sought-after perfectibility, from its own bureaucratic machine, out of an autocratic tendency of the state.

Beyer finishes by mentioning the class structure of the state, and how Hegel himself had from early on recognized this fact. The state's bureaucrats represent a given class and the state is not a neutral instance in its handling of various aspects of society.

Finally, the restorative Hegel's hermeneutic is in essence an appreciation for the recovery of older conceptions by bringing them into a renewal, a revival or the emphasis to be put on the historical side of a given figure of reality. The supposedly reactionary dimensions of Hegel's philosophy are in this way elevated to the status of an ultimate principle, or as the correct stance in the time in which he lived, or even in times to come[77]. A good example of this is the monarchical principle we find in Hegel's philosophy of right, as it is taken by these restorative readings to be the governing form of traditional monarchy[78].

In such a manner, many of Hegel's concepts could have completely different interpretations. The concept of alienation, for example, could be seen as supportive of a groundwork critique of modern society, by those who proclaim a reactionary return to an early time of dependency ties, which would be a negation of positive outcomes[79].

It is not uncommon for many of those supportive of monarchy, to view the king as a mediating figure, capable of restraining the arbitrariness of modern capitalist society with its social inequalities. Much in the same way that one could say that the state is idealized in Hegel's writings, if it is viewed as capable of having this neutral position.

When it comes down to the Portuguese reception of Hegel, these three basic forms of hermeneutics are perhaps the most common. Antero de Quental for instance sees in Hegel at

[76] "Bedenkt man diese Erfolge eines »Fertigmachens«. So wird der »fertig gemachte Staat« bei landläufiger und unphilosophischer Selbstbeweihräucherung wohl als der gut eingerichtete, vollendete (und eigene!) Staat angesprochen." Idem, ibidem, p.127.
[77] Idem, ibidem, pp.134-135.
[78] Instead of attempting to justify traditional monarchy, there is a rationality behind Hegel's concept of the monarchy according to Bernard Yack, "The Rationality of Hegel's Concept of Monarchy" in *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 74, no. 3, 1980, pp.709-720.
[79] Idem, ibidem, p.149.

the same time a conservative figure, very much like the picture drawn in the official Hegel, but is aware at the same time of the revolutionary dimensions of Hegel, particularly in some of his followers. However, he does not understand which aspects differentiated Hegel from those readings that portrayed him as a conservative philosopher.

Oliveira Martins, for his part, adapts very well in some of his later texts to the restorationist Hegel, as he sees in the king a friend of the proletariat, while on the contrary the parliament and the liberal political parties were averse to the proletariat interests. While the problem, in such case, maybe had more to do with the lack of real democracy, in a society still ruled by dependence ties, which rigged the voting system in favour of the powerful interests.

The hermeneutical study of Raimund Beyer is an instrument for the study of Hegelianism in Portugal, because it provides us with a background of the various trends, found in the philosophical and political interpretations of Hegel's works. From a critical perspective, his knowledge of Hegel's philosophy may not be as profound, or technically in accordance with the current tenets in the discipline of philosophy. However, his theory of different pictures of Hegel, even if they may not reflect the Berlin philosopher's actual thought, nevertheless helped cultivate an interest in the phenomenon of Hegelianism through those same pictures.

The three hermeneutics shortly expanded above are fundamental for the understanding of Hegel's early reception in Portugal. Furthermore, the methods of philosophical hermeneutics are of inestimable value for the understanding of the inner workings of a text, which is not restricted to its textuality but rather encompass differentiated historical layers[80].

IV. Cultural transfers and intellectual history

History always takes place in an intricacy of cultural relations. In fact, one could not speak of the reception of ideas, of the history of ideas or an intellectual history, without considering the cultural dimension that sets the mediation process in motion. The study of this process in its cultural expression was endeavoured under the name of cultural transfers, with this historical approach focusing on the study of inter-cultural mediations.

[80] See for this idea of historical layers the introduction to Reinhart Koselleck, *Zeitschichten: Studien zur Historik*, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 2000, pp.9-16.

Cultural transfers comprehend various aspects that, from reception to appropriation and transformation of ideas, constitute a complex that involves relations of conflict, adaptation and acceptance of foreign and endogenous elements that, fused into each other, form the amalgam of culture.

The field of cultural studies emerged with new directions of research from the 1960s on, with a great effect in a wide range of disciplinary fields and became particularly famous in association with its Anglo-Saxon variant. However, the discipline of cultural studies itself can actually be traced in its origin to the German *Kulturwissenschaft*, increasingly gaining preponderance, at least, since after the First World War[81]. While under the auspices of Neo-Kantism many philosophers, such as Ernst Cassirer or Georg Simmel, began to theorize about culture more systematically.

This tendency, however, was already evident in the works of the sociologist Max Weber for instance, to whom culture played a fundamental part in the historical development of societies, particularly as shown in his book *Die sozialen Gründe des Untergangs der Antiken Kultur*. Oswald Spengler is another early figure who has the cultural dimension as the main subject of his better-known work *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, which accompanies the dominant pessimistic theses of the late 19th century.

The field of cultural studies *per se*, however, only gained some definitive characteristics in the context of the aftermath of the First World War, and then really claimed the status of a full-blown field of studies with the Anglo-Saxon impulse of the 60s and 70s, already deep in the 20th century.

The idea of cultural transfers would be, from the 80s on, developed in the context of the German-French relationship. However, in the course of these inquiries, some other words appear at about the same time in order to express this same concept. Linked to this concept, and in that which concerns its formulation, is the suggestion that instead of just individual ideas, we should concentrate on a broader dynamic or relationship, in order to more adequately research the transmission of ideas.

The reason for the focus on the German-French relations lies naturally in their common borders and in the reciprocal influence, that both countries had on each other through their

[81] See for a comparison between *Kulturwissenschaft* and cultural studies (although with a secondary detour on political economy):
Lutz Musner, "Kulturwissenschaft und cultural studies: Zwei ungleich Geschwister? " in *Kultur Poetik*, Band 1, H2, 2001, pp.261-271.

shared history. However, it does not stop there or restrict itself to those latitudes, because other countries that do not have such a direct long-lasting relationship also form part of this concept.

The idea of a broad system of cultural mediation is therefore an ever-present thought, in the definition and structuring of such a concept. As two of its main theoreticians, Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, venture to explain this by writing that:

"the concept of transference" ... "however, also seems to us to be particularly suited to characterize the specific basic conditions that are important to us in this connection: the respective unity of the culture of origin and reception as well as the dynamics of the processes in question. "..." For an overall assessment of the European area other cultures should of course be included, primarily England, then Italy, Spain, Eastern Europe, etc. In a series of real transfers, constellations of triangles seem to be often found, each with different angles and directions of movement"[82].

Such provisions are not without problems and until today the interpretation of this concept is still very plastic, while in between many other concepts were used to express this idea of a correlation, especially in the characterisation of different types of history, such as for example Histoire Croisée (Crossed history) or Histoire Connectée (Connected history). Without occupying oneself further with this issue, the appropriateness of the issues raised by this concept, for the Portuguese case, becomes apparent because German philosophy and especially Hegelian philosophy would be brought in there from France, as one of the main mediating cultures.

One word that could express this concept would be cultural mediation or dialectic of culture in an intercultural context. However, since scholars have already developed such a concept and numerous writings on it have been published, it is considered fruitful and interesting to build upon those advancements in the ongoing research.

There is also the *Konstellationsforschung* proposal which strongly accounts for these developments in philosophy, or rather focuses on exchanges at the root of philosophical

[82] „Der Begriff des Transfers" … „scheint er uns jedoch auch in besonderer Weise geeignet, die spezifischen Grundbedingungen zu bezeichnen, auf die es uns in diesem Zusammenanhang ankommt: die jeweilige Einheit von Ausgangs- und Rezeptionskultur sowie die Dynamik der in Frage kommenden Vorgänge." … „Für eine Gesamtbeurteilung des Europäischen Raums wären natürlich weitere Kulturen heranzuziehen in erster Linie England, dann auch Italien, Spanien, Osteuropa usw. Bei einer Reihe von realen Transfers sind vielfach Dreieckskonstellationen auszumachen, mit jeweils verschiedenen Winkeln und Bewegungsrichtungen" *Transferts: Les Relations Interculturelles dansl'Espace Franco-Allemand (XVIII e et XIX e Siècle)*, Herausgestellt von Michel Espagne und MichaelWerner, 1988, pp.12-13.

thoughts. This research line forged categories that seek a better comprehension of the phenomenon, such as the "space of thought" that resembles somewhat a micro-culture, or a circle of people, that develop within and relate to a bigger whole.

Thus, in many respects the problematic of that proposal will also be an object of reflection in this work, since it is very similar to the notion of transfers and is compatible with the same approach endeavoured by cultural transfers, and in this case one focus none other than on a philosophical topic, as much as the *Konstellationsforschung* also does[83].

The perspective of cultural transfers has produced a significant amount of research, on the ways in which the transfers of a given cultural product are passed on to foreign cultures, countries or even sociological and intellectual groups. Espagne, for instance, makes a distinction between vertical and horizontal cultural transfers. The horizontal transfers tend to go beyond spatial and linguistic barriers and, as a result, permeate frontiers and imposed limits. While vertical transfers occur between social groups or layers in which the limit is more socially related[84].

The two main proponents of the cultural transfer historical perspective, initially, came actually from the field of linguistics, as both Michel Espagne and Michael Werner studied German in their academic degrees. Their motivation for the study of cultural transfers began, as it was mentioned earlier with the German-French relationships, but this came about because of their dissatisfaction with the then dominant paradigm of influences and effects. This kept the cultural relations between the countries they were studying in a self-sufficient bubble, that would only externally influence each other.

Hence, for instance, in the case of the German-born poet Heinrich Heine, who felt himself to be both German and French, and in last instance European, the strict division into a national categorization would not make sense. The perspectives focused too much on a national dimension, in the study of history, are incapable of properly thinking about phenomena like acculturation, modernisation, or shared sociological and political forms of regimes, which are characteristics that were key to the modern development of society.

The underlying basis of cultural transfers, is an issue that was itself thoroughly explored in that research, which could be resumed to the focus of the relations between what belongs

[83] See Dieter Henrich, *Konstellationen: Probleme und Debatten am Ursprung der idealistischen Philosophie (1789-1795)*, Klett-Cotta, Stuttgart, 1991.
[84] See Michel Espagne, *Les Transferts Culturels Franco-Allemands*, Presse Universitaires de Espagne, Paris, 1999, p.143.

and that which is foreign to oneself. The reciprocal movement, of the self to the other and vice-versa, is perhaps the very basis of dialectical movement. In the case of Espagne and Werner, however, this relation of the self with the other consists of two elements, they are on one hand differentiated from each other but, on the other hand, they are a mixture.

This theory, as a result, does not capture very well the dialectical dimensions, in which Hegel thought this relationship. To be more precise, one can find the other within themselves through an act of reflection in the other, as they pass through each other, and this relationship does not revolve around the idea of a mixture or an externally conceived artificial unity. Their unity still holds difference because it is precisely an act of conceiving, of grasping the other by internalizing it (in both directions self-other and other-self)[85].

It is therefore not surprising that this has been probably the point most debated in regard to the perspective of cultural transfers. The lack of a clearer perspective on this issue creates some difficulties, as to how one could define this mixture and, in this way, the theory around cultural transfer was ever-changing. It evolved by including increasingly more aspects in its sphere, but never really solved the problem of unifying foreign and endogenous elements into one.

It pended instead, at times, for separation, bringing with it a sort of more passive movement, or, at other times, for a unified vision that tried to merge the two elements, bringing with it a more active movement, yet unable to think the two dimensions together. Its openness to following one tendency or the other has run into an unsurpassable weakness, which some characterize as the lack of a more consistent method[86].

Furthermore, another discussion that takes place in the context of cultural transfers is the question of whether the reception of ideas should be regarded as active, rather than looking at it more as a passive phenomenon. A specification which, as some have noted, the word transfer already imprints. To shine a light on this issue, the twofold receptive and productive side of the reader, in the context of the theory of reception, are here again useful, in order to ascertain the elements that are at play.

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[85] See for a detailed exposition of this topic, particularly its introduction about the place of reflexion in Hegel's philosophy, the doctoral thesis of Chong-Hwa Cho, *Der Begriff der Reflexion bei Hegel*, Humboldt-Universitäts zu Berlin, 2006, p.16-29.
See also Hegel's Phenomenologie and Enzyklopädie §413.

[86] See on the lack of structuring of these different approaches the article by Hartmut Kaelble, "Die Debatte über Vergleich und Transfer und was jetzt?" in *Transnational, Cross-Regional and Global Connections* (http://www.connections.clio-online.net/article/id/artikel-574)

Hans Jauss's theory of aesthetic reception asks various questions with regard to these two moments, which show themselves in the process of writing, as well as in the act of reading. However, as mentioned earlier, it should be noted that his theory is much more related to art and literature and, apart from this active and passive side of the reception, it is necessary to undertake a critical consideration of its aesthetization of reception in Heideggerian contours.

In practice, the approaches proposed along the lines of cultural transfers have been applied to the study of cultural relations and transfers of knowledge from various other countries, other than the two mentioned up until now (France-Germany) . Russia, Italy, Poland or even the colonial history of European nations have had this transnational perspective of cultural studies applied to them.

The studies have been as broad as stretching their horizon to topics that address specific issues such as translation of literary works, the experience of exile, transfers taking place in specific areas, such as the music and theatre scenes, or even employing this same approach to other historical times, as for instance in antiquity[87]. In the case of Portugal, the approaches proposed from the perspective of cultural transfers have been for the most part neglected[88].

In what comes down to the topic of Hegelianism, the approach of cultural transfers is a classic example of how one should approach the issue, with an intercultural perspective in mind. The intellectual productions of a certain group of *literati* take place and are, in most cases, constantly dialoguing with the main intellectual tendencies of their time. A tendency that is particularly exacerbated by technical modernizations in society, with the breaking of

[87] See for some of the given examples the following books and articles:
Philologiques IV, Transferts culturels triangulaires Espagne-Espagne-Russie, sous la direction de Katia Dmitrieva et Michel Espagne, Éditions sur la Maison des Sciences de L'Homme, Paris, 1996.
Cultural Transfer through Translation, the Circulation of Enlightened Thought in Europe by Means of Translation, Edited by Stefanie Stockhorst, Rodopi, New York, 2010.
Refugees and Cultural Transfer to Britain, Edited by Stefan Manz and Panikas Panayi, Routledge, New York, 2013.
Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfers, Paris 1830-1914, edited by Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist, The University of Chicago Press, 2009.
Western Perspectives on the Mediterranean, a Cultural Transfer in the Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages 400-800 AD, Edited by Andreas Fischer and Ian Wood, Bloomsbury, London, 2014.

[88] There is, however, naturally always some writings related that topic, such as the transfer of knowledge in the case of Ana Cardoso de Matos "Les Ingénieurs et la Création de Réseaux de Gaz et d'Électricité au Portugal: Transferts et Adoption de Technologies (1850-1920)" in *Transferts de technologies en Mediterranée*, Presse de l'Université Paris, 2006, pp.185-206.

the distance barriers leading to a faster and ever-growing accessibility of cultural productions, information and other communicative processes.

In the case of Portugal, this was precisely the case with the 70s generation. The later reception of some university teachers, politicians and juridical-personal of Hegelian philosophy, is then part of a movement and dialogue that effectively reached a great number of European countries.

We gave the case of Saint-Simonism and Hegelianism as an example before, of how a cultural transfer endured a long-lasting effect of mutual reflection, on each side of these intellectual movements. In the case of Portugal, when the topic at hand is Hegelianism, these dialogues between different currents of thought also left a mark on the Portuguese intellectuals. Not just through their acquaintance with them, but actually more through their global perspective of a broader intellectual movement in the plural, that has its epicentre mostly in Europe.

The euro-centrism of such an intellectual movement comes forward from the material itself, but this does not mean that a broader global concern was not present in it. The outcomes of the French Revolution for Hegel had, for instance, a global significance, by proclaiming the liberty of men universally[89]. The later critic, coming especially from the Marxist perspective, that this freedom was only formally proclaimed, may well be the case for some interpretations. But the question remains of whether we have had before, in the history of humanity and in the cultures of the world, such a universalistic view of freedom, with the liberty of mankind, even if one considers the already mentioned possible shortcomings?

They idea of a global history is a modern term, which traces back most likely to Kant, as he coined the term world history. Since then, many historians-philosophers, amongst which was Hegel, have been developing on this topic especially in the context of a philosophy of history. Today, we also have this approach in the context of intellectual history.

This is an interesting turn of events, because some intellectuals, in early modern time, were the first to share the idea of a world-wide association which would correspond to "a republic of letters[90]". While paradoxically, philosophy of history, or what some called the

[89] See for its significance in Hegel's youth, with the French Revolution seen as a new dawn for humanity, the research of Klaus Vieweg, *Hegel: Der Philosoph der Freiheit, op. cit.* pp.66-73.
[90] See Vanessa Smith "Joseph Banks Intermediaries: Rethinking Global Cultural Exchange" in *Global Intellectual History*, edited by Samuel Moyen and Andrew Sartori, Columbia University Press, New York, p.91.

speculations or lucubrations of the philosophers, was the primary object of critic of historians at the end of the 19th century, and then especially in the first half of the 20th century.

The intellectual history has inherited the same problems and debates from global history. The global perspectives dealing with this is issues are, however, notably more theoretically focused, when it comes down to this specific sub-genre of history, and this orientation may in fact be more revealing of the issues that are at play.

A basic problem that revolves around the notion of global history is namely, what does it mean to make a global history? The tendency informing today's empirical-oriented investigations, of fixing up analytical models and forms of procedures, has had its toll on various fields of study. In global history, this has also had its effect, and there are, as a result, multiple prescriptions on what global history ought to be or ought to do[91].

When one thinks of a global intellectual history, should one also not think truly universally? Is it possible to have a methodology that is keen on separating and analysing the peculiarities of singulars, without really elevating them to a universal perspective? The transcultural dimension of the intellectual networks, which furnished the Hegelianism that grew among the Portuguese intellectuals of the 19th century, has had at the base of its interest, some premises or universal principles that Hegelian philosophy contained.

To think universally, is not to think a fixed unified substance that annuals the particulars. The singularity, Hegel would say, contains the universal because the moments of universality and particularity incorporated in a relation with itself and its other. The particular is within a universal that instantiates itself in the particulars and, through its realization in a singularity, has a concrete existence.

Going back as to why there was an interest in Hegel's philosophy among the Portuguese Intellectuals, one could say, in Hegelian terms, that the reason lies in the following: The singularity of Hegel's philosophy embraces within it a universal dimension which could be recovered by particular countries and cultures in their ever-reaching struggle to become a concreter universal in their coming to be as singulars.

To conclude, one could say that the core of this work has, henceforth, for its basis a topic which belongs to intellectual history. But within it, one could find many other

[91] See for instance the introduction of the earlier cited book where this tendency fully comes forward. *Global Intellectual History*, edited by Samuel Moyen and Andrew Sartori, Columbia University Press, New York, pp.3-32.

dimensions, that complement this field of research. A broader reflection on intellectual history, encompassing its main traditions, methodological perspectives, scope of action and its practical realization, could go here with further expositions. Nonetheless, this is a reflection that is also going to take place in the course of this work, as it became noticeable already in parts of this introduction, in which the topic of intellectual history is only preliminary dealt with.

Some Other Concluding Remarks on Methodology

It becomes now apparent that the four approaches mentioned complement each other and, in fact, overlap. The problem of the reception of Hegel's philosophy would then particularly arise with regard to the acceptance of his concepts, or the depictions he makes of them. The study of the differentiation of that which is, according to some point of view, inspired by Hegel or even what is purely Hegelian, can better capture the effective mark that Hegel, and Hegelianism on top of that, had abroad.

As mentioned earlier, France functions as the main cultural mediator for Portugal, with regard to Hegel's philosophy. One of the first authors in contact with Hegel's Philosophy says that "today the introduction of the German spirit is accomplished for the most part by means of a reflex produced in France. We know Germany through France. What comes to us, if not broken, comes perturbed by a transplantation in a strange country."[92]

It was clear for Oliveira Martins that the German Philosophy in France had already been transformed when it arrived in Portugal. But the direction of this reception can also turn into other angles, when later on, for instance, Joaquim de Carvalho writes that "the genius of German Idealism was necessary for the discovery of the historicity of philosophy, being precisely one of those genius traits of Hegel to show the historical constitution of thought."[93]

In this assertion, Joaquim de Carvalho wanted to portray Hegel's system in light of the Italian critique of historicism, coming namely from Benedetto Croce, which wanted to leave

[92] "Hoje a introdução do espirito alemão efectua-se a máxima parte por via do reflexo produzido em França. Conhecemos a Alemanha através da França. O que nos chega, se não avariado, transtornado por uma transplantação de um país estranho." J.P. Oliveira Martins, *Jornal*, Guimarães & C. Editores, Lisboa, 1960, p.57.
[93] "Foi necessário o surto genial do idealismo alemão para que acontecesse o descobrimento da historicidade da Filosofia, sendo precisamente um dos rasgos geniais de Hegel o ter mostrado a constituição histórica do pensamento." Joaquim de Carvalho, "Hegel e o Conceito de História da Filosofia" in *Obra Completa: Filosofia e História da Filosofia (1916-1934)*, Vol.2, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisboa, 1992. pp.466.

behind certain aspects of Hegel's philosophy that, according to him proved to be bygone. A tendency that, since the Labriola's critique of Hegel's systematism, had been unfolding. Thus, these Portuguese authors definitely relied on intellectual sources from other countries.

Furthermore, the points of view these authors take are quite varied. For instance, Téofilo Braga's positivist inclinations, lead him to read Hegel in such a way that he conserves the understanding of metaphysics, as set forward by the followers of positivism, namely Augusto Comte. Hence, he considers that "after Schelling came Hegel correcting the metaphysic theories, representing a principle of creation, a force in its immanent state under the designation of idea, that is, from the fact of its existence it tends to realize itself."[94]

Finally, Antero de Quental auto-biographical letter describes the pulse philosophy he had encountered in Coimbra, during his studying years. He writes in a couple of pages about the source of those ideas and the general tendencies, found in the intellectual landscape, with the renovation attempts of Coimbra's academic youth.[95]

These are some examples, which will later be put in context and discussed in greater detail. Here, they merely illustrate how the methodological approaches, suggested in this introduction, do apply to the specific cases where Hegel's philosophy, or Hegelianism, emerges as an object of thought to the authors at hand.

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[94] "Após Schelling veio Hegel corrigir as teorias metafísicas, representando o princípio criador, a força no seu estado imanente sob a designação de ideia, isto é, que pelo facto da sua existência tende a realizar-se" Teófilo Braga, *História do Romantismo em Portugal*, Nova Livraria Internacional, Lisboa, 1880, p.72.

[95] "a leitura do Fausto de Goethe (na tradução francesa de Blaze de Bury) e o livro de Rémusat sobre a nova filosofia alemã exerceram todavia sobre o meu espírito uma impressão profunda e duradoura: fiquei definitivamente conquistado para o Germanismo; e, se entre os franceses, preferi a todos Proudhon e Michelet, foi sem dúvida por serem estes dois os que mais se ressentem do espírito de Além-Reno. Li depois muito de Hegel, nas traduções francesas de Vera (pois só mais tarde é que aprendi alemão). Não sei se o entendi bem, nem a independência do meu espírito me consentia ser discípulo: mas é certo que me seduziram as tendências grandiosas daquela estupenda síntese. Em todo o caso, o Hegelianismo foi o ponto de partida das minhas especulações filosóficas, e posso dizer que foi dentro dele que se deu a minha evolução intelectual."
"Como acomodava eu este culto pelas doutrinas do apologista do Estado prussiano, com o radicalismo e o socialismo de Michelet, Quinet e Proudhon? Mistérios da incoerência da mocidade!"
"e foi o ponto de partida da atual evolução da literatura portuguesa" … "O Hegelianismo dos coimbrões fez explosão."
"havia em Portugal um grupo de 16 a 20 rapazes, que não queriam saber da Academia nem dos Académicos, que já não eram católicos nem monárquicos, que falavam de Goethe e Hegel como os velhos tinham falado de Chateaubriand e de Cousin; e de Michelet e Proudhon, como os outros de Guizot e Bastiat"
"Os factos confirmaram esta impressão: os 10 ou 12 primeiros nomes da literatura de hoje saíram todos (salvo 2 ou 3) da Escola Coimbrã ou da influência dela. O Germanismo tomara pé em Portugal. Abria-se uma nova era para o pensamento Português." Antero de Quental letter from 14 of May of 1887 to Wilhelm Storck in *Cartas,* Leitura, organização, prefácio e notas de Ana Maria Almeida Martins, Vol. 3, Imprensa-Nacional Cassa da Moeda, Lisboa, 2009, pp.92-95.

I. History

1. Cultural Transfers within the Horizons of Hegelianism

This study focuses on the relationship between cultures, with the phenomena of cultural mediation as the central concern. Multiple theories, despite their differences, intersect and dialogue with one another while still consolidating into more specific ones, whereby preserving those correlations can shed light on the role of exchanges in a historical inquiry of philosophical dimension.

The same underlying problematic of a wider binding involvement, relating various facets in an all-inclusive manner, characterizes the methods and theorizations revolving around the conceptualization of what some academics have denominated cultural transfers, mainly historians but also researchers coming from other areas of expertise such as cultural anthropologists[96].

According to the research directions underpinned, it is also to bear in mind the known debate of whether one is dealing with something invented, imagined or to a certain extent a social construction[97]. Regarding the vocable culture, in this case specifically, if taken in its conceptual significance, there is a huge array of features that make up its very being, or any other word for that matter, that it certainly doesn't come forward bare.

The intention of emptying language from its character and historical constitution or to deconstruct it, although it might be helpful as an experiment, should stem from the eagerness to know and to question long held beliefs by remaining critical, without falling prey to the chains of a skepticism that understands nothing.

Thus, even if open to modern criticism of subjective outlooks, the emergence of a line of studies since the late 1980s branded cultural transfers is based on solid historical research[98], regardless of the right choice of terms or the need for some theoretical refinements, not to

[96] See for suggestions on possible application to other areas, including to philosophy: Michel Espagne "Kulturtransfer und Fachgeschichte der Geisteswissenschaften" in *Comparativ*, no. 10, issue 1, Leipzig, 2000, pp.42-61.

[97] This issue is noticed in the context of translations by Carl Antonius Lemke Duque and Zaur Gasimov "Introduction. Outlines of a Logical Constitutive Model of Cultural Transfers" in *Comparativ Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und Vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung - Transfer and Translation*, No. 25, Issue 2, Leipzig, 2015 pp.9-10.

[98] It initially gained traction through the *Centre National de la Recherce Scientifique* as proposed in the article from Michel Espagne and Michael Werner "Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. Und 19. Jahrhundert: Zu einem neuen interdisziplinären forschungsprogramm des C.N.R.S" in *Francia*, Vol.13, 1985 pp.502-10. Later on, giving place to edition of a book that they organized in 1988, *Transferts. Les Relations Interculturelles dans l'Espace Franco-allemand (XVIIe-XIXe Siècle)*, *op. cit.*

mention one cannot ignore published literature directly addressing the concerns of the present work[99].

Another linguistic implication for the studies relating to this problematic is concerned with reception theory, in the sense of the processes driving forces, at any given moment, and how those contacts are governed by a culture of reception, which takes places in the sphere of language[100]. A receptive cultural activity occurs under certain conditions of mutual interests, acceptance and understanding, for a variety of reasons, but first and foremost cultivated through a connection to both universes, of which bilingual cultural agents are one such example[101].

Furthermore, translations are also a step in that direction, particularly in how they are chosen or rather which ones are, indicating the level of familiarity, as well as revealing the audience it targets[102]. Finally, the printing, the medium used to facilitate these exchanges, creates multilateral idiomatic cultural ties, and has its own interests and actors in their *belles-lettres* dealings. These are closely associated with literary markets, innovations or various other technical or ideological motivated needs, often addressed in book history, publishing and readership concerned research[103].

Not all encounters are harmonious or fall into a normalcy, much less a festive one. Oppositions, negative responses and experiences also serve as a major driving force behind those exchanges, some speaking of a negative cultural transfer as a contrary reaction. This is mostly politically charged, but transpires also in other aspects of life and the culture of "anti", some even suppressed for holding illegal or extremist views[104].

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[99] The scholars interested in cultural transfers worked on the sources of German thought abroad, inclusively published them as in *Lettres d'Allemagne. Victor Cousin et les hégéliens*. Introduction, edition des manuscrits et notes par Michel Espagne et Michael Werner, Du Lérot Éditeur, Tusson, 1990.

[100] See for a relation between language, cultural transfers and reception theory Volker Wittenauer, *Im Dienste der Macht: Kultur und Sprache am Hof der Hohenzollern*, Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn, 2007, p.33.

[101] See on this issue for instance Manfred Schmeling "'In Jeder Sprache neu': Zweisprachigkeit und Kulturtransfer bei Iwan Goll" in *Literarische Polyphonie: Übersetzung und Mehrsprachigkeit in der Literatur*, Gunter Narr Verlag, Tübingen, 1996, pp.157-174.

[102] Silke Dürnberger, *Entwicklung und Status quo französisch-österreichischer Kulturtransfers im literarhistorischen Kontext*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main, 2002, pp.127-128.

[103] See for transfers and book history in light of socio-political concerns, Fréderic Barbier "Vergleichende Buchgeschichte und Transfer Problematik: Buch, Staat, Nation" in *Marianne – Germania: Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer im europäischen Kontext 1789-1914*, edited by E. Francois, M. C. Hoock-Demarle, R. Meyer-Kalkus and M. Werner, Vol. I, Leipzig Universität Verlag, 1998, pp.61-70.

[104] See for instance the afterwar Nazi fleeing in Paul Michael Lützeler, "Exkurs: Nationalsozialisten im Nahost-Exil bei Born und Koeppen Negativer Kulturtransfer und 'Viertes Reich'" in *Bürgerkireg Global: Menschensrechtsethos und deutschsprachiger Gegenwartsroman*, Wilhelm Fink, Münschen, 2009, pp.221-229.

Movements of migration evoke conflicted emotions, often associated with hardship, but also with hope for a better future, while still bringing a luggage full of cultural goods[105]. Some already intentionally want to bring something back home, as in the case of exchanges abroad and formations for students, which can actually be uplifting.

Those experiences of forced exile cannot go without mention, because they are accompanied by powerful memories or even trauma[106]. Moreover, the political and economic undertones culturally marked also move beyond language, as in the case of oppression and colonialism. This leads to silent culture transfers, encompassing other strategies of social and cultural empowerment, through an assimilation coupled in resistance[107]. Lastly, there are also cultural transfers happening through official channels which are, however, simply overlooked or plain ignored, as in the case of diplomacy and international relations[108].

The study of cultural transfers has developed a particular paradigm while concentrating on transfers and the mobile components of culture, which is closer to a dynamic of appropriation than the somewhat reductive idea of influences[109]. Over the years, and from its inception, a number of writings have given a great deal of attention to the requirements of this task. New concepts were forged and the understanding of the problem evolved, as it considered for instance the place of general-local relationships[110]; looked into the role of

[105] See for a relation between history of migration and cultural transfers Raingard Eßer, "Migrationsgeschichte und Kulturtransferforschung" in *Das Eine Europa und die Vielfalt der Kulturen: Kulturtransfer in Europa 1500-1850*, edited by Thomas Fuchs and Sven Trakhulhun, Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag GmbH, Berlin, 2003, pp.69-82.

[106] See in this context for a example relating exile a memory Ingolf Schulte, "Exil und Erinnerung: Über den vergessenen Autor Soma Morgenstern" in *Kulturtransfer im Exil*, edited by Claus-Dieter Krohn, Edition Text + Kritik, Münschen, 1995, pp.221-236.

[107] See Wienfried Speitkamp, "Der verweigerte Kulturtransfer. Bilder Afrikas vor der Kolonisierung" in *Das Eine Europa und die Vielfalt der Kulturen: Kulturtransfer in Europa 1500-1850, op. cit.* pp.405-424 and also Sabine Becker, "Zwischen Akkulturation und Enkulturation. Anmerkungen zu einem vernachlässigten Autorinnentypus: Jenny Aloni und Ilse Losa" in *Kulturtransfer im Exil, op. cit.* pp.114-137.

[108] See examples regarding those topics in Heiko Droste "Unternehmer in Sachen Kultur. Die Diplomaten Schwedens im 17. Jahrhundert" in *Das Eine Europa und die Vielfalt der Kulturen: Kulturtransfer in Europa 1500-1850, op. cit.* pp.205-226 and also Sven Externbrink "Internationale Beziehungen und Kulturtransfer in der Frühen Neuzeit" in idem, pp.227-248.

[109] See Joseph Jurt "Das Wissenschaftliche Paradigma des Kulturtransfers" in *Französisch-deutscher Kulturtransfer im Ancien Régime*, edited by Günter Berger and Franziska Sick, Stauffenburg Verlag, Tübingen, 2002, pp.15-38.

[110] See Michel Espagne, "Französischer-sächsischer Kulturtransfer im 18-19 Jahrhundert. Eine Problemskizze" in *Comparativ Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung*, No.2, Issue. 2, Leipzig, 1992, pp.100-121, see further more Wolfgang Schmale, *Historisches Komparatistik und Kulturtransfer: Europageschichtliche Perspektiven für die Landesgeschichte; eine Einführung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der sächsischen Landesgeschichte*, Winkler Verlag, Bochum, 1998, pp.101-122.

asymmetrical routes of transmission[111]; or open boundaries replacing closed historical comparisons[112].

The developments undertaken have strengthen methods and clarified the theoretical standpoint. As a consequence, it makes the characteristics and research content, pertaining to cultural transfers that I have highlighted, conceptually operative to the envisioned study[113].

The discussions and concepts surrounding Portuguese cultural acquisitions

The present chapter addresses the subject lined up above in relation to Hegelianism, however, as we delve into it, an overview on the dynamics of multiplicity in this mediation processes enhances its pertinence to this study encompassing intellectual history. To begin with, although some perspectives of the cultural transfer mode of viewing the relationship between diverse societal universes are fairly new. It was apparent, to those people living in the past, that such complex and multitiered relations took place in the circulation of cultural products.

The term transplantation was employed to describe this experience, as one can read in Oliveira Martins' warnings about some of its more blatant contradictory outcomes. When it comes to the contacts with the German culture of his time:

"We know Germany through France. What arrives comes, if not broken, unsettled by the transplantation on a foreign country."[114]

To complete on that assertation, it is not so much the case of simply a functional transit French language, for the Portuguese interested in German though, because of a greater

[111] See Michel Wagner "Dissymmetrien und symmetrische Modellbildungen in der Forschung zum Kulturtransfer" in *Kulturtransfer im Epochenumbruch Frankreich-Deutschland 1770 bis 1815*, edited by Michel Espagne, Etienne François, Werner Greiling and Mathias Middell, Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 1997, pp.87-101

[112] See Matthias Middell, "Kulturtransfer und Historische Komparatistik – Thesen zu ihren Verhältnis" in *Comparativ*, No.10, Issue 1, Leipzig, 2000, pp.7-41.

[113] See one of the latest summaries regarding the standing of cultural transfer stances from Michel Espagne, "Der theoretische Stand der Kulturtransferforschung" in *Kulturtransfer: Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert*, edited by Wolfgang Schmale, Studien Verlag, Innsbruck, 2003, pp.63-75.
See another one along the same lines by Michael Werner "Zum theoretischen Rahmen und historischen Ort der Kulturtransferforschung" in *Kultureller Austausch: Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung*, edited by Michael North, Böhlau Verlag, Köln, 2009.
See also Espagne's more recent article "La notion de transfert culturel" in *Revue Sciences/Lettres 1*, 2013, pp.1-9 (http://rsl.revues.org/219)

[114] "Conhecemos a Alemanha através da França O que nos chega vem, se não avariado, transtornado por uma transplantação em pais estranho" J.P. Oliveira Martins, *Jornal*, Guimarães & C. Editores, Lisboa, 1960, p.57.

familiarity with it. For Martins, it is rather a transformation happening along this route and, reading from his later gloomier mood account in the article *Os Poetas da Escola Nova* (1875), in fact the ideas gain acceptance and perceptibility thereafter[115].

Furthermore, the French intellectual interest with regard to German philosophy is a known occurrence since very early, and more significantly in this case, the Portuguese thinkers are aware of these appropriations and of what makes them interesting.

In reality, the above citation reports to Luciano Cordeiro's book *Livro de Crítica* (1869), which is reviewed by Martins in the periodical *O Comercio*. This book is the result of an inquiry into the main currents of thought of his time accompanied by historical outlooks, following which in 1874-75 the author also writes some other books, about his scientific and cultural travels up until then[116]. Although a self-confessed enthusiast of positivism and its francophone figures, and perhaps this is why Martins is more reticent is his 1869 review, various Hegelian subject-themes and the name of Hegel are mentioned throughout the book[117].

Besides the cited periodicals *O Comercio* and *Revista Ocidental* various others indulge in similar ideas, even at a much earlier time. Moving further to the past, in an 1849 *Revista Universal Lisbonense* article, the same term is to be found:

"…Do not forget the state which the studies found themselves in the restauration period, when Cousin went to Germany in charge of a literary travel to transplant what he found convenient to his country."[118]

[115] "A book by Feuerbach, Strauss or Hartmann would be hardly accepted or even understood by the peninsular youth, yet the essential ideas contained in that book, when expounded by the french, although often losing depthness, gain perceptibility and colorfulness, finding echo in the enthusiastic youths of our schools" / "Um livro de Feuerbach, de Strauss ou de Hartmann dificilmente será aceite e até compreendido pela mocidade peninsular; porém as ideias essenciais que esse livro contém, sendo expostas por boca de franceses, embora muitas vezes percam em profundidade o que ganham em perceptibilidade ou em colorido, fácilmente encontram eco nos moços entusiastas que povoam as nossas escolas." Oliveira Martins, *Páginas Desconhecidas*, Introdução, coordenação e notas de Lopes d'Oliveira, Seara Nova, Lisboa, 1948, p.164.
See also a more thoroughly research by Álvaro Manuel Machado who looks at this same text of Oliveira Martins in his "O Iberismo e a França como cultura intermediária em Oliveira Martins" in *Revista da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas*, n°2, Lisboa, 1988, pp.89-95.

[116] Luciano Cordeiro, *Viagens - Hespanha e França*, Imprensa de J. G. de Sousa Neves, Lisboa, 1874.
Idem, *Viagens - França, Baviera, Austria e Itália*, Imprensa de J. G. de Sousa Neves, Lisboa, 1875.

[117] Idem, *Livro de Critica, Arte e Literatura Portuguesa de Hoje 1868-1869*, Typographia Lusitana-Editora, Porto, 1869.
For the references to Hegel and German thought see for instance pp.36, 38,193, 267-268.

[118] "não se deslembrar do estado em que se achavam os estudos n'aquelle paiz na epocha da restauração, quando Cousin foi á Allemanha encarregado de uma viagem litteraria para transplantar o que achasse conveniente para o seu paiz" J. J. de Mello (Jerónimo José de Mello) "A instrução publica em Portugal" in *Revista Universal Lisbonense*, n.33 - 21 de Junho de 1849.

This passage reveals much about the knowledge in Portugal of the acquisitions regarding German philosophy by its close neighbor, as it was an "open secret" that Cousin took inspiration for his philosophical ideas from his studies of the culture beyond the Rhine. This assumption can be read in various intellectuals from the Hegelians K. Michelet or Rosenkranz, to socialists and Saint-Simonians like Heine or Leroux. One particularly worthy of mention and, as such, probably the first source for the narrative of a too close resemblance, is Eugène Lerminier, a prominent student of him who took part in various courses[119].

The travels to Germany of Victor Cousin at various times were disclosed by himself, since he acknowledges them already in his early work *Fragments Philosophiques*[120]. In later books, from around the 1850s, he describes them in more detail[121]. The matter therefore is if those cultural encounters, inspiring his thoughts, were consequently voiced appropriately, namely the source and the main credit for the ideas set forth.

The tone of Jerónimo de Mello remarks in his article does not come forward as adverse, and it is not clear whether he was mindful of the almost unduly appropriations of Cousin implied by some. But waiving those controversial interpretations aside, always open for debate, something important to retain is his emphasis on the cultural transfer nature of those travels. After all, this is the same man who endorsed legislation in the parliament favoring scientific travels[122], akin to Luciano Cordeiro's ones just a few years later, as it was indicated earlier.

Moreover, moving further down the line, at the foundation of the journal in 1841, that was confessedly an editorial guideline:

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[119] See Eugène Lerminier, *Lettres Philosophiques adressées à un Berlinois*, Paulin Libraire-Éditeur, Paris, 1832, p.85.

[120] See the preface to his second edition particularly the following pages: Victor Cousin, *Fragments Philosophiques*, Seconde Edition, Ladrange Libraire, Paris, 1833, pp.XXXV-XLIV.
The bulk of the work, however, is sparser in those references, but his knowledge of Kant's philosophy is drawn up on various occasions.

[121] He considers the following books augmented editions of early works, but the extent of the added content makes them almost wholly new, in spite of addressing the same topics:
Victor Cousin, *Premiers Essais de Philosophie*, Troisième Édition, Libraire Nouvelle, Paris, 1855.
Idem, *Fragments et Souvenirs*, Troisième Édition, Didier et C. Libraires-Éditeurs, Paris, 1857.

[122] The article citated also acknowledges the work of a commission in regard to educational reform, however, for a more detailed study of this thematic, including an exposition of the legislation produced by Jeronimo de Mello see Áurea Adão "As Viagens de Educadores Portugueses no Século XIX: dos Estágios de Formação Específica às visitas de Estudo" in *Exílios e Viagens: ideários de Liberdade e Discursos Educativos. Portugal-Espanha, sec. XVIII-XX*, edição organizada por Margarida Louro Felgueiras & António Costa Rico, Sociedade Portuguesa das Ciências da Educação, Porto, 2011, pp.124-125.

"By the regular reading of our journal, done in a non-partisan spirit, our readers can make a perfect idea of the degree of illustration, morality and wealth of all the peoples, establish a parallel between them, and transplant to this little corner of Europe of what each one should, and could, appropriate"[123]

Despite the criticism of cultural trends at any given time, in this case adopting foreign cultural elements, the portrayals above are mostly approving, notwithstanding Oliveira Martins more cautious remark regarding the idea of transplantation. Various others early authors contribute to a debate on the topic, but with regard to conceptualization efforts of building its features and giving more determinate meaning and significance to a word, it is a work that unfolds historical which confers an extended polysemic range to the concept of transplantation[124]. Some subsequent developments hinted at more elaborate critical conceptions, could already be traced back to for example to Alexandre Herculano[125], and surely to some figures of the "vintismo".

The choice of focus on the conceptual understanding uncovers aspects, which would remain buried in the layers of history without such framework. This leads to a broader referential that permeates the entirety of this work which is conceptual history, of course limited here to elucidating the dynamics of multiplicity surrounding the awareness, by contemporary figures to the past, of the ways cultures relate in their coexistence and reflect on each other's and themselves. With this in mind, let the auscultation of the given concept's critic proceed, shedding light on how what is understood as cultural transfers nowadays was apprehended back then.

Later in time, critical perspectives support reconsidering naive portrayals of cultural acquisitions, as we can read from the Adolfo Coelho's 1904 article in the journal *O Instituto*. The article concentrates on a program elaborated for a pedagogic course to be taught at the

[123] "Pela assídua leitura do nosso jornal, feito sem espírito de partido, poderão os nossos leitores fazer uma perfeita ideia do grau de illustração, moralidade e riqueza de todos os povos, estabelecer um paralelo entre eles, e transplantar para este cantinho da Europa o que de cada um dever, e poder ser, aproveitado." Revista Universal Lisbonense 1841-1842.

[124] See in this regard Reinhardt Koselleck, *Begriffsgeschichten: Studien zur Semantik und Pragmatik der politischen und sozialen Sprache*, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 2006, pp.77-85.

[125] He inclusively uses the term in his call for an appropriation modifying the foreign elements "artigos de uma boa lei de instrução primária" … "dependem principalmente de conhecimentos especiais do estado material, político, económico e moral do pais. As modificações que esse conhecimento deve produzir, ao querermos transplantar para a nossa terra as instituições análogas das outras nações, são importantíssimas" Alexandre Herculano, *Opúsculos*, Vol. 8, *op. cit.* pp.141-142.

Curso Superior de Letras, to which he appends a historical study on education, pertaining to classic antiquity of both Greece and Rome.

The parallels between those civilizations are drawn in regard to education, noting the direct effect of ancient Greece on Rome, among other cultures. But in affirming so it always concedes primary differences and oppositions between them[126], as well as the need for something new and not merely a transplantation[127].

As a matter of fact, in another article on Goethe's novel Faust, published between the years 1914-1915 in the same journal, quoting Herder and still referring to the classical antique period, he declares that such transplantation is actually impossible, or at the very least riddled with failure[128].

Yet in another passage, referring to the reflexes of the French Revolution in Germany, further clarifications of the concept are shone upon. Adolfo Coelho considered Goethe's genie could not tolerate that such a transplantation took place, because it is an artificial reproduction which does not stem from the particular necessities of Germany.

Accordingly, A. Coelho infers, from the reading and interpretation of the German writer, it will be good for a nation that which is produced by its people, rather than artificially reproduced, because it is in harmony with its own nature and necessities. The rationale would be to avoid the damaging results of imitating what other nations have produced themselves, for the most part adequate only for their own use[129].

In each of the above instances Adolfo Coelho is employing again the term transplantation. As one moves through all the previous references and citations, starting from Oliveira Martins, similarly to how history is not circumscribed to events, hence the importance of connection, here too we are dealing no longer simply with a word but a concept,

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[126] See Adolfo Coelho, "O Plano de Instrução Geral na Roma Antiga" in *O Instituto: Revista Científica e Literária*, Vol.51, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1904, p.66 and p.133.

[127]See Idem, "O Plano de Instrução Geral na Roma Antiga" in O *Instituto: Revista Científica e Literária*, Vol.51, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1904, pp.200-202.

[128] "O autor da Iphigenia e do Achilleis, a princípio tão apaixonado pela imitação dos antigos, reconhecia agora a verdade das ideias apresentadas por Herder: «imitar a arte antiga para por seu turno ser inimitável é utopia pura. A arte não se póde transplantar de um povo para outro; é resultado de circunstâncias que não se reproduzem em épocas diferentes»." Idem, "O Fausto De Goethe" in O *Instituto: Revista Científica e Literária*, Vol.62, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1915, p.226.

[129] "O que o grande génio não tolerava era que pretendessem transplantar a revolução francesa, fóra dos seus limites naturais. Não podia ver com indiferença que procurassem reproduzir artificialmente na Alemanha as cenas que em França tinham sido ocasionadas por uma necessidade poderosa. E acrescentava com muito bom senso que só é bom o que o povo produz de harmonia com a sua natureza, o que corresponde às suas necessidades, sem macaquear as outras nações." idem, "O Fausto De Goethe" in O *Instituto: Revista Científica e Literária*, Vol. 61, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1914, p.539.

encompassing a multitude of meanings. The conceptualization process thus advances, furnishing a better understanding of reality, particularly with more elaborate studies, demonstrated quite clearly through the conceptual enrichment brought by Coelho's assertions.

The journey undertaken proposed to illustrate a particular dimension of cultural transfers, one that reveals the dynamic of those relations within the period under study itself. But moving away from the hypothesis of contemporary authors recognizing those transfers, together with their implications and ways of operation, by now sufficiently proven, other questions arise, because the exchange does not restrict itself to two cultures in a process of exchange, much less to a language. Following the logic of this exchange, that trajectory went on to uncover other dynamics. From what emerged we shall now briefly indicate other relevant aspects.

Associated perspectives in the consideration of a cultural transfer approach

The connection between cultures, goes further than one language or place, often two levels or more are implied. The mediative effort regarding German philosophy is a blatant example: Krause was interpreted by Ahrens forming a German-French link, and then the Spanish Julian Sanz del Rio and his adherents interpreted the two, engendering a German-French-Spanish movement.

In such hypothetical portrayal, France would have been in the background, with Portugal receiving these products more directly at the end of the chain here considered, in this case Spain, which of course could be open for instance to other global perspectives in Hispanic America and Brazil, giving place to the idea of gradual multilateral transfers.

Furthermore, if what makes an idea attractive is what resonates with a place, what makes it stay? What makes it ring? Only by looking into the historical dimensions, will the answers be found. But because there is a constant flux that cannot remain in the paradigm of a national reality, it functions more like a feedback system, responding to and searching after what it needs once the information is processed, thereafter knowledge is attained on what to look for. It is not so much that it makes the other culture produce it, but rather recognizes in the other what relates to itself.

Another further important aspect to account for, is how the problematic of cultural transfers could be associated with other lines of research, this would then be a dynamic of proximity. There is one in specific deserving of attention, because the universes that are transferable to one other, revolving around specific circumstances, also resemble the idea of constellations within a diverse but closely related culture, such as the one purposed by the *Kostellationsforschung*[130].

The difference of this research methodic is the focus on the specific problematic independent of its national or linguistic background, on a closer look, however, it becomes apparent the standpoint of language is not ignored altogether but rather seen through a different light. Certain groups, tradition or settings employ particular vocabulary, follow certain behaviors or encourage distinct forms of thinking making up for a language order, or a set of characteristics unified into a place-activity of the language (*Gesprächlage*)[131].

Additionally, well-suited concepts also come out of those studies, namely the "space of thought" conception[132]. The whole construction behind this theory is very dear to philosophical studies, inasmuch the main object of research is German idealism, coinciding with the importance one attributes to philosophy in the study here. Thus, the insights of *Kostellationsforschung* should be taken into account, whenever deemed appropriate.

Finally, in what comes down to the dynamics of multiplicity, there is the question of how to present the cultural phenomenon. The full range of interactions taking place in the realm of culture are consistent with an ecosystem network, all aspects coming to play are so to speak layers of culture, and to think about them together one often convenes theories with an explanative potential. Some examples of those would be cultural studies, science of culture (in the sense of the *kulturwissenschaft* closer to critical theory), theories of media, as well as also other less known ones such as culturology or perspectives coming from semiotics.

Given these possibilities, the presentation of movements and transformation in culture makes for strategies of reception, with different prisms to consider. There are also other approaches that touch upon the subject such as the aesthetics of reception, granting these have their effectiveness in the field of literature, they still carry important reflections on

[130] The idea behind this kind of studies was born out of the research from Dieter Henrich, *Konstellationen: Probleme und Debatten am Ursprung der idealistischen Philosophie (1789-1795)*, Klett-Cotta, Stuttgart, 1991.
[131] Idem, ibidem, p.40.
[132] See Marcelo R. Stamm "Konstellationsforschung – Ein Methodenprofil: Motive und Perspektiven" in Konstellationsforschung, edited by Martin Mulsow and Marcelo Stamm, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 2005, pp.35-44.

presenting the dynamics of cultural transfers. Apart from the dynamics which was here pointed out, the main issue to address is the problematic itself of cultural transfers in the various contexts it emerges, justifying our choice of having it as a referential.

The reason for choosing a research direction closer to cultural transfer is because of its all-embracing characteristic. However, this does not come without its issues since the search for a definition becomes malleable. But what better justification could there be for choosing this approach when one pays notice to Eça de Queiroz words about the railways, curiously also one of the subjects addressed by cultural transfers, especially in light of the Saint-Simonians[133].

The Portuguese writer tells us in his laid down memories of Antero de Quental, later reproduced in *Notas Contemporâneas*:

"Through the railways that opened up the peninsula, ruptured each day, descending from France and Germany (trough France), torrents of new things, ideas, systems, aesthetics, forms, feelings, humanitarian interests... each morning brought its revelation, as if a new sun. It was [Jules] Michelet that emerged, and Hegel, and Vico, and Proudhon; and Hugo, made into a prophet and a righteous of kings, and Balzac with its perverted and languid world, and Goethe, as vast as a universe, and Poe, and Heine and I believe Darwin, and many others!" ... "In that new world, that the north threw at us in packages, we often made singular discoveries: and I still remember my fascination when I discovered this immense novelty – the BIBLE! But our discovery was humanity. Coimbra suddenly had the vision and the adorable consciousness of humanity"[134]

[133] For a more specific Saint-Simonian ideal in the Portuguese railway projects see for instance:
Hugo Silveira Pereira, "Fronteiras e Caminhos-de-Ferro: Da Quimera Saint-Simoniana ao desencanto tecnodiplomático" in Revista História das Ideias, Vol.35, Serie 2, Coimbra, 2017, pp.227-259.
Magda de Avelar Pinheiro et Ana Cardoso de Matos, "La construction ferroviaire au Portugal: concepts, modèles et intervenants" in Mondialisation modèles nationaux de développement et stratégies d'entreprises XIX-XXI siècles, SPM, Paris, 2016, pp.34-53.
For a general overview of railway importance to Saint-Simonian ideals see the doctoral thesis addressing this in the beginning of 20th century by Maurice Wallon, *Les Saint-Simoniens et les Chemins de Fer*, A. Pedone Editeur, Paris, 1908.

[134] "Pelos caminhos de ferro que tinham aberto a Península, rompiam cada dia, descendo da França e da Alemanha (através da França), torrentes de coisas novas, ideias, sistemas, estéticas, formas, sentimentos, interesses humanitários… Cada manhã trazia a sua revelação, como um sol que fosse novo. Era [Jules] Michelet que surgia, e Hegel, e Vico, e Proudhon; e Hugo, tornado profeta e justiceiro de reis; e Balzac, com o seu mundo perverso e lânguido; e Goethe, vasto como o Universo; e Poe, e Heine, e creio que já Darwin, e quantos outros!" ... "Nesse mundo novo que o Norte nos arremessava aos pacotes, fazíamos por vezes achados bem singulares: e ainda recordo o meu deslumbramento quando descobri esta imensa novidade – a BÍBLIA! Mas a nossa descoberta foi a Humanidade. Coimbra de repente teve a visão e a consciência adorável da Humanidade" Eça de Queiroz, *Notas contemporâneas*, Editora Brasiliense, São Paulo, 1961, p.260.

Almost all the names mentioned in Queiroz text are relevant figures for the study of Hegelianism, the narrative elucidates movements of people, ideas and how the students connected with the major intellectual life of Europe. The railways, as a point of departure for transformation, strikingly resembles Saint-Simon's belief in technological solutions for social problems, voiced by Michel Chevalier in the journal *Le Globe*, later compiled in a book title *Le Système de la Méditerranée*.

The French socialist envisioned world peace and a European association of nations, through a railway system connecting to other civilizations of the east, the oriental express of humanity Eça de Queiroz praised in his Coimbra years. Later travels to the United States seek confirmation of his theory, from the extensive and complex American railways, dealing also with the economic, social and working conditions of the American people in his *Lettres sur l'Amérique du Nord*.

While the mixing of provenances in those cultural transfers may lead to the criticism of being too loosely defined, is it German? is it French? For some precisely the ill-defined, the one and the multiple, the hybrid actually makes for the most interesting and is at the center of this problematic. From the issues addressed many questions arise, therefore, I would like to make clear this is my contribution to the problematic, with particular emphasis on issues I found relevant to the transfer of cultural elements in light of Hegel's philosophy.

The work can naturally be expanded, improved or corrected (with more examples, more accurate descriptions and so on), in the same way I have also drawn different possibilities and interpretations lying at the heart of the problems. What results is also not arbitrary or baseless but rather follow the most reasonable evidences, albeit still open to other possibilities having in mind the complexity of Hegelianism, which makes it one of those common cultural goods extending beyond borders, demanding a look into its developments and the gist of its bequest.

Hegelianism as a transnational intellectual movement

The philosophical positions here under study, having such an expression abroad, invite for a look into that same foreign presence in the years of its inception at the place from where they were propagated. To have an idea, without being too overwhelmed by the numbers, a good sample to verify that assertation would then be the later years of Hegel's tutelage, when

his philosophy enjoyed even more prestige, to which 1829-1830 seems to be the appropriate period.

Below is a list of the student's different origins, taken from winter semester matriculation registers, in an attempt to identify foreign students taking courses at the university of Berlin, with total numbers broken down by place and then, from that total, the ones enrolled in philosophy as primary subject:

Foreign students enrolled at the University of Berlin by place of origin (1829-1830)

Place of Origin	Total Number of Students	Students in Philosophy
Scotland	3	1
Russia	9	1
Switzerland	21	2
England	3	-
Lithuania	2	1
Galicia	1	1
Hungary	2	1
Denmark	5	3
Netherlands	6	1
Norway	1	1
Alsace	1	-
France	1	-
Finland	1	-
Amsterdam	1	1
Zurich	1	-
Geneva	1	-
London	1	-

Source: Verzeichnis der Studierenden auf der Königl. Friedrich Wilhelms Universität zu Berlin auf das halbe Jahr von Michaelis 1829 bis Ostern 1830

The numbers above do not show a significant number of students when compared to the close to two thousand enrolled in the 1829-1830 winter semester. At any rate, their acknowledgment corroborates the hypothesis of a wider range of contacts between cultures,

even if tracking down those students and the marks they have left in their countries may not always prove useful, as a determining factor propagating Hegel's philosophy.

Another point to bear in mind is the places, these students represented, are quite heterogenous by today's standards, some of the states were not completely formed and a few major urban areas or cities had larger autonomy with a degree of independence, therefore some names reflect this tendency.

Moreover, Germany as a nation and a state was not yet established, since smaller regional powers played major roles, this is discernable by the names of places Germanic students originate. This meant also making the choice not to include Polish and other regions that were Prussian controlled, with a great number of students. The famous Königsberg of Kant is one such example, where the German administration and culture was present to a great extent.

However, in other cases as in Zurich or to a lesser degree Alsace, even though they have strong German connections, the reasons for the consideration were different. The first should be considered because by then, even with various setbacks, Zurich was tendentiously part of modern Switzerland which is anyway counted as country in the register already. As for Alsace, in spite of all disputes, it remained for the most part under French sphere of influence, particularly in political terms.

These reasonings could always be reconsidered, as in the matriculation entry of polish patriot Stefan Garczyński, who also left valuables notes on Hegel's lectures[135], leaving a mark on his countrymen and friend the famous poet Adam Mickiewicz[136]. In any case, important to retain is the purpose of the data here introduced, which is to show the broader German cultural relations on a university level.

It would be fair to assume the students listed on record could give some hits about Hegelianism elsewhere, especially the students coming from places such as Scotland or Galicia, the later possibly relating to the Iberian Peninsula region, in many respects very close to Portugal, but is most likely a historical part of eastern Europe that became the largest, most populous and northeastern-most province of the Austrian empire. These were students

[135] G.W.F Hegel "Nachschrift Stefan Garczynski mit Varianten aus der Nachschrift Johann Eduard Erdmann" in *Hegel Gesammelte Werke 27.3, Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Weltgeschichte III: Nachschriften zum Kolleg des Wintersemesters 1826/27*, Meiner Verlag, Hamburg, 2019.

[136] See Roman Robert Koropeckyj, *Adam Mickiewicz: The life of a Romantic*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, p.140.

enrolled in philosophy, which deserved our closer attention, although it wasn't uncommon for students to attend classes in other subjects as we will see below.

However, to pursue that assumption often leads to dead ends, with the Galician listed as V. Gastel, J. A. giving no information one could trail after doing the research. He either remained unknown or was known under another name, made even more difficult to assert if he wasn't a prominent public figure.

Therefore, it makes more sense to value that indication on foreign students as an exchange that occurred, rather than insisting they would be speaking about Hegel, much less be a beacon of Hegelianism, in their respective countries without being able to track them down, though this is not always the case.

The Scottish student of philosophy in Berlin was John Stuart Blackie (identified as Blackie, J.), he would later become a renowned academic at the Edinburgh University, devoted to western classical period and the Greek-Latin languages. He was also interested in intellectual culture, philosophy and political topics, while reflecting on his homeland Scotland, writing some literature as well, mainly poetry.

The series of letters he sent to his parents, recounting his German experience, would later be published and through them one learns the main reason behind his travel: to learn the German language, get acquainted with the classical writers and the land's culture, while taking the opportunity to travel and get to know Europe.

In those years Hegel is not mentioned directly, yet enrolled in philosophy one could assume he must have had contact with him, but he does mention Schleiermacher and how he was genuinely impressed by him[137]. This shows students were able to attend lectures in areas of studies other than the ones they were enrolled, in this case theology instead of philosophy.

At a later date, however, in another 1869 letter Hegel is lauded in detriment of English philosophers, evidencing the imprint he may have left on him in those earlier times as a student in Berlin[138]. A poem appearing in that same year with the title "Concerning the I and Non-I"[139], points towards that same direction of a German idealism appreciation, given support to that thesis, but other factors should be reckoned.

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[137] See John Stuart Blackie, *The Letters of John Stuart Blackie to his Wife, with a few earlier ones to his Parents*, selected and edited by his nephew Archibald Stodart Walker, William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1909, pp.38-39 et p.44.

[138] Idem, ibidem, p.176.

[139] Idem, *Musa Burschicosa: A Book of Songs for the Students and University Men*, Edmonston and Douglas, Edinburgh, 1869, pp.41-43.

The surroundings are clearly something to account for, with Hamilton and Fraser, mentioned by name, as the leading philosophers in the University where Blackie also thought, having their metaphysics implicitly criticized in that poem. Hence perhaps his words were voiced at them and the Edinburgh academic scene internal disputes, instead of more a general philosophical alignment, since in Glasgow prospects completely differed with Edward Caird, an avid reader of Hegel.

The issue is much more complex however, after all William Hamilton and later Alexander Campbell Fraser, holding the chairs of Logic and Metaphysics, both profited from the study of Kant. While the chair of Moral Philosophy was disputed by Hamilton's friend James Frederick Ferrier[140], notwithstanding unsuccessful in his attempt. Although down the line, the chair will be held by Calderwood who, even if opposing Hegel in many respects, cannot help mind about the German philosopher premises[141].

It seems more effective to look at the expressions of Hegelianism in other countries, instead of the other way around, from our earlier conclusions. This implies paying attention to debates that were proximate to the issues discussed around German idealism in the various countries, surveying prominent figures independent of whether or not they are present in Hegelian German circles.

These philosophical incidences coming from Hegel will venture hereafter into a short overlook of Europe and the western world. Seldomly, it will still address some concerns related Portugal, whenever it presents itself relevant. I will do this now among the British, starting with Scotland as I have begun already.

Besides the aforementioned Caird, another interesting intellectual was James Hutchison Stirling who travelled Europe extensively, particularly in Germany, and could speak the language fluently, as he had been studying Hegel in depth[142]. The interesting details about Stirling were is broader contacts and unusual life, staying for the most part of his career on

[140] He had studied in Germany and was familiar with German idealism, losing his bid for the chair against Patrick Campbell MacDougall. Besides the obvious philosophical dimension, the issue also had a religious background with traditions and church authority put in question at the time: Alexander Broadie, *History of Scottish Philosophy*, Edinburgh University Press, 2010, p.305.

[141] The initial Hegel translator Augusto Vera will write about the Calderwood and Ferrier when he stayed in England, identifying more consistent speculative philosophy conceptions in Ferrier and more eclectic views in Calderwood. Augusto Vera, *An Inquiry into the Speculative and Experimental Science: With Special Reference to Mr. Calderwood and Professor Ferrier's recent Publications, and to Hegel Doctrine*, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, London, 1856.

[142] His 1865 book *The Secret of Hegel* is a significant contribution to the idealist turn in the coming years.

the margin of academia, he was more of a public intellectual, resembling the famous Thomas Carlyle who was himself an earlier admirer of German philosophical thought[143].

Some other ensuing Scottish men of letters shaped by Hegel were Robert Flint, David George Ritchie and Richard Burdon Haldane, this last one having significant influence over British politics. Conclusively, the philosophical developments in Scotland provided important subsidies to British idealism at large.

The rising interest on Hegel, gave pace to the English translations of his works that were later read in Portugal. These were part of the private libraries such as Oliveira Martins[144], which he more than likely shared with his friends, and were possibly also accessible to the students in public libraries and Universities. The widely disseminated philosophical movement that build up in the 19th century, which came to be known as British idealism, was based on Hegel. Yet reinterpreted by some authors, as in F. H. Bradley or Bernard Bosanquet, derived to original forms which were not merely a reproduction of the Berlin philosopher's ideas.

This signaled the constitution of a constellation that owing to its innovative content some branded Neo-Hegelian[145], notwithstanding the disagreement of some scholars about the term[146]. The authoritative figures held key positions in educational institutions, and society on the whole, gathering followers and teaching large numbers of students, some disciples spawning the movement across multiple generations[147].

Both these Hegelian interpretations and the corresponding translations, created an array of concepts and ways to penetrate Hegel that facilitate the understating of his philosophy, incentivizing other cultures to follow suit and work on their own linguistic constructs to articulate the new philosophical concepts. It helped project the philosopher into

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[143] See David Boucher, "The Scottish Contribution to British Idealism and the Reception of Hegel" in *Scottish Philosophy in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century*, edited by Gordon Graham, Oxford University Press, 2015, pp.158-159.

[144] See Paula Fernanda Martins, *A Biblioteca de Oliveira Martins*, introdução de Martim de Albuquerque, Guimarães Editores, [s.l], 2009, p.203.

[145] See the preface of Hiraral Haldar books discussing the distinctive character of British thinkers, admitting other possible terms to characterize the movement: *Neo-Hegelinianism*, Heath Cranton Ltd, London 1927, pp.V-VII.

[146] Peters Robins defends the terms are equivocal, likewise in the preface to his book: *The British Hegelians 1875-1925*, Garland Publishing, Inc., New York, 1982.

[147] For instance, one could argue T. H. Green was one of those first-generation British idealists and would then be a teacher of R. L. Nettleship, this later taught H. H. Joachim, and finally G. R. G. Mure was guided by Joachim making up for at least four generations. Although, it is more common to hear about two generations because many intersect each other, sometimes reluctantly admitting three as one can read for example in William Sweet "Introduction: Idealism, Ethics, and Social and Political Thought" in *Moral, Social and Political Philosophy of the British Idealists*, Edited by William Sweet, Exeter, Imprint Academic, 2009.

the future and to other latitudes, with more accessible German ideas proving decisive for the Portuguese intellectuals, which could be defined as the British model.

Moving to continental Europe, Holland was probably one of the first places Hegel had an expression, coming from his former student Peter van Ghert[148]. The Dutch studied under him in Jena and even took private lessons due to his difficulties regarding the language[149], they would thereafter become life-long friends. Van Ghert would come to the philosopher's defense in 1810, after an overall negative critical review of Hegel's *Phenomenology of the Spirit* appeared in a journal.

However, the philosophical relevant problems the book addressed got lost, in the discussion regarding the descendancy of his philosophy and comparations with Fichte and Schelling, while still addressing some issues it generally dismissed the speculative methods in favor of reason based on understanding[150].

This early effort should not be disregarded, even if only at the turn of the 19th century growing misgiving goes back to philosophy, looking for new perspectives, which would then be able to breach the common sense and Kantian understandings dominating the philosophical landscape of the Netherlands[151].

What is more, given the cultural constrains, van Ghert exerted nevertheless considerable political influence both in Holland and Belgium, as he strived to use his power to reform education and popularize modern philosophical conceptions, offering leading posts at universities and asking for the German philosophers advise, giving support and appointing various professors friendly to the Hegelian positions[152]. Before going into these developments another digression provides some more context, one revealing the connections to a Hegelian spread up north.

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[148] One of the first letters is from 1809, when van Ghert was back in Amsterdam and became aware Hegel was no longer a professor in Jena, offering to help him get a professorship at a University in Holland propped by is recent position at the ministry of culture, *Brief von und an Hegel, Band I: 1785-1812*, Herausgegeben von Johannes Hoffmeister, Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1970, pp.290-291.

[149] Terry Pinkard recounts this episode in his *Hegel: A Biography*, Cambridge University Press, 2000, p.115.

[150] See in this respect the article from Wim van Dooren, "Eine frühe Hegel-Diskussion in Holland" in *Hegel-Studien*, Vol.11, Felix Meiner Verlag, Hamburg, 1976, p.211-217.

[151] Particular relevance should be given to the controversial Gerardus Bolland that helped popularize Hegel, while holding some anti-modern stances at odds with him, as a sign of this discontent. This is the idea one gets from reading the historian Sieben Thissen in his "Dutch Hegelianism: 'The Cement of Social Life'" in https://web.archive.org/web/20110929191816/http://www.siebethissen.net/Wijsbegeerte_in_Nederland/1994_Dutch_Hegelianism_(english).htm

[152] This can be read in the multiple letters they exchanged, but for a specific study in this aspect see Rolf J. de Foster "Van Ghert und der Hegelianismus in der Politik Niederland" in *Hegel-Studien*, Vol. 14, Felix Meiner Verlag, Hamburg, 1979, pp.243-277.

The Scandinavia regions would also profit politically from the philosophical insights of modernity, this is particularly true for Finland with Jakob Tengström as the professor and main inspirer to Johann Vilhelm Snellman, who is considered the father of the Finnish nation[153]. The early introductions from Tengström were the closest to a translation of Hegel's works[154], having a lasting influence on subsequent generations, which continued beyond Snellman and up until Thiodolf Rein.

The whole region shares close cultural ties, therefore, a similar phenomenon comes about in neighboring countries, with Johan Jakob Borelius in Sweden and Marcus Jacob Monrad in Norway[155]. Furthermore, a reflex of the popularity of Hegelian ideas can be seen in the famous playwriter Henrik Ibsen, a symbol of Scandinavian culture[156].

The long stay of Ibsen in Copenhagen, is also a factor for this subject to be at the center of his intellectual interests. Denmark was, in the first half of 19th century, the mediating route of German philosophy to Scandinavia, as well as to the Dutch and French speaking world. This period, later known as the Danish Golden Age, has Hegelianism vibrating at its core[157].

The aesthetic foundations of that movement were not simply an appanage of philosophy, but had artistic repercussions with a far-reaching impact, including Portugal where literature and theater pieces disseminated, following the theoretical advances, ideas

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[153] See in this respect Juha Manninen,"Staat und Bildung: Folgen und Folgerung aus der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie im Finnland im Jahre 1830-1831" in *Hegel-Studien*, Vol. 42, Felix Meiner Verlag, Hamburg, 2007, pp.31-55.

[154] Some of these works would be publish in the later years of his life:
Johan Jakob Tengström, *Förklaringar vid Hegel's Inledning till Rättsphilosophin*, J. C Frenckells & Son, Helsinki, 1841.
Idem, *Hegels philosophiska propaedeutik: första kursen: rätts-, pligt- och religions-lära*, J. C Frenckells & Son, Helsinki, 1845.
Idem, *Doctrina philosophiae Hegelianae de essentia artis pulchrae J. C Frenckells & Son*, Helsinki, 1846.

[155] The discussions were also religious in nature, thus many of the intermediates were theologians as well, which given the interpretative quarrels helps explain why Frederik Georg Afzelius, as a more radical Hegelian, contrary to Borelius, a conservative, never attained official recognition. Hegelianism was often viewed with mistrust and as potential threat to the establishment according to Jouni Alavuotunki, "The Strauss Debate in Sweden: Some Remarks in the Reception of Hegelianism" in *Scandinavian Journal of History*, Vol. 5, Issue 1-4, 1980, pp.137-148.

[156] See for instance the following articles:
John C. Pearce "Hegelian Ideas in Three Tragedies by Ibsen" in *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. 34 No. 4, Universitiy of Illinois Press, November 1962, pp.245-257.
Aarseth, Asbjørn "Peer Gynt and Hegel's Ideas on Egyptian Art" in *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. 73 No. 4, 2001, University of Illinois Press, pp.535–546.
Kristin Gjesdal "Ibsen and Hegel on Egypt and the Beginning of Great Art" in *Hegel Bulletin*, Vol. 28, Issue 1-2: number 55/56, Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp.67-86.

[157] See the multi-volume study of Jon Stewart *A History of Hegelianism in Golden Age Denmark, Tome I: The Heiberg Period: 1824-1836, Tome II: The Martensen Period: 1837-1842*, Reitzel Publishing House, Copenhagen, 2007.

and associated discussions that Ibsen, together with J. L. Heiberg and many others, put forward in their performative works.

The political directions also favored or modelled the cultural aspects highlighted[158], leading two prime-ministers to be, if not Hegelian, fairly acquainted with this philosophy as in Anders Sandøe Ørsted and Ditlev Gothard Monrad. These features proceed more from philosophical discussions on right, the state and about history than from theologues-philosophers, such as Hans Lassen Martensen or Adolph Peter Adler, and other thinkers associated with Hegelianism[159].

Two important names in these matters were the jurists-academics Frederik Christian Bornemann and Niels Nikolaus Falck, the first was the son of a long-line of political influential lawmen and the latter, alike the famous danish man of letters Henrik Steffens long-lived association to the Berlin University, was a professor in Kiel's University for a good number of years. He would be one of the first to criticize Eugène Lerminier interpretation of Hegel's reason-reality relationship to a French audience[160].

This is important for the Portuguese contacts with German philosophy of right, since Lerminier's book *Philosophie du Droit* was a source for many, which raises the curtain for the Danish and other northern countries, besides Germany itself, taking part in the propagation of German philosophy and Belgium is many ways a nodal point connecting to France and the Latin World.

One great example of such Belgium cultural transfers was Jacob Nicolai Moeller, a Norwegian but Danish educated and then religious-motivated émigré, who had become a friend of the soon to be famous philosopher, while living in various German cities. He later secured an honorary philosophy professorship in Leuven and was a pivotal early disseminator of German philosophy, Hegel in particular, to French speaking lands with his numerous publications[161].

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[158] See for a political perspective of that period Bertel Nygaard, "Hegelianism in Politics: Denmark 1830-1848" in *Intellectual History Review*, Vol. 19, Issue 3, 2009, pp.303-318.

[159] See for a quick overview of the main Hegelian figures or partially connect to the movement in Denmark Jon Steward, *Kierkegaard's relations to Hegel Reconsidered*, Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp.50-69

[160] He tells us Lerminier misunderstood Hegel proposition that what is real is rational and vice-versa: N. Falck, *Cours d'Introdution Génerale à l'Étude du Droit: ou Encyclopédie Juridique*, Gustave Thorel Libraire, Paris, 1841, p.125.

[161] See a list of his publications, as well as from his son, accompanied by a short biography on each in *Revue Catholique*, Tome 21, P. J. Verbiest Imprimeur-Editeur, Louvain, 1865, pp.85-89.

That same university actually employed his son, the historian Jean Moeller, likewise strongly connected to Hegel even studying under him when he was headmaster in a Nuremberg high school[162], later graduating from Berlin in 1830 when the philosopher was the rector[163].

The catholic Nikolai Moeller was for the most part a supporter of Hegel's ideas, studying by him in Jena, but still voiced some criticism in his final years[164]. However, judging by some journal's articles many of his students and colleagues in Leuven viewed the Berlin philosopher positively such as: Nicholas-Joseph Laforêt defending Hegel's new logic against the old common sense one[165], or Jean-Joseph Thonissen noting the use of Hegelian triadic progression by French socialists[166].

The University of Leuven as a radiating point after Moeller's arrival seems like an attractive thought, but the fondness for German philosophy already had a history there with Baron Reiffenberg, writing about his various trips to Germany. The Belgium professor recounts his curious encounter with Hegel who, asked upon a succinct explanation of his system, told him his philosophy could not be explained in French[167]!

Possibly van Ghert had a hand in that initial take up of Hegel, after all he was responsible for Franz Joseph Seber appointment to the Leuven's Collegium Philosophicum in 1826, a German theologue in his eyes friendly to their cause, while charged with educational-religious reforms, of the then Dutch administered Belgium[168].

This condition allowed him to drive the internal affairs of institutions there, adding to his efforts in the Netherlands where he had for example established a philosophical journal in The Hague together with Kiehls, a former Hegel student exercising medicine there.

During that tenure away he resided in Brussels, pushing forward from there too the ideas of speculative philosophy, through his association with the Concordia society which was

[162] See Pierre F. X. de Ram eulogy in *Analectes pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Université de Louvain*, Imprimeurs-Libraires de l'Université, Leuven, 1862, p.50.
[163] Idem, ibidem, p.9.
[164] See the critic of Hegel's logic in his article "La Sophistique de Hegel" in *Revue Catholique*, Tome 3, Louvain, 1845-46, pp.235-238 et 300-305 et 341-349 et 516-522 et 561-567.
[165] See *Revue Catholique,* Tome 6, Libraires de l'Université, Leuven, 1848, p.359.
[166] See *Revue Catholique*, Tome 7, Libraires de l'Université, Leuven, 1849, p.397.
[167] See Reiffenberg, *Souvenirs d'un Pèlerinage en l'honneur de Schiller*, Imprimerie de N. J. Gregoir, Bruxelles et Leipzig, 1839, p.208.
[168] See *Brief von und an Hegel, Band III: 1823-1831, op. cit.* pp.117-118.

directed at intellectuals, and once again sought to offer a university position to Hegel in Brussels[169].

The diffusion of Krausism over the Iberian Peninsula also emanates from Brussels, making the location an important point of contact to German philosophy, first through the political refugee Heinrich Ahrens and then Gillaume Tiberghien, as professors there, both widely read in Portugal.

Although their ideas pertain to German idealism, having some connections to Hegel, it lacks deepness, notes the young Hegelian journal *Hallische Jahrbücher* in its critic of Ahrens lessons, which portrayed Krause as an advancement over Hegel[170].

Despite Belgium's incomparable proportion to Paris, it still attracted many international figures of relevance beyond the Francophonie, in fact Brussels was home to the Italian philosopher Vicenzo Gioberti for many years, who would later prove fundamental for debates surrounding German philosophy in Italy, even if he derided it whenever foreign ideas were too prominent within Italy[171].

This invites for a look down south, with Switzerland along the way also as a mediating point to consider. One could go further east and surely uncover interesting findings, much more so near the turn of the century with the socialist movement and the Russian Revolution, however, the intention here is just to have a brief indication of the transnational dimension, especially in the early years of Hegelianism.

The focus should be on central Europe and the connection between east-west and north-south in its Portuguese manifestation, to which Italy, Spain and especially France were in a better position to do. By all means Switzerland functioned as a hinge between cultures, often as a safe-haven for political refugees.

Despite Hegel's disillusionment during his Bern's stay, that spoiled the image of an ideal liberal society, Ignaz Troxler, an early student of him while in Jena, helped bring philosophy's concerns to the highest spheres of state there[172]. The Swiss major centers also accommodated foreign intellectuals, but things get interesting further south with nearby Italy seeing waves of Hegelianism in the coming years.

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[169] See *Brief von und an Hegel, Band II: 1813-1822*, *op. cit.* pp.158-159.

[170] See J. Frauenstädt "Zur Kenntiss und Kritik der Krause'schen Philosophie" in *Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst*, Tome 4, Verlag von Otto Wigand, Leipzig, 1841, pp.609-620.

[171] See the doctoral thesis of Alessandro de Arcangelis, *Hegelians on the Slopes of Vesuvius*, University College of London, 2018, pp.52-53 et p.236-237.

[172] See Klaus Vieweg, *Hegel: Der Philosoph der Freiheit*, Beck Verlag, Münschen, 2019, pp.141-143 et p.667.

An interesting intellectual, for a time taking refuge in Swiss territories as well, was Giambattista Passerini, adding up even a direct contact to Hegel, from his stay in Berlin, on top of the later extensive Italian tradition regarding German philosophy. It was apparently through Eduard Gans, the liberal minded assistant professor at the Berlin University, he was on good terms with that Passerini got to know the philosopher[173].

Not surprisingly, the very first translation came from this Italian expatriate in 1840, even less so that it was Gans' edition of Hegel's lectures on Philosophy of History, probably in connection with lectures he might have attended while in Berlin.

Over the following years many other translations come to light, those of Augusto Vera initially read in Portugal, were transited first in French and only later in Italian. Both for Portugal and Italy, and many other countries, France plays an important role especially through the philosopher Victor Cousin.

Cousin was a friend of Vera, but curiously Passerini met him in Paris as well, and translated his German philosophy imbued *Fragments Philsophiques*. In truth, Cousin seems to be discernible in many early appropriations of Hegel, possibly owing to the fact he was a model for such himself.

Sparks of the new philosophy spread more quickly to travelers and exiles, which brought them by extension to their own circles of support, such as in Domenico Mazzoni, Gino Capponi or even Giuseppe Mazzini. The last one, generally seen as the leader of *Il Risorgimento* and the Young Italy movement at the origin of Italian national unity, defended Hegel against superficial attacks, yet far from an adherent *per se* he was rather philosophically literate, Mazzini never conceded to a school but still saw the greatness of his system [174].

The wealthy Capponi fostered openness to the world outside Italy, going frequently abroad, he had writings and dealings with foreigners, which drove him to create the journal

[173] See Luciano Aguzzi, *Riforma religiosa, hegelismo, comunismo e il problema del Risorgimento in Italia nel pensiero e nell'opera di Giambattista Passerini (1793-1864)*, Ateneo di Scienze Lettere e Arti, Brescia, 1985, p.105.

[174] See him bashing Romagnosi judgment on Hegel in 1837 article publish in a British journal: "On Italian Literature Since 1830" in *Life and Writings of Joseph Mazzini*, vol. II, Smith, Elder & Co, London, 1905, p.209. By the late 1830' he surely had read books on German philosophy, while at times close to Cousin's eclecticism mode of adjoining bits and pieces from different philosophies, he later went on to criticize the resignation to a supposed factuality inspired by a certain Hegel interpretation: "Il Cesarismo – Ai Giovani dell'Universitá di Palermo" in Scriti editi e inédité di Giuseppe Mazzini, Vol. XIV, Tip. Lit. Democratica, Roma, 1885, p.106.

Antologia where German idealism was first given attention by Romagnosi among others[175]. One of those collaborating in such foreign cosmopolitan overture was Mazzoni, with whom Capponi also exchanged extensive correspondence[176], a philosophy teacher for many years in Tuscany.

He spent some time in Germany after 1835, having had contact with the important philosophical debates surrounding the split within Hegelianism[177], upon his return he had plans to make idealism known in his home country, and apparently began to translate Hegel logic but never published it[178].

Throughout Italy one could find other major intellectual figures relating to international intellectual circles, Augusto Vera similarly fated fellow countryman Giuseppe Ferrari teaching in France is one such case, ultimately growing more in tune with Hegel as the years passed[179]. All persons mentioned up until now are from upper Italy, surely also an intellectual pole of dissemination, some even speaking of the Tuscany Hegelians[180].

However, owing to complex dialectical movements in history coming out of Napoleonic wars, the liberation from *Ancien Régime* constraints is simultaneously accompanied by resistance and national sentiments, fostering acute changes and intense sociopolitical activity in the following years elsewhere.

Its meridional strategic location put Naples at the center of this transformations, becoming one of the main eradiating points of new ideas in general, and Hegelianism in particular[181]. The first Neapolitan roadmap openers to German idealism were Pasqualle

[175] One such foreigner was the close friend Alfred von Reumont. The depth of their friendship can be estimated from a book he wrote himself about Gino Capponi, also briefly recounting Antologia's project: *Gino Capponi: Ein Zeit- und Lebensbild*, Friedrich Andreas Perthes, Gotha, 1880, particularly in pp.97-107 et p.153.
[176] See for example the 1841 letter Mazzoni sent to Capponi discussing German philosophy at length: *Lettere di Gino Capponi e di altri a lui*, edited by Alessandro Carraresi, Volume VI, Successori Le Monnier, Firenze, 1890, pp.212-217.
[177] See Losacco Michele, "L'abate Mazzoni in Germania" in *Bullettino Storico Pistoiese*, Officina Tipografica Cooperativa, Postoia, 1913, pp.1-16 et pp.84-97.
[178] See Antonella Birindelli, "Domenico Mazzoni e la conoscenza di Hegel e Schelling in Toscana nella prima metà dell'Ottocento" in *Archivio di Filosofia*, Cedam, Padova, 1976, p.164.
[179] Ferrari was one of the first Italians to critical review Lerminier's *Philosophie du Droit*, showing also he had read Hegel in his *Essai sur le principe et les limites de la Philosophie de l'Histoire* (1843) and finally in his *Filosofia della Rivoluzione* (1873) he criticizes Hegel's dialectical syllogism in the way he understands it but celebrates Hegel historical emphasis, even if distorted by that logic, casting some arguments picked up in later Italian criticisms of Hegel. See for his relation to Hegel also the following article: Pierfrancesco Nicoli, "l'Hegelianismo di Giuseppe Ferrari" in *Rivista di Filosofia*, Vol. VII, Editore A. F. Formiggini, Genova, 1915, pp.211-219.
[180] See Eugenio Garin, *Storia della Filosofia Italiana*, Vol. 3, Giulio Einaudi Editori, Torino, 1966, pp.1225-1229.
[181] See in this respect the work of Guido Oldrini, *Il Primo Hegelismo Italiano*, Vallecchi, Firenze, 1969.

Galluppi and Ottavio Colecchi, then other exponents followed with Stefano Cusani beginning to voice the first philosophical concerns, giving rise to a mainstream adherence to Hegelianism.

The one with the most public prominence was Francesco de Sanctis, notwithstanding Bertrando Spaventa being considered the brighter philosophical mind of his age by subsequent generations[182]. Later on, the established French translator of Hegel in Europe Augusto Vera would become professor in Naples too.

Derived initially from eclectic readings, Hegel went on to be more thoroughly studied and quickly dominated the philosophical panorama in the Western world, thence arose also an orthodoxy contraposed by the criticism of a maladjusted appropriation, reminiscent of the all too familiar Hegelian divide, this time in Naples rather than Berlin[183].

By the turn of the century, however, idealist philosophy had stretched to other parts of the peninsula, at the same time moving away or reworking Hegel anew, with for instance Antonio Labriola performing a Marxist reconfiguration[184], or Benedetto Croce version of an updated liberalism.

On the threshold of 20th century these readings also had an impact in Portugal, such as António Sérgio readings of Hegel in light of his socio-ethical political conceptions, or Joaquim de Carvalho welcoming of Croce's suggestions, which due to the departure from base stances some branded Neo-Hegelianism, immediately bringing to mind the British paradigm.

Contrasting with other countries, Italy read philosophers in the German language more commonly, thus the problem of unsatisfying translations was always posed now and again, making it the language in which Hegel was most widely translated, often each translator criticizing the previous one.

This is important for translations in general, because any foreign translation is lead to or should take other ones critically, as previous base work, all the more in the concept building endeavor. Therefore, there is a modified English model here, since even with translations a

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More recently, there is a proposal for broader European perspectives of the topic in the doctoral thesis by Alessandro de Arcangelis, *Hegelians on the Slopes of Vesuvius*, University College of London, 2018.

[182] This is deducible from the writing of his students Labriola and Croce, as well as more openly defended by the late Giovanni Gentile: *Le Origini della Filosofia Contemporanea in Italia: I Neokantismo e gli Hegeliani*, Parte Seconda, Sansoni, Firenze, 1957, pp.188-189.
See also Hardy Hearder, *Italy in the Age of the Risorgimento 1790-1870*, Routledge, London, 1988, p.296

[183] See in this regard the study of Guido Oldrini, *Gli hegeliani di Napoli: Augusto Vera e la corrente ortodossa*, Feltrinelli, Milano, 1964.

[184] See Antonio Labriola, *Scritti Filosofici e Politici*, Einaudi Editore, Vol.2, Torino, 1973, pp.716-727.

lot more was coming from the originals, and the early ones were less able translators, or not as technically trained and established philosophers in comparison to Britain.

Changing sights near to one's center of attention, an inquire into Iberian Peninsula reveals a blatant example regarding the importance of such translations, considering that the very first translations to Spanish were not derived of the original German works, but rather from Italian and French sources. The logic of Hegel translated by Antonio Maria Fabié Escudero in 1872 was apparently based on Vera and A. Novelli versions, backed by other works, available in Spain at the time, conducive to familiarity with this philosophy or at least with the semantics used to portrait it[185].

The case for German philosophy reception there is thus more complex, surely not quite well out of the equation but given the nuances, of an at large indirect knowledge, more questions arise when speaking of an ¿*Hegel en España*?

More importantly, the precedence of Krausism will set some guidelines for the knowledge of Hegel, as a competing conception, its recognition is even severed by it. In the opening chapters for Krause in Spain, Julian Sanz del Rio stands out along with his move to Madrid in 1840 from alma mater University of Granada, where he was by then already a professor. Founding a law firm in the capital at first, he would soon become a professor at the University too[186].

The interest of Sanz del Rio for Krause was already evident in Madrid, this is somewhat evidenced by his student Ruperto Navarro Zamorano translation of Ahrens then recently published lectures in France. However, the political support for a scientific travel intended to furnish modern ideas back home would become a platform for its expansion.

Initially travelling to Paris, he would meet Ahrens himself in Brussels whom he asked for advice regarding the study of German philosophy, Krause chiefly, to which the teutonic expatriate pointed towards Heidelberg, where he would then spend almost two years before going back to Spain[187].

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[185] Besides the French and Italian translations mentioned, Antonio Turchiarulo *Philosophy Right* translation was also available in the library of the *Ateneo de Madrid*, along with whole range of other works: Antonio Heredia Soriano, *Exilios Filosóficos de España,* Ediciones Universidad de Salamaca, 1992, p.329.
José Ignacio Lacasta Zabalza, *Hegel em España: um estúdio sobre la mentalidade social del hegelismo hispánico*, Cento de Estudios Constitucionais, Madrid, 1984, p.25.
See more on Maria Fabie's relation to Hegel from Pedro Muro Romero "La reception del pensamiento de Hegel en España: António Mariá Fabié y Escudero" in *Pensamiento: revista de investigacaión e información filosófica*, Vol.39, n.156, Universidade Pontificia Comillas, Madrid, 1983, p.477-485.
[186] See Gervasio Manrique, *Sanz del Rio: siglo XIX*, M. Aguilar Editor, Madrid, 1936, pp.15-20.
[187] Idem, ibidem, pp.21-24.

Upon his return, Sanz del Rio withdrew to his studies rather than take up a position at the University, apparently due to his still insufficient knowledge as well as probably the lack of support and political instability of those years. Nevertheless, others were opening the way for that kind of philosophy, reworked through Cousin's eclecticism, illustrated by Tomás Garcia Luna 1843-45 lessons in the Ateneo of Madrid. He took up those offers only later, laying the basis of a Hispanic philosophical catch-up attempt[188].

In that period of study, German philosophy as a whole was the Spanish philosopher's concern, hence his correspondence discusses Hegel at length as for example in an 1861 letter praising some principles this philosophy entails, nevertheless highly critical of what he considers the subjective emptying of objective reality embroiled in a logicism trap[189].

Those German tendencies of thought certainly helped the intellectual interest and the increased attention given to the dialectical philosopher, so much so that after 1850s Seville becomes the center of Hegelianism by the hands of José Contero y Ramirez, a professor at the University there[190].

In the follow up, Antonio Benítez de Lugo and Francisco Escudero y Peroso will further promote it, with the first publishing in 1872 *Filosofia del Derecho: Ó estudio fundamental del mismo, según la doctrina de Hegel*, while the latter was until his death in 1874 the leading professor of Philosophy of Right in Seville, having had also political influence in Spain. Actually, many relevant political figures fell under the shade of Hegelian conceptions, which besides the already mentioned Hegel translator also include for example Emilio Castelar, Fermin Salvochea or Francisco Pi y Margall[191].

The political appropriations of philosophical conceptions were selective and guided by a certain Germanophilia, thanks to Prussia's ascension, largely giving ammunition to reconcile liberalism with conservative outlooks, nonetheless to lesser extent also due to radical

[188] The creation of the *Institución Libre de Ensenanza* in 1876 is its most important outcome, in that respect see the multi-volume work by Antonio Jiménez-Landi Martínez, *La Institución Libre de Ensenanza y su Ambiente*, 4 Volumes, Editorial Complutense, Madrid, 1996.

[189] See Julian Sanz del Rio, *Cartas Inéditas*, published by D. Manuel de la Revilla, Casa Editorial Medina y Navarro, Madrid, [1873?], pp.106-109.

[190] See in this respect Juan Ramón García Cué, *El Hegelianismo en la Universidad de Sevilla*, Disputacion Provincial de Sevilla, 1983.

[191] See a brief overview of Hegel's philosophy intellectual significance to Spanish spearhead figures: Salvador Rus Rufino "Las leciones de filosófio de la historia de G.W.F Hegel" in *El curso de la Historia: Claves de la razón histórico-politica*, Erasmus Ediciones, Barcelona, 2011, pp.61-62.
See for a broader political significance of Hegelianism in Spain: Juan Francisco García Casanova, *La Filosofia hegeliana en la España del siglo XIX*, Fundacaión Juan March, Madrid, 1978, pp.8-18.

positions of some German thinkers[192]. That was the case for brands of Hegelianism grossly informing such political power struggles. Therefore, one could argue that only at the turn of the century a more fruitful reading of the Berlin philosopher takes place, admittedly by Miguel de Unamuno and José Ortega y Gasset[193].

Without a doubt, Krause's take over in Spain, which is not uncontested but still the main philosophical current, had major reflexes in Portugal and there are many similarities in both countries regarding Hegelian expressions, especially due to the fact French sources mediate them, despite of being paradoxically accompanied by a Galeophobia aftereffect[194].

Already since Alexandre Herculano and Almeida Garrett there was a critic of what they deemed *francesismo*, this was later expanded from 1870s onward with Oliveira Martins, Antero de Quental and Eça de Queiroz just to name a few, seeking a broader cultural background, linked in particular to German thought.

Moreover, as a precursor of Krausism, Sanz del Rio bares some similarities to Alexandre Herculano, since even if at different stages in their lives, both intellectuals retreated to solitary life-styles of self-exile in face of socio-political upheave, with prevalent thoughts coming out from the residence place they left only occasionally, often also receiving pilgrims in their sanctuary of intellectual discontent[195].

The ideals and moral tenets Sanz del Rio passed onto the next generations were significant, inasmuch Bernardino Machado considered him the forerunner of Spain's modern national thought[196], indicating the backing of similar ideas to those of its neighbor, for the Portuguese politician entertained at least an Iberian approximation[197].

This perspective of mutual beneficial relations, on the basis of a historical connection, giving pace to Iberism in accord with some federative principles as expressed by Alexandre

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[192] See Juan López-Morillas, *El Krausismo Español: perfil de una aventura intelectual*, revised 2nd edition, Fondo de Cultura Económica, Madrid, 1980, pp.85-106.

[193] See Marina Alvarez-Goméz "Zur gegenwärtigen Hegel-Rezeption in Spanien" in *Hegel-Studien*, vol. 14, Felix Meiner Verlag, Hamburg, 1979, pp.280-283.

[194] See Juan López-Morillas, *op. cit.* pp.107-120.

[195] See for Herculano and Sanz del Rio connection to Vale de Lobos and Illescas respectively:
Cândido Beirante, *Herculano em Vale de Lobos*, Junta Distrital de Santarém, 1977.
Roberto Albares Albares, *Julián Sanz del Rio [1814-1869]: El pensador de Illescas*, Almud Ediciones, Ciudad Real, 2012.

[196] See Bernardino Machado "A Educação nova em Hespanha" in O *Instituto: Revista Científica e Literária*, Vol.43, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1896, p.494.

[197] His friendship with Giner de los Rios is a testimony to these Iberian perspectives, see in that respect Eugenio Otero Urtaza "Bernardino Machado e Francisco de Los Ríos entre 1886 e 1910. Amizade, Iberismo e Espírito de Reforma Educativa" in *Eixo Atlántico: Revista da Eurorrexion Galicia-Norte de Portugal*, n.4, 2003, pp.112-115.

Herculano or more so in the young Oliveira Martins, finds inclusively support in the Krausist idea of harmonic rationalism, which together with other tendencies is an outright importation from elsewhere[198].

Finally, the region at the center of philosophical mediating processes in most of Europe would be France and other francophone territories, which for Portugal in particular was the main intellectual source of new ideas, on top of its decisive contribution to the opening of modern era in the continent with its revolution. However, as we have seen, it is part of a much broader dialogue involving the whole Europe and movements between countries, whose prime fixation has been hitherto the marks Cousin left specially in Italian and, to a lesser degree, Spanish philosophical developments.

In reality, Cousins' weight extents to Britain for instance through Jean Wallon and H. Sloman first Hegel's translation to English in 1855 based on a previous French one, which went without mention because it stands apart from the actual later translations.

Those exchanges do not restrict themselves to extensive travels of Cousin in Germany, many other contacts of Frenchmen with the Berlin Philosopher would take place, not only did the countries share common border but also interest. In 1827 Hegel himself travelled broadly and would have a long stay in Paris, meeting various social elite figures such as Francois Mignet or Adolphe Thiers, with whom he had cozy encounters, including meals together[199].

Eduard Gans the dialectical philosopher's assistant at the University of Berlin also had close ties to France. He travelled there before-hand and probably updated Hegel on all the ideas finding prominence amid their neighbors, while also reading the leading French historians Jules Michelet, Francois Guizot and Augustin Thierry[200]. Notwithstanding, what caused the most striking impressions on Gans, given his political inclinations in the study of philosophy, came from the ascendent socialist movement, particularly those around Saint-Simon and their social concerns[201].

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[198] See António dos Santos Pereira "Inquietante Iberismo em inversa Navegação" in *Aula Ibérica: actas de los congresos de Évora y Salamanca (2006-2007)*, edited by Ángel Marcos de Dios, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2007, pp.239-240.

[199] See Klaus Vieweg, *Hegel: Der Philosoph der Freiheit*, op. cit. pp.560-562 and also Horst Althaus, *Hegel und die heroischen Jahre der Philosophie*: Eine Biographie, Carl Hanser Verlag, Münschen, 1992 pp.478-482.

[200] See Eduard Gans*, Erbrecht in weltgeschichtlicher Entwicklung,* Vol.4, In der Maurerschen Buchhandlung, Berlin, 1835, pp.241-249.

[201] See in this respect Myriam Bienenstock "Die 'soziale Frage' im französisch-deutschen Kulturaustauch: Gans, Marx und die Saint Simon-Rezeption" in *Eduard Gans (1797-1839): Politischer Professor zwischen Restauration und Vormärz*, edited by R. Blänkner, G. Göhler and N. Waszek, Leipziger Universität Verlag, 2001, pp.153-175.

Backing for the theories of the movement initiated bz Saint-Simon, including those regarding culture, is sought in modern capitalist society, which tends towards economic liberalism with cosmopolitan outlooks, whereby different regions are articulated with each other's, similar to the division of labor interdependences in industrial processes.

Perhaps that is a reason for him to regularly travel and engage with other cultural latitudes. Having had a cultural interest for Germany, in 1808 he considered that character of its people was the most eager about science, notwithstanding he thought it was still entangled in mystical principles, prognosticating however that it will move us a long way[202]. The followers Ange Guepin and Michel Chevalier express identical views. The first identifies the English as the language of industry and the German the language of science[203], while the later speaks in the following manner:

"three nations represent most perfectly the three faculties of human nature, France, the sympathetic bounding people, England, the industrial materialist people, German, the spiritualist wise people"[204].

Chevalier certainly resonates in Oliveira Martins' idea of a synthetic culture for the Latin people, between the materialist and spiritual world, with his similar placement of France under such molds. These men's philosophical sensibilities are paragoned through Jules Lechevalier amazement for Germany which lead him to travel there. He wished to learn their doctrines and, as an economist, he was particularly moved by Hegel's system of needs[205].

It seems not only him but many of those early Saint-Simonians travelled to Germany, or discussed those travels carried by some of them, judging by the supplement to a short-lived socialist journal in 1848 which had written under "socialist works" from 1825 to 1828:

[202] See Saint-Simon, *Son Premier Écrit*, published by Olinde Rodrigues, La Librairie Saint-Simonienne, Paris, 1852, pp.XXII-XXIII.
[203] "l'anglais (la langue industrielle) et l'allemand (la langue scientifique)" Ange Guépin, *Traité d'Economie Sociale*, Paris 1833 p.96.
[204] "trois nations qui représentent le plus parfaitement les trois facultés de l'existence humanitaire, de la FRANCE, peuple SYMPATHIQUE, LIANT, de l'*Angleterre*, peuple *industriel*, *matérialiste*; et de l'Allemagne, peuple *spiriutaliste*[sic], *savant*" Michel Chevalier, *Politique Industrielle et Système de la Méditerranée*, Paris, 1832, p.16.
[205] See Jules Lechevalier, Etudes sur la Science Sociale, Capelle Libraire, Paris, 1834, p.19 et p.434.

"Travels to Germany for the verification of whether its social science is more advanced than in France. – Followed by discussions of Saint-Simonism with Enfantin, Bazard, Olinde Rodrigues and Duveyrier"[206]

The room those Hegelian ideas had in Portugal would always be molded from its Saint-Simonian provenience, particularly the emphasis abroad on technological development and the fact of it being popular amongst engineers, to which some Portuguese were followers of that fashion[207].

Somewhat wishes for a rapid industrialization under *Fontismo*, notwithstanding, mostly the means of communication and transport will have such swift development, would be marked by the ascension of those ideas, of which Tomás de Ávila became the better-known figure[208]. However, the philosophical and ecumenical ideas, defended by the French socialists, occupied only a secondary place in it, expressed for example through the idea of a social body in need of regeneration.

However, Saint-Simon ideals got stuck in its time, doomed by its own limitations, many moved successively to other socialist camps, as in the case of Lechevalier, or abandoned them altogether. An intellectual captivated at first by those proposals was Pierre Leroux, fortunately maintaining more consistent socialist views as the movement disaggregated. While admitting openness to their religious inclinations, he turned them increasingly political as he drew closer to philosophy and spirituality.

The study of German philosophical tradition was one of Leroux accomplishments, even though at times preferring to laud Schelling instead of Hegel, he would go on to consider that the philosophy coming from Berlin furnishes the true metaphysic behind Saint-Simonism[209]. The French philosopher was known to those sympathetic towards socialism in Portugal,

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[206] "Voyage en Allemagne pour vérifier si la science sociale n'y est pas plus avancée qu' en France. – Discussion suivie du saint-simonisme avec Enfantin, Bazard, Olinde Rodrigues et Duveyrier" *Au Peuple* supplement of the *Journal de la République Démocratique et Sociale*, 18 november 1848.

[207] See Maria Paula Diogo and Tiago Saraiva, *Inventing A European Nation: Engineers for Portugal, From Baroque to Fascism*, Morgan & Claypool Publishers, Oregon State University, 2021, pp.43-47 et pp.57-61

[208] See "Joaquim Tomás de Avila, Conde de Valbom: um Homem da Regeneração" in *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura*, Vol. 16, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2016, pp.293-319.

[209] "L'école Saint-Simonienne renfermait un germe pur et divin dans sa doctrine de la Perfectibilité, conséquence directe de la philosophie du Dix-Huitième Siècle; mas elle manquait d'une métaphysique, lorsque des Hégéliens lui apportèrent de Berlin la doctrine de Hegel, l'Incarnation.
Comme au fond de d'Hégélianisme, et sous cette formule suprême de L'Incarnation de l'infini dans le fini, se retrouvait, ainsi que nos l'avons montré plus haut, la doctrine du progrès dans la nature et dans la religion, l'alliance entre les deux écoles se fit aisément. Les disciples de Hegel se firent Saint-Simoniens, les disciples de Saint-Simon se firent Hégéliens." Pierre Leroux, "Du Cours de Philosophie de Schelling" in *La Revue Indépendante*, Vol. 3, Paris, 1842, pp.332-333.

Oliveira Martins and Antero de Quental partially read him, though to what extent is difficult to ascertain.

At any rate in Amorim Viana is where a stronger connection could be established with his *Defesa do Racionalismo ou Análise da Fé*, a book that touches upon topics similar to those brought forward by Leroux. The inquiries and theories surrounding socialism had traces of Hegelianism, of which Leroux, albeit one of the more capable, is in some respects definitely not the main figure.

That place is reserved for Proudhon in Portugal, and in the Iberian Peninsula for that matter, finding predominance among the intellectuals. The Hegelian turn, or more accurately described as an intended philosophical quality, of his work about economic contradictions would become the most famous, owing to a polemic with Karl Marx.

Despite his dubious credentials in Hegel's philosophy, some of Proudhon's ideas are echoed by many authors and he was particularly liked for his associative principles, which became all the more relevant due to his efforts to grasp the German philosophy.

Thus, these elements together with a few others, such as his appeal to the middle classes, labeled pejoratively as bourgeois socialism, had a significant impact on others to follow suit. They were inspired by aspects of his philosophy and theories, which is verifiably from many examples in Portugal[210].

This and other currents of thought, with different opposing forces, often fall into the trap of not moving against the grain. This led to the narrowing down of possibilities, in a setup that was meant to be understood as if it was speaking for all, but somehow held out in some ways on the basis of presumed authorities out of the establishment.

Dissenting voices, western bias triumphalism and Eurocentric critique in cultural transfers

On the first pages of this chapter issues were raised regarding the weight of opposing views, however, even within the guise of criticizing dominant positions dissonant voices are curtailed, since some theories, and conclusions drawn from critical aspects, largely disregard

[210] See in this respect for instance:
Proudhon e a Cultura Portuguesa, 5 Volumes, Editorial Cultura, Braga, 1967-1968.
Acílio Estanqueiro Rocha, "Proudhon e o socialismo anteriano" in *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*, Vol.47, No. 2, 1991, pp.349-374.
António Teixeira Fernandes "O socialismo Proudhoniano na Escola Portuense" in *Sociologia: Revista da Faculdade de Letras do Porto*, Vol.11, 2001, pp.123-161.

differentiation. The critique of francesismo, well known from Eça de Queiroz writings, could for example be seen as a conscious critic of the dominance of the French ideas within the Portuguese intellectual elites, even if plausibly rejected by some in face of many other concurring cultural inspirations[211].

Yet there are levels of differentiation which need to be accounted along with this idea of dominance, is it French culture altogether that is at question? Or even a supposed supremacy? a closer look reveals it is not because those were French, but precisely because they were not French, they were rather other ideas dressed up in French jargon, namely coming from Germany.

This also raises the contentious matter of center and periphery, particularly given the marginal location of Portugal on a European scale in the 19th century. But is there truly a center? or instead multiple centers and peripheries? Possibly a negotiated power between major European forces at play, such as in a French-German-English concurring integration[212]. That scenario entails routes of movement, as well as contending cultural centers of dissemination. A configuration surely in accordance with the appraisal of it being a century governed from an imperialist posture[213].

The western bias is also an inward exercise, which has had lasting effects in the region, amplified through the world by the conquering hero's own perception. Therefore, the movements of cultural transfers are imbibed in self-fulfilling ideas of questionable universalism, to the extent pre-destination reads in every word a liable author has written. The determinism of which some accused Hegel maybe also has something to do with the eye that reads him.

Meanwhile, the imposition of liberalism tenets moved to naturalize that conception itself, a feat of exporting something deemed to be inherently free and of inevitable outcome, however, soon enough proved to be disastrous and actually brought about disorganization and instability[214]. That triumphalist tone receded then now and again to caesarist or other

[211] See Maria do Rosário Cunha Duarte, "A rejeição e recepção das ideias francesas na literatura portuguesa" in *Letras de Hoje*, Vol.43, n.4, Porto Alegre, out/dez 2008, p.66.
[212] See Jörn Garber "Peripherie oder Zentrum? Die «europäische Triarchie» (Deutschland, Frankreich, England) als transnationales Deutungssystem der Nationalgeschichte" in *Transferts*, *op. cit.* pp.97-161.
[213] See in this regard theses defend in Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire 1875-1914*, Vintage Books, New York, 1989.
[214] See in this respect Oliveira Martins complaints.

authoritarian maneuvers, without however renouncing its intended purposes of constant rearranging the human social fabric at immense costs, while maintaining a status-quo.

It remains long to be ascertained where the deeper sense of democracy lies, hopefully, not in limited auto-criticism and some openness, without true change and progress of the humanity that unites us and can set us free. Hegel did not believe the world could be ultimately only partially free. Hence, the demise of classical world which, much in the same way of colonialism relation to freedom, hindered expressions of cultural transfers that Hegel's own philosophy assists in explaining, with his theory of recognition.

It is not in one's scope to engage in the full-fledge colonial topic challenges, the movement here studied is European considered, and I have made that choice because those problems are too important to go into only superficial. It deserves a true and honest investigation well beyond a self-flagellating narrative it usually falls into, it demands an entirely new and different work altogether. The European practices had, however, a very real effect on a global scale, with its huge movements of people and ideas, this could be examined from that perspective without diving into localized mental or physical geographies of colonialism.

The architecture of growing extra-European world relations, already in pre-formation before its modern outlook, required centers of knowledge able to codify findings and effective ways of dealing with this new space[215]. Not only to have information at disposal, about the far-off world for home consumption, but also in order to structure those societies and its institutions through purported western advancements, and for this reason there were both movements of coming and going. The universities are a good example of this occurrence, higher formation was until very late mostly provided in Europe, for the Portuguese case at least, especially in some branches of education such as law.

The Portuguese speaking Brazil is of particular interest in that respect, owing to the obvious cultural ties, as those exchanges continue after independence. It was only in 1827 that the first law schools were established in Olinde and São Paulo, the first was later transferred to Recife and it is in this location where a school of thought of Hegelian contours appears, of which Tobias Barreto is the representative.

[215] See Maria Matilde Benzoni "De la Méditerranée aux Nouveaux Mondes: le processus de transfert culturel «extra-européen» en Europe au XVI siècle entre histoire des relations internationales et histoire des savoirs et des pratiques culturelles" in *Kulturtransfers, op. cit.* pp.170-172.

Barreto's 1888 book *Questões de Filosofia e de Direito* give testimony to his knowledge of Hegel philosophy, curiously critical of a philosophy at war with itself, quite close to some post-war French readings of Hegel[216]. It was through him that a line of Germanism emerges in Brazil, supported by his enthusiasm for Ernst Haeckel's naturalism, but later also based on Eduard von Hartmann and Neo-Kantism, together with pessimistic philosophies featuring Nietzsche as well[217].

It is possible to draw many parallels between Coimbra's generation, as well as the *Cenaculo* group in Lisbon, to the Recife school in Brazil. The latter inheriting much from its early connections to Portugal, so much so, that lusophony becomes the main link to European thought[218].

Despite this somewhat remote common origin, and the intellectual ties that linked the Brazilian elite to Coimbra, the relationship between the two intellectual movements just mentioned will not be on the best terms. Tobias Barreto would qualify those Portuguese intellectuals as "half a dozen of pretentious young people"[219]. Notwithstanding, the origin of their ideas, as emanating from European intellectual currents, is still shared by these young men on both sides of the ocean.

This kind of philosophical incursions were mirrored in Spanish speaking America, where law students were introduced to Krause, leading to the dominance of its harmonic principles in some countries, particularly in terms of Argentinian and Uruguayan politics[220]. In these cases of non-European philosophical appropriations, the problems posed always had an extra element of exotism in its very different social conditions, and as a result were more prone to acculturation and miscegenation processes.

The cultural transfers should also take into account physical distances and how these affect the outcome of the exchanges due to communication, which I am exempt to exemplify and popularly goes by the name broken telephone game.

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[216] See Tobias Barreto, *Questões de Filosofia e de Direito*, Livraria Fluminense, Pernanbuco, 1888, pp.241-242

[217] See Tiagos Lemos Pantuzzi "O *allemanismo* em Recife e a primeira recepção de Nietzsche no Brasil" in *Cadernos Nietzsche*, v.40, n.1, Porto Seguro, 2019, pp.160-192.

[218] Paulo Mercadante speaks of luso-brazilian *civilità* that will draw on the same roots of European thought "Achegas ao contexto Luso-Brasileiro" in *Colóquio Antero de Quental*, Fundacão Augusto Franco, Sociedade Editorial de Sergipe, Sergipe, 1993, p.74.

[219] Idem, ibidem, pp.140-141.

[220] See Claus Dierksmeier "Krausism" in *A Companion to Latin American Philosophy*, Wiley Blackwell, Oxford, 2010, pp110-126.

Fetching some concluding notes, I would like to highlight this idea of an interrelation of theories already present within the cultural transfers research[221]. From aesthetical and linguistic reception concerns to socio-political ones, it embraces a broad-spectrum of perspectives on its own. While it is interested in bringing ideas together, it is not leaning to a globalism attitude, but is rather attentive to other dynamics. In the next chapter I will look into various theories and models of history, in an effort to have this dialogue taking place even more visible.

[221] It comes also be seen as a intercultural discourse in Jörn Rüsen "Historical thinking as intercultural discourse" in *Western Historical Thinking: An Intercultural Debate*, edited by Jörn Rüsen, Berghahn Books, New York, 2002.

2. Philosophy of History, Theories and Complementary Models in Dialogue

Following the interchangeability of cultural products throughout Europe, in ever complex ways with the advent of modernity, cultural formations acquired a new trait. There is at the same pace, on the one hand a closer bond of cultures with each other's, but on the other hand there is also a more profound individuation of cultures. These two movements may seem paradoxical at first, but with this new differentiation we have the formation of enriched wholes. That is, particular cultures embraced wholeness into themselves.

That gave cultures a unprecedent degree of potentiality in terms of development, wherein the creativeness of cultural phenomena thrives under the conditions of being open to opposition-complementarity, which could be described as a process of infusion. Consequently, some greatness identified in certain cultures could ascribe to them a degree of particularity, without however being isolated from the whole, they are rather enriched by the processes that generated this creative power, which recognizes itself and is recognized by the others, making them as a result, singular in what they are.

Hegelianism is a good example among intellectual movements, with its many philosophical and theoretical ramifications, of contacts between a wide range of intermediary cultures. The French engagement with German philosophy mentioned earlier, for instance with regard to Saint-Simonism and Cousin, would also be true the other way around. In Germany Hegel looked particularly at the leading political innovations out of the French Revolution[222].

In Britain many were also fascinated by the new philosophical currents, compelling them especially to appropriate conceptions from philosophy of history, which was not only German but also French in its origin. While those two cultures had likewise their motives for their acquittance with Britain accomplishments, given its socio-technological advancement. Moreover, other nations presented these same tendencies of appropriation in respect to cultural, political and economic elements.

Indeed, Italy showed this modern trend as well, facilitated by its many waves of diaspora, in which various cultural elements from abroad converged, with much of it from a theoretical point of view originating in Germany. However, Italian thinkers developed their

[222] See in this respect Klaus Vieweg, *Hegel: Der Philosoph der Freiheit, op. cit.* pp.66-73.

own notions with regard to philosophy, history and other subjects, backed by various other sources and its intrinsic intellectual traditions.

The characteristic of modernity described above, in terms of cultural mediation, could itself be established into a theory. But if one looks further at the various theoretical models, notably the ones dealing with philosophy of history, the issue delves deeper into the nature of thinking. This work will now focus on how the variety of historical theories relate to one another, by their portrayal of a reality increasingly faced with the need for a permanent dialogue between them, an exercise that raises the awareness of many voices and facets present at their ground.

Understandably, there is a reason why nowadays one speaks of a connect, crossed or global history. In the period encompassing this study many were aware of it, but it was often then addressed by other names, such as world history or universal history, in an attempt to precisely capture this characteristic of our times.

These observations yearned to present a modern character not exclusive to culture. However, the communicative, dialogic and more reflexive artistic interiority associated with culture illustrates the outcomes of this tendency even more fruitfully, because of its lively depictions. As such, it seemed the most appropriate to start up this study, in its historical contours, with the previous introductive chapter centered on the theory and phenomenon of cultural transfers.

The common ground for theory development certainly extends beyond that phenomenon, or of any “globalist” outlook for that matter. Not only because circumstances demand individual tailored approaches, to the issues addressed by the theories themselves, but also in light of the manifoldness of reality, be it for example more straight forward scientific or more subjective political and religious elements.

They all mutually influence one another, in as much as there is a scientific culture and simultaneously a culture supplemented by scientific discoveries, which is a description paradigmatic for other cases. Looking through this prism, difficulties emerge as to what sense and degree a theory stands on its own. Since individually considered both differences or similarities are sought in those theories. However, according to whether it suits some ends, those choices will always be a source of debate.

The context of Hegelian thought presents those same problems in relation to other theories and currents of thought. Thus, along with the admission of dialogues, certain

accusations of counterfeit material loom over, pointing towards a reflection on which ones of those intersect and for what reasons.

For instance, Marx had for his part noticed the similarities between Hegel and the philosophy of Comte. However, the systematization of positivism goes in many respects against the dialectical philosopher[223]. The positivist stances emphasizing empirical sciences were also, in a sense, a competing conception to the dialectical materialism of Marxism, as it was duly noted by Theodor Adorno, albeit the progeny in regard to Hegelian conceptions differing fundamentally[224].

The philosophical buildup on the groundwork of German idealism is a good example laying the setting for the formation of new ideas. Along those lines *Konstellationsforschung* has conducted research on the links between various theories and the practice of intellectual dialogues, associated with that German constellation. The German idealism extends into the renewals of neo-Kantism, neo-Hegelianism and so forth, besides its inspiration for other philosophical currents be them positivist or spiritualist tendencies[225].

In the Portuguese case, those outcomes would find expression in the 70s generation, among political actors, as well as at the university level in Coimbra's law school and Lisbon's *Curso Superior de Letras*. It would also find resonances down the line, particularly in Joaquim de Carvalho (1892-1958) and Fidelino Figueiredo(1888-1967).

Regarding some concerns as to what constitutes an imitation, it should be noted that the picking up of certain ideas does not always mean new or better conceptions. Oftentimes, the need for demarcation embarks on a secondary criticism under the guise of other primary goals. This noticeable for instance in the case of Sampaio Bruno evocation of Hegel's speculative philosophy to defend a nuanced rational basis of deism, through a dialectical process rather than purely inductive methods[226].

In other circumstances, a decal is much clearer with Proudhon's purported philosophical principles carried over to economics, admittedly derived from the philosophy of his German counterparts. He intended to "establish the constant conformity of economic

[223] See Marx letter to Engels from 7th of July 1866, Marx und Engels, *Werke*, Band 31, *op. cit.* p.234.
[224] See Theodor W. Adorno "Einleitung" in *Der Positivismusstreit in der deutschen Soziologie*, Luchterhand Verlag, 1972, Neuwied/Berlin, pp.11-12 et p.63.
[225] See Fred Rusch "Mikroanalyse, Genealogie, Konstellationsforschung" in *Konstellationsforschung, op. cit*, pp.149-172.
[226] See Sampaio Bruno, *A Ideia de Deus*, Livraria Chardron, Porto, 1902, pp.407-408.

phenomena to the pure laws of thought"[227]. These Proudhonist circuits of exchange would be a source of inspiration for many others, such as Antero de Quental or Amorim Viana.

It should be clear by now that criticism, being indispensable as it is, does not always lead to originality, but this is not inherently bad according to Antero de Quental. In his inquire into the latest Portuguese literature, portrayed under the lenses of philosophy of history, contrary to Teófilo Braga, instead of a mere imitation he identifies a beneficial common cultural background in Europe being reproduced[228].

At any rate, somewhere else Quental does not shy away from this problem. Emboldened by António Feliciano de Castilho criticism drawn onto him, he alludes to those that prefer to imitate rather than create, or more so to translate[229]. The superficial criticism is incapable of producing something truthful, because more interested in setting itself apart, it does not pierce the innermost core of the subject or make a serious effort.

In light of many theories that there might be, philosophical disputes at the time of Hegel also existed. Those took place within the University of Berlin itself, in the case of Schleiermacher[230], as well as the less prominent yet later more publicized infamous Schopenhauer objections[231]. In Portugal, opposing views were particularly common across educational institutions, such as the well-known animosity between Adolfo Coelho and Teófilo Braga at *Curso Superior de Letras* despite some early friendly contacts[232].

This is not as visible, if detached from the place it emerged, nonetheless is a presumed problem in terms of subsequent recipients, and other readers that lacked the *in vivo* element. This would be at hand primarily to the students enrolled at the Berlin University, although for Portuguese ones this connection is more difficult to establish, but still not to be preliminary ruled out.

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[227] "Établissons la conformité constante des phénomènes économiques avec les lois pures de la pensée" Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *Système des Contradictions Économiques, ou Philosophie de la Misère*, Chez Guillaumin et C[ie], Paris, 1846, p.133.

[228] See Antero de Quental, *Considerações sobre a Filosofia da História Literária Portuguesa (a propósito de alguns livros recentes)*, Livraria Chardron, Porto, 1904, pp.22-25.

[229] See idem, *Bom-Senso e Bom-Gosto: Carta ao excelentíssimo senhor António Feliciano de Castilho*, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 1865, pp.9-10.

[230] See Andreas Arndt "Schleiermacher und Hegel. Versuch einer Zwischenbilanz" in *Hegel-Studien*, Vol. 32, Felix Meiner Verlag, 2002, Hamburg, pp.55-68.

[231] See Rüdiger Safranski, *Schopenhauer und Die wilden Jahre der Philosophie: Eine Biographie*, Carl Hanser Verlag, München, 1987, pp.372-392.

[232] Their controversies were mostly related to scientific methodology, as well as educational policy, Rogério Fernandes, *As Ideias Pedagógicas de F. Adolfo Coelho*, Instituto Gulbenkian da Ciência, Lisboa, 1973, p.175 et p.203.

One such case at the Berlin University would be the Graf von Oriola, who had his nobility roots in Portugal, which were subsequently also granted by the Prussian authorities. The family was introduced to the Germany society through the diplomatic efforts of the late count of Oriola, envoy to the Vienna Congress and ambassador to Portugal in Berlin, thereafter fully integrating in the host country while possibly maintaining ties to his birthplace. However, any of these relations turn out to be more likely ruled by some interests, in place of an actual connection to Portugal, since the family still had some claims in there. Hence, this supposed Portuguese student of Hegel will be properly addressed in the chapter about the study of philosophy.

The new study methodologies and materials of historiographical studies are intimately associated with the conceptions coming out of philosophy, particularly philosophy of history. Thus, many areas of knowledge implied an acquaintance with the theories of modernity, advanced by those conceptions. In which case, almost all of the major authors acknowledged the spirit of their time, endorsing for example the theories of historical progress or the theory of scientific rationality.

The more blatant Hegelian example variations of those ideas could be found in famous authors such as Taine[233], Renan[234], or Quinet[235] just to name a few from France. The progress and quality of historiography depends on the openness to engaging in a dialogue, regardless of whether any of the theories are similar or opposed to Hegel's thought, following closely the spirit of reformism advocated by the young generations[236].

Taking on the modern principles of humanity, there are for instance identical aims in the social organization theory of both Bernardo Pinheiro (1855-1911), a politician associated with Partido Regenerador, and Martens Ferrão (1824-1895), a Coimbra Professor.

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[233] See in this respect:
Dumitru D. Roșca, *L'influence de Hegel sur Taine: Théoricien de la connaissance et de l'art*, J. Gamber, Paris, 1928.
Otto Engel, *Der Einfluss Hegels auf die Bildung der Gedankenwelt Hippolyte Taines*, Frommans Verlag, Stuttgart, 1920.

[234] See Jean-Louis Dumas "La Philosophie de l'Histoire de Renan" in *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*, Year 77, No.1, Presses Universitaires de France, 1972, pp.100-128

[235] See Willy Aeschimann, *La Pensée d'Edgar Quinet: Étude sur la formation de ses idées; avec essais de jeunesse et documents inédits*, Georg Editeur, Paris, 1986, pp.254-255.

[236] See for an advocation of the need to have competing theories Jaime Batalha Reis, "Europa" in *Revista Ocidental*, Vol. 2, Lisboa, 1875, pp.634-636.
This is defended in education along similar lines when we are told that "nossa instrução pública, parece-me que não se tem pecado por excesso de teoria, quer nebulosa, quer límpida, mas sim por falta de teoria" by Adolfo Coelho, "Questões Várias" in *Revista dos Lyceus*, n.1, Porto, 1891, p.66.

Notwithstanding, the emphasis of them is not on the same aspects, the scope of the first is more political and the second philosophical.

The society envisaged by Bernardo Pinheiro extends universally and converges on many levels to unity, in aspects ranging from economy and politics to educational and religious affairs. This is not very different from what Martens Ferrão writes in his dissertation about humanity in that:

"the end being the unity, the solidarity, human society should arrive at one organization, solidary, that would allow it to realize its destiny"[237]

One of the main concerns in Pinheiro's text is how to deal with conflict in human societies, recalling concerns that trace back to Voltaire when he first spoke of philosophy of history and the enlightenment stated goals of tolerance[238]. He falls short of naming Hegel, it is however not surprising Kant will be mentioned in context of the establishment of a durable peace[239], notwithstanding the text revolving overall around practical matters.

Martens Ferrão work for his part dives more into the abstract world, and the metaphysics of philosophical systems, including that of Hegel and other German idealists. Furthermore, it should be mentioned both writings came to light on the background of their Coimbra studying years. As such, those issues were probably debated in the academic circles.

As for two opposed conceptions, an interesting one is the theoretical problem of determinism in terms of historical constructions, closely associated with the research conducted by philosophy of history. On the one hand there is the belief in some laws governing historical processes, for instance in Guilherme Moniz Barreto, while on the other hand such determination is negated or a degree of uncertainty is conceded in Oliveira Martins. However, the subject is rather complex in what relates to Hegelianism, since besides the more

[237] "Sendo o fim a unidade, a solidariedade, a sociedade humana deve chegar a uma organização única, solidária, que lhe permita realizar seu destino" João Martens Ferrão, *Dissertação inaugural para o acto de conclusões Magnas na Faculdade de Direito: Teoria do Homem e da Humanidade; Teoria Transcendente da Ciência Económica; Organização da Indústria*, Impressa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1854, p.5.

[238] See in this respect Voltaire, *Traité sur le Tolérance*, with a preface from Dominique Aury, Guilde du Livre, Lausanne, 1959.
See also the endorsement of a philosophical perspective of history according to the spirit of his age in Voltaire, *Essai sur les Mœurs*, 2 Volumes, Classiques Garnier, Paris, 1990.

[239] See "Ensaio sobre a Organização da Sociedade Universal" in O *Instituto: Jornal Científica e Literária*, Imprensa da Universidade, Vol.12, Coimbra, 1863, pp.92-93.

relative notion of tendency, there is the purported pursuit of harmonizing freedom and necessity.

Nowadays almost a forgotten scholar, Moniz Barreto writes a study on Oliveira Martins in 1887, distancing the author of *Portugal Contemporâneo* from the profile of what for him would be the ideal historian, by virtue of his supposed adherence to Renan and Taine's determinism. He delineates history tasks should form a closer bond with hard sciences, without detracting Martins' artistic qualities and that side of history, he considers the lack of precision and order impairs the scientific character of his works[240].

Therefore, the theoretical issue interesting him the most is Oliveira Martins defense of chance in History. Although Barreto rejects the occurrence in such terms, at the same time he recognizes some truth in it because there is a "structural solidarity between the parts and a systemic unity in the universal totality"[241]. In other words, he embraces a theory of identity in order to uphold his apology of rationalism, originating in French Hegelian interpreters, constituting the basis of his philosophy as some have pointed out[242].

The young author is in many respects not altogether dismissive of Oliveira Martins. Quite on the contrary, to completement on the earlier issue, he also sees another side to Oliveira Martins. We are told that the book *Elementos de Antropologia* (1880) speaks in favor of necessity and certainty in science, however, even before the arguments on the fortuitous that Barreto extracted from *Helenismo e a Civilização Cristã* (1878), there are claims backing up the necessity of laws in history as earlier as in *Teoria do Socialismo* (1872).

The idea of laws permeates the entire book, while dealing for instance with legal, economic, politic or religious aspects, but it is history in particular that reveals those laws, as different phases in the evolution of humanity[243]. Finally, this work of Martins about socialism is yet another text filled with Hegelian thought, gathering also from other conceptions in the latitude of philosophy of history.

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[240] See Guilherme Moniz Barreto, *Oliveira Martins: Estudo de Psicologia*, segunda edição, Guillard Aillaud, Paris, 1892, pp.81-90.

[241] "solidariedade estrutural entre as partes e de uma unidade sistemática no todo universal" idem, ibidem, p.54.

[242] "É sobre a larga base da filosofia hegeliana que, como indiquei, assenta também posso chamar a crença filosófica de Moniz Barreto" Manuel da Silva-Gaio, *Os Novos: Moniz Barreto*, Antiga Livraria Orcel, Coimbra, 1894, p.21.

[243] "É desta maneira que a história, revelando a lei da Evolução, é a ciência mãe" Oliveira Martins, *Teoria do Socialismo*, Guimarães & C.ª Editores, Lisboa, 1974, p.275.

The two examples above blur the lines of a strict separation between confluent and opposed conceptions, what is more, the greatest source of models in historiography comes from philosophy of history. Although, the belief in a single universal history has been repudiated for some time already, this does not mean there is no place for models resembling the attitude echoed in grand narratives, which are not exclusive to philosophy of history both rather a development of modernity[244].

The search for principles in history has a history itself, with the ascension of reason, in the context of the Enlightenment, surely as a decisive moment. It then follows, what philosophy of history entails is far from univocal, but rather encompasses a multitude of perspectives from Voltaire and Herder, to Kant and Hegel[245] .

There are various provenances in the theories directly connected to Hegel and many more indirect ones, considering they address the problems posed by the philosopher and appropriate base concepts from him, yet modify its formulations or add new elements that distinguishing them from each other. From what was said in the previous paragraph, this is particularly true to those rallying around philosophy of history, but despite differences between approaches of that model, it is interesting to observe how multiple philosophies of history after all come together.

In this respect the premises regarding a communicative efficacy, in the reception movement of aesthetic experience, may provide the blueprint for a repository that activates a sense of identification on the receptive and productive sides, on the background of a general experience, which in this case identifies philosophy of history as new model to be followed.

The experience of time in each epoch, particularly given the times of transition and the fast pace of modernity, is in itself disposed to the adoption of models and the breaking up of old ones. This was outlined by Koselleck, with the exemplary use of history move to a unified multidimensional history of mankind[246].

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[244] See a special reference to some useful aspects of that attitude in Allan Megill "'Grand Narrative' and the Discipline of History" in A *New Philosophy of History*, edited by Frank Ankersmit and Hans Kellner, Reaktion Books Ltd, London, 1995, pp.151-173.

[245] See for an overview of these many perspectives Robert Flint, *The Philosophy of History in France and Germany*, William Blackwood and Sons, Endinburgh, 1874.

[246] The downfall of the perspective of "Historie" in modern German historiography, rejecting this exemplary perspective of history, is the one pointed out by Reinhardt Koselleck, *Preußen zwischen Reform und Revolution. Allgemeines Landrecht, Verwaltung und soziale bewegung von 1791 bis 1848*, 3rd edition, Klett-cotta, Stuttgart, 1981, p.6.

The notion of some guideline in the historical development is one of those general experiences available to the writing of history. The leaning towards Hegel and the tradition of philosophy of history, in the works of authors such as of Antero de Quental, Oliveira Martins and Teófilo Braga, left an imprint in the Portuguese intellectual landscape, while still enjoying a broad number of conceptions related to those contacts.

This predictably led to some debates surrounding for instance the place of Middle Age in the historical development of mankind, some disowning that epoch to the catacombs of history, while others actually envisage the maturation of modernity within it, or even as a model in some respects. The polemic between Oliveira Martins and Júlio de Vilhena is intimately linked to the problems of the philosophy of history, displaying the communication efficacy of this model in aesthetic experience of theoretical provisions that are constituted into historical narratives[247].

However, theories behind aesthetical reception and aestheticization in general also raises some concerns, especially because it may hinder an account of dimensions such as socio-ethical configuration, epistemological or ontological domains outside the limits of aesthetical experience[248]. The 1870s generation as an intellectual constellation should therefore be viewed in all its facets, conserving differences and the sameness that constitutes the movement's very being, involving various types of criticism and an extended range of ideas, whereby the investigation of a certain current of thought manifesting itself in an author has relations to many other doctrines.

Theories of Antero de Quental drawn from Hegel's philosophical and historical assertions

There is a prototypical example in Antero de Quental for what was described above, markedly, with his wide-ranging dialogue between theories anchored in a Hegelian background. Considering that, as the years went on, his philosophical inclinations regularly oscillated. The primary tension had to do with rationality, at times viewed in a positive light

[247] See in this regard Bruno Gonçalves "A Filosofia da História em Oliveira Martins" in *História da Historiografia*, v.12, n.19, 2019 accessible at https://doi.org/10.15848/hh.v12i31.1482

[248] This problem of delimitation is also addressed by Hans Robert Jauss, *Ästhetische Erfahrung und literarische Hermeneutik,* 1. Aufl. [Nachdr.], Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 2007, pp.191-225.
Hans Robert Jauss, *Aesthetic Experience and Literary Hermeneutics*, Vol. 3, translated by Michael Shaw with an Wlad Godzich, University of Minnesota, 1982, pp.111-122.

as the absolute principle, consonant with defined moral prerogatives. But then in turn, rolling over itself, those principles are banished for lacking sentiment and more primal life impulses.

This inability to establish reason's standing reminds us very much the debates surrounding the relation of understanding (*Verstand*) and reason (*Vernunft*), which loomed over German idealism, and is at the basis of Hegel's doctrine of the concept. It had led Schelling to an identity theory resolved into a philosophy of nature since at least his *Bruno oder über das göttliche und natürliche Prinzip der Dinge*[249], which owing to the prominence Schelling later regained in Berlin, helped revive the problem along those lines[250].

Many other aspects of the poet's philosophical understanding, together with the theory behind some of his historical and political precepts, would mature and adjust according to his studies, discussions and overall intellectual involvement. Those interested in his thought have therefore spoken of an evolution, particularly Joaquim de Carvalho with *A Evolução Espiritual de Antero*[251]. While others more disruptively mention contrary currents in his philosophical thought[252], or yet some writing more openly on the one hand of a luminous Antero and on the other hand a nocturnal one[253].

The poet would himself recognize that duality and confessed his struggle to harmonize contradictory tendencies. After all the world is not black and white and probably due to this, he was open to supplement his knowledge of Hegel's philosophy, with for instance currents of Neo-Kantism[254]. The tragic culmination of putting an end to his life, resulting from health problems that afflicted him, tells the story of a disease that left him mentally incapacitated

[249] See especially F.W.J Schelling, *Bruno oder über das göttliche und natürliche Prinzip der Dinge*, Felix Meiner Verlag, Hamburg, 2005, pp.101-104.

[250] See regarding this issue Wolfgang Bonsiepen, *Die Begründung einer Naturphilosophie bei Kant, Schelling, Fries und Hegel: Mathematische versus spekulative Naturphilosophie*, Vittorio Klostermann, Frankfurt am Main, 1997.

[251] See Joaquim de Carvalho, "A Evolução Espiritual de Antero" in *Obras Completa*, Vol. IV, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisboa, 1983.

[252] See Leonardo Coimbra, *O Pensamento Filosófico de Antero de Quental*, Guimarães Editores, Lisboa, 1991, pp.49-55.

[253] See António Sérgio "Os dois Antero" in *Ensaios*, Vol. IV, 2nd Edition, Livraria Sá da Costa Editora, Lisboa, 1981, pp.129-160.

[254] See his letter to Manuel Ferreira Deusdado: "A resolução desta antinomia, a explicação do Universo pela consciência, mas, ao tempo, a interpretação da consciência por princípios análogos às leis fundamentais do Universo, a unidade do ser e do Universo, a unidade do ser e do saber que Hegel tentou demonstrar só dialecticamente e, por isso, insuficientemente, parece-me mais acessível pelo caminho do Neokantismo, do que por outro qualquer. Não posso pois senão felicitar a V. Ex.a pelas tendências e direcção intelectual que o seu livro revela." Antero de Quental, *Cartas III*, *op. cit.* p.185.

but also agitated. Through his moods shifts grew unsatisfaction and the many sides of his thinking. Accordingly, there is a pathological dimension some research has accounted for[255].

The latest views he voiced on Hegel are to be read in *Tendências Gerais da Filosofia na Segunda Metade do Século XIX* (1890). That work signals his knowledge regarding the history of philosophy in the wake of modern age, but also portrays a theory of its development by defending the unity of philosophy, yet with many aspects or tendencies, aimed at attaining the consciousness of being. Those considerations are all too reminiscent of Hegel's own vocabulary together with his pronouncement that there is only one philosophy[256]. However, by the sound of it, in part Quental is quite dismissive of Hegel formulations, especially of those concerning reason on the grand scheme of Hegel's metaphysics:

"Hegel was decidedly not right. History is not metaphysics. The metaphysical ideas dominant and penetrate history, but do not make it. In the order of facts, one cannot construct a priori what is not known already *a posteriori*. Without metaphysical direction, there cannot ever be a truth and superior understanding of history, but, with all of this, historians will continue to search for a catenation and the real law of facts in the critical study of this same facts and will always leave a large margin to that factor – necessary, without a doubt, as everything, but of a necessity that escapes reason, notwithstanding probably not outside of reason – which they will call, each according to the shade of their thoughts, Providence, chance, freedom, or simply, the unknown."[257]

The criticism of an excessive metaphysical meddling in history, with *a priori* ideas, do not in principle contradict Hegel's assertations, but actually echo the philosopher's idea that non-reason is contained in reason, as something other than reason. Antero intentions are merely an attempt to make the case for probability, rather than certainty, in the analytical survey of reality. Since there is an order of facts that cannot be presupposed, as a result, any synthetic construction needs to consider a margin of possibility.

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[255] See Hernâni Cidade, *Antero de Quental*, Editorial Presença, 1988, Lisboa, pp.153-154.

[256] See G.W.F Hegel, *Werke 8: Enzyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaft im Grundrisse 1830*, *op. cit.* p.58.

[257] "Hegel, decididamente, não tinha razão. A história não é a metafísica. As ideias metafísicas dominam e penetram a história, não a fazem. Na ordem dos factos, não se pode construir a priori o que não se conheça já a posteriori. Sem direcção Metafísica não poderá nunca haver verdadeira e superior compreensão da história; mas, com tudo isso, os historiadores continuarão a procurar o encadeamento e a lei real dos factos no estudo crítico dos Mesmos factos e deixarão sempre uma larga margem àquele factor - necessário, sem dúvida, como tudo, mas duma necessidade que escapa à razão, embora provavelmente não esteja fora da razão - a que chamarão, cada um conforme a cambiante filosófica do seu pensamento, Providência, acaso, liberdade, ou simplesmente, o desconhecido." Antero de Quental "Tendências Gerais da Filosofia na Segunda Metade do Século XIX" in *Filosofia*, Organização, introdução e notas de Joel Serrão, Editorial Comunicação – Universidade dos Açores, Lisboa, 1989, p.135.

However, far from a rejection of modern metaphysics founded in Schelling and Hegel, the Portuguese author actually sees in it the principle capable of detangling the problem outlined, rendering reality the product of a dialectical process instead of rigid formulas, which is the backbone of the new evolution doctrine[258].

Criticism appears to be directed more precisely at the old metaphysic's point of view, schematic and inadequate, that some still threw at Hegel and seems to be a complaint partially acknowledged by Antero. However, the target of this over-critical drift was often against the progressive theories the Portuguese proponent of socialism supported, for instance with some liberals fiercely objecting to Hegel by using similar arguments. Thus, even if not entirely mindful of that issue, his warnings are about the problem of the relation of ideas with remnants of past, in each succession of philosophical developments.

There is indeed for him a connecting line between the figures of German thought, Kant is the initiator of a movement that would be continued by Schelling and Hegel, when he first began his critique of reason and the fundaments of human knowledge. Already in Kant the spirit constitutes the basis of knowledge and is the ideal-type measuring all beings, connecting their nature. It follows that one arrives at the knowledge of the objective world through the subjectivity of spirit, hence the prominent role given to consciousness[259].

The recognition of the identity of knowledge and being in Hegel is the generalization of that idea to the whole reality. That is the logical conclusion of what Kant had set forth, which is the subordination of the world to reason. Therefore, Antero calls Hegel's philosophy transcendental realism in allusion to transcendental idealism, notwithstanding the absence of the sense given to the transcendental in the philosopher of Königsberg.

Inheritances from the past also work the other way around. Instead of continuity, movements of discontinuity are required and beneficial to modern thought. With this in mind he asserts "Hegelianism must have been the last great explosion of dogmatism in modern philosophy"[260], to whom there was a strong reaction. The addressee is a certain side of Hegelianism, or some Hegel's interpreters, that rightly adopted the modern ideas of philosophy by delving into thought, linking them in a logical deduction to systematic foundations. Notwithstanding, such adoption was contaminated by the past, with rigid forms

[258] Idem, ibidem, p.128.
[259] Idem, ibidem, p.127.
[260] "O hegelianismo tinha de ser a última grande explosão do dogmatismo na filosofia moderna" idem, ibidem, p.131.

that could not sustain themselves considering the modern spirit, because it is “repugnant to such closed and inflexible systems”[261].

This view fits the logicism typology of Hegelianism when it mentions the “gigantic syllogisms” that Hegel “prodigiously constructed”[262], moreover, the systematic typology is yet another line of criticism by Antero. The new metaphysic sought to impose its rule on other sciences, and to history this meant the discovery of certain laws and regularities, in the natural and moral spheres. But on the reverse of the coin, it also brought awareness about the shortcomings of this historical arrangement[263].

While the new metaphysic was an advancement, its disregarded of a moral direction, notwithstanding the new methodologies used, leads to old habits that in his view curtail freedom. The protests of history in the name of a “non-necessary” against that great “Hegelian construction” boils down to a moral-ethical question, which opposes historical determinism and puts in doubt even the possibility of any philosophy of history at all[264].

Answers could be anticipated by looking back into the identity of being and knowledge postulated by Hegel, which according to Antero would dissipate that reluctance of accepting a unifying principle, since this scenario would be indissociable of a universal rationality that acts as a substance, analogous to the spirit.

This world reaffirms the principles of reason and the interiority of the spirit as a measure of the objective world, and that unknown would then be revealed within the spirit itself. No longer retreating to a truth that cannot be demonstrated, but rather by a deductive process, acquires knowledge of being in its phenomenal appearance, without degrading the course of the external mechanical side of ordinary scientific conception[265].

But how that dilemma comes about and the means to overcome stem primarily from consciousness, hence the objection has an ethical and moral background, notwithstanding its scientific connotations. The emptying of particularity and autonomy of individualized human beings, “no matter how deep the Hegelian conception was” foils the intimacy of human action.

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[261] “repugnam-lhe tais sistemas fechados e inflexíveis” idem, ibidem, p.131.

[262] “sejam embora esses silogismos gigantescos e chame-se Hegel o prodigioso construtor deles” idem, ibidem, p.131.

[263] “Mas não eram só as ciências positivas que repeliam as pretensões da nova metafísica.” ... “a história protestava contra a imposição das inflexíveis *construções*, pretendidas históricas, de Hegel e da sua escola. A história tinha encontrado, é certo, nesse seu revolver de tanta poeira humana, leis naturais e leis morais, uma certa regularidade e necessidade na grande trajectória dos factos: mas, ao lado disso, encontrara também alguma cousa que não parecia depender de lei ou necessidade” idem, ibidem p.134.

[264] Idem, ibidem, p.135.

[265] Idem, ibidem, p.157.

He seeks to recover it through spiritualist conceptions, in a kind of sympathy for the extraordinary and out of place, with almost a religious feeling pulling back the parts and the weaker sides together, unifying them[266].

The place of Hegel in Antero's thinking of philosophical tendencies only comes fruition in the conclusion, when he pieces those tendencies together. Before that moment his thoughts were more guided by criticism, as he warns of the excessively ideal principles of Hegel's realism, with a metaphysic that does not account for the real processes in the world.

The resulting synthesis for Antero, realizes externally much more from the positivist tendency instead of the Hegelian program, because it has essentially an inductive character, according to coordinates given both by reason and consciousness. Yet its inner pulse, and the dynamism, sustaining the entire structure of this synthesis, comes from German idealism tendencies, in spite of the belittling of its deductions[267].

Regarding that same issue, we have otherwise a somewhat different choice of words, just a few years earlier with. There is, in some respects, exact opposite views in his *A Filosofia da Natureza e dos Naturalistas* (1886). The speculative character of aprioristic philosophical constructions he identifies in Haeckel are termed "an abusive extension of the scientific induction", instead of a deductive operation.

However, the naturalists he speaks of are in a limbo between the philosopher and the scientist, notwithstanding there we find the same characterization with a different term (induction of speculative character, rather than a criticism of deduction) [268]. Moreover, Hegel is described in that text as "the father of the modern philosophy of nature". There he rather invites one to study him, in order to understand and explain the nature those naturalists cannot, because of their alienation from metaphysics[269].

Far from rejecting the benefits of bringing science and philosophy into a relation, he maintains that such an approach cannot be based on the positivity given by a number of sciences, at the expanse of the metaphysical element. Nevertheless, the direct action and authority of science in philosophy is a salutary development, while the emphasis of this text is on the importance of philosophy to science. In that sense, more than ever, science itself is

[266] Idem, ibidem, p.140.
[267] Idem, ibidem, p.168.
[268] Idem, ibidem, p.104.
[269] Idem, ibidem, pp.105-106.

led to the domains of generalization characteristic of philosophical thought[270]. Therefore, the importance he attributes to Hegel follows from the conception that:

"a philosophy of nature, as I conceive it, a philosophy of nature up to not only the great century of natural sciences, but also the great century of Kant and Hegel, must not reject universal determinism and evolution as a mechanical form of that determinism"[271]

It could be concluded that, although some positions in the 1890 work, about the tendencies in philosophy, can be here foreseen, there is still a discernible distance from the admonishments we see in that later text. Mainly because it runs counter to the marks Hegelianism left in various areas of human knowledge.

These developments are noticeable sweeping through his correspondence, first identifying himself in the 1886 letter to Francisco Machado de Faria either as an "old" or perhaps a "former" Hegelian? that "later read Leibniz". At any rate, each of the two the variants go to show Quental is by then hardly a committed follower in regard to the aftermath of Hegel's philosophy[272]. If there ever was such a commitment, it is increasingly moderated by contrary views, as he goes to explain in another 1887 letter:

"I would only add that this evolution of sentiments corresponds to an evolution of thought. The naturalism, even the most harmonious and elevated, even from a Goethe and a Hegel, does not have true solutions, it leaves consciousness suspended, and the sentiment in the deepest to be fulfilled. Its religiosity is false, it is only apparent, on the background it is nothing else than an exquisite intellectual paganism"[273]

A letter from 1888, already mentioned earlier, goes on to acknowledge more thoroughly the insufficiencies of Hegelianism, pledging support for the new directions of Neokantism. But his doubts regarding Hegel, which he equates to the same issues found in Haeckel, stir up doubt

[270] Idem, ibidem, pp.110-113.
[271] "uma filosofia da natureza, tal como a concebo, uma filosofia da natureza à altura não só do grande século das ciências naturais, mas do grande século de Kant e Hegel, não tem que rejeitar o determinismo universal e a evolução como a forma mecânica desse determinismo" idem, ibidem, p.108.
[272] "Quanto a mim, não se podia esperar que um antigo Hegeliano, e que depois leu Leibniz, pudesse nunca, como diz algures o mesmo Leibniz, «donner dans le vide et les atomes»." Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol.III, *op. cit.* p.40.
[273] "Direi somente que esta evolução de sentimento correspondia a uma evolução de pensamento. O naturalismo, ainda o mais elevado e mais harmónico, ainda o de um Goethe ou de um Hegel, não tem soluções verdadeiras, deixa a consciência suspensa, o sentimento, no que ele tem de mais profundo, por satisfazer. A sua religiosidade é falsa, e só aparente; no fundo não é mais do que um paganismo intelectual e requintado" idem, ibidem, p.97.

much earlier in a letter from 1873. Notwithstanding, back then the solution was inclined towards the serialism of Proudhon, providing the syncretic glue of contrary movements[274].

Thus, the problem is not new, however, as the objections pile up, so grew his dissatisfaction regarding some Hegelian tendencies, and the earlier attempts to "combine" some corrective measures, as with the Proudhon series, became progressively an open combat against them.

An overview of the complete evolution of Antero's philosophical ideas is an arduous task, not only because of the complexity of his thought but also owing to the absence of vital sources, even if there have been some efforts to draw guiding lines[275]. The poet-philosopher destroyed much of his manuscript work, before ever publishing it. The legend tells he even destroyed his "Program for the new generation" right after print. One could add to that list the letters he received, none of them exist.

What remains of his estate, in any collective form, is some manuscripts in the *Biblioteca Nacional Portuguesa* all of which are by now published and also the bibliographic collection of his library in the *Bilbioteca Pública e Arquivo Regional de Ponta Delgada[276]*. The later arises interest regarding the books he read during his life, as intellectual sources, but give no direct hints to the unfolding of his thought. Such development should be sought mostly in the letters he sent to his friends and of what remains from published works, which include a few posthumous manuscripts that survived.

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[274] "Por isso digo que o erro de Haeckel é todo filosófico ou de método. Por aqui avalia Você o ponto de vista em que, no meu Livro (livro eterno!), me coloco enquanto à Evolução. É o terreno da metafísica positiva, dando à ciência o que lhe pertence, mas não lhe concedendo o que não é nem pode ser da sua alçada. O que é curioso é ter o grande Hegel caído, há 40 anos, no mesmo erro de método, e por isso a crítica da sua «Filosofia da Natureza» deve ser a mesma, *mutatis mutandis*, que se faz ao Haeckel; isto é: Hegel, enquanto formulou metafisicamente a lei do devenir na Natureza, ou Evolução, fez uma obra sólida e que há-de, entendo eu, ficar para sempre. Mas, em vez de parar aqui, começou a fazer ciência *a priori*, e a *deduzir* leis para esferas particulares de fenómenos, leis que só à ciência experimental cabe *induzir*. Foi o escolho da sua «Filosofia da Natureza» e a razão do seu descrédito, descrédito, quanto a mim, infundado, e devido à falta de crítica com que se atacou aquela obra gigantesca e até direi sublime, porque no meio daquela algaravia escolástica há uma poesia da Natureza nova, grande e verdadeiramente inebriante. — Depois disto fica Você sabendo que a minha doutrina da Evolução é em grande parte a de Hegel, com a qual combino a ideia da *série* proudhoniana. Que lhe parece? É um caminho por onde vou um tanto temeroso, porque, a falar verdade, acho-me só: a metafísica é hoje repelida universalmente da Filosofia da Natureza. Não importa. Irei de encontro à onda dos positivistas, materialistas, empíricos e *tutti quanti*, convencido de que não se passará muito tempo sem que, constituída a metafísica positiva, a Filosofia da Natureza entre no caminho verdadeiro." Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol.III, *op. cit.*

[275] See in this respect the edition's preface by Joel Serrão "Em busca do contexto do último escrito filosófico de anteriano" in *Tendências Gerais da Filosofia na segunda metade do seculo XIX*, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisboa, 1991, pp.1-39.

[276] See Gustavo de Fraga et Francisco da Silveira, *Catálogo da Livraria de Antero de Quental*, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Regional de Ponta Delgada, 1991.

Finally, it is undeniable that Antero de Quental is one of the foremost representatives of his generation. The testimony of his tragic defeat and ultimate fate, even though takes place on a personal level, also tell the story of a broader intellectual struggle to overcome the problems afflicting Portugal. This movement looked into multiple ways of achievement its goals, taking on various directions according to the teachings of many theories, in order to counter the marasmus that these men thought had befallen Portuguese society, at the anguishing end of the century.

The dynamic of theories in Portuguese overview and Hegelian historical theory

In line with prevalence of theories about historical development, there were a couple of ones adapted to Portugal's reality, assuming that there must be a Portuguese way. Eventually, some wanted to revitalize the roots of its character, that they deemed *Saudosismo*[277]. Starting with the epoch-making liberal revolution, we can see such endeavors in the municipalism, defining that generation and its philosophy of history. With the legislation introduced by Mouzinho da Silveira, and more openly spoken off in Alexandre Herculano as a historical model[278].

This would be closely followed by the regeneration period, aspiring to reconstitute a former glory, or indeed a new one, by embarking on the European train. In fact, the route pointing towards progress dominated the landscape of philosophy of history in the western world. Many figures would later complement some of these theories, or brought forth some others, to an extent inspired on Hegel, without disregarding the French tradition and other sources, as in the case of Voltaire and Vico.

The 70's generation was masterful in that respect, one of its youngest members, Jaime Batalha Reis writes a letter on the 14th of July of 1874 to Antero de Quental presenting his views about the constitutive basis of philosophy of history. That period was particularly productive with the short lived *Revista Ocidental* in 1875, congregating the main intellectuals

[277] See for a critique of this tendency Eduardo Lourenço, *Labirinto da Saudade: Psicanálise mítica do destino português*, Publicações Dom Quixote, Lisboa, 1978.
[278] Its apogee tracing back to the Middle Ages and the subversion taking place after the XV century, accompanying as such the Portuguese descent: Alexandre Herculano, "Cartas Sobre a História de Portugal" in *Opúsculos*, Vol.V, *op. cit*. p.136.

of the generation, in the wake of previous similar journals such as *A República* in 1870 and *O Pensamento Social* in 1872-73.

The redaction of the journal led to extensive correspondence between Jaime Batalha Reis and other writers interested in philosophy of history and its associated theories, including the Spanish author Francisco Pi y Margall, therefore the letter to Antero should be read with this in mind[279]. In this same journal Batalha Reis sets Hegelianism apart both from Materialism and Positivism[280]. However, owing to the politization of philosophical systems, which he relates to Prussia's ascension and the 1870 war, acquaintance with those ideas is conditioned. The choices of teaching materials and education are at the mercy of the established powers.

Interest in the international situation would surely be a determining factor for Batalha Reis subsequent choice of the diplomatic career. This would put him in contact with foreign personalities, establishing connections to intellectual mediums abroad, as well as providing a deeper breath of knowledge to the Portuguese culture. The aforementioned Pi y Margall collaboration in *Revista Ocidental* gives important insights into Hegelianism and Krausism, probably furnishing the ideas voiced by Batalha Reis, since he raises the same problems of political interference hindering the correct understanding of the respective currents of thought[281].

What is more, the Spanish writer gives us an explanation as to why Krause has in some cases been more successfully disseminated in Spain:

"As for Krause, his harmonism did not consent transgressing against all traditional institutions, and many will not be surprised when they learn that its introduction in Spain was inspired by the connotation of it opposing a counterweight to the impiety of Hegelianism"[282]

Then in a footnote Py i Margall goes on to say that Krause's relation to Hegel, in political terms, compares to Heinrich Heine contrasting the more radical Pierre Leroux. This lesson may very well apply to Portugal, because Krause's reception was more systematic there as well, making it an Iberian phenomenon.

[279] See the bulk of this correspondence in BNP *Espólio Jaime Batalha Reis* caixas 78-81.
[280] See "Europa" in *Revista Ocidental*, *op. cit.* p.635.
[281] See *Revista Ocidental*, Vol. 1, Escritórios da Revista Ocidental, Lisboa, 1875, p.183.
[282] "En cuanto á Krause, su armonismo no consentía transigir con todas las instituciones de la tradición, y no será escasa la extrañeza de muchos cuando sepa que su introducción en España fue inspirada por el conato de oponer un contrapeso à la impiedad del hegelianismo" ídem, ibidem, p.320.

That philosophy addressed social concerns but with stronger emphasis on compromise and moderation. Thus, whenever possible, reform was dissociated from Hegel by claiming many reasons, such as his logic or statist leaning. However, in reality the main one was its more radical and revolutionary tendencies[283]. This Krausist acceptability must surely have been a delight for some intellectuals, particularly those in charge of education, since they could address pressing issues with less harassment.

The onset of 1868 Revolution in Spain intensifies those dialogues with Portuguese intellectuals, Pi y Margall's group had by then already been in auscultation with Antero de Quental for a possible collaboration with the journal[284]. While soon enough the poet published a book favorable to the turn of events in the neighboring country[285]. The work *Las Nacionalidades,* containing the mature version of Pi y Margall's federalist theory, is duly reviewed by Teófilo Braga since he was eager to supplement references to a peninsular theory of national origins. He praises the political and historical research, finding however little support for the ethnic claims he defends[286].

Yet in regard to Hegel, we have to go back to the Spanish author's first works to substantiate his knowledge of Hegelian thought, particularly his *La Reacción e la Revolución* from 1854. This book presents philosophy of history according to the dialectical development outlined by the German philosopher[287], while confessing to "believe in the dialectic of Hegel"[288]. Nevertheless, his Iberian federalist ideas already began to take shape back then:

"I am openly decided for a federation; a republican one. I would divide the Peninsula, not anymore in fourteen provinces, but rather fourteen states"[289]

[283] See for Hege's role in the political thought of Francisco Pi y Margall and other influential Spanish thinkers: Juan Francisco Garcia Casanova, *Hegel y el Republicanismo en la España del XIX*, Universidad de Granada, 1982.
[284] See Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. I, op. cit. p.171.
[285] See idem, "Portugal perante a Revolução de Espanha" in *Política*, Organização, Introdução e notas de Joel Serrão, Universidade dos Açores, 1994, pp.105-128.
[286] See Teófilo Braga "Bibliografia: Las Nacionalidades por Pi y Margall" *O Positivista: Revista de Filosofia*, Vol. I, Livraria Universal, Porto, 1878, p.300-307.
[287] See Francisco Pi y Margall, La Reaccion y la Revoluccion: Estudios Politicos y Sociales, imprensa z Estereotipia de M. Rivadeneyra, Madrid, 1854, pp.81-89.
[288] Idem, ibidem, p.117.
[289] "estoy decidido abiertamente por una federación; republicana. Yo dividiría la Península, no ya en catorce provincias, sino en catorce estados" idem, ibidem, p.291.

Therefore, he rejects the political consequences of Hegel's philosophy of history, since according to him it negates individual freedom, as mere instantiation of a substantialized reality[290]. This would go contrary to the Proudhonist principles he adhered to. However, he still takes the main tenants of this philosophy wholly heartly, as defends a new path in this direction that he considers right[291]. Those ideas could most certainly be read into Antero de Quental[292], Oliveira Martins[293], or even the earlier mentioned Jaime Batalha Reis, demonstrating the extent of the exchange movements taking place beyond borders.

As matter of fact, throughout the years Batalha Reis maintained his fondness for philosophy, history and theory. He holds a conference in England at the Carlyle society on the subject of theory of history in 1899, which is another account of his international reach.

Furthermore, interest in philosophy will last until his very late years. Indeed, from 1921 he retires to the countryside with the intention of writing a book on philosophy. However, due to some health problems he returns to Lisbon and then meets José Temudo da Silva Basto, with whom he will exchange letters about those ideas.

From the letters sent by Silva Basto one can only suppose what topics were addressed on the part of Batalha Reis, since he speaks about metaphysics, more precisely the problems of materialism in face of spiritual dimensions. He also mentions the philosophy behind a political theory of what he calls "practical socialism" and, among other things, the sources of pessimism in philosophy[294].

The pessimist direction had taken hold of his generation in the 1890s, as result of political failures and an escalation in the diminishing national capacity to affirm itself on the world-scene. This resembles in many aspects the difficulties faced by the so-called Spanish 1898 generation[295]. That end of the century atmosphere had backing from nascent philosophical traditions, such as Schopenhauer which was then followed by Nietzsche's

[290] Idem, ibidem, pp.243-246.
[291] Idem, ibidem, p.247.
[292] Those could easily relate to the complaints about the shortcomings of individual sentiment in Hegel, while Antero was still a student in Coimbra: "Se Cristo tivesse filosofado à maneira de Hegel, em face das dores do seu povo, não passaria o seu nome, hoje, de um desses muitos que lemos, ou antes não lemos, nos in-fólios que tratam de arquivar as argúcias do espírito humano para o riso e pasmo das gerações futuras" in *O Attila*, n.8, Coimbra, 13th February, 1864.
[293] He equally uses Pi y Margall's wording "man-god", to characterize the semblance of being in the real world through consciousness in its realization: Oliveira Martins, *Teoria do Socialismo, op. cit.* p.81.
[294] See BNP *Espólio Jaime Batalha Reis* E4/53
[295] See the collection of texts on the various aspects of the problem, from these I would stress the problem of colonialism and moral crisis: *La Generación del 98 frente al Nuevo fin de Siglo*, edited by Jesus Torrecilla, Edition Rodopi, Amsterdam, 2000.

Nihilism, with a revival of Kant pointing to a more circumscribed subjectivity. These introduced dimensions of the unconsciousness that conceded further limitations, and gave ammunition to skepticism and relativistic conceptions[296].

The intellectuals meeting in a group that came to be known as *Vencidos da Vida* were aware of those ideas. They would subsequently update their theories, above all by renewing interest in philosophy of history. Many of them were particularly fruitful in the fall back to Hegelian frameworks, but now with the philosophies of history of the downfall.

There were examples above giving support to that tendency, as earlier as Alexandre Herculano and his medievalism. These were increasingly complexified with Antero de Quental thoughts on philosophy of history of the peninsular people. But there is also Luciano Cordeiro theory of moral crisis on a European scale along the way, up until António Sérgio historical theorizations already deep in the next century.

All those conceptions have a bigger logic behind them, a rationale drawing them to a unified picture in a sort of metaphysic of history, while at the same time drawing on other elements, even on dimensions of the irrational. The natural sciences also featured prominently in them, trough the admixtures for example of Herbert Spencer or Lewis H. Morgan.

The great historical movements are the primary focus in Hegel's own theory of world history (*Weltgeschichte*). This proposal conceives a process of rationality relating to the nature of the spirit itself, which is the real actor on the stage of history, in the plot furnished by reason's own necessity to come into being:

"The consideration of world history itself, is that a rational process is taking place in it, that world history is the rational and necessary course of world spirit"[297]

The thoughts behind those Hegelian assertions go hand-in-hand with the prevailing views also highlighted by universal history, among other conceptions, as they are voiced by historians such as Oliveira Martins.

[296] See for an overview of skepticism in the context of German idealism Klaus Vieweg (ed.), *Krankheit des Zeitalters oder heilsame Provokation - Skeptizismus in der nachkantischen Philosophie*, Wilhelm Fink, 2016.
[297] See G.W.F Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History, Volume I: Manuscripts of the introduction to the Lectures of 1822-23*, edited and translated by Robert F. Brown and Peter C. Hodgson, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2011, p.80.

Yet other writers have given these universalistic outlooks some philosophical pretenses. That is the case with Alberto Pimental, speaking of a universal philosophical history, which is however silent on Hegel, containing a great deal of thoughts about Herder and Vico, while lightly touching upon German idealism.

Even if a unifying principle is discernible in the narrative of various historical theories, a book manifestly addressing philosophy of history, as the main thematic, is difficult to find in the Portuguese context. This fact makes the book of Joaquim Silva Cordeiro *Ensaios de Filosofia da História* even more important, being one of the few testimonies to that interest.

The author also explores the history itself of such interest in Portugal, concluding likewise that the research on the topic has been quite disperse. But he still mentions the exception of Coimbra's professor Joaquim Maria Rodrigues de Brito unfinished book *Filosofia da História do Cristianismo*.

Regarding the background of Silva Cordeiro's work, it actually started during his student years, we are told, with research he had to do for a course[298]. The book addresses mostly the French and Italian schools of philosophy of history. Therefore, while providing important scholarship of these issues, it falls short of its promise to address the German thinkers in another volume, that never came to fruition:

"Detached from mere historiography and already walking on unsteady feet in Leibnitz, Wegelin, Iselin, Schlözer and Muller, the philosophy of history definitively entered German literature under the names of Herder and Kant. These two thinkers should have a place in this volume; however, their ideas are intrically linked to the systematic way of the Germans, so we will appreciate them in another volume, where their ideas are the natural and spontaneous continuation of Fichte, Schelling, Schleiermacher and Hegel."[299]

Hegel was undoubtfully taken as an authority in the general scope of his work, when he mentions him right in the introduction. He speaks of the immediate principle the German philosopher identifies with the Orientals, where at first a form of humanity's consciousness

[298] See the preliminary preface of Joaquim Silva Cordeiro, *Ensaios de Filosofia da História: Exame Crítico dos Sistemas*, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1882, pp.VII-XV.

[299] "Desprendida da mera historiografia e caminhando já com passo vacilante em Leibnitz, Wegelin, Iselin, Schlözer e Muller, a filosofia da história entrou definitivamente na literatura germânica com os nomes de Herder e Kant. Estes dois pensadores deviam ter lugar neste volume; como porém as suas ideias se prendem intimamente ao modo sistemático dos alemães, por isso os apreciaremos em outro volume, onde as suas ideias têm a continuação natural e espontânea de Fichte, Schelling, Schleiermacher e Hegel" idem, ibidem, p.239

was able to substantialize itself[300]. Just as he tells us that the understanding of "the idea in its progressive expression" was the focus of his book, looking at the subject expressed through the various intellectuals all the way to the humanity itself[301]. He acknowledges the significance of thinkers such as Hegel, in their ability to assert themselves in their own thinking:

"To point out the precedents of a theory is not to deny its originality, on the contrary, justifies it. The great thinkers like Hegel, Comte, Hartmann, made themselves the history of their conceptions."[302]

This does not hinder him to criticize Hegel as the most nebulous of all idealists, in the different tendencies of philosophy of history he recognizes, even if, or maybe because, he does negate the materialist conceptions[303]. Most interestingly, the different relations of philosophy are a product of modernity itself, with the dissemination of German thought having many hinge points as we are told:

"How successful was Kant's Critique of Pure Reason in the scientific world, in what ways a woman of genius, Stäel, did not reveal it to the French? What happened to Hegel's philosophy, while Ott in France and Vera in Italy did not they leak through the French lens? Who knew Semler and Strauss before Littre and Rénan recommended them to the European world? What place would Hartmann's unconscientism occupy in modern philosophy without the support of Nollen and Frank?"[304]

This took place at the Coimbra University, where the 1870s generation is inextricably connected to. Its educational formation began between the early 60s and late 50s, their academic studies and knowledge acquired was thus cemented by those philosophical-

[300] ""Mas é incontestável que a ideia de progresso só uma análise meticulosa poderá esmerilhá-la nos livros sagrados dos orientais. Hegel vê neles o princípio de impeditividade, o caracter de substancialidade no seu primeiro alvorecer para a consciência da humanidade" idem, ibidem, p.10.

[301] "Para que, n'uma palavra, se compreendesse a *ideia* na sua expressão progressiva, era necessário que ela passasse..." idem, ibidem, p.8.

[302] "Assinalar os precedentes de uma teoria não é negar-lhe a originalidade, é justifica-la pelo contrário. Os grandes pensadores como Hegel, como Comte, como Hartmann, fizeram eles mesmos a história das suas concepções." Idem, ibidem, p.94.

[303] "Hippocrates com profunda observação reflectiu que «á natureza do país correspondem a forma do corpo e as disposições da alma». Tão nitidamente avulta ao espírito esta verdade, que os maiores metafísicos e os mais quiméricos idealistas não se atreveram a nega-la. Hegel, o mais nebuloso dos idealistas, deduziu da constituição interna das regiões o destino de seus habitadores." Idem, ibidem, p.177.

[304] "Que sucesso teve no mundo científico a Critica da razão pura, de Kant, em quanto uma mulher de génio, Stäel, a não revelou aos franceses? Que sucedeu á filosofia de Hegel, em quanto Ott em França e Vera na Itália a não vazaram através da lente francesa? Quem conhecia Semler e Strauss antes de Littré e Rénan os recomendarem ao mundo europeu? Que lugar ocuparia o *inconscientismo* de Hartmann na filosofia moderna sem o apoio de Nollen e Frank?" idem, ibidem, pp.145-146.

historical impulses. From what Antero de Quental tells us, in his autobiographical letter, not only were they interested in Hegel's thought they demanded for it to be taught, by rebelling against the professor's old-fashioned discourse.

It should come without surprise that there was an impeding need for up-to-date literature, leading someone to ask a Hegel follower in Berlin for advice regarding the teaching material to be used at the University, as we will see in the chapter about philosophy.

In alliance with philosophy and history, educational reforms advocated by Adolfo Coelho

According to Adolfo Coelho, a Coimbra born and educate university drop out, later turned professor at *Curso Superior de Letras*, the midway to a vigorous and modern society is to be found in education. Those thoughts will be the central piece of his writings, besides his other works on philology and popular culture, earning him posts in commissions and meetings on education and public policies.

He had learned German back in his student days, thereby allowing for a different view in scientific and literary matters, which was dominated by French models. While he was versed in different approaches and theories regarding education, these resulted from his studies of larger philosophical and historical provisions. These display an interconnection of various traditions, but more importantly of these two knowledges.

Therefore, an affinity with philosophy of history is a prominent feature of his texts, substantially endorsed right from the beginning in his 1871 intervention, regarding the question of education, at the Casino conferences later published in 1872. Various passages of the speech recall Hegel, from whom he was presumably inspired, promptly apparent in his considerations of the spirit almost as a state of being.

Humanity is awakened to this life of the spirit by the nature of its own necessities, enforcing to man the spiritual sphere embodied in society, the state, and religion as a form of the spirit's work onto itself. All the while, thought is the spirits consciousness of itself, recognizing itself in its work. In short, spirit manifest everything through which man becomes man[305].

[305] See F. Adolfo Coelho, *A Questão do Ensino: Conferência Pública feita no Casino Lisbonense em 17 de Junho de 1871*, *op. cit.* p.5.

Upholding the conception stressed in young Hegelian circles, for the Portuguese philologue, the development of the spirit, in its process of self-knowledge, takes place on the species level, not the individual *per se*[306]. Moreover, the spirit's collective form of human communities is, to each of its members, a vast system that escapes his understanding, if one assumes himself isolated.

Its fundamental principle is grasped through the spirit's movement of instantiation in humanity. Either way, he makes a distinction between material and spiritual life, with the first comparatively more limited and without essential differences. However, he does not develop on a possible interpenetration of these two.

History is along these lines virtually the march of the spirit, not as adjoined moments of it but rather unified through reason. The journey is directed at consciousness, proceeding to concrete thought, or simply put "in history we see the spirit incessantly nearing self-consciousness"[307]. Ultimately that idea or principle, to where this march leads, has definite forms, which historically represent the various degrees to which humanity has been realized.

What is more, the world is the stage, from ancient China to classic Rome and then other modern advancements, where man realizes its end and the work of the spirit takes a local course. Hence, we witness the individuation of some peoples in space and time, because spiritual activity does not happen in the same way for everyone[308]. Finally, there is a further individual character the spirit takes, that is, great men who personify the spirit of an epoch, a people or even a nation at any given point[309].

Without ever mentioning the German philosopher, those pages are probably, at that time, the best summary in Portugal of anything as close to Hegel's *Phenomenology of the Spirit* and the lectures he had given on the philosophy of history. But these were only the opening remarks to present the bigger picture. The main intention was to elucidate the importance of education, or as he stated why it is needed and what are its ends. Next comes the forms and subject of education, all the way to a diagnostic of the state its organization has reached in Portugal, finalizing with nature of the reforms that should be undertaken.

[306] See for this relation an overview of Hegel's conceptions on the individual Erzsébet Rózsa et Tamás Nyirkos, *Modern individuality in Hegel's practical philosophy*, Brill, Boston, 2012.
[307] Idem, ibidem, p.6.
[308] Idem, ibidem, pp.7-8.
[309] Idem, ibidem, p.9.

In what relates to the forms of education, the Portuguese author identifies three but is more concern with two of them, namely, the religious and scientific forms, while the third would be the artistic. Briefly spoken, modern history is seen on the backdrop of a struggle against religious influence in our understanding of the world, which led to its overtake by science.

However, science laminarly rejects an absolute understanding of itself, or of any other forms, because that is a characteristic of religion which believes and issues orders, while science can only advice and leave it for oneself to find out what is the truth. Instead, he defends the predominance of one form over the other. As a result, one cannot truly speak of scientific teaching but more of a teaching in the spirit of science, which up until recently was in the spirit of religion.

As for what is the matter of education, it basically amounts to the sum of all theoretical and practical branches of knowledge, with some placed more highly. He considers social sciences have greater importance than natural sciences, because they lay the basis for all science. Consequently, the various branches of natural sciences, without understanding the place of philosophy, historical sciences and philology, limit their own possible development. This framework takes philosophy to the forefront as it provides the grammatic of thought, the same way philology offers the grammatic of language.

Adolfo Coelho paints a dark picture of the teaching in Portugal. He addresses the problem descending to each specialty, to which I will place special focus on history and philosophy. The teaching of history in high schools is “miserable”, with the teaching of universal history boiling down to superficial chronologies and geographies embroiled in mechanical mnemonic exercises of dates, names and facts. It misses out the great historical movements of civilization, as well as the new paradigms of historical sciences.

According to A. Coelho, the teaching of philosophy is even inferior! and that makes him extremely critical of the eclectic appropriations without a conducting nexus, which philosophy had fallen into, showing the obvious ineptitude of those educators and their textbooks. The renewed glory given to dialectic, by Hegel and modern philosophy, is still prominently understood as the old art of discussion and disputation.

Curiously, any semblance of positive observations is reserved to the areas of studies he does not intervene directly, in his teaching duties, as a professor:

"The natural and mathematical sciences teaching in higher schools and universities is not as imperfect as in other sciences, but it is noticeable all around that it is completely missing an organic and philosophical direction"[310]

The matter is made even worse when we reach higher education, for the study of historical, philological sciences and philosophy as independent subjects is non-existent at the university. Some reforms were attempted by Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (Marquis of Pombal), that proved to be especially helpful for the teaching of natural sciences. This is visible mainly from the emphasis given much later to the creation of schools, faculties and other institutions to teach them, accompanied however by a disregarded of other sciences and humanities in particular.

The creation of the *Curso Superior de Letras* was a well-intentioned attempt to fill that gap, but even so:

"It was not understood that among us nobody was apt to engage in education, worthy of that name, of old literature, of modern literature, of philosophy and of universal history; the state of those sciences was not known, it was imagined that the fragmented erudition we had was literature, that banal generalities was philosophy, and that history, philosophy of history could be improvised, the course was created and the teaching staff formed from what one had around here"[311]

Moreover, the models inspiring its foundation came from France, where sadly a deplorable habit of rhetorical performance had taken hold. One was more interested in the ability of emotional excitement and entertainment, for which the French themselves were already quite critical, as in Ernest Renan voiced opposition.

Arising out of this last point comes the suggestions for the educational reforms. By concentrating on Germany, he argues for its exemplary status in that regard. This was achieved through a series of renewals, initially under a religious guise, which paved the way for a deeper renovation of society. The philologue's ending comments, however, are quite

[310] "O ensino das ciências naturais e matemáticas nos liceus como nas escolas superiores não é tão imperfeito como o de outras ciências; mas nota-se por toda a parte nele uma falta completa de direção orgânica e filosófica" Idem, ibidem, p.32.

[311] "Não se compreendeu que não havia entre nós ninguém apto para fazer um ensino, digno deste nome, das antigas literaturas, da literatura moderna, da filosofia, e da história universal; não se conhecia o estado dessas ciências, imaginou-se que a erudição fragmentada que cá havia era literatura, que generalidades banais eram filosofia, e que a história, a filosofia da história podiam improvisar-se, e criou-se o curso e formou-se o corpo docente com o que por cá havia." Idem, ibidem, pp.40-41.

pessimistic, somewhat contradictory or even unrealistic and self-defeating, because he does not seem to believe the necessary reform is even possible.

That early testimony is complemented by another article published in the journal *O Instituto* in 1900, originally written for the *Exposição Universal de Paris*. This short essay with the title "The Historical, Philological and Philosophical Education in Portugal until 1858" is of a similar nature, but is much more vocal about German philosophy and Hegel, now mentioned throughout the text.

The prime difference of this later account is the greater weight of the historical aspects, adhering more to an exposition of the developments that transpired, in terms of the teaching about the subjects written in the essay's title, and the methods used. For this reason, Adolfo Coelho's article is simultaneously a source and study. In regards to the first respect, this is especially that case if one is looking at the Portuguese knowledge of Hegel, in the first half of the 19th century.

Nevertheless, the Portuguese author does not refrain from stating his personal opinions, while narrating those events. He evidently laments that Alexandre Herculano did not express much sympathy for the new philosophical directions coming out of Germany:

"While in Germany writers such as Goethe and Schiller manifest great sympathy for philosophical thought and reconciled it, within the right limits, with their poetic conception of the world, in Portugal the two coryphaeus of Romanticism, Garrett and Herculano, were far removed from such affection. The latter, the neo-Catholic friend of the innovative theologian Doellinger, had more than once expressed his disfavor with the philosophers, especially Kant and Schelling. Everything that has been written about our historian's Kantianism is pure invention. His individualism, like that of many other men of his time, did not derive, at least directly, from the conceptions of the author of the *Critique of Pure Reason*."[312]

The former's attitude towards German philosophy could be explained from the lack of a philosophical tradition. If anything, there was an imprint of 18th sensualism up until very late, masterfully exemplified in the Portuguese Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira, who openly derided

[312] "Enquanto na Alemanha escritores como Goethe e Schiller manifestaram grande simpatia pelo pensamento filosófico e o conciliaram, nos justos limites, com a sua concepção poética do mundo, em Portugal os dois corifeus do romantismo, Garrett e Herculano, ficaram muito arredados de semelhante afecto. O último, o neo-católico amigo do teólogo inovador Doellinger, exprimiu mais duma vez o seu desfavor para com os filósofos, especialmente Kant e Schelling. Tudo que se escreveu acerca do kantismo do nosso historiador é de pura invenção. O seu individualismo, como o de muitos outros homens do seu tempo, não derivava, pelo menos directamente, das concepções do autor da Critica da Razão Pura." F. Adolfo Coelho, "O Ensino Histórico, Filológico e Filosófico em Portugal até 1858" in O *Instituto: Revista Científica e Literária*, Vol.47, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1900, p.466.

transcendental idealism and, at the same time, was the most relevant philosopher in the epoch close to the liberal revolutions. Sparks of the new German philosophy reach Portugal finally at about 1840s, first from French eclecticism, in spite of the distortions it endured, and then through the francophone Germanists[313].

Absent from that exposition were, of course, the more programmatic ideas of Adolfo Coelho, which he had been proposing to policy makers. He inclusively published some of those writings, pushing for some reforms that were far from consensual[314]. These ideas and the Lisbon professor's own career leveraged the embryo of the university and its humanities faculty, as well as the newly formed intellectuals' relation to German philosophy and the general course of study the historical and philosophical disciplines took in that institution.

Finally, one of his last books, where Hegel and the German idealism comes across, is *Alexandre Herculano e o Ensino Público* published in 1910. The first thesis presented in the book is that ideas ripened in German, on the aftermath of French Revolution and under the auspices of philosophers and educators, are at the basis of ideas set forth by Herculano for the organization of popular education.

These educational ideas were picked up from France, most notably through Cousin. However, they were mediated by a blatant example of manifolded cultural transfers, since the better cultured lands of Germany, which admired and respected education, gave it a popular outlook. Then by virtue of the French invasions, it was finally brought to France with the exchanges of some intellectuals.

From many passages of the book, it becomes clear that Coelho read the German philosophers, echoing many ideas we find in Hegel. For instance, on account of whether the facts precede the ideas, he goes on to explain the immanence of the ideas within history, which he says Hegel had expressed in a universal manner. Thus, a certain historical distance is need, for facts to be illuminated, or for us to have an idea of those facts in their logical features[315].

He inclusively cites the original books of Kant and Schiller in the footnotes, as well as German philosophy support literature, such as Paulsen's biography of Kant, and some

[313] Idem, ibidem, pp.464-465.
[314] See Sérgio Campos Matos, "O Curso Superior de Letras e a vulgarização histórica em Portugal: Projectos em confronto (1858-1901)" in *Universidade(s): História, Memória, Perspetivas: Actas do Congresso "História da Universidade"*, Volume 1, Comissão Organizadora do Congresso, Coimbra, 1991, pp.367-388.
[315] See F. Adolfo Coelho, *Alexandre Herculano e o Ensino Público*, J. A. Rodrigues & Cª Editores, Lisboa, 1910, p.92.

textbooks such as *Geschichte der Idealismus* by Otto Willmau. We also find bibliography in some other languages, especially in French as in Xavier Léon monograph on Fichte *La philosophie de Fichte et ses rapports avec la conscience contemporaine*. Besides Kant, there is no other work cited that directly relates to German idealist philosophers.

Indeed, Kant is one of the philosophers dealt with most at length in the book, due to the fact that some made an association between them. Namely, Alexandre Herculano's individualism and the Königsberg philosopher's subjectivism. He argues that although the Portuguese writer may have read Kant, or could have a Kantian inclination, in the general sense of that philosophy. In truth, according to him, Herculano did not grasp the essence of Kant's theory of knowledge.

Adolfo Coelho then quotes Herculano wrongfully portraying Kant as sceptic, because the universe in the idealist philosopher is a "doubt". What is more, the religious faith of romantic Christian sentimentality would prevent him from accepting Kant's moral autonomy primate[316].

The university professor concludes that any relation between Herculano's liberal individualism and Kant is only a very remote, indirect one, since the individualism of Kant has closer ties with the collectivity. One could easily derive a connection to many other sources, where individualism also had a tradition, and in fact he finds it more in conformity with romanticism in general or the English thinkers.

Actually, in the endeavor to historicize that tendency, he contends individualism is a product of its epoch. It does not necessarily have direct antecedents, much in the same way Kant's moral theories match well with the stoics, yet another epithet given to the author of Vale de Lobos[317]. However, he recognizes Herculano's conformity of spirit nears Kant in many respects, admitting the provenience of some other ideas from the philosopher, especially the aesthetical ideal of art having the final cause in itself[318].

As for Hegel, Herculano cites him in some writing, but according to Adolfo Coelho the Portuguese writer never placed preponderance in philosophy. He was rather tendentially quite adverse to it, which is in tune with the Portuguese people in general[319]. In addition, he thinks Herculano was aware of the philosophical ideas of Hegel, among other authors, but it

[316] Idem, ibidem, pp.113-114.
[317] Idem, ibidem, pp.115-117
[318] Idem, ibidem, pp.191-192
[319] Idem, ibidem, p.117

possibly took some time for this knowledge to assert itself. Especially if we consider the early theory of divisions in the educational grades Herculano promoted, since according to Adolfo Coelho they run contrary to the new those philosophical ideas[320].

At last, it should be noted that Adolfo Coelho never wrote a book on philosophy, much less about Hegel. However, this does not inhibit him from establishing the straightest relation between philosophy and history to his thinking, one could even say an alliance between them.

That conception came out, primarily, as a response to the decadent state the country had fallen to. Its objective was the reformation of consciousness, in the new ways of historical and philosophical understanding. This would take place through education, from which his pedagogical mission was making a decisive contribution in higher education and elsewhere.

Fidelino Figueiredo and the dialogues between theories from a man of the world

One of the visible figures of the new education proceeding from *Curso Superior de Letras* was Fidelino Figueiredo, who mirrors very well the image of the cultured man promoted by Adolfo Coelho. They would be thought by a reformed university and acquainted with the modern currents of thought, particularly philosophy of history. The young man had the philologue as professor during his studies, on account of the acknowledgment in his autobiography that "without injustices, as well as without mildness, something survived from the preaching without truce of Adolfo Coelho"[321].

Curiously, he also shared his thoughts with him about education, the Lisbon professor's favorite topic, but gave it an extra philosophical dimension by focusing on the role of abstraction. It earned positive appreciation and was presumably his dissertation[322], hence it took place in his studying years, as we are told that "Six years ago, exposed theoretically, it deserved the honor of being welcomed with sympathy by Mr. Prof. Adolfo Coelho"[323].

[320] Idem, ibidem, pp.149-150

[321] "sem injustiças, mas também sem brandura, sobreviveu alguma coisa da pregação sem tréguas de Adolfo Coelho" Fidelino Figueiredo, *Um Colecionador de Angústias*, 3ª edição, Guimarães Editores, Lisboa, 1962, pp.82-83

[322] See Hélder Correia, "Figueiredo, Fidelino de Sousa" *Dicionário de Historiadores Portugueses: Da Academia Real das Ciências ao final do Estado Novo*, organized by Sérgio Campos Matos, Centro de História – Biblioteca Nacional https://dichp.bnportugal.gov.pt/historiadores/historiadores_figueiredo.htm

[323] "Há seis anos, exposto teoricamente, mereceu a honra de ser acolhido com simpatia pelo sr. Prof. Adolfo Coelho" Fidelino Figueiredo, "A Educação da abstração" in *Estudos de Literatura*, *op. cit.* p.185.

That 1910 writing *A educação da abstração* is interesting in many respects, since right from the beginning he ventures into conceptual history. I would like to particularly emphasize the similarities between his proposal and Adolfo Coelho's ideas. They both concentrate on the new means of education, through the "connected teaching of philosophy and history"[324].

This new medium would not amount to philosophy of history, although his adherence to philosophical considerations becomes clear, neither is it simply a critical historiography. It is rather something closer to a critical historiography of philosophy of history. In his mind, this would imply looking into the system or the ideas directing the historian and, from there, see what consequences they may have in their consciousness of historical realities.

Considering the last article, together with the bulk of his other works, Fidelino Figueiredo comes much more philosophically inclined than his late professor. However, he seems to steer away from dealing with Hegel's conception of abstract-concrete, that recognized the relevance of abstraction but ultimately is very critical and almost inverts its usual interpretation.

The Portuguese writer focuses instead on both historical and conceptual significances, while preferring to highlight positive achievements. The knowledge of the idealist philosopher was illuminated by Italian interpretations coming especially from Benedetto Croce, an author with whom he was deeply in-tune intellectually, leaving certainly a profound imprint. Thus, in this case and elsewhere, his knowledge of German idealism moves further away from the line of a more direct contact, both on a conceptual and methodological way, which was more prominent in Adolfo Coelho as we have seen.

Based on his writings, the preface to a Benedetto Croce translation by R. d'Almeida, later reproduced in *Estudos de Literatura*, seems to expresses his thoughts on the Italian philosopher more at length[325]. He would also go on to translate some texts of Croce, surely lacking the opinionated account we find in those introductory notes, but nevertheless additionally shows his commitment to the philosopher[326].

The preface he titled *Acerca do Sr. Benedetto Croce* dives into the origins of the author and how important he has been, to the new and old generations alike, as a prolific writer in

[324] "o ensino conexo da história e da filosofia" idem, ibidem, pp.194-195.
[325] Benedetto Croce, *Breviário de Estética*, translated by R. d'Almeida, with a preface from Fidelino Figueiredo, A. M. Teixeira, Lisboa, 1914.
[326] Fideline Figueiredo translated for exemple Croce's text "A Perfeição e a Imperfeição" in *Boletim da Classe de Letras da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa*, vol. 12, Coimbra, 1918.

various areas. Besides the philosophical inquires, special interest was given to history, to which he pondered on the problem of it being an art or science.

There is a pronouncement against positivism because, according to him, contrary to this philosophy, the Neapolitan acknowledges and basis his assertations on a historical conception. As a result, this gives his system an imminent historical character, which could better accommodate subjective dimensions.

In that context, abstraction is again mentioned but assumes a more diminished function, given its inadequacy to accurately portray a historical reality that goes beyond the logical forms of knowledge. That is where esthetical knowledge, as an intuitive form of knowledge, comes forward to the writing of history. He also tells us this tendency expands to Croce's on a whole aesthetical guided philosophy[327].

History writing for Fidelino Figueiredo is undoubtfully characterized as an art, something Oliveira Martins, among others, had already defended. This idea had been echoed in modern German historiography, since at least Ranke and later Droysen[328]. However, from what was said above, that development actually follows more the footsteps of Croce, who is regarded as "one of his spiritual masters"[329].

There is also a particular trait in the Italian which must have captivated him, namely, their side-to-side frame of mind of an aristocratic outlook attitude towards life in general. Notwithstanding, he was often rebellious against his upbringing, probably leading him to identify also with Antero de Quental[330]. Consequently, there is a valorization of the past with the cultivation of certain memory elements, against forgetting or trust in blind progressivism. However, such past serves a higher purpose and is guided by philosophy[331].

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[327] See Fidelino Figueiredo, "Acerca do Sr. Benedetto Croce" in *Estudos de Literatura: Artigos Vários – Primeira Serie (1910-1916)*, A. M. Teixeira, Lisboa, 1917, p.204.

[328] See for an overview of the problem, and its German origin, the following article Jörn Rüsen "Rethorik und Ästhetik der Geschichtsschreibung: Leopold von Ranke" in *Geschichte als Literatur: Formen und Grenzen der Repräsentation von Vergangenheit*, Edited by Hartmut Eggert, Ulrich Profitlich and Klaus R. Scherpe, J. B. Metzler Verlag, Stuttgart, 1990.

[329] See Fidelino Figueiredo, "Discurso de posse no Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro" in *Estudos de Literatura: Artigos, Discursos e Conferencias – Terceira Serie (1918-1920)*, A. M. Teixeira, Lisboa, 1921, p.180

[330] See more details in his biography where we are told that "ele não pertencia à casta inferior que povoava a rua" although he is critical of the "caste" he derived from, because of its oppressive tendencies: *Um Colecionador de Angústias, op. cit.* pp.36-47.

[331] See Fidelino Figueiredo, *O Espírito Histórico*, 3rd edition, Livraria Clássica Editora de A. M. Teixeira, Lisboa, 1920, pp.59-60.

The Portuguese writer was interested in Francesco de Sanctis and other Hegelian minded thinkers[332], particularly because they attempted new readings of the philosopher; therefore, he lauds Croce's proneness of revitalizing old thoughts:

"It was this power of his that revived Hegelianism, shed new light on Marxism, revealed new obscure corners of De Sanctis' work and gave Vico's ideas a new consistency and shine"[333]

This endeavor would be conducted by Portuguese author himself, appropriating those ideas and voicing them in his own thoughts. Those different theories would give support to his understanding of history and how it relates to philosophy. Perhaps for this reason, Hegel is not considered more directly, even if much content of his philosophy is to be found in Figueiredo and, given the sparse mentions of the philosopher, he also prefers to develop on the thematic more broadly.

The short monograph "O Espírito Histórico" is the most evident early effort in that direction, implying the spirit's intervention in history, along with the recognition of the importance of the historical dimension to modern thought. In the 1910 Figueiredo's work, the notion of historical spirit could be shortly defined as a concern over the problems faced by man from a temporal and causal standpoint. This led to an ever-present empire of the past, or in other words, the gaze is turned to the past and its study[334].

However, he reckons the past is often used to further some doctrinarian projects, under the guise of the nation, as in the German case, or usually other political goals with the aim of attaining power. This in turn could disfigure historical events, giving place to prejudices which highlight the dangers of partiality on the part of historians[335].

For that reason, both memory and remembrance have a very relevant function, because of their ability to reconstitute facts of the past, performing maybe even, one could say, a social function[336]. Ultimately, the determination of that social utility stems from an individual conscious end, coming out of each society as it unravels the adequateness of more

[332] See for thoughts pertaining to Francesco de Sanctis "Criação e Crítica Literária" in *Estudos de Literatura: Artigos Vários – Segunda Serie (1917)*, A. M. Teixeira, Lisboa, 1918, pp.197-200.
[333] "Foi esse seu condão que reanimou o hegelianismo, que esclareceu com luz nova o marxismo, que revelou recantos obscuros da obra de De Sanctis e que deu ás ideias de Vico uma consistência e brilho novo" idem, "Acerca do Sr. Benedetto Croce" in *op. cit*, p.205.
[334] See Fidelino Figueiredo, *O Espírito Histórico, op. cit.* p.12.
[335] Idem, ibidem, p.13.
[336] Idem, ibidem, p.33.

general universal premises, which can predict a certain individual variant but cannot expect or determine it to happen[337].

Hegelian resonances punch through, when we are told that "human intelligence could never comprehend or dominate history" in all its fragmented details, and that such work is to be done by the spirit, which prepares history to be assimilate by the spirit itself[338]. But he adds up his own ideas, in a similar fashion to various other Hegel interpreters, formulating on what he calls principal variants synthetized in a broader object. Those variations are engendered and mediated by the spirit, reaching human comprehension only through it.

The French Revolution is one such example, in which the variants are embodied in the debuted traits of the constitutive assembly, the legislative, the convention, the directorate, the consulate and finally the empire. Spirit is the unifying body, but it also has its shortcomings, especially because it retains some laws and relations but cannot hold loose facts. Hence, the more particular and vaster is its knowledge, the quicker it forgets; while on the contrary the more general and condensed, the longer it lasts.

He considers that this is the definitive characteristic of history properly spoken. Despite all the necessary analyses and more basic underlying facts, memories, recollections or other scattered materials, it should above all furnish its synthesis and general overviews[339].

Those thoughts are not only in his conclusions, throughout the book the same ideas are conveyed in something deemed common to all historians and their research. According to him, such universal historic mode revolves around the idea of the search for something resembling historical laws, and is heavily guided by the notion of progress[340].

Many lessons are taken regarding that universal, along with the role of philosophy orienting historical development. Although he rejects the existence of "laws" ruling history, in the strict sense of the word, from Spencer to Lacombe proposing something analogous. He agrees with Pires de Lima critic of historical laws, yet does not propose history based on a repertoire of facts, but rather defends Croce's idea of a "philosophical spirit" in history[341].

This repudiation is probably an attempt to mild down accusations, that some were always keen on doing, over the excesses of philosophy of history[342]. In that historical work,

[337] Idem, ibidem, p.54.
[338] Idem, ibidem, p.53.
[339] Idem, ibidem, p.68.
[340] Idem, ibidem, p.55.
[341] Idem, ibidem, p.65.
[342] Idem, ibidem, p.64.

psychological and subjective aspects come to the forefront, and contrary to the nature of history, direct observation of contemporary facts help reconstitute the past, with the historian proceeding more as an artist in its imaginative effort[343]. Those thoughts are not necessarily Hegelian, but the problem is surely not strange to the debates surrounding Hegel's aesthetic theory[344], as well the role he attributes to imagination in the process of knowledge[345].

Finally, sympathy for philosophical topics would be predictable in this book of Fidelino Figueiredo, from what was said before, therefore these closing notes are about that subject. One of significance is the relation between the one and the multiple, the identical and the diverse, based on a long quote from Emile Boutroux, in which he contemplates the problem by equating it with the co-existence of analyses and syntheses as dialectical oppositions, necessarily dependent on each other[346].

Another striking topic of philosophy is that of relationality, as knowledge is for our author essentially relational. The spirit is constantly engaged in this work of making relations, such much so that history searches for a relational nexus as well, using various methods in order for the matter it studies to become coherent[347].

Those two examples belong of course to Hegelian philosophical debates, nevertheless this early work reveals a figure prone to speculative thinking and interested in divisive topics. Perhaps a more personal look into his life, from the source materials, could clarify this predisposition.

The idea of a reformed man initially mentioned really seems pertinent in the case of Fidelino Figueiredo. He was educated in a religious and conservative environment, not quite as privileged in a traditional sense, but still part of a "well accommodated bourgeoisie"[348].

However, Fidelino Figueiredo was brought up not so much directly by his biological family, but rather by simple people they had employed, such modest upbringing was yet no less restrictive of his contacts with the outside world, because they were overprotective or even domineering.

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[343] Idem, ibidem, pp-58-59.
[344] See Annemarie Gethmann-Siefert "Die Funktion der Kunst in der Geschichte" in *Hegel-Studien*, No. 25, Meiner Verlag, 1984, pp.215-228.
[345] See Klaus Vieweg, "The Gentle Force over Pictures: Hegel's Philosophical Conception of the Imagination" in *Inventions of the Imagination: Romanticism and Beyond*, edited by Richard T. Gray, Nicholas Halmi, Gary J. Handwerk, Michael A. Rosenthal and Klaus Vieweg, University of Washington Press, 2011, pp.87-101.
[346] See Fidelino Figueiredo, *O Espírito Histórico, op. cit.* p.60.
[347] Idem, ibidem, p.67.
[348] See Fidelino Figueiredo, *Um Colecionador de Angústias, op. cit.* p.28.

Those contradictions would be the ferment of discontent, absorbed in his own thoughts and trapped behind some window, soon enough the street becomes the centerpiece in his search of liberation and also his first anguish, which is nothing more than wanting to know without ever knowing[349].

He observes the inequalities of the numerous steep and narrow streets as against flat ones, reflecting on the pervading poverty that afflicts society. He sympathizes with the former, because that was actually what fed his heart, the unknow master was someone alike those. It was the husband of that nanny taking care of him, who transmitted "to the little soul in formation, all his enthusiasms, all his yearning idealism"[350]. This is from where his attraction to the unknown came, to adventure, as well as the interest in contradiction and meditation of the problems.

After that first unknown Master, during his education a few better known ones would follow. But he maintained the critical attitude he had forged, therefore the relation with them was never subservient. He soon found out pervading animosities, personalization of problems rather than scientific rigor, among other revelations of the academic and intellectual scene, which end up reinforcing that spirit of criticism[351].

It costed him fewer friendlier contacts in that *milieu* and he subsequently "travelled much, to collect the bread that from far way was offered in exchange of poor ideas", moving to Faro right after his 1911 graduation as a high school teacher, later transferring to Lisbon in 1913[352]. He sought a new cultural dynamic, by laying the foundation of *Revista de História*, and writes important articles that gave him visibility and paved the way for a political and later academic career.

Entry in to politics opened some doors, with him becoming the director of the national library and a university professor, but also closed some others as party politics and ideological battles unraveled. These years saw the rise of his philosophical speculation, or as he describes it, the coming under the shade of Fradique, in a reference to the 1870s generation creation. The search for new ideas saw a more profound study of Hegel, especially through Croce but also from readings of Unamuno and Ortega y Gasset, writing extensively on historical, cultural and theoretical subjects.

[349] Idem, ibidem, p.31.
[350] Idem, ibidem, p.51.
[351] Idem, ibidem, pp.74-90.
[352] See Hélder Correia, "Figueiredo, Fidelino de Sousa" in *op. cit.*

His political conservatism, opposition to the republic and appreciation for the past, anticipate what he might have taken from those readings. All this led to the support of a coup to install a strong-hand government capable of bringing political stability, but its failure sends him to exile in Spain.

The period right after confirms Fidelino Figueiredo frame of mind as a man of world, with his broad travelling that allowed contacts with different realities. First in Spain, he follows footsteps of the 98's generation heirs, that he greatly appreciated, and where he could exercise his "intellectual activities"[353]. Then followed Mexico in 1931, two periods of stay as a lecturer at Berkeley in the United States during the 1930s, until he finally settles in Brazil, mostly in São Paulo, before returning to Portugal in the 1950s[354].

Along the way he also visited other places in connection with his intellectual ventures, which was not merely a product of circumstances, but rather deeply connect with his beliefs, since for him other professors remained in Portugal (although that may not be the case for Adolfo Coelho):

"Téofilo and Adolfo Coelho never left Portugal. Others undertook in their youth the classical travel to Paris or only at distance and in thought Germanize themselves. They judged the world by an ideal module"[355]

It would extend beyond the scope and period of this study to palm all these developments, albeit them being helpful in a retrospective look at his intellectual journey and propensities. They explain the interest nurtured for other philosophies, cultures, intellectual exchanges and particularly his acquaintances with Hegelian thought.

The bulk of Figueiredo's archival record is in S. Paulo University, where he left a more durable imprint and a number of disciplines. However, he was an avid writer and published much of his thought, from which for example we can assess his philosophical considerations about German idealism.

One of those books is the monologue *Sob a Cinza do Tédio*, mostly philosophical in nature, he speaks through the voice of an alter-ego about some of the ideas related above all

[353] See Fidelino Figueiredo, *Um Colecionador de Angústias, op. cit.* p.183.
[354] See Hélder Correia, "Figueiredo, Fidelino de Sousa" in *op. cit.*
[355] "Teófilo e Adolfo Coelho nunca saíram de Portugal. Outros fizeram na sua mocidade a clássica viagem a Paris ou só a distância e em pensamento se germanizaram. Julgavam o mundo por módulo ideal" *Um Colecionador de Angústias, op. cit.* p.87.

to Kant, since a return to the Königsberg philosopher is one of the banners of the neo-Hegelians that have ascendancy in him[356]. However, this also begs the question what kind of Hegel he read? It is apparent Hegel is accounted for in his writings but not always as a primary concern, hindering a straightforward knowledge of the source thought, which could also refer to some other of his writings regarding philosophy and history.

[356] See Fidelino Figueiredo, *Sob a Cinza do Tédio: Romance de uma consciência*, with a preface from Prof. Robert Richard, Empresa Literária Fluminense, Lisboa, 1925.

3. Hegel, Theory of History and Historical Consciousness in Portugal

The previous chapter addressed theories derived from philosophy history in general, both in terms of the range of doctrines and their interrelations, as well as in a broader cultural extension. Now this chapter will address a more circumscribed aspect of theory of history which is that of historical consciousness in Portugal, as well as Hegel's importance for the reflections of the Portuguese intellectuals on this matter. We are dealing with one of the core issues addressed in the present work, which is the concept and theory of consciousness in relation to historical time.

The recognition, development and study of consciousness as an aspect of reality is a product of modernity, with an increased importance attributed to subjectivity. Various areas of knowledge will be closely bound to such theoretical acquirements, but this landmark is even more significant for history, which owes much of its more recent theorization to the notion of consciousness brought in by these modern times. In the case of Hegelianism, it occupies a place of prominence, some going as far as considering it the corner stone for the understanding of its philosophical propositions[357].

It is in this last respect interesting to remark the similarities between many young authors of the so called 70s generation, such as Antero de Quental, Oliveira Martins or Eça de Queiroz, and the young or left Hegelians. They both spoke of a spiritual revolution and working towards raising the consciousness of the people, rather than having an emphasis on a more practical political activity.

As such, the cultural activity and the agitation these intellectuals were engaged in, against more traditional undertones, was mainly of an ideal nature. A critique of those efforts, however, could point out that it often fell into an idealized vision of reality, with no feasible solution to the problems concretely[358].

[357] For example, Feuerbach is in this respect probably the better-known representative of this Hegelian interpretation, when in his *Vorläufige Thesen zur Reform der Philosophie* mentions Hegel in this context and goes on to consider that consciousness is at basis of the real unity between spirit and nature, and is as such the basis of any philosophy - "Die reelle Einheit von Geist und Natur ist nur das Bewußtsein" Ludwig Feuerbach, *Gesammelte Werke, Kleinere Schriften II (1839-1846)*, Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1982, pp.251-252.
Karl Marx will interpret Hegel along these same lines.

[358] The failed project of the 1870s generation of a profound political transformation is one such example, demonstrating the more circumscribed course of its radius of action to the cultural and literary domains.

But wasn't Hegel an idealist himself? Of course, his own philosophy addressed the problem concerning an idealist versus realist basis for the philosophical thinking of reality[359]. Even though philosophy is classified by him as inherently idealist in nature, he distances himself quiet strongly from subjective idealism, particularly of the Kantian inspired critical philosophy and its transcendental sphere.

Accordingly, in a passage of his science of logic he goes on to say that opposition between idealistic and realistic philosophy is without significance. However, further ahead there is a critique of a philosophy which remains in the realm of the empirical, of things[360]. This later he associates with realism, therefore, the philosopher's defense of an idealist philosophy is, as such, based on the process by which the empirical objects become thought objects through our consciousness, becoming folded both inward and outward in such movement[361].

This reality brough about into the idea, now spiritualized in a higher nature, yet does not lose its former connections and nature. Quite on the opposite, it rather needs actualization and mediation in all its moments. It thus becomes apparent, if one attempts to draw a picture of these two sides as isolated, that realism and idealism are actually integrated into each other[362].

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[359] See for a thematization of this subject José Barata-Moura, "Hegel: Idealismo, Materialismo e Dialéctica" in *Ideia e Matéria*, Livros Horizonte, Lisboa, 1978, pp.99-137.

[360] "Der Gegensatz von idealistischer und realistischer Philosophie ist daher ohne Bedeutung. Eine Philosophie, welche dem endlichen Dasein als solchem wahrhaftes, letztes, absolutes Sein zuschriebe, verdiente den Namen Philosophie nicht; Prinzipien älterer oder neuerer Philosophien, das Wasser oder die Materie oder die Atome, sind Gedanken, Allgemeine, Ideelle, nicht Dinge, wie sie sich unmittelbar vorfinden…" G.W.F Hegel, *Werke 5: Wissenschaft der Logik I, op. cit.* p.172.

[361] Such superseding process, leading up to the idea, is exemplified in the Encyclopedia while speaking about the manifestation of the materiality of light, alluding to its "material ideality", G.W.F Hegel, *Werke 9: Enzyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse II*, *op. cit.* pp.116-118.

[362] Another passage on the Encyclopedia is elucidative and interesting in this regard, as it shows the interconnection of idealism and realism, while at the same time on a side, demonstrates the pertinence of a philosophical outlook for the convergence of spirit and nature, which natural sciences of empirical nature are unable to achieve.

"Dieser Idealismus, in der ganzen Natur die Idee zu erkennen, ist zugleich Realismus, indem der Begriff des Lebendigen die Idee als Realität ist, wenn auch sonst die Individuen nur einem Momente des Begriffs entsprechen. Überhaupt erkennt die Philosophie den Begriff im Realen, Sinnlichen. Vom Begriff muß man ausgehen; und ist er auch vielleicht noch nicht mit der »reichen Mannigfaltigkeit« der Natur, wie man sagt, fertig, so muß man doch dem Begriff trauen, wenn auch vieles Besondere noch nicht erklärt ist. Das ist überhaupt eine unbestimmte Forderung, und daß sie nicht erfüllt ist, tut dem Begriff keinen Eintrag, während ganz im Gegenteil die Theorien der empirischen Physiker alles erklären müssen, da ihre Bewährung nur auf den einzelnen Fällen beruht. Der Begriff aber gilt für sich; das Einzelne wird sich dann schon geben" G.W.F Hegel, *Werke 9: Enzyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse II*, *op. cit.* p.438.

The virulent critic of Kantian propositions, are further developed on the encyclopedia of philosophical sciences. When Hegel writes that one-side theoretical consciousness of the idealistic belief will be refuted through the praxis, or by practical means[363], one cannot help thinking of Marx and his emphasis on the praxis while criticizing idealist positions[364].

The internal connections and interplay of what on the surface appears as a duality, tells us something about the centrality attributed to Hegel's conception of consciousness in its various stages of internalization, as unifying moments. In fact, consciousness admittedly really is the underlying object of study in one of his first published books, which would become a landmark in western philosophy, the *Phenomenology of the Spirit*[365].

In this work, for the German philosopher, the knowing of what is goes beyond antagonistic discrete moments. Because even if there are particular phases or milestones of consciousness coming into being, that could be separately considered, it embraces instead the unity or totality of the movement, and this is a self-movement of being realized through the experience of consciousness.

The concept of knowledge is represented, as such, in consciousness as a result, of what in logical terms ultimately is only a presupposition, owing however its self-movement to the engendered logical premises. They expand into material reality and are then fully established in their concreteness or within a particular historical concretion[366]. A closer look into consciousness itself would then be the way forward, in order to comprehend its historical ramifications.

The theory of history of modernity relies heavily on the concept of consciousness, and this relationship between history and consciousness lays the basis for the interest in philosophy from the perspective of history[367]. This is also the case in Portugal, when for instance Antero de Quental is interested in German philosophy. He even went on to learn the German language to better grasp the significance of its theory and historical thinking.

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[363] "Die Schwierigkeit, d. i. die einseitige Annahme des theoretischen Bewußtseins, daß die natürlichen Dinge uns gegenüber beharrend und undurchdringlich seien, wird direkt widerlegt durch das praktische Verhalten, in welchem dieser absolut idealistische Glauben liegt, daß die einzelnen Dinge nichts an sich sind." G.W.F Hegel, *Werke 8, Enzyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse I*, *op. cit.* p.19.

[364] See in this respect for instance Marx's Theses on Feuerbach, especially the 2nd and 8th theses, Marx and Engels, *Werke: Thesen über Feuerbach*, Band 3, *op. cit.* pp.5-7.

[365] G.W.F Hegel, *Werke 5: Wissenschaft der Logik I*, *op. cit.* p.49.

[366] Idem, ibidem, p.67-68.

[367] In fact, Hegel should be considered as the key thinker of modernity according to: HOFFMANN, Thomas Sören(ed.), *Hegel als Schlüsseldenker der Modernen Welt*, Felix Meiner Verlag, Hamburg, 2009.

One begins to see the first signs of a cultural Germanism in Portugal from around the period of the 1848 revolution. Those ideas did not come directly from Germany, there is instead mainly other cultures of transition, which both enriched but also modified its meaning. The German science, its philosophy and theory, would then become a source of inspiration especially from the 1870s generation onwards, which led to the study of Hegel's historical theory.

What is consciousness in light of Hegel's theory

The importance of consciousness for historical progress is undeniable for the Berlin dialectician, particularly in light of his philosophy of history, when he tells us that "World history is the advancement of the consciousness of freedom"[368]

Before moving into theory history and the role of philosophy in the period we are studying, a few earlier steps in the making of consciousness to elucidate its constitution and characterization are called upon. Historical consciousness is a specific disposition of consciousness, which is however much broader and more importantly has wider repercussions than just theory of history.

The whole edifice of science and knowledge takes place, as we are told in the *Phenomenology of the Spirit*, first and foremost in the element of consciousness. It does not come as a surprise that the work just mentioned begins precisely by dwelling into consciousness. But its movement sets the actual element, since immediate consciousness only has a notion of knowledge but not real knowledge, as the later demands an arduous process of self-recognition. Therefore, in the element of self-recognition as a standpoint of consciousness is where philosophy begins and knowledge comes to be attained.

Hegel's objective was precisely to reveal this coming to be of consciousness into the knowledge of spirit to itself. The truth of being is then expressed in the representation of the absolute as Spirit, which is then taken as the subject or that which has gone through a process of reflecting itself, rather than the subject generally understood as determined from without[369].

[368] "Die Weltgeschichte ist der Fortschritt im Bewusstsein der Freiheit." G.W.F Hegel, *Werke 12: Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*, *op. cit.* p.32.

[369] Hegel louds it not as his achievement but one reached by modernity, and he is merely expressing it philosophically "Daß das Wahre nur als System wirklich oder daß die Substanz wesentlich Subjekt ist, ist nur in

The end result puts the focus on Spirit, which as we are told prepares for itself the element of true knowing, which identifies the object with itself, subject becoming object. The principle of this movement is in logic, but Hegel's first major work begins to explore this external manifestation of being, of sensuous consciousness connecting to the higher spheres of spirit, before moving into the underlaying base of logic or speculative philosophy, dealt with in his later seminal work[370].

The absolute spirit is equally not the initial focus in the phenomenology, in contrast to other conceptions criticized by Hegel because they reach the absolute as if shooting from a pistol, but rather immediate sensuous or natural consciousness is the first step in the becoming of this knowledge of the absolute[371].

Historical knowledge is also considered in light of the mediation process of consciousness, or the self-recognition of spirit. When Hegel writes that historiography involves comparisons, research and inquiry to reach truths of historical nature, it means he is not content with taking supposedly plain truths, or engage in baseless philosophical speculation, that some accuse him of. Indeed, the cognition of facts, particularly in regard to history, rests on establishing a cognitive basis of what immediately presents itself[372].

In his assessment of the types of knowledge, and the truths they could achieve, other ones besides history are of course considered. Given the popularity of mathematics, this is an area of knowledge Hegel writes about at length. His rejection of the clear-cut truths of mathematics, pointing out its defects, could very well apply to other aspects of his work.

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der Vorstellung ausgedrückt, welche das Absolute als Geist ausspricht, - der erhabenste Begriff und der der neueren Zeit und ihrer Religion angehört" G.W.F Hegel, *Werke 3: Phänomenologie des Geistes, op. cit.* p.28

[370] "Das Sein ist absolut vermittelt; - es ist substantieller Inhalt, der ebenso unmittelbar Eigentum des Ichs, selbstisch oder der Begriff ist. Hiermit beschließt sich die Phänomenologie des Geistes. Was er in ihr sich bereitet, ist das Element des Wissens. In diesem breiten sich nun die Momente des Geistes in der *Form der Einfachheit* aus, die ihren Gegenstand als sich selbst weiß. Sie fallen nicht mehr in den Gegensatz des Seins und Wissens auseinander, sondern bleiben in der Einfachheit des Wissens, sind das Wahre in der Form des Wahren, und ihre Verschiedenheit ist nur Verschiedenheit des Inhalts. Ihre Bewegung, die sich in diesem Elemente zum Ganzen organisiert, ist die *Logik* oder *spekulative Philosophie*." idem, ibidem, p.39.

[371] Idem, ibidem, p.31.

[372] "In Ansehung der historischen Wahrheiten, um ihrer kurz zu erwähnen, insofern nämlich das rein Historische derselben betrachtet wird, wird leicht zugegeben, daß sie das einzelne Dasein, einen Inhalt nach der Seite seiner Zufälligkeit und Willkür, Bestimmungen desselben, die nicht notwendig sind, betreffen. - Selbst aber solche nackte Wahrheiten, wie die als Beispiel angeführten, sind nicht ohne die Bewegung des Selbstbewußtseins. Um eine derselben zu kennen, muß viel verglichen, auch in Büchern nachgeschlagen oder, auf welche Weise es sei, untersucht werden; auch bei einer unmittelbaren Anschauung wird erst die Kenntnis derselben mit ihren Gründen für etwas gehalten, das wahren Wert habe, obgleich eigentlich nur das nackte Resultat das sein soll, um das es zu tun sei." idem, ibidem, pp.41-42.

Namely, the idea that mathematics is trapped in rigid formulas unable to capture the more complex movements of consciousness, because life is infinitely richer.

From what was said above, one could conclude that consciousness has a number of implications for knowledge, being and the movement of self-recognition. The role it plays in history is only a part of it, nonetheless quite an important one because through it the spirit externalizes and subsequently realizes itself. The elements of consciousness are then the connecting points of the movement between the internal and external dimensions.

The historical perspective under the prism of this theory of consciousness, in regard to the knowledge of reality, will be one of the most profound appropriations of Hegelianism in a variety of intellectuals. All the more because Hegel's work allows for different interpretations, or the valorization of specific aspects.

The understanding of the constitutive elements of consciousness and its role is therefore varied, depending on particular thinkers and their respective doctrines. Thus, for instance the young Hegelian (left) highlighted consciousness as the primary medium of transformation, while for the old Hegelians (right) such as G. A. Gabler, consciousness was seen more as a preparation for the real science, which would be found in logic, not deserving those merits[373]. These interpretations often translated into political orientations, which would then have broader reflexes in the European intellectual landscape inspiring both revolutionary thought, as well as some conservative ideas, particularly in regard to the state.

Similarly, the readings of Hegel by Portuguese intellectuals could also be grouped into some typified Hegelian interpretations according to the framework of Wilhelm's Beyer *Hegel-Bilder*. In the case of the 1870s generation, Hegel was the great German dialectical philosopher, while at the same time, for many of them, also the apologist of Prussian authoritarianism.

This multiplicity of significances and their co-existence is precisely the direction of research presently found in conceptual history, while on the other hand some studies also point out this same characteristic in relation to historical consciousness[374]. In regard to Hegelianism and the research around some of its intellectual constellations, the interpretations of the philosopher could be even grouped into categories.

[373] See in this regard George Andreas Gabler, *Kritik des Bewusstseins: Eine Vorschule zu Hegel's Wissenschaft der Logik*, A.H Adriani, Leiden, 1901 [1827].
[374] See Maria Grever and Robbert-Jan Adraansen "Historical Consciousness: The Enigma of Different Paradigms." in *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, Vol.51, no. 6, 2019, pp.814–30.

The earlier contacts with Hegel by Alexandre Herculano, for instance, were of a confirmative or authorative nature, which one could also define as a typological form. Consciousness is also the source of freedom and the dignity of men for Herculano[375]. The Intellectual development is the main feature emanating from consciousness, as such, freedom is expressed in the spiritual or mental conditions, rather than the material development one attains[376].

Consequently, Alexandre Herculano is quite emphatic in his considerations regarding the German philosopher:

"The reasons for the triumph of the Germans over the French is in the science and the intellectuals, with of course Hegel at the forefront"[377]

Furthermore, for Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira, a Portuguese philosopher closer to Hegel's time, notwithstanding the critic of Hegel as the nebulous German philosophy, consciousness connects with memory of past studies, in a recollective way, to which the German word *Erinnerung* would more appropriately stand for[378].

Even if not always related to history, consciousness was definitely a concept in development and attended to by various thinkers. I endeavored to make this noticeable here in Pinheiro Ferreira and Alexandre Herculano, as early philosophers of modernity, both of which were intellectually engaged with the debates on the threshold of the German philosopher leading years at the Berlin University.

In the case of historical consciousness, moments of crisis were particularly fruitful regarding reconfigurations and the deepening consciousness, which often led intellectuals to endeavored in reflections on national identity and theoretical thought about Portugal's history[379]. In the development of those ideas, the generation of 1870s and its subsequent associated intellectual constellation, would resort particularly to Hegel.

[375] See Alexandre Herculano, *Opúsculos*, Vol.IV, *op. cit.*
[376] See Alexandre Herculano, *Opúsculos*, Vol.V, *op. cit.*
[377] "As razões do triunfo alemão sobre os franceses, está na ciência e nos intelectuais com claro Hegel à cabeça!" Alexandre Herculano, *Opúsculos*, Vol.IV, *op. cit.*
[378] See Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira, *Prelecções Philosophicas sobre a Theórica do Discurso e da Linguagem, a Esthética, a Diceósyna, e a Cosmologia*, Impressão Régia, Rio de Janeiro, 1813, p.71.
[379] Consciousness is invariably highlighted in terms of the historiography about Portuguese nationality as in Martim de Albuquerque, *A Consciência Nacional Portuguesa. Ensaio de história das ideias políticas*, Vol. I, Lisboa, 1974.

Antero de Quental's theory of history, outlined in *Causas da Decadência dos Povos Peninsulares*, is a great example in that regard. He appeals to consciousness on several occasions, namely as being at the base of the principle of modern freedom, which encountered obstacles from an ideological point of view in Catholicism[380].

The principle of historicity, which became a widely employed concept at the beginning of the 20th century and is appropriated by Joaquim de Carvalho, will also be inspired on Hegel's understanding of consciousness. The German philosopher also believed all reality is inscribed in history, yet determined by the spirit it is moved by the aims of reason in its manifestation.

Conclusively, the basis of consciousness will be a lever for the Hegelian theory of history, as I sought to demonstrate its importance above. Now we will move on to address that theory of history which is conceived philosophically in Hegel's works, leading to the popularity of philosophy of history.

Philosophy and Theory of History

When in contemporaneity one speaks of theory of history, it certainly must not be forgotten that much of its development is in debt to the philosophy of history of the 18th and 19th centuries. This is particularly noticeable as many of the subjects, which were originally object of reflection by the philosophers, intersect those of modern-day theory of history.

However, from today's perspective, a break seems to be drawn by pushing the theorization of these philosophers to a more speculative form of historical inquiry, attaching to the tag of philosophy of history the implicit meaning of a less worthy form of historical reflection and of a more questionable knowledge.

The problem is not whether empirical data possesses a greater value than the more intellective side of a historical explanation, or if empirical data speaks for itself rather than passing through various mediating levels, because we have these discussions in another form in philosophy itself all over again. In that regard Hegel is a strong critic of unsubstantiated

[380] See Antero de Quental, *Causas da Decadência dos Povos Peninsulares nos últimos três seculos*, Typographia Commercial, Porto, 1871.

presuppositions in philosophy, as for him the justification of any philosophical assertion is the first step of the philosophical inquiry[381].

What is undeniable in the case of Hegel, but often neglected when one examines his philosophy of history, is the historical literature and sources he took as basis for his philosophizing on history[382]. Hegel did not attempt to make history in the traditional sense of historical research, but he was not baseless in his assertions.

Instead of excogitating his ideas out of pure subjective assumptions, he rather took the available research and passed it through the realm of consciousness. He shows the different processes, stages and moments of the realization of the spirit by the activity of men in the world, which one could also call the spirit of humanity. Because for Hegel only in the human species does it reach a degree in which it becomes real in actuality, as the spirit becomes self-conscious and comprehends itself.

Each of Hegel's concepts has its particular significance in the context which they were used but, and most importantly, they also gain determinacy and become operative in the bulk of his work. All the more because he progressively tried to make their true sense easier to be capture, by his students and audience, as he worked on reasserting popularized significances of some concepts.

The whole labor of Hegel's conceptualization fully emerges in his historical thinking. Therefore, the study of a topic which encompasses the theorization of history in someone like Hegel or even Kant should first try and understand what philosophy of history actually meant in their works. Only in that manner could one do them justice, because the theory of history in the 18th and 19th centuries, as well as the basis of its development, is to be found in the writings of Hegel and many others philosophers around the period he lived in.

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[381] See in this respect Hegel's Jena writings in which he is seeking after a justification of philosophy, and subsequently, of science as a whole, are elucidative of this occupation: "Die Wissenschaft behauptet, sich in sich dadurch zu begründen, daß sie jeden ihrer Teile absolut setzt und hierdurch in dem Anfang und in jedem einzelnen Punkt eine Identität und ein Wissen konstituiert; als objektive Totalität begründet das Wissen sich zugleich immer mehr, je mehr es sich bildet, und seine Teile sind nur gleichzeitig mit diesem Ganzen der Erkenntnisse begründet." G.W.F Hegel, *Werke 2: Jenaer Schriften 1801-1807*, *op. cit.* p.122.

[382] See for an overview of Hegel's sources with regard to his philosophy of history the bibliography provided by Hodgson in his translation: *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History,* ed. and trans. Robert F. Brown and Peter C. Hodgson, Clarendon, Oxford, 2011.

See also for a more developed account of Hegel's sources the book of the same author:

Shapes of Freedom: *Hegel's Philosophy of World history in Theological perspective*, Oxford University Press, 2012.

Jacques d'Hondt has also thoroughly researched Hegel's sources and published numerous articles outlining them, which ended up giving birth to his classical book in the clef of a secret of Hegel, *Hegel Secret: Recherches sur les Sources Cachées de la Pensée de Hegel*, Presses Universitaires de France, Deuxième Edition, 1986.

One should study their philosophy of history, learn their true sense (which was not writing history *per se*) and take into account how history was written made back then, to realize what was meant when one says that the thinking of history was claimed by philosophy itself. Static notions of history were being overturned and history was gradually drawn into the domains of thought, opening up wider dimensions of reflection and the exercise of critical thinking. All this had an effect on historical research, leading up to a closer relation between philosophy and history.

An immense work had begun, a whole new history that had to be written, cemented on a new consciousness of historical time. While those works on history were more drawn to thought, reaching higher levels of abstraction, notwithstanding, they could actually more adequately connect with men and explain the movements of human society. This change was not immediate, it took years, perhaps the whole 19th century, on a European scale, to satisfactorily establish itself.

However, at a certain point in time this attachment of philosophy to history turned into a problem for the development of later the discipline. This was due to philosophy broader range of concerns and different methodology, which required the affirmation of an independent path for history. The critique of philosophy from the perspective of history comes from those times still, which does not invalidate the contribution of philosophy in the new directions undertaken in modern historiography.

As it has been said, Hegel based himself on the available historical and scientific research, therefore, the inaccuracies, over-generalizations or blunt errors could also be attributed in part to the historical knowledge of his time. In fact, world geography, geology, climatology and many other sciences, which were ancillary sources for many of his world history assertions, were still in their infancy.

The genealogies of the nobility, the moralizing history intersecting with religious conceptions and other forms of making history up until then, were still dominant in many ways. Various critics would argue that for instance with regard to Hegel's eurocentrism, the sources are just an excuse to what actually is at the basis of Hegel's historical beliefs.

My point is not to excuse the philosopher for some supposed misdeeds but rather, on the one hand, to pay notice to the sources at the root of these so called possible "errors" and, on the other hand, to read the texts in the light of his time. While another fault recurrently pointed out at Hegel is the methodological infectiveness or how he regards world history.

Hegel is often criticized for the construction of grand-narratives in regard to world history, attached to the idea of an end to which history leads to, or in the limit a closed historical progression. In what concerns the first issue, this idea of a grand historical narrative does not always have to be case, because even the most general situations embrace the individual struggles of men for freedom and self-realization[383].

The issue is more a matter of scope, because there are different dimensions to the history of humanity, while Hegel does not hide away but rather actually seeks the justification of an end to his conception of history. Still in the smallest details, the problem of the ends could also be an issue which would be open for argument.

When Hegel sees in Caesar the man who was charged with the deepest acknowledgement of the world spirit, he does not only mean that he followed the greater course of history, but also that Caesar had advanced at that particular time the interests of the Roman people. As a result, he found the support needed to exercise his power over the individual interests of the aristocracy.

The idea of the ends and means in history, could certainly find a parallel in Hegel's concept of *Schluss*. The closure or conclusion is the stage in which the dialectic movement finds its consummation, capturing all the moments of development in their unity. But a closure certainly opens the doors for other advances, in a grounding which is known and could be worked on.

What then would be an ever-open thesis, a historical progression open in every aspect? Would a historical thesis, a thought or a historical theory which was never after a purpose, or a justification of its own existence, be as such, without internal consistency? The counter-thesis of a closed historical progression, with its stages all drawn up towards an

[383] See "A second moment is needed to arrive at its actuality, that of activation, of actualization, and the principle of that is the will, the activity of human beings in general in the world. It is only through this activity that the [original] concept, the implicit determinations, are realized and actualized.
Laws and principles are not immediately alive, do not gain currency, by themselves; the activity that [puts] them into operation and determinate existence is that of human needs, drives, inclinations, and passions. " … „I must simultaneously satisfy my purpose, even though the purpose for which I am working has other aspects that have nothing to do with me." Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History op. cit.* p.91 - „Es muß ein zweites Moment für die Wirklichkeit hinzukommen, und dies ist die Betätigung, Verwirklichung, und deren Prinzip ist der Wille, die Tätigkeit des Menschen überhaupt. Es ist nur durch diese Tätigkeit, daß jener Begriff sowie die an sich seienden Bestimmungen realisiert, verwirklicht werden, denn sie gelten nicht unmittelbar durch sich selbst. Die Tätigkeit, welche sie ins Werk und Dasein setzt, ist des Menschen Bedürfnis, Trieb, Neigung und Leidenschaft." … „ich muß meinen Zweck zugleich dabei befriedigen, wenn der Zweck, für welchen ich tätig bin, auch noch viele andere Seiten hat, nach denen er mich nichts angeht." G.W.F Hegel, *Werke 12: Philosophie der Geschichte*, *op. cit.* p.36

insurmountable final end, wouldn't also be a history open to complete arbitrariness? since no matter what happens in the middle, the end would always be the same.

The depiction of this either purely closed or purely open historical progression, however, is more a matter of abstract hypothetical construction than actual reality. In any case, it is still useful in helping us thinking the problem. The question, therefore, is whether we can have contingency in a historical theory that nears conclusion or works towards reaching one.

This topic is the most appropriate to further develop in relation to Hegel, because the debate over contingency in history is so present in theory of history. First of all, contingency in Hegel is particularly present in nature[384]. On a first moment, it is this immediacy of being in nature, showing itself externally in its purest form, the most unmediated. This being outside itself (or in nature) is what Hegel calls the outer necessity, amounting to the same as contingency[385].

Contingency in itself, however, is something very distinct from freedom or reason, because in nature it is a fixed form in the outside world. Particularized and isolated, it is limited[386]. The reason why nature is contingent lies in particularized phenomena that take place over time, which, isolated and taken as formal moments of the whole process, appear precisely as contingency in the totality of the movement[387]. Inner necessity is also in Nature but only in the manifestation of the concept, as exposed in Hegel's doctrine[388].

Without further developing this subject, what is important to retain is that Hegel considers contingency only to subsist in what is isolated. Through the spirit the isolated

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[384] "Die Zufälligkeit und Bestimmbarkeit von außen hat in der Sphäre der Natur ihr Recht." G.W.F Hegel, *Werke 9,* Enzyklopedie II, op cit, p.22-23.
The other dimensions of Hegel's system also have contingency as a topic, they are not however, on an equal level in the different levels of reality, namely, logic, nature and spirit. See on this topic Dieter Henrich "Hegels Theorie über den Zufall" in *Philosophische Zeitschrift der Kant-Gesellschaft*, Band 50, Heft 1-4, 1959.

[385] "Denn Notwendigkeit ist Untrennbarkeit von Unterschiedenen, die noch gleichgültig erscheinen; daß aber die Abstraktion des Außersichseins auch zu ihrem Rechte kommt, ist die Zufälligkeit, die äußerliche Notwendigkeit, nicht die innere Notwendigkeit des Begriffs." G.W.F Hegel, *Werke 9: Enzyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse II, op. cit.* p.30.

[386] As Hegel would say "Es ist der sinnlichen Vorstellungsweise zuzurechnen, Zufälligkeit, Willkür, Ordnungslosigkeit für Freiheit und Vernünftigkeit zu halten." Idem, ibidem, p.35.

[387] While referring to the whole range of natural phenomena Hegel writes: "Alles dies sind einzelne, formale Momente des vollständigen Prozesses, die innerhalb des Ganzen als Zufälligkeiten erscheinen" idem, ibidem, p.154.

[388] Even though inner necessity is characteristic of the concept, Hegel also considers contingency in the doctrine of the concept (his logic) but he notes that "das Zufällige ist das an sich selbst Grundlose und sich Aufhebende" G.W.F Hegel, *Werke 6: Wissenschaft der Logik II,* op. cit. p.127.

moments can be recollected and organized in a meaningful way, leading the way to a conceptualization process.

One is reminded in his *Phenomenology of the Spirit* that history in the same way as nature, within a sphere of common existence in the spirit, has this same characteristic contingency. Only through the elevation of history to the concept does it reach the remembrance of the absolute spirit, of the truth and reality which is contained in it and makes it necessary in light of the whole[389].

Could the idea of an end to history, now that we saw that contingency is to be found in history and in the "saga" of the spirit, also be interpreted as a tendency? Was it not similar what Hegel had in mind when he thought of history developing towards freedom? The logic of Hegel is certainly self-sufficient and the development stirs from its own necessity, but in his philosophy of the spirit and by extension in his philosophy of history (the arena in which the spirit realizes itself), the laws of logic and those of nature come into unity, and contingency is therefore always present (as well as necessity).

What is at stake here is not merely a defense of Hegel but rather an attempt to understand his historical thinking, as against oversimplified views of the philosophy of history from those times. This is one of many examples in which philosophy and abstract thinking have helped actualize and guided our knowledge of history.

Other issues in which history has drawn on philosophy would be in topics such as the contradictory relations between individual-collective, objectivity-subjectivity, totality-partiality, structure-type or the problematic of value judgments, normativity, historicity, identity, historical hermeneutic or more recently the conceptual and linguistic elements of historical research and historiography.

The effort which the study of these subjects require, as one seeks a better understanding of the problems, illuminates the character of historical time and the multiplicity of consciousness in its constitution.

[389] "Das Ziel, das absolute Wissen, oder der sich als Geist wissende Geist hat zu seinem Wege die Erinnerung der Geister, wie sie an ihnen selbst sind und die Organisation ihres Reichs vollbringen. Ihre Aufbewahrung nach der Seite ihres freien, in der Form der Zufälligkeit erscheinenden Daseins ist die Geschichte, nach der Seite ihrer begriffenen Organisation aber die Wissenschaft des erscheinenden Wissens; beide zusammen, die begriffen« Geschichte, bilden die Erinnerung und die Schädelstätte des absoluten Geistes, die Wirklichkeit, Wahrheit und Gewißheit seines Throns" G.W.F Hegel, *Werke 3: Phänomenologie des Geistes*, op. cit. p.591.

In fact, Hegel is one of the first thinkers to develop on the idea that man is born into a historical surrounding[390]. The consciousness of historical time in humanity leads the individual, by superseding his outer existence and giving up the particularity of himself, to pass on through recollection, from generation to generation, the awareness of temporality in the consciousness of men[391].

According to present day research on historical consciousness, there are gradated levels of consciousness of historical time. This was precisely Hegel's objective, to understand how this happened, and which stages of consciousness could be considered in regard to history. His divisions between the ways of writing history are also different levels of historical consciousness.

Jörn Rüsen, a contemporary researcher and theoretician of history, for instance, identifies four main levels of historical consciousness, corresponding to the tradition, exemplariness, critique, and genetic ways of understanding historical consciousness[392]. A parallel could certainly be drawn between this historical understanding and the one Hegel expounds in the introduction to his *Philosophy of History*. The second form of historical consciousness, reflexive history, is divided into four types corresponding to compiled, pragmatic, critical and special or particular history[393]. These first three certainly reminds us of Jörn Rüsen's classification and the fourth is also not too far off in its meaning.

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[390] See in this regard Hans Friedrich Fulda, "Geschichte, Weltgeist und Weltgeschichte bei Hegel" in *Annalen der internationalen Gesellschaft für dialektische Philosophie Societas Hegeliana II*, Köln, 1986, 58-105.

[391] See in this respect the following elucidative passage in the *Phenomenology of the Spirit*: „Die andere Seite aber seines Werdens, die Geschichte, ist das wissende, sich vermittelnde Werden - der an die Zeit entäußerte Geist; aber diese Entäußerung ist ebenso die Entäußerung ihrer selbst; das Negative ist das Negative seiner selbst. Dies Werden stellt eine träge Bewegung und Aufeinanderfolge von Geistern dar, eine Galerie von Bildern, deren jedes, mit dem vollständigen Reichtume des Geistes ausgestattet, eben darum sich so träge bewegt, weil das Selbst diesen ganzen Reichtum seiner Substanz zu durchdringen und zu verdauen hat. Indem seine Vollendung darin besteht, das, was er ist, seine Substanz, vollkommen zu wissen, so ist dies Wissen sein Insichgehen, in welchem er sein Dasein verläßt und seine Gestalt der Erinnerung übergibt. In seinem Insichgehen ist er in der Nacht seines Selbstbewußtseins versunken, sein verschwundenes Dasein aber ist in ihr aufbewahrt; und dies aufgehobene Dasein - das vorige, aber aus dem Wissen neugeborene - ist das neue Dasein, eine neue Welt und Geistesgestalt. In ihr hat er ebenso unbefangen von vorn bei ihrer Unmittelbarkeit anzufangen und sich von ihr auf wieder großzuziehen, als ob alles Vorhergehende für ihn verloren wäre und er aus der Erfahrung der früheren Geister nichts gelernt hätte. Aber die Er-lnnerung hat sie aufbewahrt und ist das Innere und die in der Tat höhere Form der Substanz. Wenn also dieser Geist seine Bildung, von sich nur auszugehen scheinend, wieder von vorn anfängt, so ist es zugleich auf einer höheren Stufe, daß er anfängt. Das Geisterreich, das auf diese Weise sich in dem Dasein gebildet, macht eine Aufeinanderfolge aus, worin einer den anderen ablöste und jeder das Reich der Welt von dem vorhergehenden übernahm. Ihr Ziel ist die Offenbarung der Tiefe, und diese ist der absolute Begriff" idem, ibidem, p.590-591.

[392] Jörn Rüsen "Historical consciousness: Narrative Structure, Moral Function, and Ontogenetic Development" in *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, University of Toronto Press, 2004, pp.63-85.

[393] See G.W.F Hegel, *Werke 12: Philosophie der Geschichte*, *op. cit.* pp.85-104.

As we have mentioned earlier, consciousness is a corner-stone of Hegel's philosophy. When he considers that history is advancing towards freedom, this progression, however, is not directly occurring in history but is actually the result of the consciousness of that which occurs in history. One can naturally, at times, hardly separate the two but the emphasis on the consciousness postulates the idea that the changes must pass through the inside, to fully come into realization and to be integrated in humanity itself.

The idea of freedom's dependance on consciousness in a passage of *Philosophy of History* which would become a landmark of Hegel's historical thinking, reflects this idea integrally. Hegel would, therefore, be one of the first to be able to articulate the idea of historical consciousness, which externalizes into temporality by an inner development of humanity.

It should be clear by now, that the idea behind this reflection is not to elevate Hegel on a scaffold and bring him glory. However, one thing should be recognized, he was one of the great historical thinkers of modernity, even though the problem is not either a question of whether or not he is still actual today. The whole point of the previous exercise was to reason, by looking at some important aspects of his thought, on what Hegel projected into the future as an outstanding thinker.

He was himself engaged with philosophizing on history and was at the basis of the concept of what we today could call historical consciousness. This part of the work looks, most importantly, on whether the Hegelian reception in Portugal carried the historical reflections and the theorization about history into new directions.

The development of philosophy of history, along with the more abstract conception of historical time, was something to be found in the philosophers of the nations most developed in regards to this new historical thinking. Therefore, one hypothesis is that the first contacts with these new ideas came as a result of intellectual and cultural transfers, rather than something that was lived intensively in Portugal.

Nevertheless, the reasons behind the growing interest with regard to philosophy in the historical studies could be so various as, for instance, Portugal's elites search for a place in modern history and its historical tendencies. Possibly also a cultural renewal, mostly on the part of the intellectuals which identified in society, at an ever-faster pace, a move towards a new historical thinking.

The intellectual panorama leading up to the 1870s Generation

In order to recapture this idea of a growing consideration towards philosophy of history, or of the alliance between philosophy and history (previously mentioned in the case of Guizot), as a first step to reach Hegel, examples could also be given in Portugal to support such a thesis.

Alexandre Herculano, who is amongst the great Portuguese historians of modern time and probably one of the first to employ modern historical methodologies, is perhaps the most appropriate to be invoked, as an example of how philosophy reflected itself in the subject of history.

In one heated discussion with regard to the construction of a monument in homage of D. Pedro at the Polytechnic University, when the issue comes down to whether a monument itself, in the immediacy of what is shown, encloses the memory of the past. He goes on to say "No. History is need, and a history where philosophy has discriminated the facts and characters, and its value and morality"[394]

This an example of the worth he put on philosophy, but more concretely in his works, we find this same attitude of an inquiring attitude, thoughtful about the making history. He development these critiques to a great extent in his analysis of the Portuguese history. While trying to rationalize history outside the traditional canons, he soon found strong opposition among the most retrograde sections of society, particularly regarding matters of religion[395].

Philosophy had a large ascendency in Alexandre Herculano, nevertheless, one could hardly say that Alexandre Herculano had a specific interest in Hegel. However, the philosopher was not unknown to him, as he mentions him in juridical contexts, or in relation to philosophy of right. He was, nevertheless, at least inclined towards German thought as he was in contact with it through France, especially from Cousin. Kant was one such philosopher upon which he reflected more thoroughly on, particularly with regard to aesthetic theory.

Quite on the opposite side, the better-known philosopher of that time, Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira, a sensualist by inclination, was averse to any of those ideas coming from the

[394] Veja Alexandre Herculano "Não. É preciso a história, e uma história onde a filosofia tenha discriminado os factos os caracteres, e a sua valia e moralidade." (grafia alterada para o português moderno) in *Revista Universal Lisbonense*, Tomo II, Ano 1842-1843, Imprensa Nacional, Lisboa, 1843. (Nº42) p.520.

[395] See in this respect Ana Isabel Buescu, *O Milagre de Ourique e a História de Portugal de Alexandre Herculano: uma polémica oitocentista*, 1ª ed., Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, Lisboa, 1987.

obscure German philosopher[396]. Thus, he left his main book on philosophy empty of any references to their systems, except for a short note of disavowal in its introduction.

"We often hear the most distinguished philosophers of Germany, and among them the first two disciples of Kant, Fichte and Schelling, dispute over the intelligence of the system of their master and oracle. Not a single one is to be found, who does not say that he only understood Kant. In this way, that in which all agreed on, is that no one understood him. The same happens to the citations from Fichte and Schelling and the famous Hegel, who all eventually abandoned Kant, and everyone repudiated, two or three times, the systems they had previously taught as heads of a school."[397]

Although, the disapproval of German thought is deeply ingrained in his spirit, Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira cannot help but mention those philosophers, as they were popular and exerted a powerful leverage in the thought of modernity.

This is duly noticed, at about the same time, by Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, director of the Library of Évora. While analyzing the possibility of a future course of rational philosophy, he is confronted with the backwardness of Portugal in respect to modern philosophy, as he establishes contacts with the major philosophical trends in Europe, judging that:

"In this way, anyone that considers himself a philosopher will be regarded as less learned, if he ignores the existence and opinions of the celebrated school founded in Germany by Kant, which admits in us pre-existing notions of the impression of objects on the organs of sensation, renewing and, so to speak, dressing in the modernity the old Platonic idealism, tagging it Critical Philosophy; or Critique of Pure Reason. This school, whose idealistic speculations have been further refined by Fichte; and which afterwards lending themselves to the natural sciences by the application, made of his doctrine by Schelling and Hegel, so admirable of an influence has exerted on literature, and on the manner of treating all sciences. This philosophy, for a long time contained within the limits of Germany, passed into France, and the efforts of Mr. Cousin to naturalize it in this country, made it generally known there, and certainly does not deserve to be abandoned without examination"[398]

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[396] See "tenebroso barbarismo dos heraclitos da Alemanha" Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira, *Noções Elementares de Filosofia: e Aplicada às Ciências Morais e Politicas, Ontologia, Psicologia, Ideologia,* Rey et Gravier - J.P, Aillaud Paris, 1839, p.IV.

[397] „Ouvimos muitas vezes os mais distintos filósofos da Alemanha, e entre eles os dois primeiros discípulos de Kant, Fichte e Schelling, disputarem sobre a inteligência do sistema do seu mestre e oraculo. Nem um só encontramos, que não dissesse que ele só entendia Kant. Por este modo, o em que todos concordavam, é que ninguém o entendia. O mesmo acontece aos citados de Fichte e Schelling e ao famoso Hegel, que todos acabaram por abandonar Kant e todos repudiaram duas e três vezes os sistemas, que antes haviam ensinado como chefes de escola." Idem, ibidem, p.VII.

[398] "Assim que passará por menos doutro todo o que, prezando-se de filósofo, ignorar a existência e as opiniões da célebre escola fundada em Alemanha por Kant, que admitindo em nós noções preexistentes à impressão dos objetos sobre os órgãos das sensações, remoçando, e, por assim dizer, vestindo à moderna o antigo idealismo platónico, o alcunhou com o nome de Filosofia da Crítica; ou Critica da Razão pura. Escola esta, cujas

In the coming years, we will see that the recommendations of Cunha Rivara found their consummation, with the expansion of the interest on German philosophy. This happened both in terms of education, especially at the university level, as well as by the appropriations the Portuguese intellectuals made of those philosophies, into their own thought and theories.

By an impulse from the Vicente Ferrer in the Coimbra University, his associates and the students quickly came to be in contact with Hegel. Even though, the teachings from the Portuguese professor at first required a deeper inflection into their German idealism origins, because Krause was in the foreground, as it came mediated from Ahrens, instead of Hegel. The formative years of the well-known 1870s generation, began precisely at around this time in Coimbra.

From there after, the reflection about the major problems affecting modern society summoned up Hegel to the debate. The historical thought based on Hegel was not predominant in those first years (1840-1850s), even if Hegel's philosophy of history already enjoyed prestige, for its captivating and powerful synthesis of world history, amongst the students.

Only later during the 1860s and especially in the 1870-1880s will we see an expansion in the interest of the historical aspects relating to Hegel's thought, with various heated debates taking place. This was the case with Oliveira Martins and his characterization of history and then his subsequent publication of *Helenismo e a Civilização Cristã*.

The multiplication of works on theory and philosophy of history at that time reflect well this new direction, as we find it in authors such as Joaquim Silva Cordeiro. By the end of the century, Hegel's historical thought gained renewed interest, with the juridical move of focus from the individual to societal aspects. While already in the 20th century Joaquim de Carvalho, with the topic of historicity, having predominance in his study of Hegel, is the greater example of the formative tradition of the students of law in Coimbra.

especulações idealistas foram ainda mais alambicadas por Fichte; e que depois senhoreando-se das ciências naturais pela aplicação, que a estas da sua doutrina fizeram Schelling e Hegel, tão admirável influência tem exercido sobre a literatura, e sobre a maneira de tratar todas as ciências. Esta filosofia, por muito tempo contida dentro das raias da Alemanha, passou a França, e os esforços de Mr. Cousin para a naturalizar neste país, a fizeram ali geralmente conhecida, e por certo não merece ser abandonada sem exame." Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara," Joaquim Cunha Rivara, "Sobre a insuficiência do ensino da filosofia racional pelo método ordenado no decreto de 17 de Novembro de 1836" in *Revista Litteraria: Periodico de Litteratura, Philosophia, Viagens, Sciencias e Bellas-Artes*, tomo quarto, 3º ano, Typographia Comercial Portuense, Porto, 1839, pp.129-130.

But let us start from where it all began to materialize. The magisterium of Vicente Ferrer at the University of Coimbra can be evaluated from the books published as he exercised his professorship. In 1844, just one year after he took on his teaching position, in his *Elementos de Direito Natural, ou de Philosophia de Direito* we see the first draft of what would be the basis of his lessons, which he would ameliorate along the years.

While Kant is a reference throughout the text, the theories of Krause are portrayed as the definitive solutions to the problems of philosophy of right. Hegel is never directly mentioned in the text, but later editions of his work begin to mention some books about Hegel in the bibliography. Historical concerns outside the field of the study of right are rare, although, he mentions philosophy of history as a basis for the study of natural right, but still portrays history quite traditionally as the "teacher of life in all human relations"[399].

The effects of his teachings will soon begin to gather some followers, as was the case with the students José Júlio de Oliveira Pinto Moreira and Carlos Ramiro Coutinho. The latter was an avid reader of socialist literature, as well as a liberal concerned with the social conditions and the working relations of modern industrial society, and was therefore aligned with the ideas of Eduard Gans and the left Hegelians[400]. The former wrote a long exposition of Hegel's philosophy published in the journal of the *Instituto de Coimbra* in 1853.

It follows that we find the first most complete examination of Hegel's philosophy, by a Portuguese author, curiously in a study of political economy, with the title *Proudhon e a Economia Política (*Proudhon and the Political Economy). He explains, consistently in a couple of pages, the dialectical method of Hegel, always with a notable comparative perspective in light of German idealism as a whole[401].

The study of Hegel became by this time widespread among the students of right, and it was quite usual to have Hegel as a topic, even in academic works such as doctoral dissertations. This was the case with Martens Ferrão, where Hegel appears in the subject of study of his thesis *Teoria do Homem e da Humanidade; Teoria Transcendente da Ciência*

[399] It was only possible to consult the second edition from 1850 but, it is believed that this extract is also to be found on its first edition. "a história é a mestra da vida em todas as relações da humanidade" Vicente Ferrer Neto Paiva, *Elementos de Direito Natural, ou de Philosophia de Direito*, segunda edição correcta e aumentada, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 1850, p.32.

[400] See for instance Carlos Ramiro Coutinho introduction to: João António dos Santos e Silva, *Revista Histórico-Política de Portugal desde o ministério do Marquês de Pombal até 1842*, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1852, pp.VII-XV.

[401] The texts would be published in parts. However, the recommended source for this assertion is in José Júlio de Oliveira Pinto Moreira, "Proudhon e a Economia Política" in *O Instituto: Jornal científico e literário*, Vol.1, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1853, pp.134-136.

Económica; Organização da Indústria of 1854. If in the fifties this progressive taking conscious of the intellectual movements of Europe applied to Coimbra, namely of Hegelianism; not subscribing, however, to the central thesis of these theories. But such a non-alignment of the academia would not remain for long.

In the 1860s there is a flare-up of Hegelianism in Coimbra as Antero de Quental later explains, and here we begin to focus on our intended chronology. The professors' lessons were no longer taken as reference, a break with tradition was actively sought, as the irreverence of the youth dethrone reluctances in relation to Hegel and most importantly in relation to philosophy of history.

This is when the lessons and theorizations of Hegel, particularly his philosophy of history, begin to gain some acceptance. But at that time Hegelianism was also already spread out into different currents. This only added to the difficult of understanding the philosophy of Hegel, of which philosophical formulations and style were unfamiliar to the Portuguese.

He was for instance appropriated by the socialists but often quite unsatisfactorily, as in the case of Proudhon, or was in others disjointed from the totality of his philosophy, as in the case of the Saint-Simonians. The recollection of Hegel in more conservative elements also had its proponents, particularly with a skewed reading of his philosophy of history, adding completely different meanings from what was customarily made of his concepts, such as the concept of German spirit.

On top of this hermeneutical problem, there was a lack of suitable translations, and most of the readings on Hegel were of second hand, which does not make it automatically bad, but it certainly does not substitute the source texts.

The material itself from which Hegel could be studied had its limitations. Nevertheless, the use of Hegelian sources for the establishment of an understanding of Hegel from a Portuguese perspective, gave pace to a more thoughtful reading of philosophical texts and problems related to theorizations on history and society.

As a result, there was an active search for better sources in the teaching/knowledge of philosophy. This was even a demand from the more inquisitive students, some of which later turned out to becomes professors. Those philosophical aspects will be look upon more closely in the next part of this work.

Theoretical prowess and the cultural constellation surrounding the 1870s Generation

Much has been said about cultural acquirements of Coimbra's generation, but what came down to us from the student youths is mainly surrounded in controversy, because the shaking up on society was allegedly also their objective. Accordingly, a systematic and clearer outline of their philosophical considerations is somewhat missing, since many of the ideas circulating in Coimbra were discussed in students' meetings and informally. Therefore, texts are fragmentary in nature, such as those found in periodicals, memoirs or correspondence. This was the case with Eça Queiroz and Antero de Quental, whose texts only later were collected.

However, the contribution of those Coimbra students, as soon as they graduated from the University, would build a broader intellectual constellation known as the 1870s generation. These would include intellectuals that did not take part in the Coimbra academic life but were sympathetic to them, such as Oliveira Martins. The subsequent intellectual landscape and theoretical works were dominated by the ideas they had set in motion, even for those outside the scope of that generation, most importantly for the students of Coimbra at that later time.

One such case was José Frederico Laranjo, who was not part of the 1870s generation, but was quite close to their ideals. He will pronounce a 1874 conference on the origins of socialism in the Instituto de Coimbra, back then known as a cultural channel that helped spread the Hegelianism coming from Coimbra. The journal published various articles reflecting on theory of history, attesting the range to which philosophical inquires of history were common at the time.

The text of Frederico Laranjo starts by mentioning the utopian writers and how the basis of socialism stems from those dreams since ancient time, for socialism "manifested itself many times in history theoretically and practically"[402]. He then traces the roots of socialism to the philosophy of Germany, to the French Revolution and finally to the economic theories of the physiocrats.

The characterization of historical times by Laranjo then moves to the history of philosophy, where particular attention is given to Hegel as the finish point of that which Kant

[402] "o socialismo manifestou-se muitas vezes na história teórica e praticamente" José Frederico Laranjo, "Origens do Socialismo" *in* O *Instituto: Revista Científica e Literária*, Vol.18, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1874, p.201.

bequeathed to his successors. The Konigsberg philosopher was himself unable to resolve the task he had set, namely the separation between understanding and the world (experience), which led to skepticism[403]. To solve this problem, the heirs of Kant will put an emphasis on identity, leading to pantheistic philosophical systems and then to the French socialists, who were inspired by this kind of philosophies.

Fourier in the case, finds that the solution to the so-called social problem consists in discovering the path which is common to the particular and general interest[404]. The Portuguese politician goes on to explain how these theoretical fundaments passed to Proudhon, Louis Blanc and then onto others, which more or less reflect this same idea of identity in their writings, before finally returning to a more practical side of socialism.

He moves on to a historical characterization of his age and how contradictions within engender the growing impulse towards revolution. The ideas about property coming from various enlightenment figures were, for instance, the basis for the reorganization of property on the aftermath of the French Revolution. Such a reconfiguration of property could also be the result of a future revolution[405].

While the leaders of the French Revolution swindled each other, the problems of property and inequality could not be solved. According to him, even though some concessions were made to the early socialists on the aftermath of the French Revolution, the interests of the general people, which they thought to be representing, could not be advanced at the cost of freedom.

Finally, Frederico Laranjo goes on to deal with the economic aspect of socialism, or more specficically with the physiocrats. This seems, to be his weakest point in the whole argumentation, because he purposes some revisionist theory of what is productive and non-productive activities. He was not talking about credit or other money related activities but rather referring to actual sectors of activity, such as in the case of commerce, which he does not consider to be productive, or industry being less productive than agriculture. Next comes

[403] "Kant separa o entendimento e o mundo; de um para o outro não há ponte; mas como este ceticismo não podia persistir, Kant legava aos seus sucessores a tarefa de o removerem, sem voltarem ás soluções que ele tinha criticado e refutado." idem, ibidem, p.203.
[404] "A solução do problema social, escreve ele, consiste em encontrar um caminho que seja comum ao interesse particular e ao interesse geral." idem, ibidem, p.204.
[405] idem. Ibidem, pp.209-210.

also his theory of classes, which he divides in three, namely the "cultivators, the productive class, artists, the stipendiated class, proprietaries, the available classe"[406].

Although, he does not characterize any of these three except for the first one, which he bases on the necessity of the proprietor to produce from his property. The property belongs to the proprietor by convention or law and not naturally from the necessity of production, because this one is established by the one that can actually produce (that is the productive class). Laranjo finishes the text with a short analysis of how the law itself is changing in the direction of socialism, by advancing the recognition of equality through the human gender or species.

In this conference by Frederico Laranjo we find a theory of history of modern times. His characterization of historical tendencies, in the various aspects of society, mirror the Hegelian readings from the socialists with regard to history, while also citing Hegel as the source of the philosophical aspects of socialism. Some formulations of Laranjo are inventive, and he does not simply reproduce what he reads, having his own characteristic way of transmitting these ideas, he changes them slightly. The text shows precisely the growing presence of philosophy of history in the Portuguese intellectuals.

Many other examples could be given of works in which philosophy of history is pervasive and, as a matter of fact, other examples can easily be found in the journal *O Instituto*. With the objective of addressing the history of ancient India, Cândido de Figueiredo, ends up slipping into theory of history and develops on many issues dear to the historical reflection of his time[407].

There is a recognition that there was an old history, in opposition to a new history with its new methods. The critical historian which Cândido de Figueiredo speaks of, is the one that was able to synthetically join all the previous historical schools to solve the "mysteries" of the past. All the historical works of this epoch end up having the stamp of theory and often mention the same horizon of problematic in the making of history, corresponding to the new methodic of historical research and of the growing consciousness of the historicity of all reality.

[406] "cultivadores, classe produtiva, artistas, classe estipendiada, proprietários, classe disponível" idem, ibidem, p.214.
[407] See in this respect Cândido de Figueiredo "A India antiga" in O *Instituto: Jornal Científica e Literária*, Vol. 17, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1873, p.44.

The book *Três mundos* from António da Costa also published around this same date (1873), is another example of a work in which the significance of philosophy of history comes to the forefront[408]. There is a theory of historical development from the roman world to the barbarian world and finally the christian world, each had its shortcoming which would lead to its demise. Through their internal contractions, in which the roman and barbarian world stood in a dialectical relation, we reach the next historical phase, or in another words, they were leading up to Christianity.

Although, this book has a theoretical intention, the political side of it and the publicist character are also visible in several passages, where he warns the people of today not to fall prey to the misdeeds of those epochs in a blatant historicist detour.

These examples go on to show how widespread were the modalities of history inspired by philosophy of history, this theorization of historical nature gains predominance from the middle of the 1870s. It is not by chance, that almost all of these authors, have studied law at the University of Coimbra. We find in those students the germ of Hegelianism, passing through the theoreticians of philosophy of right. The source texts come mostly from France, which were taken as a basis for the teaching of theory in the study of law.

This was the case with Ahrens mediation of Krause, but it was also the case with Lerminier who was at first captivated by Hegel, but quickly moved away from him in the 1830s. However, he still passed over much of what he studied on Hegel to his writings about philosophy of right. This would be, perhaps, one of the main basis for the study of German philosophy by Oliveira Martins in his *Teoria do Socialismo*.

Back in 1872, when Oliveira Martins published that book about socialism, the object of his study is the theoretical foundation underlying socialism. He goes on to great lengths trying to account for a theory of history in his inquiries, which comes forward in some of the pages, in passages such as this:

"Within this history of the moral formation of the Humanity the Greco-Roman civilization fills the first period; it will pass from primitive pantheism, by religious anthropomorphism, to the time of philosophy with Stoicism. It is then that Christianity and the Germanic race appear in the world, bringing to the bosom of civilization two ideas to join the common background of Humanity, to be assimilated and understood. The work of this assimilation is what in history is called the Middle Ages, its results are the modern civilization."[409]

[408] See António da Costa, *Os três mundos*, Imprensa Nacional, Lisboa, 1873.

[409] "Dentro desta história da formação moral da Humanidade a civilização greco-romana preenchera o primeiro período; passara do panteísmo primitivo, pelo antropomorfismo religioso, à época da filosofia com o

This is the basic philosophy of history of Oliveira Martins, based on which he will later be debating with Antero de Quental and others. But most importantly, this book contains Oliveira Martins' interpretation of Hegel's social philosophy, which was probably based on Lerminier, as he develops on the problem of explaining the phenomenon of society[410].

He seems to think Hegel combined the idealism of Fichte with Schelling's absolute system in order to construct his absolute idealism. Such a schematic division, however, is far from helpful, since Schelling's system was also idealist and the absolute or the unconditioned was also a major concern in Fichte. It is therefore difficult to separate both philosophers on such terms.

His interpretation of the general orientation of German Idealism is that God, as the figure of the absolute, develops himself in various domains of the universe, overshadowing in this movement individual freedom. The thesis is not new, since we also find it in Lerminier. But the interesting part, in his reflection about Hegel's theory, comes forward when Martins writes about consciousness as elementary for the exercise of this freedom in society. This is what he calls the metaphysical psychology, which according to him Hegel developed.

The idea that Hegel's theory of consciousness together with history and economy gave place to the science of the society of men, seems to step on the way of a history which through the consciousness of men is actualized in the collectivity of humanity, especially in those who embody it[411]. But what exactly Oliveira Martins meant by the science of human societies is not clear, as well as the addition of economy to it, difficult to grasp.

In other works, he will better explain this conception, when discriminating between the science of human societies (also called science of civilization), world history (which he will become critical of), and philosophy of history. What shines through in this first theoretical book of Oliveira Martins is the weight Hegel exerted on him, particularly when he tries to think

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estoicismo. É então que aparecem no mundo o cristianismo e a raça germânica, trazendo ao seio da civilização duas ideias para juntar ao fundo comum da Humanidade, para serem assimiladas e compreendidas. O trabalho desta assimilação é o que na história se chama Idade Média, os seus resultados são a civilização moderna." J. P. Oliveira Martins, *Teoria do Socialismo: evolução política e económica das sociedades europeias, op. cit.* p.40.

[410] See regarding the marks of German philosophy in Martins Conception of socialism: Ekkehard Hallensleben, *J.P. Oliveira Martins und der Sozialismus in der "generation von 1865"*, [s.n], Köln, 1959.
KREUTZER, W., "Oliveira Martins e o pensamento alemão da sua época" in *Estudos Sobre Cultura e Literatura Portuguesa e Alemã*, Acções Integradas Luso-Alemãs Coimbra-Würzburg, coordenação Ludwig Scheidl, Minerva, Coimbra, 1997.

[411] See in this last respect Sérgio Campos Matos, "Na génese da teoria do herói em Oliveira Martins" in *Estudos em homenagem a Jorge Borges de Macedo*, INIC, Lisboa, 1992, pp. 475-504.

history in dialectical terms, with the triadic form as an ever-present mode of progression in his reasoning[412].

In the follow up to this theoretical work, or the focus on a more practical side of socialism, *Portugal e o Socialismo* has its historical aspect even more marked by this triadic form of thesis, antithesis and synthesis, or what he calls the "to be or not to be, of the Hegelian contradiction"[413]. This is especially noticeable in the examples he gives of Portuguese history. He organizes this dialectical progression in series, as he identifies four main ones (philosophy, politics, poetry, economy).

The idea of series also draws strongly of Proudhon, which in turn had also been picked up by him from Fourier. According to Oliveira Martins, the 18th century was philosophically atheist and materialist, the 19th century was deist. The modern idea, however, has both atheist and deist elements, God is venerated in the *Ideal*, while this *Ideal* is based on the human consciousness.

The series of the political, poetical and economical types have a similar progression, with the political progression encompassing communism – nationalism – federalism. In the Poetic series, the 18th century man was understood abstractly and nation had faded away[414]. In the next century, with men making out of passions and feelings an exact reality, the nation is rediscovers through traditions and legends, as a result of the idea of humanity disappear in the 19th century.

Therefore, the modern idea is a junction of both these classical and romantic elements, having at the same time this sentiment of reality given by passion and feelings and the *Ideal*, as concretization of this reality. Finally, economically the *Idea* was first expressed in the monarchies as protectionism, after 1789 capital and interest were freed from various constrains and we pass to the exact opposite of free-trade, with the state abandoning the economic sphere. Nowadays, we have the state circumscribed to its sphere of action, which is that of collective nature, without at the same time intervening in the sphere of individual liberty.

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[412] See for Martins relation between history and philosophy of history Pedro Calafate, "História e filosofia da história em Oliveira Martins" in *Prelo: revista da Imprensa Nacional/Casa da Moeda*, n.º 7, Abril/Junho 1985, p. 45-58.

[413] See J. P. Oliveira Martins, *Portugal e o Socialismo*, prefácio de António Sérgio, Guimarães & Co. Editores, Lisboa, 1990, p.46.

[414] See regarding the problems of nationality from the perspective of historical development in association with colonialismo: Valentim Alexandre, "Questão nacional e questão colonial em Oliveira Martins" in *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, vol. XXXVIII, 1999, pp.351-369.

Oliveira Martins, will occupy himself consistently throughout his life with thinking out history and theorizing its genesis, structures, and tendencies[415]. The earlier citation from *Teoria do Socialismo* is the rough draft of his philosophy of history. He would soon be involved in a polemic with Júlio Vilhena over the character of middle age, as for him the advent of Christianity is in itself, or immediately considered, a regressive move from the highly developed Roman culture and its laws. But considered in light of the whole, or mediated, it is a progression in the history of humanity. The category of mediation draws heavily on Hegel, and is a dialectical aspect of his understanding of history.

Oliveira Martins' conceptions of history will, however, suffer some transformations. By the 1880s he begins articulating a critique of philosophy of history, on the grounds that it could not include the history of a greater part of human history. Parallel to this, having for basis considerations that draw more on sociological concerns, he begins to development a systematic conception of history accounting for that dimension. It is then that his denominated science of civilization gains prominence.

According to him, one could better explain the fortuitous in history by abstaining from philosophical generalizations. Accordingly, philosophy of history portrays rules of the human spirit and the tendencies to which the development of society tended to, but did not entirely govern its processes. The historical narrative should then seek its reasonability in more empirical considerations.

This happens at around the same time Silva Cordeiro publishes his *Ensaios de Filosofia da História*, in which case some of these reflections were actually laid down in a critical review of Silva Cordeiro's work[416]. It is in this review that he seems to adopt the idea of a degeneration (together with contingency) in detriment of his earlier positions, basing the momentary decay of civilization on rational grounds. In the case of the romans, the reason for such development was to progressively bring the barbarians to a state of civilization, by lowering society closer to their state.

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[415] Hence, some Portuguese historians would class Oliveira Martins more as a thinker of historian, rather than an historian, see in this regard Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *História Breve da Historiografia Portuguesa*, Editorial Verbo, Lisboa, 1962, p.280.
See also in respect to his historical-philosophical aspects Jorge Monjardino Gomes Nemésio, *Oliveira Martins - O seu filosofar e o historicismo do homem: estudo compreensivo*, [s.n], Coimbra, 1955

[416] "Por isso a filosofia da história tem um objectivo — as leis desse progresso — que não pode nem deve, todavia, confundir-se com uma ciência correlativa: a ciência da civilização." Oliveira Martins*, Literatura e Filosofia*, Guimarães & Co. Editores, Lisboa, 1955, pp.236-237.

This rational ground is no longer reckoned and, in reference to Hegel, he even mocks such attempts, by labeling them a twisted historical account:

"Hegel will also twist history in its own way, in order to show a reality constantly predestined, this progressive march which, however, is in fact not only intermittent, but rather irregular, giving itself here [and] denying itself further, bringing paralysis and degeneration alongside expansive developments"[417]

The review is also part of a debate he maintains with the author, because Silva Cordeiro had already uttered some negative views towards Oliveira Martins' *As Raças e a Civilização Primitiva*. He then asks why are there some civilizations that degenerate or die, if the march of civilization is necessarily progressive? The explanation is, according to Oliveira Martins, to be found in Cournot and his theory of contingency.

He also warns that in the field of philosophy of history we could conceive laws, but they are always relative in relation to the reality of history, and this is why moral sanctions and historical reason are in conflict. This had already been noted by Silva Cordeiro, but according to Martins, he does not follow through with his own reasoning[418].

The conclusion is then the following: in the science of civilization, the notion of contingency is as essential as the abstract formula of progress. In the realm of philosophy of history, however, we can do without it, and it is even beneficial for philosophy to do so.

Oliveira Martins altered his ideas on philosophy of history, particularly when we look into his drafted article *Da Natureza e do Lugar das Ciencias Sociais*[419]. The divisions he makes between sciences, philosophy and literature are quite schematic, at times, difficult to understand. But one thing is noticeable, the relation between history those areas of knowledge impose some limits to the philosophical conception of history.

The way in which he presents history is slightly different, in the sense that although in its written form history is and art, and as such closer to literature, it is at the same time a hybrid form. It is capable of capturing the scientific truths together with the metaphysical

[417] See "Também Hegel torcerá a História a seu modo, para mostrar como realidade constantemente *predestinada* essa marcha progressiva que, todavia, é de facto não só intermitente, como irregular, dando-se aqui negando-se além, pondo paralisações e degenerações ao lado de desenvolvimentos expansivos." idem, ibidem, p.238.

[418] See idem, ibidem, p.240.

[419] See for these developments Ana Leonor Pereira, "A «Teoria da história Universal» (1884) de Oliveira Martins" in *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, vol. 18, Coimbra, 1999, pp.323-333.

truths of philosophy[420]. The more methodological part of history, however, is so to say scientific, requiring in such case empirical proof.

A discrepancy between theory and practice is than evident in Oliveira Martins, practice never reflects theory in its entirety, and as such we need to "to crown the edifice of human knowledge with an order of speculations of a different nature from those of the sciences, that is, with philosophy"[421]. The dialectic between theory and practice, correcting each other in the actual activity, or during the process of the making of reality, is curtailed in Oliveira Martins as he endorses some pessimistic views, that were becoming more predominant at the turn of the century.

This problem derives from the so-called identity of knowledge and being, which Hegel proposes with his dialectical conception of reality, in which moments are not isolated from each. But because the correction of course also naturally implies a discrepancy between theory and practice, Hegel postulates that such difference is only momentarily.

What Oliveira Martins had written in his *Teoria do Socialismo* in regard to history and its irregular progression, affected by the dynamics of contradiction, as well as the endorsement of the Hegelian view of an identity between knowledge and being (which was immanently conceived by Proudhon), is abandoned for a more skeptical view of human reason.

The historical consciousness also changes and his vision of temporality is no longer as much projected into the future as it was before. A stronger conviction in the indeterminacy of the future, that is always singular in its development, leads him into more pessimistic views about the future of humanity.

History, reaches a certain plateau and a more static notion of civilization takes its toll in his historical conceptions. He now looks more into the forms of the past to reenact certain historical forms in the present, particularly with his later defense of Caesarism in politics[422]. It is possible that the contact with some positivist views had role in this transformation of

[420] See in this regard Fernando Catroga, "A historiografia de Oliveira Martins (Entre a arte e as ciências sociais)" in *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, vol. 18, Coimbra, 1999, pp.397-450.
[421] See "coroar o edifício do saber humano com uma ordem de especulações de natureza diversa das ciências, isto é, com a filosofia" idem, ibidem, p.335.
[422] See for some political reverberations in this last regard Carlos Manuel Coelho Maurício, *A invenção de Oliveira Martins: Política, historiografia e identidade nacional no Portugal Contemporâneo (1867-1960)*, Temas Portugueses, Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda, Lisboa, 2005, pp.178-187.

Oliveira Martins, to some of his more pragmatic positions. However, it does not explain and is at odds with certain traits of his conservative turn.

To conclude, the topics of theory of history were constantly raised in the constellation surrounding the 1870s generation[423]. Furthermore, these will be kept and inspired discussions in subsequent intellectuals developing on this same line of thought. Furthermore, what was here only shortly mentioned will look upon below in more detail, with the development of the concept of historicity, which stems from Hegel's historical thinking.

Reflexes of Hegel's theory of history and the new artistic consciousness in Portugal

There is also another aspect of Hegel's thought that will have repercussions in the theory and writing of history, namely his aesthetical considerations, which come forward prominently in artistic creations but also more generally in human sciences (*Geisteswissenschaft*). It should not be forgotten that many historians considered that the writing of history was an art, such as we have seen earlier in Oliveira Martins, requiring therefore aesthetical sensibilities. Moreover, literature with historical components, as in the case of novels, was very popular in this period, since many renowned historians also wrote literary works, where history and fiction came in straight relation.

The critic endeavored by the 1870s generation during the formative years in Coimbra, with Antero de Quental at its head, came to the spotlight precisely because of its aesthetical considerations. But as we will see in the next chapter, under the surface the problem revealed itself to be of a philosophical nature.

Those ideas had the most lasting effects during the lifetime of those intellectuals, even if in later years many of them would correct their ideas, or veer off to different political positions, and actually accommodated opposed philosophical conceptions. But in regard to aesthetics, they still valued the Hegelian model, which is best exemplified in Teófilo Braga later assertation about German metaphysics helping popularize the new conception of art:

"Hegel, searched in the theory of Art a confirmation of his system, although he followed a positive criterium, picking up from history the diverse manifestations of the forms of art, as

[423] See regarding such reflexes in the readings of Portuguese History: Eduardo Lourenço, *Oliveira Martins e os críticos da História de Portugal*, IBL, Lisboa, 1995.

great involuntary acts, and therefore apt to conduct the prediction of laws and their scientific codification."[424]

But in the early years of Teófilo, not only aesthetical dimension but also the historical conception, that he later criticizes, inspired his literary productions. The essay of Oliveira Martins about the poets of this new school is quite clear in that respect:

"The Hegelian ideas that appear everywhere in the books of Quinet, Vacherot, Proudhon, Renan, and even [Jules] Michelet, despite their powerful individuality, are, among young Portuguese poets and thinkers, more known and understood than it is apparent ."[425]

In fact, Teófilo turn to positivism only takes place during the 1870s[426], while in his autobiography we are told that, in the earlier period, the philosophy of Hegel led to the Coimbra's youth aesthetical phenomenon in regard to literature, which was seen in light of his philosophy of history[427]. Furthermore, looking back at those memories, he adds that they "received from Hegel the comprehension of aesthetical phenomena (and an exaggerated Germanism of historical evolution)"[428].

There is indeed an interesting relation between the aesthetical and historical dimensions of Hegel's theory, and as Teófilo mentions the aesthetical theory of the philosopher is in a dialectical relation to its historical manifestation[429]. Not only because the forms of art are represented historical, but also the other way around, the ploy of the spirit is a drama enacted in a theater of epic proportions, the world history[430].

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[424] "Hegel, procurando na teoria da Arte uma comprovação para o seu sistema, ainda assim seguiu o critério positivo indo buscar á historia as diversas manifestações das fôrmas de Arte, como grandes factos involuntários, e por isso aptos para conduzirem á previsão das leis e sua codificação cientifica." Teófilo Braga, *Sistema de Sociologia*, Typographia Castro Irmão, Lisboa, 1884, p.378

[425] "as ideias hegelianas que aparecem por toda a parte nos livros de Quinet, de Vacherot, de Proudhon, de Renan, e mesmo de [Jules] Michelet, apesar da sua possante individualidade, são, entre os moços poetas e pensadores portugueses, mais sabidas e compreendidas do que a muitos se afiguraria." Oliveira Martins, *Páginas Desconhecidas*, introdução, coordenação e notas de Lopes d'Oliveira, Seara Nova, Lisboa, 1948, p.164

[426] According to Joaquim de Carvalho this takes place in 1873-76: Joaquim de Carvalho, *Obra Completa: História da Cultura (1922-1948)*, Volume III, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisboa, 1982, pp.542-543

[427] Teófilo Braga, *Quarenta anos de Vida Literária (1860-1900)*, Lisboa, 1902, p.L.

[428] "recebemos de Hegel a compreensão dos fenómenos estéticos (e um exagerado germanismo na evolução histórica)" idem, ibidem, p.LXVI.

[429] This dimension is also present in Oliveira Martins according to Carmo Salazar Ponte, *Oliveira Martins, a História como Tragédia*, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, Lisboa, 1998.

[430] See in this respect VIEWEG, Klaus, "El Gran Teatro del Mundo: La filosofía hegeliana de la historia como consideración pensante del acontecer humano con intención racional, liberal y cosmopolita" in *Estudios de Filosofía*, n. 32, 2005, pp. 75–87.
See also in respect the role of imagination for instance in Hayden White, *Metahistory: the historical imagination in nineteenth-century Europe*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1975, pp.72-83.

The idea of history requiring the aesthetical dimensions of passion, with all the worldly feelings that are characteristic of artistic productions, were in that sense very inspiring for the young artists. However, the theatrical representation of history still implied logical premises, in relation to the concept of absolute, as a principle of development. There was this realization of Hegel's historical conception, with the idea of a finality in history, together with the absolute. But this seemed unacceptable to Teófilo Braga and other Portuguese authors.

Notwithstanding, those were interpretations of Hegel's philosophy in regard to his theory of history, similar to those that did not distinguish the between reason, being and appearance in the manifestation of reality (i.e: All the real is rational). Therefore, much could have been said to contradict certain fatalistic theses about history, regarded according to that interpretation.

This Hegelian influence on aesthetic conceptions and artistic productions was from early on quite notorious in northern Europe, as it was mentioned in the chapter about cultural transfers. In the theatrical, some of the most renowned playwriters of modernity, productions for example of Henrik Ibsen and H. C. Andersen, besides ideas that reflected theories of Hegel, the German philosopher is even directly mentioned in the plays, as in Andersen's *Comedy in Open Air*[431].

A short comical story published in *Archivo Popular* was probably inspired on the above play, which is about a hair dresser satirically using Hegelian jargon, while speaking about philosophy. The text *Cabeleireiro de Improviso* (1843) tells the story of a costumer that unwillingly has his hair cut by Hegel and, unhappy about the result, receives the following answer:

"– This is the first time I've cut hair, says the supposed hairdresser with a lot of dismay. I'm Professor Hegel, who teaches math, and I've never cut hair in my life."[432]

Those cultural exchanges in the domain of art also performed a mediation role in regard to German philosophy. Besides well-known literary authors, such as Antero de Quental or Eça de Queiroz, the philosophical thematic is to be found in the works of other lesser-known ones. With reference to theater pieces, the play of Eduardo Schwalbach Lucci (1860-1946) *Sol*

[431] See Kristin Gjesdal, *The Drama of History: Ibsen, Hegel, Nietzsche*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2021, p.55.

[432] "– É esta a primeira vez que corto cabelos, diz o suposto cabeleireiro com muito deseanço; eu sou o professor Hegel, que dá lições de matemática, e nunca na minha vida cortei cabelo." "O Cabeleireiro de Improviso" in *O Archivo Popular*, N.15, 16 Dezember 1843, p.396.

de Abril, a comical romantic-drama, includes some disparate references to German philosophy and Hegel[433]. While Samual Maia (1874-1951) novel *Mudança d'Ares* speaks of the philosophical knowledge acquired at Coimbra's law School, in a certain way, more as a punishment than a release[434].

The aesthetical experience, conceived immanently as being historically determined, is a good example of a tendency found in Hegelianism, namely the idea of the historicity of all reality. Those connections between a historical dimension of art and artistic creations also found adepts in some aesthetical tendencies and models, particularly in architecture (historicism). But more importantly, the concept of historicity will be rediscovered much more broadly in the disciplines of history and philosophy, according to new readings of Hegel's theory of history.

New interpretations of Hegel's historical thought and the concept of historicity

The ideas coming from a Hegelian background during the 1870s, which were in turn rooted in revolutionary spirit of 1848, would be further interpreted at the turn of the century in light of new historical circumstances as these will also find echo in Portugal. This came partially as a result of the historical discourse that ran deep into cultural and intellectual productions. They were especially present in the context of the reconfiguration, unification and consolidation of certain territories into national states, as in the case of Italy and Spain[435].

In that respect, we will find an increasingly idealist perspective in the Italian historicist tradition, where the ideas of German extraction will have reflexes in historiographical works[436]. Hence, the ideas of Croce and Gentile were an Italian reinterpretation of the

[433] See Eduardo Schwalbach Lucci, *Sol d'Abril*, Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, Lisboa, 1919, p.55 et p.64.
[434] "Porém o mal está feito. Trinquei a maça e desse pecado se gerou o sexto sentido que neste momento me serve para estragar o prazer dos outros cinco" ... "mas o diabo pôs-me diante dos olhos os livros dos poetas e dos filósofos" ... "podes acreditar que preferia beber um litro de óleo de ricinos, ou pior ainda, ler dois capítulos da ciência da logica do filosofo Hegel" Samuel Maia, *Mudança d'Ares*, Ilustração Portuguesa, Lisboa, 1916, pp.83-84.
[435] Another example of transformation and crisis of the historical consciousness, from where the notion of historicity resulted in a further reconfiguration of this consciousness, was the previous ascension of historicism in the modern epoch, on the aftermath of the German *Aufklärung*. See in this respect Peter Hanns Reil, *The German Enlightenment and the Rise of Historicism*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1975, pp.9-30.
[436] See in this respect Fulvio Tessitore, *Nuovi Contributi alla Storia e alla Teoria dello Storicismo*, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Roma, 2002, pp.197-246.
Accordingly, some would contend this tendency should lead to a new historicism: Wesley Morris, *Toward a New Historicism*, Princeton University Press, 1972, in p.209-216.

Hegelianism from their predecessors (Vera, Spaventa, Labriola), enriched by the new philosophical directions leaning towards more skeptical positions in regard to Hegelian formulations. These wanted to keep idealism by reformulating it, in order to be capable of competing with the empirical sciences.

The turn of the century Spanish generation also had that kind of relationship between history and philosophy in mind, for instance with the writings of Menéndez Pelayo, that also followed historicist models inspired on German thought[437]. Those developments were further complicated by the dissolution of its colonial empire. This meant on the other hand that conservative historicist views, indulgent of the former Spanish might, were also highly regard by the political elites, as in the case of Cánovas del Castillo[438].

Those challenges in regard to Hegel's philosophy and historical thought had been raised in Germany, since the ascension of natural sciences led idealist philosophies into more relativist positions, for instance with the Hegelianized reading of Kant by Kuno Fischer. Hence, the ontological-epistemological relation, found in Hegel's system, recedes into the complex problem of interpretation. The theory of history built around that hermeneutical turn of Hegelianism would be popularized by Droysen, until it finally finds a more elaborate philosophical outline in Dilthey's thought.

The fall into a certain form of Hegelianism somewhat different in its outcomes, could be explained by a resurgence of Kantism, which contested precisely the intersection of being and thought. Those tendencies were also partially integrated in the new Hegelian conceptions, particularly in Italy with the so-called neo-Hegelianism.

By the turn of the century, Joaquim de Carvalho is another great figure of the Portuguese culture, who would be educated in Coimbra tradition, that gave way to those new readings of Hegel. It would be more attentive to philosophical dimensions, but critical of some important aspects of his thought. The historical elements of the philosopher are probably one of the most worked upon subjects in Joaquim de Carvalho.

One first instance in which Hegel will be a topic of discussion is in his book *A Evolução Espiritual de Antero*, where the relation between Antero de Quental and the German philosopher is portrayed in light of his own study of Hegel. He identifies the mediation process

[437] See in this regard Miguel Saralegui "Los límites del historicismo: la historiografía filosófica en La ciencia española de Menéndez Pelayo" in *Menéndez Pelayo. Cien años después Actas del Congreso Internacional*, Universidad Internacional Menéndez Pelayo, Madrid, 2015, p.453-477.
[438] See David Quinn, "Cánovas y el Historicismo" in *Hispanófila*, No. 72, 1981, pp. 19-30.

in history from the standpoint of the totality of the movement, while the end of this movement, or at least the results it has produced, is incremental and sits in a higher order of importance.

The historicity of thought is than one of the first conclusions of his inquiry about Hegel's portrayal of the history of philosophy. However, these reflections on Hegel only found their consummation in the later life of the Coimbra's philosophy professor. Therefore, the earlier writings, which encompasses the chronology of focus in this work, does not explicitly contain his mature thoughts.

In the work about Antero mentioned above, we find the more systematic part about the importance of Hegel's philosophy for Antero, and by extension to Coimbra's youth. The relevance of Hegelian theory of history comes forward in his poem *À Historia,* where according to Joaquim de Carvalho, the history of humanity is considered as realization of the idea and was based on the reading of Vera's introduction to Hegel[439].

Antero abandons the standpoint of tradition while in Coimbra, driven by those Hegelian ideas, which meant that humanity is guided by thought instead of faith. As a result, following Hegel he conceives thought through the idea. Furthermore, two other Hegelian conceptions come forward 1. History as the development of the idea 2. Philosophy as an explanative system of totality[440].

Therefore, despite noting a certain predominance of Hartmann in maturity and of Hegel in Antero's youth[441], Joaquim does not fail to recognize that Hegel is the spiritual guide in every reflection of Antero[442]. However, many of the judgments regarding Antero's Hegelianism illuminates the philosophical conceptions of Joaquim de Carvalho itself.

The identity between subject and object, adopted by Antero in the wake of German idealism, will be for example taken according to the Hegelian interpretations of the so-called Marburg school. He endorses a phenomenological approach, instead of a return to Kant, closer to more skeptical epistemological positions[443].

In another instance, he disagrees with António Sérgio interpretation of the dialectical relation of being and no-being. He argues on the contrary Joaquim de Carvalho thinks that a

[439] Joaquim de Carvalho, "A Evolução Espiritual de Antero" in *Obra Completa: Historia da Cultura (1948-1955)*, Volume IV, *op. cit.* p.588.
[440] Idem, ibidem, p.589.
[441] Idem, ibidem, p.689.
[442] Idem, ibidem, p.651.
[443] Idem, ibidem, p.677.

relation to Buddhist conceptions is unattainable, in light of the trajectory Antero had taken, nor the adoption of Schopenhauer formulations. According to Carvalho's own philosophical readings, those ideas are actually to be found in Hegel, because the non-being is a form of expressing the Absolute, in its pure form as indeterminate[444].

He will likewise read into Antero de Quental a rejection of the philosophy of nature, emanating from German idealism, since Joaquim de Carvalho himself was critical of those assumptions[445]. The poet would have kept the metaphysic of Hegel and Fichte, reaffirming the ideal and the idealist conception of philosophy, with the principle of unity in the spirit, through a synthesis that conceptualizes the various spheres of reality, which is distinct from the naturalists methodology[446].

As for his position in relation to Hegelianism, the historical dimension will be one of the elements most valued by Joaquim de Carvalho, as previously mentioned. He highlights especially the Hegelian model of historicizing philosophical thought. In modernity, this becomes the starting point for writing the history of philosophy since the:

"History of philosophy (1833-36) of Hegel, of which the profound intuition of the object of the discipline – the thought that thinks itself under and objective form, that is, the process by which the categories of reason reach conceptual form and distinct consciousness – Determined a new direction of the historical-philosophical research, beginning a new epoch."[447]

However, he is also critical of a tendency for schematism found in the German historical tradition, which he relates to certain appropriations of Hegel[448]. Notwithstanding there is an appreciation for the conception of the historicity of thought, as he tells us in various writings[449]. This critique is fundamentally directed at Hegel's philosophy of nature and his

[444] Idem, ibidem, p.684.
[445] Idem, ibidem, p.689.
[446] Idem, ibidem, pp.692-693.
[447] "Historia da Filosofia (1833-36) de Hegel, cuja profunda intuição do objecto da disciplina -, o pensamento que se pensa a si próprio sob forma objectiva, isto é, o processo mediante o qual as categorias da razão atingem forma conceptual e consciência distinta-, determinou um rumo novo à investigação histórico-filosófica, assinalando uma nova época" Joaquim de Carvalho, *Obra Completa: Filosofia e História da Filosofia (1916-1934)*, Vol. II, *op. cit.* p.143.
[448] Idem, ibidem, p.153.
[449] For exemple: idem, *Obra Completa: Filosofia e História da Filosofia (1916-1934)*, Vol. II, *op. cit.* p.431 et p.438.
Idem*, Obra Completa: Filosofia e História da Filosofia (1916-1934)*, Volume VIII, *op. cit.* p.237.

realist conception[450], which according to him led philosophy to concerns that should belong to the empirical sciences.

The tendencies of naturalism and historicism, as "philosophical attitudes" are some examples of those reflexes that Hegel allegedly brought to the discipline of philosophy, which led to a lack of rigor since it goes beyond its scope[451]. It is with this in mind that Carvalho draws attention to the reflection about the ideal of philosophy, or the philosophy of philosophies[452].

But it is in a later essay (1951) that we find a mediation on what he considers the most relevant of Hegel's thoughts, namely the concept of the history of philosophy[453]. So much so that the principle of historicity, derived from such conception, would be integrated as a "categorial condition" of modern historiographical thought[454]. In this conception, truth is not content with judging history, but rather embraces the historicity of the coming to be, in developing moments of the whole, which go beyond identification of errors or judgments about the past[455].

Despite his complains about the deformation that this philosophy may have brought to the concept of history of philosophy, he still considers that the basis of philosophical historiography are found in Hegel. Furthermore, for him the Hegelian History of Philosophy and the Philosophy of History are intertwined, since philosophy also reflects the march of history, which is where the movement of being takes place[456].

The great interest in Hegelian historical thought stems precisely from this aspect, as it was capable of synthesizing the principle of historical transience, with that of permanence and unity that philosophy strives for[457]. It is in this sense that he values the works of Zeller and Windelband, as they were marked by this Hegelian perspective. However, they possess a factual basis that corrects what he considers to be the Hegelian systematism[458].

Indeed, this essay, as well as other works by Joaquim de Carvalho, demonstrates a double complexion, both as historian and philosopher, standing at heart of his theorizations. With regard to the second aspect, here I sought to address his reflections on historicity and

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[450] See idem, *Obra Completa: Filosofia e História da Filosofia (1916-1934)*, Vol. II, *op. cit.* p.367.
[451] Idem, ibidem, p.486.
[452] Idem, ibidem, p.496.
[453] See for the dimension of historicity in philosophy itself Hans Jörg Sandkühler(ed.), *Geschichtlichkeit der Philosophie*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main, 1991.
[454] See Joaquim de Carvalho, *Obra Completa: Filosofia e História da Filosofia (1916-1934)*, Vol. II, *op. cit.* p.459.
[455] Idem, ibidem, p.462.
[456] Idem, idem, pp.463-465.
[457] Idem, ibidem, pp.467-469.
[458] Idem, ibidem, p.470-472.

historical elements of philosophical outlook[459], rather than philosophy *per se.* That study will be outlined in the next chapter.

This chapter draws a picture of how Hegelian theory of history and his reflections on historical consciousness projected themselves in Portugal. While at the same time equates the possibility that this stimulated the interest in historical theorization, which brought awareness to the different dimensions of historical consciousness. Those ideas passed on to the Portuguese authors through the various hermeneutics of Hegelianism, that are found in modernity, politically ranging from socialist to conservative appropriations of Hegel.

[459] This concept has been more recently appropriated in order to describe the different experiences of time in François Hartog, *Regimes of Historicity: Presentism and experiences of time*, translated by Saskia Brown, Columbia University Press, New York, 2005.

II. Philosophy

4. Hegelian Philosophy in the Context of its Portuguese Receptiveness

Previously, the focus was on history and the dialogues involving theories within the range of Hegel's philosophical thought, hence it could be said that amounted mainly to the historical aspects of Hegelianism in Portugal. This part now moves onto address that same movement in its development as a philosophy, the present chapter specifically in regard to the Portuguese acquaintance with this philosophical current.

Consequently, philosophical traditions and their teaching play an important role here. The educational institutions, scientific and intellectual associations, publication of materials, as well as any other media used to propagate and exchange philosophical ideas in the public sphere will be the object of research, not on history of philosophy *per se* but rather the relation of this one to the subject of Hegelianism.

By placing Hegelian philosophy in the context of philosophical thinking in Portugal, one is inevitably led to the background of thoughts closer to Hegelianism at the imminence of modernity. These pertain not only to Hegelianism but also the German idealism tradition and a broader connection to Germany in Portugal. Therefore, for instance the philosophy of history was addressed in terms of its value for history, now the philosophical side of that conception is attended to in terms of how philosophy was seen and received in Portugal, or more clearly what is the need of philosophy in the study of history. The history of philosophy may very well be of assistance here; however, the central point will always be the reception of philosophy, particularly in light of the different interpretations and typologies of a given current of thought.

As one delves into the subject at hand, first there should be awareness of the long road leading up to the dissemination of Hegelian philosophy in Portugal, only in this way can we comprehended the issues it will face, and the reason for any obstacles or the pace of its appropriations. To begin with, modern German idealism is part of a process that encompasses the whole 18th century and goes deep into the beginning of the next one. Therefore, even philosophers such as Leibniz, normally not comprehended to be part of it, were fundamental to these developments[460]. This was quite clear in the early case of Antero de Quental, when he reads Leibniz in light of Hegel, presumably taking some thoughts from him to solve

[460] See for an overview of Leibniz relation to Hegel and German Idealism: Guido Zingari, *Leibniz, Hegel und der deutsche Idealismus*, Röll Verlag, Dettelbach, 1993.

insufficiencies he had found in the later, such as how to find a harmony which is not superimposing and respects autonomy, taking inspiration from the theory of monadology of Leibniz's metaphysics.

The knowledge about such thinkers and their presence, for example in the Portuguese philosophical culture and in the educational institutions, is therefore the most relevant to assess how Hegelian philosophy had some ground, from which it could be more easily apprehended. These would include besides Leibniz, also the ensuing follower and a philosopher of his own Christian Wolff, as well as other philosophers that largely remained unknown in Portugal, such as the celebrated Spinoza[461], fundamental for the debates taking place in the German idealism circles, and relates to many ideas found in Hegel[462]. Moreover, the books from many of those earlier authors were actually prohibited under the oversight of the *Real Mesa Censória*, often writing down public notices listing banned titles and outlining the reasons behind the decision[463].

In Portugal, the direction of reforms within the university, as well as the general political sentiment, were not open towards more progressive tendencies of the enlightenment[464]. The more technical aspects of the changing relations of man with its surrounding, particularly in regard to nature, was encouraged and seen as the positive outcome of enlightened thought against the old scholastic[465]. But, at the same time, new

[461] The first Portuguese to actually write specifically on Spinoza is Joaquim de Carvalho in his essay "Sobre o lugar e origem dos antepassados de Baruch de Espinosa" in *Obra Completa*, Vol., 2nd Edition, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisboa, 1992, pp.367-402.
The philosopher was however unknown, and was loosely mentioned, since at least the outgrowth of the French Revolution, by the interesting liberal critic José Agostinho da Macedo, and later on by Amorim Viana, Camilo Castelo Branco among others; see in that respect: André Santos Campos, "A Palavra de Spinoza em Língua Portuguesa" in *Santa Barbara Portuguese Studies*, Vol. 2, April, 2018 accessible at https://sbps.spanport.ucsb.edu/sites/secure.lsit.ucsb.edu.span.d7_sbps/files/sitefiles/campos.pdf

[462] This is particularly true, for instance, regarding immanence and the monism of their systems, see on this subject Yirmiyahu Yovel, *Spinoza and the Other Heretics: The Adventures of Immanence*, Princeton University Press, 1989, pp.27-50.
See also on the issue of Spinoza in German philosophical circles that gave place to a fruitful controversy: Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi et all, *Die Hauptschriften zum Pantheismusstreit zwischen Jacobi und Mendelssohn*, Verlag von Reuther & Reichard, 1916.

[463] Spinoza's works along with the critical analyses of him by Francois Fénelon were some of them, amongst many others, in one of the most extensive listings from 24 September 1770 in *Editais de Proibição de Livros*, Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo PT/TT/RMC/B-A/1/001
See also, for an overview of this topic, Graça Almeida Rodrigues, *Breve História da Censura Literária em Portugal*, Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, Lisboa, 1980.

[464] See for the different tendencies in the enlightenment, particularly regarding opposition to more radical currents: Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750*, Oxford University Press, 2001.

[465] See *Estatutos da Universidade de Coimbra* (1772), Vol. III, Universidade de Coimbra, 1972, pp.222-224

metaphysical and speculative approaches to philosophy were set aside, since attention was given to the empirical and practical dimensions of science more than anything. The discipline of philosophy in those more disruptive forms was therefore secondary, or even mocked as an aggregate of errors with "questions and uncertain generalities, vague and useless"[466].

The Coimbra University reform of 1772 that created the new faculty of philosophy also encompassed rational and moral philosophy, but all other disciplines were part of the natural philosophy areas of knowledge. This reform, obviously, did not have the objective of putting the emphasis on philosophical studies but, at the same time, did not completely do away with them. It was not until 1791 that the teaching of rational and moral philosophy was permanently taken away from the faculty of philosophy, being from then on only taught at *Colégio das Artes* in Coimbra[467]. This institution would become the germ of the later Portuguese high schools or lyceums, a level termed *estudos menores* (minor studies), to which there would be the *estudos maiores* (major studies) corresponding to university standards.

However, a royal decree of 1779 had already paved the way in that direction, instead of teachers directly hired by the state, most of the teaching of philosophy was given away back to religious congregations[468], hence the transferring of functions from the university to a different class of institutions follows the same pattern. These adjustments scaled down on the public investment pledged by the 1772 reforms, which besides Coimbra University had also extended to *estudos menores*[469], back tracking on the reformist spirit that had been first introduced under Pombal[470]. After the Jesuits expulsion from Portugal, the newly appointed professor for rational and moral philosophy at University of Coimbra, during that period it operated at the faculty of philosophy, would be António Soares Barbosa who also taught at *Colégio das Artes*, and had been educated in line with the Augustinian congregation.

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[466] "questões e generalidades incertas, vagas e inúteis" ibidem, pp. 3-4.

[467] See Joaquim Augusto Simões de Carvalho, *Memória Histórica da Faculdade de Filosofia*, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1872, p.44.

[468] See José dos Santos Marrocos, "Memória sobre o estado actual dos estudos menores em o Reino de Portugal, particularmente na Cidade de Lisboa" in *Revista da Educação e Ensino*, Vol. 7, Lisboa, 1892, p.524.

[469] The 1772 reform had in effect ended the exclusivity religious orders enjoyed: Teresa Rosa "O Iluminismo e a expulsão dos jesuítas do império português; as reformas pombalinas e o plano de estudos menores" in *Revista de História Regional*, vol. 19, n.2, 2014 p.373 accessible on https://www.doi.org/10.5212/Rev.Hist.Reg.v.19i2.0007

[470] There was however much continuity, maintaining overall the same structure: Teresa Rosa et Patricia Gomes, "Os estudos menores e as reformas pombalinas" in *Interacções*, Vol.10, n.28, 2014, pp.47-48 accessible on https://doi.org/10.25755/int.3911

For the most part, religious institutions were the ones providing teachers to schools and various other educational facilities, rather than having them trained at the University level, which in turn only lowered the standard of the knowledge needed to be transmitted. The main congregation teaching philosophy at the turn of the 18th century was the Franciscan, followed by the Oratorian and finally the Dominican[471]. The dominance of the first could be explained by their willingness in ceding to the establishment's demands, ensuring a smooth transition to some modern trends in philosophy, thus the Franciscans were the ones in charge of *real mesa censória* and educational policy in general.

As the main competing religious order, the Oratorians, although far from radical, were less willing to such commitment; nevertheless, at some point, were instrumental in the opposition to the Jesuits. Furthermore, in keeping pace with scientific development, they became associated with experimental sciences, following which the most theoretical inclined ones choose empiricism as their philosophy of preference[472].

Consequently, philosophy will be, to a great degree, under the guidance of theology. In that respect, it should be reminded the contours Portuguese enlightenment assumes since, despite its opposition to the scholastic, Verney proposes an alliance between Philosophy and Theology[473]. It is because of the disdain towards the pre-modern speculative philosophy that the faculty of philosophy of the university of Coimbra is actually dedicated to the study of natural sciences, otherwise known as natural philosophy which was predominant, for instance, in England. It is, therefore, not by chance that the classical German philosophy and the new developments of metaphysics in Portugal will later on be nurtured by the law students.

Some of these students will, in fact, defend the creation of a school for philosophy annexed to the University, no longer prioritizing natural sciences but the sciences of the spirit instead, according to the German categorization[474]. It is in those classes of right that these students will begin to gain some familiarity with Kant, Hegel and especially with Krause, as well as a whole wealth of philosophers and theoreticians of right. In the first half of the 19th

[471] See Teresa da Fonseca Rosa "O Iluminismo e a expulsão dos jesuítas do império português; as reformas pombalinas e o plano de estudos menores" *op. cit.* p.380.
[472] Joaquim de Carvalho suggests mitigated empiricism as a concept to describe it: "Introdução ao ensaio filosófico sore o entendimento humano de John Locke" in *Obra Completa*, Vol. II, *op. cit.* p.327.
[473] See Luis António Verney, *O Verdadeiro Método de Estudar*, Livraria Sá da Costa, 1949.
[474] See Frederico Laranjo "Conveniência de uma escola de filosofia anexa à Universidade" in O *Instituto: Jornal Científica e Literária*, Vol.14, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1871, pp.219-221.

century, the main authorities of philosophical thought in Portugal were not ignorant of classical German philosophy, however, any knowledge of it was rather superficial[475].

The remnants of that early policy degraded an official consideration of that philosophy, with a condemnation manifested in leading intellectuals, as we can testify by the commentary of Silvestre Pinheiro about the obscurity of the "tenebrous Heraclites of Germany", and even in the parliament we hear some doubts taking a similar line by Silvestre Ribeiro, in one of his discourses on the 26th of February of 1855:

"When I spoke of the German Philosophy, it is clear that I did not use this expression, neither as sarcasm nor as irony, [in order to] play indiscreetly with something very grave; I would flatter myself very much if, speaking about me, someone would make an allusion to the German philosophy. When I made this allusion, it was not because I had German philosophy less into account, it was not because I had great men that represent it less into account, such as, among many, Kant, Fichte, Schelling Hegel, etc… I am not ignorant of the superior talent of these great men, however, I would like to voice and sustain that the philosophy represented by these great men has a great deal of nebulousness".[476]

There are, of course, other previous moments of intellectual awakening, before of any of the developments associated with the teaching of right in Coimbra. The French Revolution and the subsequent wars and foreign administrations, as well as the vague of revolutions that flooded Europe in the following decades, would become a fertile ground for a more meaningful exchange of ideas on a European scale[477]. Indeed, the presence of Hegel in the main intellectuals of liberal tradition can be attested, as for instance in Alexandre Herculano, one of first authors to mention the German philosopher regarding the fundament of right[478].

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[475] See the article of Adolfo Coelho, "O Ensino Histórico, Filológico e Filosófico em Portugal até 1858" *in* O *Instituto: Revista Científica e Literária*, Vol.47, Impressa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1900, pp. 449–468.

[476] "Quando falei da filosofia alemã, é claro que não empreguei esta expressão, nem como um sarcasmo, nem como uma ironia, brincando indiscretamente com uma coisa muito séria e muito grave, eu lisonjear-me-ia muito de que, falando-se de mim próprio, alguém fizesse alusão à filosofia alemã. Quando fiz essa alusão, não foi porque eu tenha em menos em conta a filosofia alemã; não foi porque eu tenha menos em conta os grandes homens que a representam, tais como, entre outros, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel etc... Eu não desconheço o talento superior destes grandes filósofos; todavia, hei de dizer e hei de sustentar que a filosofia representada por esses grandes homens tem uma grande parte de nebulosidade." Silvestre Ribeiro discourse in *Camara dos Deputados* from 1855-02-26 accessible at https://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/mc/cd/01/01/01/042/1855-02-26/223

[477] See regarding its relation to German Idealism:
Manfred Buhr et all, *Deutscher Idealismus und Französischer Revolution*, Karl-Marx-Haus, Trier, 1988.
Manfred Buhr(ed.), *Französischen Revolution und klassische deutsche Philosophie*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1990.

[478] See Alexandre Herculano, "Da Propriedade Literária e da recente Convenção com França ao Visconde d'Almeida Garrett" in *Opúsculos*, Vol.2, Em Casa da Viúva Bertrand & Cª, Lisboa, 1873, pp.115-116.

Furthermore, Kant will obviously also be a source of inspiration for the idea of freedom in the enterprise of these men[479], along with new historical traditions in dialogue with Kantian propositions, or in other words the critical historiography based on the scrutiny of sources, that found its way into Portugal through France and has in Herculano firm support as well. Whatever relationship there was to the philosophy laying the grounds for German idealism, before any of the events just mentioned, would only be provided by some of the enlightenment intellectuals such as Verney and others with stronger connections to Europe[480].

Joaquim de Carvalho study about the reception of Leibniz in Portugal points out that Verney´s *Metafisica* (1753), was probably the first work that dealt with Leibniz theories. However, it did not come directly from him, but was mainly based on the systematization of Wolff. The first to actually mention Leibniz was Jacob de Castro Sarmento, but only through the works of Verney, and later from those of Silvestre Pinheiro, would the philosopher be more thoroughly considered[481].

The possibility of establishing a connection to German philosophy with the broader bulk of society is difficult, as many of these intellectuals were not very well accepted by the most powerful and learned individuals of Portuguese society. They were even persecuted, to which one could add Ribeiro Sanches, who also had Leibniz works in his personal library[482]. That is certainly not surprising, given the affinity between their dynamic monistic ideas. Therefore, the dissemination and reading of those authors in their respective epochs, especially the ideas closer to the German tradition of the sciences of the spirit, was rather limited.

Those limitations extend well into the 19th century, as it was pointed out by Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara in 1839, regarding the educational reform of 1836 and its inadequate teaching of philosophy, that was indicated in the previous chapter. Consequently, the diffusion of Hegel's philosophy should be up for consideration, particularly in other European regions. The first chapter about cultural transfers provides a good summary in that

[479] See in regard to Kant relation to ideals of the French Revolution Domenico Losurdo, *Immanuel Kant - Freiheit, Recht und Revolution*, Pahl-Rugenstein Verlag, Köln, 1987.
[480] See in this regard António Alberto de Andrade, *Verney e a cultura do seu tempo*, Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra, 1965.
[481] See Joaquim de Carvalho "Leibniz e a Cultura Portuguesa" in *Obra Completa*, Vol. IV, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisboa, 1983, pp.347-384.
[482] See Manuel Augusto Rodrigues, *A biblioteca de António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches*, Publicações do Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, 1986, p.9.

regard; yet shies away from explaining that international recognition came about from Hegel's professorship itself, marked by gradual accomplishments which were far from uncontested.

Therefore, it makes sense having Schelling reverse much of the trajectory undertook by his colleague, while at the same time Hegelianism enjoyed the most extensive circulation abroad, amidst internal debates leading to its politization, or rather ideological partisanship, because attempted marginalization from the mainstream only added up to Hegel's fame, particularly in that revolutionary environment out of the profound transformations with the advent of industrialization.

There were a number of international students when Hegel lectured at the University of Berlin, and these contacts would be beneficial for a reception of his philosophy elsewhere, as it had demonstrably done so in the case of Peter van Ghert in Holland. The tendency of Hegelian philosophy to form schools of thought is something that Hegel sought during his tenure, in order to rally support for the philosophy he proposed, and in that regard, opponents often used depreciative words to describe this group forming propensity, for instance calling them "Hegelei".

An interesting finding is a Portuguese student at the law faculty in Berlin by name of Graf von Oriola in the years of 1824-1825, very likely attending some Hegel's lectures, since by studying philosophy of right the lectures of Hegel on Logic and Metaphysic were mandatory[483]. The name written down relates to the career diplomat Joaquim Lobo da Silveira that took up residence in Germany, after representing the interests of Portugal at the Vienna Congress, becoming thereafter ambassador of Portugal to Prussia in Berlin from 1816 up until 1833[484].

He was given the same title he had enjoyed in Portugal, and in effect made into its first representative there, but since the titles are passed on and can be held by a number of people, it seems the person in question is actually his son. The hand-written registry list for 1824 has the name Fernando Graf von Oriola, instead of simply F. Graf von Oriola that we find on the printed version[485].

[483] See in this regard Elisabeth Weisser-Lohmann, "Die Vorlesungen der Hegel-Schüler an der Universität Berlin zu Hegels Lebzeiten" in *Hegel-Studien*, Vol. 26, Felix Meiner Verlag, Hamburg, 1991, pp.198-199.
[484] See http://portaldiplomatico.mne.gov.pt/relacoesbilaterais/paises-geral/titulares/alemanha-titulares
[485] A specially thank you to Sabrina Rübisch from the Universitätsarchiv der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin for providing me this information.

The student at the University must then surely have been Fernando José, born in Stockholm in 1807 to Sofia Murray of aristocratic descent from an emigree family residing also in Stockholm, to whom Lobo da Silveira would marry in that same year[486]. He had studied in the renowned catholic Berlin school *Das Graue Kloster* for 1 year and a half, completing his studies in 1824, right before the matriculation at the University of Berlin. Therefore, he very likely maintained some catholic roots, given his mother ancestry to the Dukes of Atholl, persecuted on the religious grounds from Scotland before they settled abroad, while his father's conservativism, as a supporter of D. Miguel in Portugal, further indicates such possibility.

However, the very next brother, Eduardo, did not attend the same school, and Afonso, the third brother in line, attended the secular *Friedrich Wilhelms Gymnasium*[487]. What is more, Lobo da Silveira apparently had converted to the Prussian faith as earlier as 1825 to, at least, facilitate in holding public offices[488].

Fernando José was classed as *Prima*, that is, amongst the best students, and upon his departure to enroll at the University, the school informed he went on to study diplomacy in Berlin[489]. The enrollment in law could very well lead in that direction - perhaps that was his initial intention - however, he ended up following the juridical path becoming a *Referendarius* at *Kammergerichte* in 1830 which, based in Berlin, functioned as a supreme court in Prussia[490].

In 1835, there is further information that someone by the name Ferdinand Joseph retired. However, the nobility signature Oriola is not mentioned at all[491]. Moreover, in an 1837 nobility genealogy, we are still told that one of Oriola's sons is a *Referendarius* in Berlin[492]; thus, the man that had retired might not have been him at all, not to mention he was deceased shortly after in 1842; hence, not much is known about this short-lived son and his time at that

[486] See E. A. Strasen et Alfredo Gandara, *Oito Séculos de História Luso-alemã*, Instituto Ibero-Americano, Lisboa, 1944, p.441.
[487] See *Ankündigunsschrift: zu den in dem Königl. Friedrich Wilhelms Gymnasio und der Realschule,* Gedruckt bei G. Reimer, Berlin, 1830, p.29.
[488] See *Erlanger Zeitung: auf das Jahr 1825 fünf und achtziger Jahrgang*, 19 Mai. 1825, p.247.
[489] See *Das graue Kloster in Berlin, mit seinen alten Denkmälern: womit zur offentlich Prüfung in dem Berlinisch-Köllnischen*, Dierterici, Berlin, 1824, p.72.
[490] See *Jahrbücher für die preußische Gesetzgebung, Rechtswissenschaft und Rechtsverwaltung*, Vol. 36, Berlin, 1830, p.386.
[491] See *Jahrbücher für die preußische Gesetzgebung, Rechtswissenschaft und Rechtsverwaltung*, Vol. 45, Berlin, 1830, p.586.
[492] See *Neues Preussisches Adels-Lexicon oder genealogische und diplomatische Nachrichten*, Vol. 3, Leipzig, 1837, p.485.

court. Furthermore, it is difficult to access the persons when only the title Graf von Oriola is added, instead of a more definitive name[493].

Interestingly enough, in 1830 we have surprisingly another Graf von Oriola enrolled as a student at the Berlin University in law; however, this time labelled as a Swedish national. This person would be the third brother Afonso, of whom there is more information, especially in terms of his political inclinations, since there were disputes with other students, even leading up to physical altercations. Incidentally, probably owing to those developments at the University and his proud defense of D. Miguel illiberal regency, the nationality appears in the 1832 University record as Portuguese, rather than Swedish.

Those positions would not exclude him from welcoming Hegelian philosophy, and in fact Hegel was from early on accused of being averse to liberalism[494], with the *Kathedersozialismus* proposed monarchical alliance later gaining much notoriety. Moreover, some Hegelian left entertained elitist tendencies[495]. At that time, juridical conceptions had acquired a more Hegelian outlook at the law faculty itself, after Eduard Gans was given a professorship in 1826/1827, even if Savigny historical school of law was still dominant, the latter of which Oriola could have lean towards, given the ideological affinity.

Unfortunately, none of this Portuguese descent left written thoughts. However, in light of the surrounding intellectual constellation, they must have shared those developments through other channels, especially informally by conversations, taking into account the diplomatic career course chosen by them and other administrative-political ambitions, with those experiences at the University possibility reaching their former homeland.

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[493] For instance, in an 1832 news piece, it appears he was spoken of, but in reality it is his brother Afonso, as one can read from another piece where the full name is added, informing on a whole that he had a conflict with a student at the University, because of his political views about D. Miguel, and the case was handled juridically by the University: "die Sache des jungen Grafen Oriola soll von dem Universitätgericht an das Kammergericht abgegeben sein. Jedenfalls wird unparteiische Rechtspflege stattfinden. Man hat den ganzen Vorgang aber im Publikum viel Ärger gemacht als er ist. Man weiß jetzt, dass der junge Graf sich später erboten hat, jeden Plebejer, der etwas an ihn habe, Satisfaktion zu geben" in *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Vol. 2, J. G. Cotta'schen Buchh, Stuttgart, 1832, p.912 see also for a full account p. 864 et p.996.

[494] See in this regard Paul Franco "Hegel and Liberalism" in *The Review of Politics*, Volume 59, Issue 4, 2009. The critic of liberalism's abstract freedom as against the positive outcomes of liberality, are similar to Karl Marx's own critic of liberal capitalism, and the so called "dark side" of liberalism spoken about by Domenico Losurdo, *Hegel and the Freedom of the Moderns,* Duke University Press, London, 2004.
See also Klaus Vieweg, *Hegel: Der Philosoph der Freiheit, op. cit.* pp.660-669.

[495] Bruno Bauer, for instance, took part in the salons of Bettina von Arnim, her son Freimund von Arnim was also in the meetings of those youths known as *Die Freien*, and she would write about the young Hegelian topics: "Die Auflösung des Einzigen durch den Menschen" in *Epigone*, n.4, 1847, pp.189-251.
Interestingly enough Bettina was also the mother-in-law to one of the Oriola's brothers, Eduardo.

Consequently, regarding this Portuguese presence in Berlin, some salient questions emerge, the first is of course the actual connection of Fernando José to Portugal, and by extension his other brother. The enrollment registry labels him as a Portuguese national, but the whole family was rather Germanized, the father's diplomatic career ended in 1833, forced to resign, given his support to D. Miguel.

A request of the older son for his nobility title in Portugal to be recognized by D. Maria II was denied, due to his foreign descent[496], but likely also in connection to his father's political alignment. Hence, it seems there was an attempt to keep a relation to Portugal and a diplomatic future as a safeguard of their interests through the older son? Therefore, this could be the reason for keeping the Portuguese nationality, based on claims the family still had there, rather than any meaningful contact to Portugal.

Secondly, the subject of whether or not there is any vestiges of Hegel in Fernando José becomes an even more obscured topic, given the insufficient information. However, the choice for a juridical career rather than a diplomatic one, which for instance his brother Afonso Henrique would follow, indicates that a change of heart may have a relation to his passage in the University.

At any rate, this reveals an unusual depth in the level of relations between the two countries, with this foreign educated would-be Portuguese national, in a Berlin University period of Hegelian background, actively seeking to establish ties with Portugal to an extent not fully clarified, yet such contacts surely took place.

Nevertheless, generalization of German culture faced major constraints, mainly linguistic but also ideologically and in terms of customs differing from Portugal. Therefore, much of it was mediated by other cultures rather than directly, on top of which stood France. This country actively sought to renew its national culture with the help of German philosophical thought and educational practices, while, at the same time, the appearance of social problems in modern age, in connection with political struggles, lay the basis for socio-political theories marked by those same thoughts.

In many cases, transformations leading to upheavals were the greatest impulse for cultural exchanges, with the socialist movement, for example, having a strong international expression. The possibilities that were opened in the 19th century by means of the social conflicts, that echoed through various European nations, would mark the actual reception of

[496] See Afonso Eduardo Zúquete, *Nobreza de Portugal*, Vol. 3, Editorial Enciclopédia, 1961, p.79.

German idealism in Portugal. Therefore, the debates that we later find in the Academia, particularly from 1860`s on, as in the case of Coimbra, broaden themselves to a whole generation that is enthusiastic about the circulation of these ideas[497].

Additionally, the transformative tradition has surely much in debt to the early liberals of the revolutionary period, who, as in the case of Alexandre Herculano, still exerted a major influence amongst the more inquisitive youth[498]. The guiding chronology of this study highlights that generation, increasingly led to a broader consciousness of German ideas, although earlier contacts with the German culture should be considered as well, even with some incidences in Germany itself, as we have seen.

While recognizing the broader dissemination of the philosophical thought associated with Hegel, there should be a special consideration of educational institutions, particularly in regard to the University of Coimbra and the *Curso Superior de Letras* in Lisbon. Moreover, two disciplinary areas in those specific institutions play a prominent role - law and history, respectively – up until philosophy was able to establish itself independently. The first decisive developments in that direction began with the Coimbra generation during the 1860s, around which much of the youth would find inspiration, quickly advancing to other intellectual centers.

The blooming of Hegel in the philosophical thinking out of Coimbra's generation

The cultivation of a systematic study of philosophy was absent from the University of Coimbra, but not from the public intellectual debate, as it increasingly takes ground in the minds of the students. They recognized the importance of new philosophies for an adequate understanding of the surrounding modern world and as a result, there is, at the University level, some attention given to philosophical aspects. It came to be present mainly in the study of right, political economy or even less commonly in other disciplines of arts and sciences, as well as in conjunction with other areas of knowledge, such as natural sciences.

[497] See in this respect, Guilherme d'Oliveira Martins, *Oliveira Martins: uma Biografia*, Impressa Nacional Casa da Moeda, Lisboa, 1986, p.42; and also for a more ample perspective regarding educational reforms: Áurea Adão e Maria Neves Gonçalves, *Instrução Pública no Portugal de Oitocentos. Da administração centralizada à gestão periférica,* Livros Horizonte, Lisboa, 2007.

[498] See for the legacy of Herculano among the 1870s generation António Borges Coelho, *Alexandre Herculano*, Editorial Presença, Lisboa, 1965.

The outreach of modern ideas mediated in that form, at around the middle of 19th century, was thus rather fragmented. However, generally speaking German philosophy was often highly regarded, and the younger and less conforming were the ones valuing Hegel in particular. Looking into filling this gap regarding philosophical studies, Joaquim Lopes Praça publishes his 1868 book on the history of philosophy in Portugal[499]. This accompanied by his positions about the teaching of philosophy in Portugal at the time, or the lack thereof:

"What is missing is a higher education school at the University, where philosophy is thought in its full extent, in order for the students to ascend properly prepared to the various faculties they are destined"[500]

Modern philosophy, however, occupies only a short section of the book, having the focus more on medieval, renaissance and the early modern period, but still along the book in those sections some references to Hegel came through, in particular regarding aesthetic theories and a consideration on the universals[501]. As for Lopes Praça views on German philosophy, they only go as far as Kant, shortly addressing Wolff and Leibniz and the leverage they have had in rational philosophy, as it was present in Portugal.

From all the modern philosophical currents, Kantianism seems to be the most captivating to him, particularly in terms of the developments surrounding philosophy of right. However, he does not spare the Konigsberg philosopher of some criticism in regard to the clash between theoretical and practical reason, and what the Coimbra professors considered the excessive subjectivism afflicting Kant's philosophy[502].

The intellectual landscape also endorsed different perspectives, as in the case of João António de Sousa Dória, who, since the early 1850s, successively publishing a philosophy compendium. It was augmented on each of the new editions, the latest of which recognizes a trend towards German philosophy dominance, notwithstanding his opposition to its validity. In his views, eclecticism conforms better with the progress of philosophy and therefore "the

[499] See for a summary of Lopes Praça ideas José Esteves Pereira, "José Joaquim Lopes Praça (1844-1920): Ideias filosóficas, políticas e sociais" in *Almansor*, vol.13, 1993, pp. 213–230.
[500] "O que falta é uma escola superior junto da Universidade onde a Filosofia seja ensinada em toda a sua altura, a fim de os estudantes subirem devidamente preparados para as diversas faculdades a que se destinarem." José Joaquim Lopes Praça, *História da Filosofia em Portugal*, edited and with an introduction by Pinharanda Gomes, 3nd Edition, Guimaraes Editores, Lisboa, 1988, p.230.
[501] Idem, ibidem, p.60-67 et p.120.
[502] Idem, ibidem, p.286-290.

eclecticism on this side of the Rhein is the system with greater freedom"[503]. That was quite contrary to Lopes Praça objections to the French school of philosophy, where he sees the roots of irreligiosity[504], which was dominated at that time by eclectic tendencies, that he rejects[505].

Although further limited and abbreviated, Dória's manual actually addresses Hegel more directly, providing a short biographical note and highlighting the leading ideas of Hegelian thought, yet not very clear in some respects. His understanding of the absolute in the philosopher, derived from the identity of subject and object, is equated with a "pure idea" as something abstract, or the idea contained in itself, which runs contour to the absolute as a result, finding determinativeness as against the initial abstraction of a simple immediate.

However, the text still signals the importance of consciousness, embodied in spirit as the idea's movement of self-reflection, having the system on the whole its guiding principle in reason, expressed in the tripartite reality of logic, nature and finally the spirit[506].

While authoring books on philosophy, Sousa Dória background at the University of Coimbra was in medicine, which only confirms the difficulties of philosophy asserting its autonomy[507]. Hence, those works demonstrate perhaps, more than anything, the autodidactic and amateurism of philosophical thinking. In fact, Sousa Dória is actually better known for his history compendiums, another area of knowledge he delved into.

The discussion of Hegel and German philosophy found its way to lectures on various other subjects. Thus, for instance, Jerónimo José de Mello subject on physiology and hygiene in the year 1853-54 looked into the philosophical doctrines of Kant, Hegel, Schelling and Condillac as it addresses the animal functions[508].

However, insufficiencies come forward in the sketched-up portrayals of Hegel, since even an early text by Cunha Rivara about Kant's philosophy presents the Berlin philosopher's thought more thoroughly, than subsequent historical outlines of modern philosophy[509]. This

[503] "o eclectismo d'aquém Rheno é o sistema mais livre, e como tal mais conforme ao progresso da ciência" João António de Sousa Dória, *Elementos de Filosofia Racional para uso das Escolas*, 7*th* Edition, Livraria de J. Augusto Orcel, Coimbra, 1868, p.232.
[504] See José Joaquim Lopes Praça, *op . cit.* p.283-285.
[505] See idem, ibidem, p.72-75.
[506] See João António de Sousa Dória, *op. cit.* pp.230-231.
[507] See *Memoria Professorum Universitatis Conimbrigensis 1772-1937*, Vol.2, Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, 1992, p.206.
[508] See "Universidade de Coimbra – Programas" in O *Instituto: Jornal Científica e Literária*, vol.2, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1854, p.65.
[509] See Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara "Filosofia de Kant" in *Revista Literária*, Vol.4, Typographia Commercial Portuense, Porto, 1839, pp.447-472.

is a good example of how, under the impulse of students, advances were also being made, considering that even a professor in Coimbra was impressed by his knowledge of modern philosophy, upon an exam to fill an opening in Évora[510].

Furthermore, according to the protest of Vicente Ferrer Neto Paiva, the teaching staff faces difficulties whenever exposing heterogeneous ideas. He writes against a proposed law that limited press freedom, which expanded also to education, hindering the progress of science and academic freedom. The reformist endeavors of this law professor were successful in rallying the university personal; hence it is not surprising to find divergent positions in the academia out of a more open educational policy, all the more with the advocation of free reign to philosophy in a text from Ferrer:

"Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Lamennais, Krause, and so many other philosophers, that achieved immortal names by the great impulse, given to philosophy under absolutist and Christian governments, with new systems and theories, if they were professors in Portugal, instead of prizes, they would receive penalties; because their works reek of pantheism."[511]

All of these undertones encourage profound changes in the ideas embraced by students, along with the subversive spirit of that generation, giving continuity to a deeper movement which radicalizes itself by the day. New generations take a confrontational stance against the establishment, led by that sense of inadequateness regarding education, even towards the reformist professors because they still conformed to the state of affairs.

In fact, Hegel sets the tone amongst them, as it can be read from various memories of those studying in Coimbra, such as the largely neglected Francisco Soares Franco Junior account of those times, in which the youth "eat and drank familiarly with Kant and Hegel."[512]

[510] "o Governo mandou colocar a concurso o provimento da cadeira de Filosofia de Évora" ... "posta a concurso, Rivara opôs-se a ela indo a Coimbra fazer exame. Não ficou maravilhado com o seu examinador, uma vez que ele ainda não conhecia os escritos de Laromiguière, Cousin, Kant. Tomou apontamentos destes nomes para mandar vir os livros." Pedro Manuel Caturras da Silva Cerico, *Cunha Rivara, um bibliotecário romântico*, Dissertação de Mestrado, Universidade de Évora, 2007, p.56.

[511] "Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Lamennais, Krause, e tantos outros filósofos, que alcançaram nomes imortais pelo grande impulso, que deram à filosofia debaixo de governos absolutos e cristãos, com sistemas e teorias novas, se fossem professores em Portugal, em lugar de prémios, receberiam penas; porque suas obras cheiram a panteísmo." Vicente Ferrer Neto Paiva, *Defesa da Representação dos Lentes da Universidade de Coimbra contra o Projecto de Lei à cerca da Liberdade de Imprensa*, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1850, p.19.

[512] "Em Coimbra tudo se recente do estudo, principal distração. Entre os fumos de uma orgia passeia a sombra de Proudhon. As subtilezas da Alemanha entram furtivas numa taberna. Ceia-se e bebe-se familiarmente com Kant e Hegel." Francisco Soares Franco Junior, *Memorias da Mocidade*, Typ. Do Panorama, Lisboa, 1867, p.94.

Yearning for modern ideas, they would produce literature advocating new cultural directions, reaching its apex with the *Questão Coimbrã* polemic, which more than a literary dispute brings much of that philosophy into play. It is directed at several aspects other than literature, because it is difficult to isolate the role of those transformations to certain domains, when the key issues revolve around philosophical conceptions.

The 1865 chronical of Joaquim Vale about those disputes in *Revista de Coimbr*a captures well the heart of the problem, when he writes that:

"Everything is luckily suffering a transformation, which some deem slow, but that I consider quick: all is victim to this new disease, and nothing can be done to escape the influence of this revolutionary principle: Arts, commerce, politics, religion, philosophy, literature, everything is finally entering the melting pot of purification"[513].

Such principle was to be found outside the usual cultural exchanges. Germany was the new route of exchange that had established itself, and that shifting orbit is the root cause of the disputes, because "there was a monomania to criticized any book, solely by saying that it was full of *Gallicisms*, because the French language was the only one known, and our literature summed itself up in it." while "today the system of criticism is another, the sentence is reducible to two words «cannot understand, is incomprehensible, is profanity» and you surely know the cause of it."

Hence "the German literature and science are, according to me, responsible for this phenomenon. They are the revolutionary element that I spoke of." and "to speak of Klopstock, Goethe, Schiller, was earlier only permitted to the elected literates: it was only to be spoken of V. Hugo, Lamartine, A. Chenier, Beranger, etc. etc. Earlier, only a few knew about the *idealism* and *realism* of Jacobi, his letters to Fichte, the *Waldemar* and his work *on divine causes*, and the name of Fichte was only pronounced by few, and fewer understood his *fundament of the theory of science*, his *philosophy of right*, and his *treaty on the destiny of Man*."

[513] "Tudo está sofrendo, por felicidade nossa, uma transformação, que alguém julga lenta, mas que eu considero rápida: tudo é vítima d'esta moléstia nova; e nada há que se possa esquivar á influencia do princípio revolucionário: Artes, comercio, política, religião, filosofia, literatura, tudo enfim está entrando no cadinho para a sua purificação" Joaquim Vale, "Chronica" in *Revista de Coimbra*, n.2, 15 Dezembro 1865.

Finally, he adds that "the name of *Schelling* and *Hegel*, *Reinhold*, and *Schlegel*, was ignored by a third of our studying youth, and nobody knew the name of *Kant* as an intermediate point between the 18th and 19th century".[514]

One could also focus naturally on the aspects of literature in which Hegel was present, in the case of this Coimbra polemic, particularly in one of its more disseminated variations related to aesthetics, owing to the widely available early translations by Charles Bénard. It is in those first years of 1860s that the romantic literary models suffer successive setbacks, the appeal to sentiments and the ludic character of poetry give way to a more interventive literature, critically dealing with the problems of modern society.

This is a tendency that, in light of Hegel's aesthetics, began to develop in France, with the more prominent intellectuals of the French cultural panorama strongly influenced by ideas of German origin. From Taine to Vacherot, passing through Renan, all of these authors share philosophical conceptions, especially in aesthetical dispositions, that have their roots in Hegel[515].

Art is something more than a representative endeavors. It possesses, according to the German philosopher, also a cognitive dimension. Because, in its highest manifestation, it produces beauty in the observer itself, by means of a conceptualization process through the dynamism of the spirit, accommodating different facets of an object and opening room for development, contrary to a beauty that is fixated and ready to be picked-up.

A piece of art that pretends, for example, to allude to humanity, will be most beautiful the more it is able to exercise, in the one that observes, the concept of what constitutes the beauty of humanity, and not because humanity is abstractly represented as something beauty. Only in this way could one elevate the understanding of what constitutes the beauty of humanity, conceiving it by means of interiorizing, in such a way that it passes in through one

[514] "havia a monomania de criticar qualquer livro, dizendo-se simplesmente que estava recheado de *galicismos*, porque a língua francesa era quase a única conhecida, e a nossa literatura n'ella se resumia. / Hoje é outro o sistema de criticar; a sentença reduz-se a duas palavras: «não entendo; é incompreensível; são palavrões;» e V. Ex.º de certo saberá a Causa d'isto. / A literatura e ciência alemã são, segundo penso, responsáveis por este fenómeno. São elas o elemento revolucionário de que falei. / Antes falar em Klopstock, em Goethe, em Schiller, era só permitido aos eleitos da literatura: falava-se só em V. Hugo, em Lamartine, em A. Chenier, em Beranger, etc. etc. Antes poucos conheciam o *Idealismo* e *Realismo* de Jacobi, as suas cartas a Fichte, o *Waldemar*, e a sua obra sobre as *Cousas Divinas*; o nome de Fichte poucos o pronunciavam, e poucos entendiam o *Fundamento da teoria da ciência*, a sua *filosofia do direito*, o seu *tratado do Destino do homem*. / O nome de *Schelling* e *Hegel*, *Reinhold*, e *Schlegel*, eram ignorados pela terça parte da mocidade que estudava; e o nome de *Kant* ninguém o conhecia como ponto intermedio do seculo XVIII e XIX." idem, ibidem.

[515] See Eugéne Poitou, "Les disciples de Hegel" *in op. cit.* pp. 112–128.

self and becomes one with the self, instead of reducing art to what is given to us by the senses in its externalization, as moments of its realization.

In Portugal, Coimbra's youth will not be indifferent to those successes in France. Eça de Queirós, in his *Prosas Bárbaras,* defends the approximation of the Portuguese and German culture, which would be capable of redeeming the sentimentality that characterized the Latin nations. José Frederico Laranjo, in his turn, follows the Hegelian classification of arts, with an article entitled *A Arte e o Belo*[516]. Teófilo Braga, the future professor of literature in *Curso Superior de Letras*, will also value, even if under the ascendancy of positivism, Hegel`s aesthetical theory[517].

The three authors above were all students of law in Coimbra during the 1860s and, at that time, as it was shown earlier, not only did they seek knowledge of Hegel's philosophy, they demanded from the University for a greater weight to be given to the philosopher. This all takes place, nonetheless, amid the awareness of deficiencies, with lack of reliable interpretations of those thoughts, let alone knowledge of source texts.

Therefore, it would be normal for the University to, at least, attempt an adaptation of its curriculum under those conditions, leading to an inquiry no other than to the Hegel's milieu in Germany, given that one of the main Hegelian journals in Berlin reveals precisely such information in 1861.

An overview of the latest historical developments of philosophy written by Karl Ludwig Michelet in *Der Gedanke* tells us that, as of recent, a member of the Portuguese diplomatic corps had contacts with a Hegelian philosopher in Berlin, to receive some advice on which textbooks he would recommend for the teaching of philosophy at the University of Coimbra[518].

It is not by chance that such information is disclosed in the previously mentioned periodical, since besides broadcasting philosophical thoughts, this Hegelian enclave also engaged in cultural exchanges, and regularly had writings about topics related to developments abroad, with a strong international presence amongst its contributors and

[516] See José Frederico Laranjo, "A Arte e o Belo" in *O Instituto: Jornal Científica e Literária*, vol.15, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1871, p. 66.
[517] See Teófilo Braga, *História do Romantismo em Portugal*, op. cit. pp.72–73.
[518] "Hat sich doch vor kurzer Zeit ein Mitglied der Portugiesischen Gesandtschaft bei einem Hegel'schen Philosophen in Berlin unter der Hand Raths erholt, welche Lehrbücher für den Unterricht in der Philosophie auf der Universität Coimbra empfehlen seien" K. Michelet, "Geschichtsphilosophische Übersicht" in *op. cit.* p.80.

readers, especially from Italy[519]. The author speaking about it is a knowledgeable historian of modern times, particularly of the political developments of liberalism and the constitutional monarchy in Portugal, as it can be read from his *Die Geschichte der Menschheit* just published in 1860[520].

The course of Michelet's studies surely included some acquaintances that were close to the Portuguese reality, providing him with first-hand as well as indirect accounts of the philosophical conditions there. Taking this case as an example, it is fair to assume the existence of other such activities under the curtains, that were not always put on paper, since as it was mentioned earlier, in that which is implied by the establishment of diplomatic channels, some cultural transfers are often overlooked.

Moreover, early assessments of the Oriola's efforts with regard to diplomacy prove to be a pertinent angle of research, as another instance of such a possible Hegelian cultural exchange. There are, likewise, reverse movements of exchange to Germany, particularly in relation to Lusophony studies and European historical research, and one of the first all-encompassing histories of Portugal, employing modern methodologies, was from the German historian Heinrich Schäfer[521].

As for the Portuguese-German exchange just mentioned earlier, Michelet does not name the individual involved in those inquiries with the Hegelian philosopher, not even the philosopher he referred to is mentioned. While the embassy personal in Berlin involves more than the main envoy, the person in question, however, must have had some familiarity with the subject and a close relation to the University of Coimbra, besides probably upper-level connections in matters of Education at the state, suggesting a high ranking official.

The plenipotentiary in Berlin, at that time, was José de Vasconcelos e Sousa. But there is also the young Agostinho de Ornelas in charge of business relations[522], who had just graduated from the University of Coimbra, where he had studied law in the late 1850s. It is

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[519] See in this respect Gerardo Marotta et all, *Der Gedanke: Sieben Studien zu den deutsch-italienischen Beziehungen in Philosophie und Kunst*, edited by Wolfgang Kaltenbacher, Königshausen & Neumann, Würzburg, 2004.

[520] See Karl Ludwig Michelet, *Die Geschichte der Menschheit: in ihrem Entwicklungsgange seit dem Jahre 1775 bis auf die neuesten Zeiten*, Vol.2, Ferdinand Schneider, Berlin 1860, especially pp.70-72 et pp.128-132.

[521] See Heinrich Schäfer, *Geschichte von Portugal*, Vol.1-5, Friedrich Perthes, Hamburg-Gotha, 1836-1854.
See for more on Heinrich Schäffer the entry in *Dicionário de Historiadores Portugueses op. cit.* url: https://dichp.bnportugal.gov.pt/historiadores/historiadores_schaefer.htm
See also Sérgio Campos Matos, *Historiografia e Memória Nacional 1846-1898*, Edições Colibri, Lisboa, 1998, especially pp.92-94 et p.151 et p.214.

[522] https://portaldiplomatico.mne.gov.pt/relacoesbilaterais/paises-geral/titulares/Alemanha-titulares

rather likely that later was the one responsible, owing to his upbringing and given his amazement at the Berlin cultural scene, actually taking part in it and becoming down the line the translator of Goethe's *Faust*[523].

Studying in Coimbra must have left a mark in Agostinho de Ornelas, precisely at a time when Hegel began to enjoyed widespread interest from the students, enabled through Ferrer's lectures on philosophy of right at the University. The knowledge of German thought grew exponentially through the years, as former students take up professor positions at the university, and philosophy finds its way to the courses being taught.

The advice given to the diplomat in Berlin, regardless of whether it was Agostinho de Ornelas or not, on philosophy textbooks to be used in lectures, would naturally point to Hegelian works, as he went on to ask a philosopher inclined in that direction, and that was possibly also the wish of the inquirer.

At the same time, the Coimbra polemic was brewing until it finally erupts in 1865. Noted for its philosophical background, the controversy follows closely the widespread employment of Hegel's thought with varying ideological and theoretical interpretations. There were everywhere small Lassalles, some would accuse, which only demonstrates the complexity of ideas in confront, since under a certain light Ferdinand Lassalle conceived socialism in colorations of conservatism, as conceptions of what constitutes advancement and progress were contested[524].

The Coimbra school exercised this ideological critic from the stand point of its repercussion in literature, drawn also to the translation of literary works with a spirit that captured the essence of modernity, aesthetical divergencies of which Agostinho de Ornelas was surely aware in his own translating impetus[525].

The emphasis on philosophy could be attested in the changes introduced by Teófilo Braga on the second edition of the preface to *Visão dos Tempos*, the first edition of which was a center piece in Feliciano Castilho criticism of Coimbra's group and is the wellspring of the *Questão Coimbrã* polemic. While the earlier edition already denotes Hegel's aesthetical

[523] See in this resgard Albin Eduard Beau, "Goethe nas letras portuguesas" in *Estudos*, Vol.2, Coimbra, Editora, 1964, pp.118-122.
[524] See in this respect Domenico Losurdo, *Zwischen Hegel und Bismarck*, Akademia Verlag, Berlin, 1993, pp.279-332.
[525] The German philosopher himself develops critique of certain trends of modernity such as the one outlined by Timothy C. Luther, *Hegel's Critique of Modernity: reconciling individual freedom and the community*, Lexington Books, Lanham, MD, 2009.

theories, citing the translation of his aesthetic lectures[526], with metaphysical considerations on the unity of finite-infinite or the subsequent relativity of the absolute, the ending page of the preface to that later edition are even clearer on the role of philosophy[527].

The postscript of Castilho to *Poema da Mocidade*, by Pinheiro Chagas, is weary precisely of those unintelligible ideas of German extraction; paraphrasing Madame Stäel, he criticizes the language that nobody understands but the individual behind it[528].

Almost simultaneously, and still unrelated to the polemic itself, Camilo Castelo Branco had also noted the novelty brought by those young men and of Teófilo Braga writing like an "old German"[529], hence the description of poetry and the development of modern art follows closely that of Hegel, notwithstanding some ideas of Teófilo's own making[530].

This assessment goes hand-in-hand with the preface of *Tempestades Sonoras*, where art is considered under the same threefold arrangement of the German philosopher: classic, symbolic and romantic art[531]. But what is more, Castelo Branco cogitates that Teófilo did not understand, or actually runs counter to the doctrines of the philosophy he had read about, because no matter how nebulous Hegel might be, he did not go as far as generating facts from ideas in history[532].

Debates were thus foreseeable, even before Antero de Quental's response to Castilho that began the polemic, in the letter entitled *Bom-senso e Bom-gosto*, when he goes to criticize him for departing from what Antero understood to be the spirit of their time, by fustigating Hegel and its associated ideas as an aggregate of confusing thoughts, only to ridicule them[533].

As expected, an answer comes right after, mainly in the form of various texts from other intellectuals that enter the contention, with Pinheiro Chagas issuing his defense of

[526] See Teófilo Braga, *Visão dos Tempos*, Em casa da Viuva Moré-Editora, Porto, 1864, p.XI et XV.
[527] See Teófilo Braga, *Visão dos Tempos*, 2nd edition, Em casa da Viuva Moré-Editora, Porto, 1867, p.XLVII.
[528] See Pinheiro Chagas et all, *Poema de Mocidade seguido de Anjo do Lar*, Livraria de A. M. Pereira, Lisboa, 1865, pp.191-192.
[529] "Um rapaz da península a escrever como alemão velho, afigurou-se-me fenómeno agoureiro de algum caturra literário", Camilo Castelo Branco, *Esboços de Apreciações Literarias*, Em casa da Viuva Moré-Editora, Porto, 1865, p.229.
[530] Idem, ibidem, p.234.
[531] See Teófilo Braga, *Tempestades Sonoras*, Em casa da viúva Moré-Editora, Porto, 1864, pp.VII-XXX.
[532] See Camilo Castelo Branco, *Esboços de Apreciações Literarias, op. cit.* pp.248-249.
[533] See Antero de Quental, *Bom-Senso e Bom-Gosto: Carta ao Excelentíssimo Senhor António Feliciano de Castilho*, op. cit. p.12.

Castilho by reaffirming that Antero de Quental and his troupe, although proposing innovation and invention, are actually imitating the philosophy of Hegel[534].

The alleged lack of originality counterargument, together with the unwillingness to acknowledge Hegel, is reproduced by the various proxies of António de Castilho, since he himself avoids a direct answer; but, without injustice, it could be said those were, in reality, his thoughts voiced by third parties, such as Manoel Rossado claiming Hegel's unpopularity[535]. The request issued to Camilo Castelo Branco in a letter from 25 November is very elucidative in that respect, with him trying to convince the author to take part on his side, as much as he had done with others[536].

Finally, the author of *Amor de Perdição* writes on the subject in 1866, sarcastically relativizing the contraposition of originality versus imitation, challenging them to "be original as Hegel, that translated and imitated Fichte, Schelling and Kant. Be original as Herder, the Voltaire of Germany, that translated and imitated the Herder of France. Be original as Strauss, that translated the primitive herisiarchs and imitated the German reformists. Be original as Renan that imitated Strauss."

Further adding that "Mr. Antero de Quental wants originals, because the ideal is not made of translations, and without the ideal there is no good will, disinterest, greatness of the soul, simplicity, nobility, sovereign good taste and ultra-sovereign good sense… all of this means the following five letter word – ideal"[537].

While reminding Antero that his ideas are also not entirely of himself, which is in line precisely with the accusation launched by Castilho of excessive boldness, because:

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[534] See Pinheiro Chagas, *A Propósito da Carta que o senhor Antero do Quental dirigiu ao Senhor António Feliciano de Castilho*, Imprensa de J. G. de Sousa Neves, Lisboa, 1865, pp.5-6.

[535] See Manoel Roussado, *Resposta à carta que o Sr. Antero do Quental dirigiu ao ex.^{mo} Sr. António Feliciano de Castilho*, segunda edição aumentada, Livraria de A. M. Pereira, Lisboa, 1866, pp.16-17.

[536] See *Castilho e Camilo: Correspondência Trocada entre os dois escritores*, preface and notes by João Costa, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1924, pp.21-24.

[537] "Seja original como Hegel; que traduziu e imitou Fichte, Schelling e Kant. Seja original como Herder, o Voltaire da Alemanha, que traduziu e imitou lá onde traduzira e d'onde imitara o Herder da França. Seja; original como; Strauss; que traduziu; dos primitivos; heresiarchas; e imitou dos reformistas alemães. Seja original como Renan que imitou e traduziu Strauss. Seja original assim! O sr. Antero do Quental quer originais, porque o ideal não se faz com traduções, e sem o ideal não há boa fé, desinteresse, grandeza d'alma, simplicidade, nobreza, soberano bom gosto e soberaníssimo bom senso... tudo isto quer dizer esta palavra de cinco letras - ideal." Camilo Castelo Branco, *Vaidades Irritadas e Irritantes*, Em casa de Viuva Móre, Porto, 1866, pp.23-24.

"Your highness while nourished from Germany and the French mediators of the German ideal, flees with the procession's banner, and tacitly declares that one has nothing to do with that brotherhood. That your ideas are your own. Hegel and Herder were only unfortunate to have guess them. Whoever is so infused and predestined chosen, only by excess of urbanity could respect Mr. A. F. de Castilho. You cite [Jules] Michelet, and Feuerbach and Vico and many others: these are not teachers, neither oracles: they are precursing sparks of the fire columns, that your highnesses of Coimbra, will take on walk to the lands of the lord from beyond. This is what it really is to think freely, and remove authority snags!"[538].

The author, however, did not completely align himself with Castilho, and some distance is sowed between them, as Camilo Castelo Branco leans to the new ideas as well, notwithstanding his call to preserve some continuities, noticeable with his address to Castilho changing to "my dear friend" instead of "my dear master and friend", as earlier letters had done.

Actually, under the cover of criticism against Antero de Quental, the intention is to defend old fashioned ideas. That fact is further confirmed by his brother José de Castilho who, writing in epistolary style about the Coimbra School, had doubts regarding the progress of the ideal, telling us that:

"the absolute ideal, moral, aesthetical, is a ghost, one can only comprehend ideas partially applied and subdivided. Even that ideal varies, according to the centuries, the peoples, and individuals. The idealist systems of Plato, Descartes, Malebranche, Leibniz, Berkeley, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, etc., are so diverse, as it always happens in metaphysical studies, in which each genius has got freedom to move according to its talent."[539].

This equal standing between doctrines is intentional, paving the way into accepting old models, as another way of belittling Hegel, because on equal terms "to follow Plato is crime,

[538] "S. ex.ª nutrido da Alemanha e dos franceses medianeiros do ideal germânico, foge com o estandarte da procissão, e declara tacitamente que não tem nada comum com a confraria. As suas ideias são suas. Hegel e Herder tiveram apenas a felicidade de o adivinharem. Quem assim está infusamente e predestinadamente sorteado, só por um excesso de urbanidade poderia respeitar o sr. A. F. de Castilho. Cita [Jules] Michelet, e Feuerbach e Vico e muitos: estes não são ensinadores nem oráculos: são faíscas precursoras das colunas de fogo que s. exªs de Coimbra vão levar de passeio por essas terras do Senhor além. Isto é que é pensar ás soltas, e remover travancos de autoridades!" idem, ibidem, pp.32-33.

[539] "O ideal absoluto, moral, e estético, é um fantasma; só se compreendem os ideais parcialmente aplicados e subdivididos. Até esse ideal varia, segundo os seculos, os povos, e os indivíduos. Os sistemas idealistas de Platão, Descartes, Malebranche, Leibniz, Berkeley, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, etc., são todos diversos, como sempre acontece em estudos metafísicos, em que cada génio tem ampla liberdade de se mover a seu talante." José Feliciano de Castilho Barreto e Noronha, *A Escola Coimbrã*, Tipografia do Futuro, Lisboa, 1866, p.14.

but to follow Hegel is a victory of the intelligence! To adopt the lessons of the masters is a horror, but they point to us lessons of the master which we should learn!"[540].

It becomes obvious that the issue is less a matter of originality, but rather an ideological and philosophical protest against the course of modernity, particularly regarding German philosophy, as it "demands that one acknowledges as apostles of philosophical truth both Fichte, with his scientific idealism, and Hegel, with his science of the absolute, systems that are as identical as Spinoza's pantheism, however, being all of them attached to the ring of Schelling's natural philosophy"[541].

In reality, Antero had already countered the bygone historical conceptions of Castilho, which he considered ahistorical for lacking the pulse of historical time, with history relaying on representation, rather than reason, and the philosophical discernment of its movements[542].

However, some of the admonishments certainly had an effect on Antero, especially those coming from Camilo Castelo Branco, such as for instance the ones on imitation, which he would later see in a positive light, from what we have seen elsewhere, as reproducing a shared culture.

The expansion of aesthetical ideals to other spheres of reality follow suit, especially to the socio-economic conditions of humanity, whereby the harmony and balance they spoke of is not abstract, but closely linked to everyday life. Besides Antero de Quental, another student following those footsteps was Teófilo Braga, which Camilo viewed more positively. Teófilo's concerns with social problems, soon enough, naturally moved from the beautiful and the good to the just.

Leaving that polemic episode aside, what is common to both writers is their study of law. Thus, on the background of aesthetical ideas Teófilo Braga also addresses the relations to the domain of right, particularly in light of Hegel's own conceptions of right. In that regard and addressing the relation between aesthetic dimensions of right, Teófilo writes:

[540] "Seguir Platão é crime, mas seguir Hegel é a vitoria da inteligência! Adotar as lições dos mestres é horror, mas apontam-nos os mestres cujas lições nos cumpre aprender!" idem, ibidem, p.18.
[541] "Exige que reconheçamos a um tempo como apóstolos da verdade filosófica Fichte, com o seu idealismo científico, e Hegel; com a sua ciência do absoluto, sistemas tão idênticos como o seriam com o panteísmo de Spinosa, mas que todos são elos presos ao argolão da filosofia natural de Schelling." Idem, ibidem, p.19.
[542] See Antero de Quental, *A dignidade das letras e as literaturas oficiais*, typographia Universal, Lisboa, 1865, pp.38-40.

"Once the relationship between the feelings of the *beautiful* and the *true* has been found, it is easy to discover what links them with the sentiment of the *just*.
This was the last to manifest itself in time, the last to develop. It could not be otherwise. Deeply selfish, how could man give up his enjoyments without the reciprocity of others! Hence Hegel calls the right - the agreement of individual *wills*; this notion is all the more explicit, as this finite manifestation of the intellect also determines the *true* and the *beautiful*, but disinterestedly"[543].

This underlined agreed recognition is the product of a historical progression, which is laid out explicitly in the modern works of philosophy of right, with the German philosopher, of course, at its head. Having for its basis the unfolding of reason, as the sentiment evolves to the ideal through its involvement in that generalization or universalistic principle, which brought together heart and mind, one could say[544].

In order to better understand this way that leads towards Hegel, one should focus on the basis of the theoretical systematization of philosophy of right in Coimbra. Vicente Ferrer Neto Paiva endeavored to renew the teaching of law, by a dialogue with philosophy, which was up until then still very much ingrained with the jusnaturalistic propositions of 18th century natural right based on Martini`s thought.

One of his first achievements was to adopt a new program of studies for the Natural Right classes, laying the foundation for the future philosophy of right chair, later incorporated in the curriculum by the 1865 reform.

In the new program of his class, one would, from now on, be taught the progresses made around philosophy of right, particular originating from Germany. For a long time, the theoretical thought of these studies was in accordance with Pombal`s reform, to which José Álvares Fortuna, the professor until 1843, followed through with the tradition of disseminating the theory of right inspired on Martini.

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[543] "Achada a relação dos sentimentos do *belo* e do *verdadeiro*, é fácil descobrir a que os prende com o; sentimento do *justo*.
No tempo foi este o último a manifestar-se, o último a desenvolver-se. Nem podia deixar de assim ser. Profundamente egoísta, como podia o homem ceder seus gozos sem a reciprocidade d'outros! Por isso Hegel chama ao Direito - o acordo das *vontades* individuais; noção tanto mais explicita, quanto esta manifestação finita do intelecto determina também o *verdadeiro* e o *belo*, mas desinteressadamente." Teófilo Braga, *Poesia do Direito*, Em casa da viuva Moré-Editora, Porto, 1865, p.10.

[544] "Quando o espírito do homem subiu do sensitivo, da passividade que o relacionou com o mundo pelo *pathos*, até á abstração, até conseguir o poder de criar sobre ela pela faculdade generalizadora, o sentimento do *justo* ascendeu na mesma evolução, tomou a forma abstracta de ideia, ficou do domínio exclusivo da razão. A história dos progressos d'esta ideia, impulsionada pela racionalidade, vê-se nos modernos trabalhos de filosofia de Direito" idem, ibidem, p.4.

While many of the ideas of Wolffian's natural right continued under Ferrer, he did away with previous compendiums based on Martini and admonished him in the introduction of a new manual he had just authored[545]. This new phase is further attested in his 1844 monograph *Elementos de Direito Natural ou de Filosofia do Direito*, where we find an exposition of the philosophical positions he defended, and yet another retraction from Martini, whom he was "forced" to follow in earlier works[546].

This work of Ferrer would have various editions, all the way up to 1873, when the title was simply changed to *Filosofia do Direito* and made into two volumes, encompassing also *Elementos de Direitos das Gentes*. Besides the political and juridical implications associated with German idealism philosophy, which is not the focus in this chapter, there is a systematic extending beyond the theory of right which was mediated through his efforts. The cultivation and advancement of philosophy, that arouse interest through the study of right, is thus the central point leading up to the outbreak of Hegelianism in Coimbra's youth.

However, the actual exposition of Hegelian thought is still only to be found in between the lines, since Krause was the philosopher coming forward more prominently, and to a less extent also Kant, with some sources pointing to Hegel appearing only in the later editions of his work[547].

The ideas coming from various quarters seem, in Ferrer's view, to find a truer expression in a unified form. Without advocating eclecticism, he recognizes various provenances in the definition and development of right. The Portuguese professor defends, for instance, a harmonic principle that must find external confirmation in society, converging with several assumptions of Hegel's philosophy[548].

In that conception, society works around a set of interdependent relationships, whose purpose is communion in what he calls universal life, much like an organism that functions as a whole[549]. This very marked organicist tendency, derived from Krausism, is visible in his

[545] See Vicente Ferrer Neto Paiva, C*urso de Direito Natural: segundo o estado actual da ciência principalmente na Alemanha*, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1843, pp.VII-X.
[546] See Vicente Ferrer Neto Paiva, *Philosophia do Direito*, 5nd edition corrected and augmented, Vol.I, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1873, p.VII.
[547] Some books regarding Hegel's philosophy are added to the bibliography on philosophy of right, idem, ibidem, pp.263-264.
[548] See Vicente Ferrer Neto Paiva, *Philosophia do Direito*, op. cit. pp.17-20.
[549] "O universo é um grande organismo, onde todas as partes se encadeiam, e são reciprocamente dependentes umas das outras; todas estão em relação com todas, e todas conspiram para um fim geral, a conservação da ordem e harmonia, que admiramos nele; conserva porém cada uma a sua esfera de acção no meio desta comunhão da vida universal; esfera , dentro da qual trabalha a favor do fim particular, o qual se vai

works, as it seeks to correct some Kantian theses, in an attempt to reconcile the origins of law from the standpoint of that individual with that of its integration within the collective[550].

Ferrer will however admit his insufficiencies in regard to his own knowledge of Krause`s thought, confessing at least in 1850 that "we cannot obtain and examine Krause's work, and that we are only aware of his system and theories by what philosophers of his school say, Mr. Ahrens — *Curso de Filosofia do Direito*, and Mr. Tyberghien — *Exposição do sistema Filosófico de Krause* "[551].

The organic conception of political society is a major Hegel thematic[552], and the organism is the highest stage of development in his philosophy, both in natural philosophy and the physicality of the world, as well as in a metaphysical sense with the unity of difference. Organicism has therefore a defining role in his formulation of the species (*Gatung*), with the sublation of simple individuality, while, at the same time, maintaining the singularity of each individual within the species[553].

This will be a differentiating aspect between Kant and Hegel[554], and according to the later, the transition to objectivity is also guided by it, as subjectivity follows the logical course of inferences that are self-generated, and the organism resolves itself to internal finality in the attainment of objectivity as immanent to the subject[555].

Following those philosophical problems and based in the criticism of mere subjectivity for the justification of right, Joaquim Maria Rodrigues de Brito emerges in the footsteps of Vicente Ferrer, contesting however his theses for not having gone far enough in the criticism of this grounding on the subject[556].

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resumir no fim geral do todo" Vicente Ferrer Neto Paiva, *Principios geraes de Philosophia de Direito*, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1850, p.202.

[550] See for a recente study about the incidences of Krausism in Portugal: Maria Clara Calheiros, *A Filosofia Jurídico-Política do Krausismo Português*, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, Lisboa, 2006.

[551] "Principiaremos por confessar, que não podémos obter e examinar a obra de Krause, e que só temos conhecimento do seu sistema e teorias pelo que dizem os filósofos da sua escola, Mr. Ahrens – Curso de Filosofia do Direito, e Mr. Tyberghien – Exposição do sistema filosófico de Krause" Vicente Ferrer Neto Paiva, *Principios geraes de Philosophia de Direito, op cit.* p.107.

[552] See in this regard Klaus Vieweg, *Das Denken der Freiheit: Hegels Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts, op. cit.* pp.400-401.

[553] See G.W.F Hegel, *Werke 3: Phänomenologie des Geistes, op. cit.* p.204.

[554] See Renate Wahsner, *Der Widerstreit von Mechanismus und Organismus: Kant und Hegel im Widerstreit um das neuzeitliche Denkprinzip und den Status der Naturwissenschaft*, Guido Pressler Verlag, Hürtgenwald, 2006.

[555] See Klaus Vieweg, *Hegel: Der Philosoph der Freiheit, op. cit.* pp.403-405.

[556] See J. M. Rodrigues de Brito, *Resposta às Breves Reflexões do excelentissimo senhor Dr. Vicente Ferrer sobre a Filosofia do Direito*, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1869.

For the later author, we would have to further move away from the subjective dimension of law and concentrate on the solidarist dimension, in which collective interest supplants the individual aspects, building upon a communitarian principle as the basis of law. This will be the root of a current of thought, with much support amongst later theorists of right, that recent research has called "juridical sociologism"[557].

While Rodrigues de Brito was a disciple of Ferrer, becoming the first professor appointed to the chair of philosophy of right in 1865, he will actually draw closer to the social concerns related to the developments of Coimbra's youth. Those conceptions also have a philosophical dimension, leaving aside the aspects relating to right which will be more thoroughly looked at in the next chapter, since one is referred to a universal principle of fraternity that must be unraveled by philosophy[558].

His book on philosophy of right from 1869, which had set the tone for a contention with Ferrer, attributes importance to many Hegelian conceptualization elements, such as, for instance, the centerpiece of consciousness in the process of knowing[559].

However, it is unlikely that this came from his reading of Hegel, but rather probably from Ahrens and the French speaking mediation of Krause, whose philosophy conserved much of the Kantian categories, but still engaged with the problems introduced by Hegel[560], since at least the time he got to know him in Jena as a competitor.

Those French mediators further enhanced the dialogue with other philosophies, in particular Hegelian, thus many parallels could be established between the philosophies

[557] See Fernando Catroga, "O sociologismo jurídico em Portugal e as suas incidências curriculares (1837-1911)", *in Universidades. História. Memória. Perspectivas. Actas do Congresso "História da Universidade"*, Coimbra Comissão Organizadora do Congresso "História da Universidade", 1991, vol.1, pp. 399–414 ; "Individualismo e solidarismo: De Ferrer ao Sociologismo Jurídico" *in Boletim da Faculdade de Direito, Stvdia Ivridica*, vol.45, 1999, pp. 131–149.

[558] "A lei do amor, e da fraternidade universal, que a moral ensina, não pode ser, em sua objectividade, somente preceito facultativo; a MUTUALIDADE DE SERVIÇOS, que o exprime, é mais que um dever de moral: é um verdadeiro dever de direito, de que as leis positivas devem inspirar-se formulando-o em regras praticas em harmonia com a dignidade e liberdade humana... cumpre pois á filosofia desprende-la da forma sentimental, estudando-a e induzindo-a dos elementos fundamentais da natureza humana" José Maria Rodrigues de Brito, *Philosophia do Direito*, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1869, pp.IX-X.

[559] Idem, ibidem, p.18.

[560] See for a short survey of the relation between Hegel and Krause philosophy: Paul Hohlfeld, *Die Krause'sche Philosophie in ihrem geschichtlichem Zusammenhange und in ihrer Bedeutung für das Geistesleben der Gegenwart*, Hermann Costenoble, Jena, 1879, pp.127-128.

professed by Rodrigues de Brito and the dialectical philosopher, which the Coimbra professor if not thoroughly knowledgeable was likely aware[561].

Brito endorsed a socialized version of right does not equate to a defense of communism or socialism, as he openly rejects the philosophical foundation of those political proposals[562], notwithstanding those allegations are still appended to his conception of right until much later[563].

Moreover, the attempted correction over Ferrer's manual was welcomed, but even if many agreed with the intention, they disagreed with the direction he chose, especially because, under the influx of Krause, he retrogrades from the objectivity intrinsic to subject into an absence of exteriority. Apparently, all done in order to conserve traces of the subject and at the same time maintaining his opposition to subjectivism, thus the lacking was rather too less of a Hegelian perspective in that move away from Kant[564].

On a whole, the approach, or rather reproachment, advanced by Ferrer was, however, partially successful, with his calls for moderation and the defense of liberalism. Thus, for instance in his critique of Rodrigues de Brito the former Coimbra student Francisco Machado de Faria e Maia actually strives to preserve some ideas of Ferrer[565]. The adapted philosophical conceptions of natural right, according to German metaphysical innovations introduced by Ferrer, were also increasingly counterbalanced by positivist philosophy variations.

Thus, natural sciences extend into empirical and social sciences, while importance is increasingly attributed to the proposals of positivism in the study of right, even if, in general, always accounting for the lessons of Ferrer in an attempt to harmonize different perspectives.

In the classes of Ferrer, as it was mentioned, one finds the first teachings of subjects concerned with German philosophy, in which Hegel had an assiduous presence. The

[561] See in this respect some indications given in the doctoral thesis of António Paulo Simões Dias de Oliveira, *Rodrigues de Brito, a Mutualidade de Serviços e o solidarismo Krausiano*, Universidade do Algarve, Faro, 2007, p.131-132 et pp.145-146 et p.244.
[562] See José Maria Rodrigues de Brito, *Philosophia do Direito, op. cit.* p.13.
[563] See A. Paulo Dias Oliveira, "O Princípio do Direito: Uma Polémica Oitocentista" in *Revista do Instituto do Direito Brasileiro,* Vol.2, No.11, p.12810.
[564] See in this respect José Frederico Laranjo, *O Conteúdo e o Critério do Direito: Exposição e Análise do Neminem Laede e da Mutualidade de Serviços e a sua Harmonia*, Imprensa Litteraria, Coimbra, 1871, p.48. See also particularly Franciso Machado de Faria e Maia, "Determinação e Desenvolvimento da Idea do Direito" in *O Instituto: Revista Científica e Literária*, Vol. 25, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1878, pp.454-455.
[565] See Franciso Machado de Faria e Maia, "Determinação e Desenvolvimento da Idea do Direito" in *O Instituto: Revista Científica e Literária*, *op. cit.* pp.450-451.

deepening of Hegel's philosophy, whose works were listed in the vast bibliography accompanying the book from which his classes were to be based on, did not come to fruition, acknowledging even his own fragility in relation to Krause. However, this will be at the basis of the interest that his students cultivate for new ideas that, at the time, circulated in Europe.

The words of Teófilo Braga in his *História da Universidade de Coimbra* are quite elucidative in that respect – in addition to the account of Antero de Quental, mentioned elsewhere, which had a similar tone – when he writes:

"It is true that in the academic body a higher revolutionary spirit came in, glimpsing into a political ideal, absorbing itself into philosophical concerns, outlining new poetic and literary conceptions. The lenses began to look like they were - outdated, oblivious to the whole European movement; the students read Proudhon and Hegel, Littre, Michelet, and Victor Hugo, discussed Darwin and Strauss, widening this spiritual divorce, and attacking the old scholastic formulas and outdated praxis of the University by the mockery"[566].

In fact, students were the ones that had started reading Hegel more attentively, besides the most outstanding members of that generation other figures from Coimbra standout, such as the earlier mentioned José Joaquim Lopes Praça and his *História da Filosofia em Portugal*, to which one could add José Frederico Laranjo. The later writes about various topics that touch upon Hegelian philosophy, as in the case of socialism, cultural themes, or problems related to education in the journal *O Instituto*[567].

They both became law professors at the University of Coimbra. Therefore, while some left Coimbra and brought those ideas elsewhere, many remained associated with the university. A philosophical tradition in the study of right is actually built there, which is confirmed, for instance, in Avelino Cesar Augusto Calisto's program for the chair of Philosophy of Right in 1889/90 engaged with German idealism philosophy[568].

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[566] "É certo que no corpo académico entrara um espírito revolucionário mais elevado, entrevendo um ideal político, absorvendo-se em preocupações filosóficas, esboçando novas concepções poéticas e literárias. Os lentes começaram a parecer como eram, - atrasados, alheios a todo o movimento europeu; os estudantes liam Proudhon e Hegel, Littré, Michelet e Victor Hugo, discutiam Darwin e Strauss, alargando-se esse divórcio espiritual, e atacando pela troça as velhas formulas escolásticas e praxis universitárias" Teófilo Braga, *História da Universidade de Coimbra: nas suas relações com a instrução pública portuguesa*, Vol.4, Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, Lisboa, 1902, p.489.

[567] See as examples the following articles from José Frederico Laranjo, "As formas de Governo" *in O Instituto: Jornal Científica e Literária*, Vol.16, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1872, pp.1–5; "Platão" *in O Instituto; Revista Scientifica e Literária*, Vol.16, 1872, pp.241–246 ; "Origens do Socialismo" *in O Instituto: Revista Científica e Literária*, Vol.20, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1874, pp.57–74.

[568] See Avelino Cesar Augusto Callisto, *Programa da 1ª Cadeira Philosophia de Direito*, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1891, pp.11.

Nevertheless, that particular chair seems problematic, since many substitute professors took over the role of the original holder, while the professors often accumulated their teaching responsibilities with other activities, in particularly with political offices they also held. Therefore, the years between magisterium of Rodrigues de Brito and the attribution of the chair to Cesar Augusto Calisto in 1881 will have at least 5 substitute professors, besides José Dias Ferreira's professorship, which he exerted in parallel with his intense political activity[569].

For many years, the chair will then be held by Cesar Augusto Calisto, upon until 1909, but there was a reform in the beginning of 1900, which changes the title to reflect the role of sociology. However, this tendency was already present much earlier and Cabral Moncada speaks even of a crisis in the discipline during those years, with some voices pledging to move away from philosophy of right and the early metaphysical elements[570].

But still, the juridical conceptions instilled on those students were very important for the development of a philosophy tradition in the studies of right, all the way up to Cabral Moncada, who intended to recover those early philosophical leanings of Ferrer.

The chair of Philosophy of right actually disappeared from the curriculum with the reform of 1910, only to be reestablished by Moncada in 1937, but these developments will be scrutinized more thoroughly in the third part of the present work. Thus, even if the juridical aspects are not the main concern at this point, this nevertheless shows us just how much philosophical thinking and its historiography owes to the Coimbra law studies.

Therefore, it is not by chance that philosophical historiography in Portugal will be intimately associated with personal from the University of Coimbra's law faculty, of which the early examples of Lopes Praça and Sousa Dória are elucidative, with their compendia on the history of philosophy.

One could add the later account of Cabral Moncada, regarding the history of philosophy of right, goes a step forward and historicizes the philosophical conceptions present at the law faculty itself[571]. Hence, in this regard, there is a history of the history of philosophy

[569] As substitute professors: José Augusto Sanches Gama (1865 and 1867), Manuel Emidio Garcia (1866-1869), Vicente José de Seica Almeida e Silva (1866-1867), José Brás Mendonça Furtado (1874-1876)
Chair holder professors: Joaquim Maria Rodrigues de Brito (1865-1873), José Dias Ferreira (1874-1876), Avelino Cesar Calisto (1877-1900).
Information extracted from *Memoria Professorum Universitatis Conimbrigensis 1772-1937*, Vol.2, *op. cit.*

[570] See Cabral Moncada, *Subsídios para uma História da Filosofia do Direito em Portugal*, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, Lisboa, 2003, pp.158-159.

[571] See Cabral Moncada "Subsídios para uma História da Filosofia do Direito em Portugal" in *op. cit.*

emanating from the University of Coimbra, having, however, also a wider impact in the Portuguese cultural life on a whole and in other places.

Other movements supporting Hegelianism and its criticism beyond Coimbra's bounds

The earlier mentioned occurrence is further demonstrated in another Coimbra educated philosophy author, by publishing critical overviews on the history of philosophy. José Maria da Cunha Seixas also gives support to the acquaintance with Hegelian philosophy, while he attempts to develop his own thought.

The young philosopher had studied law at Coimbra before moving to Lisbon, becoming a philosophy professor at Instituto de Ensino Livre, from where he then also practiced law[572]. He had published some minor works in his early years that touched up philosophy, but it was an opening for Universal History chair at *Curso Superior de Letras* that made his debut in a Hegelian thematic. On the occasion of this application to the position, he wrote an essay on the principles of philosophy of history.

From a book version of that presentation, later published, one can read that Hegel was also one of the philosophers addressed, with the third chapter reflecting on the philosophy of Germany, France and Italy in the 19th century. In the book, both Schelling and Hegel are classed as pantheist philosophers[573], to which one could trace many similarities in his readings of both.

However, while history is seen in Schelling under the scope of the absolute and a universal principle of identity, for Hegel prominence is given to the historicity of the spirit in the development of the idea, leading to the attainment of the consciousness of freedom, as dialectical movement.

Furthermore, Cunha Seixas goes on to criticize the excesses of identity that hinders variety in the system of Schelling. Consequently, it seems there is a clear preference towards the more dynamic tendency of Hegel's system, thus falling short to point out in this text any direct admonishment to the latter.

[572] See for a short biographical notes on his life Maria Amélia S. Brito, "José Maria Cunhas Seixas, homem e filósofo ignorado" in *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*, Vol. 51, No.1, 1996, pp.151-155.
[573] See José Maria da Cunha Seixas, *Princípios Gerais de Filosofia da História*, Typographia da Casa Progresso, Lisboa, 1878, p.24.

There is even an inclination towards an emphasis on the spiritual dimension of Hegel, without mentioning however, for instance, that history is not only an animated reflection of the spirit, but rather is actually in it that the spirit is alive, in the living community of humanity, thus the animation comes from within the spirit proper, as he is in history[574].

Therefore, contrary to Cunha Seixas' portrayal, in Hegel's thought there is not so much a division between the spirit and history, or a separate world of the spirit, but rather an intrinsic connection as the spirit finds itself in history as well. In any case, the close relation of the spirit with history and reason, however, is correctly captured by the Portuguese philosopher as he tells us in Hegel:

"History develops the universal spirit in time and is the divine reason, which manifests itself in the government of the world. The spirit is realized freely, because, being freedom essential to the spirit, it is through history that the consciousness of one's freedom is acquired."[575]

In some other respects, however, it is difficult to understand some Cunha Seixas' conclusions regarding Hegel's historical and political thought, such as remark that "the ultimate ideal of history, according to Hegel, is eternal truth, universality, operated by the extinction of differences in nationality."[576]

All the more because he does not quote any works, neither indicates the source of his knowledge on German philosophy, or the way by which he arrives at certain judgments. Thus, the early statement which seems to endorse some form of world government is rather more in accordance with Kant's idea of perpetual peace, since Hegel himself views nationality in quite different terms. The views on nationality of the latter are expounded in his philosophy of right and encyclopedia. However, in the context of the concerns raised by Cunha Seixas, the answer is found mainly in Hegel's philosophy of history.

[574] Speaking of such animation from without, Cunhas Seixas seems to draw onto somewhat a "invisible world": "E sempre o espírito é animado, sendo a história a expressão do mundo invisível" José Maria da Cunha Seixas, *Princípios Gerais da Filosofia da História*, Tipografia da Casa Progresso, Lisboa, 1878, p.27

[575] "A história desenvolve no tempo o espírito universal e é a razão divina, que se manifesta no governo do mundo. O espírito realiza-se livremente, porque, sendo a liberdade essencial ao espírito, é pela história que se adquire a consciência actual dessa liberdade." Idem, ibidem, p.112.

[576] "O último ideal da história, segundo Hegel, é a verdade eterna, a universalidade, operada pela extinção das diferenças de nacionalidades."

While acknowledging a cultural and geographical tendency towards political unity, for instance in Europe[577], there is the recognition of nationality and the role of conflict in the historical development, because the progression of the spirit in the world actually leads to those national differentiations, with the formation of common interests specific to the nation itself, or regions with a group of nations[578].

Cunha Seixas did not get the position at the University, since the examining board of the contenders was inclined towards the philosophical conceptions of positivism, which was in stark contrast with his spiritualism. Nevertheless, his philosophical production continues and in the following year he will publish *Galeria de Ciências Contemporâneas*, which once again addresses ontological aspects of Hegel but now more critically, extending, in a way, his judgments on Schelling also to Hegel[579]. Thus, the absence of this criticism in the earlier work could have been to appease the examiners, by leaving a door half open to Hegel, as they were receptive to some Hegelian ideas that coincided with positivism.

Indeed, the philosophy of Hegel is multifaceted but what attracted him to this philosophy was that which harmonized with the spiritualist tendencies, and this is clearly stated in Cunha Seixas' fictional work of 1880 *Fantasias de Amor*, when he tells us:

"life is not explained materially … Love is not explainable physically: it does not fit in the straight limits of raw materiality: it asks for ideal realities, that accompanies us always and without which there would be no thought.
Hegel and Vera said that, the Man, as well as all of nature, is an idea"[580]

However, he was certainly aware of the progeny of Hegel in modern German materialism, particularly in light of the left and right Hegelian divide, since while commenting on the readings of modern philosophy by Domingos Tarroso, he also tells us that "Mr. Tarroso

[577] See G.W.F Hegel, *Philosophie der Geschichte, op. cit.* p.479.
[578] "Durch alle diese Stürme hindurch haben die Nationen ihre Individualität und Selbständigkeit behauptet. Ein Gemeinsames Interesse der europäischen Staaten nach außen war das *gegen die Türken*..." idem, ibidem, p.514.
[579] See José Maria da Cunha Seixas, *Galeria de Ciências Contemporâneas*, Livraria Internacional de Ernesto e Eugénio Chardon, Porto, 1879, pp.222-223.
[580] "A vida não se explica materialmente ... O amor não é explicável fisicamente: não cabe nos estreitos limites da materialidade grosseira: pede realidades ideias, que nos acompanham sempre e sem as quais não haveria pensamento.
Hegel e Vera dizem, que o homem, como toda a natureza, é uma ideia" J. M. Cunha Seixas, *Fantasias de Amor*, Empreza Literaria Luso-Brazileira, Lisboa, 1880, p.136.

did away, in German philosophy itself, with the right and left of Hegel, that is, the schools called in such a way and the contemporaneous German materialism itself".[581]

He was thus more receptive to the dynamism present in some materialism because it dialogued with what he advocated, more precisely the pantheism of Hegel and the idea of spiritualized matter. The Portuguese philosopher's own system is a variation of such conception of God and the absolute, holding that distinction is as important as the sameness of God in everything, which he labels "pantitheism".

The presentation of his philosophical theory comes out more explicitly in later works, but already in the presentation held at *Curso Superior de Letras* (1878) one can find its basis. Nevertheless, more definitive outlines, are laid especially starting with his *Galeria das Ciências Contemporâneas* (1879).

The book by Cunha Seixas accompanies a trend at that time of general knowledge, often in the form of compilations, collections or in more encyclopedic and summarized ways, meant to be transmitted to the greater public, as in the case of Oliveira Martins *Biblioteca das Ciências Sociais*.

Those intellectuals knew themselves as part of the same generation, commenting on each other's ideas, such connections appear before their works. They were engaged with the same problems and adopted approaches that reflected a space of thought they were immersed in.

In that sense, Cunha Seixas did not forget about the misgivings with the intellectual establishment, particularly his clash against Teófilo Braga upon his unsuccessful application for the higher education opening in Lisbon, the city Seixas came to establish himself. A greater part of Coimbra's highly educated youth had moved to the capital and elsewhere, giving themselves to new ideas, while developing them from beyond Coimbra's bounds, as in the case of Teófilo's professorship.

Following up on that animosity, a very critical outlook of the positivist thinker does not escape an essay on the current philosophy, whereby the heavy admonishments on Teófilo Braga philosophical interpretations are accompanied by the conclusion that he did not understood Hegel well, nor German philosophy in general[582].

[581] "O Sr. Tarroso pôs de parte, na própria filosofia alemã, a direita e a esquerda de Hegel, isto é, as escolas assim chamadas e o próprio materialismo alemão contemporâneo." J. M. Cunha Seixas, *Ensaios de Critica Filosófica, ou, Exposição do Estado Actual da Filosofia*, Typographia da Biblioteca Universal, Lisboa, 1883, p.188.
[582] Idem, ibidem, p.17 et p.19-20.

The author of *Ensaios de Critica Filosófica* also summons other intellectuals in support of his critique regarding the positivist professor, among them Antero de Quental as well as Alexandre Herculano. Furthermore, also extending his examination to conceptions regarding theory of the history, all the more since much of Teófilo's literature classes in *Curso Superior de Letras* dialogued with philosophy of history.

Moreover, science and theory of historiography is another aspect of his critical reflection, particularly on the nature of historical narrative and where defining lines between science and art could be set in the case of history, with the challenge of historical novels adding up a further complexity to the issue[583].

All the topics addressed are in straight relation to Hegel's philosophy, even if the background of the discussions pertain to aesthetics or historical subjects. Nevertheless, they are posited in a philosophical sense. For example, when Seixas speaks about Teófilo Braga and what he views as his shortcomings, these philosophical problems come to the surface, namely, the relation between absolute and relative[584], which is a very Hegelian topic that was also of interest for Antero de Quental.

The core of Cunha Seixas' philosophy is in his ontological conceptions. Although, he is at the same time both critical and receptive of some materialist tendencies in the post-Hegel landscape. What brings him closer to Hegelianism is the spiritualism as it was earlier stated, particularly the pantheism tendencies he identifies in the German philosopher. Notwithstanding, he also criticizes the ontologism of Hegel or what he views as the overwhelming power of being, which even negates itself.

The ontological theory of Hegel, in what the Berlin philosopher dubs the logic or constitutive structure of reality, is basically his metaphysics and finds thus only partial acknowledgement in Seixas. The Hegelian portrayal of metaphysics is not shared by the Portuguese philosopher, specially not in the terms lined out in the science of logic and its introduction of nothing into the being[585].

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[583] Idem, ibidem, pp.23-24.

[584] Idem, ibidem, pp.25-26.

[585] "Ser e existir é uma e a mesma coisa, ainda que Hegel e Schoebel façam a distinção entre o ser e a existência, julgando, que o ser seria o nada da existência por não conter atributos alguns. Assim o infinito não existiria, porque é; e todos o mais seres existiriam, porque não são. Entre o ser e a existência haveria o absoluto por abismo. O ser seria a existência pelo *fieri*. O fenómeno seria ser, mas este estaria naquele, como presente em toda a natureza" ... "se o ser era o nada, como é que pode tornar-se existência pela evolução? É necessário começar-se pela realidade para se fundar a realidade" ... "toma-se o ser no sentido do infinito" ... "por este modo cessam os nadas hegelianos, o idealismo místico e fica de pé a universalidade do ser, como realidade viva e primeira; como identidade, que não impede a variedade, ou antes distinção, e divisa-se uma

Although he presents the basis of his philosophical system in the application for the University chair, then exposed with more detail in later works, namely his *Ensaios de Critica Filosófica* and *O Pantitheismo na Arte, Cânticos e Poesias* (1883), the actual main work in this regard – *Princípios Gerais de Filosofia* – would, however, be posthumously edited and published in 1895 by Deusdado (1858-1918).

The later intellectual would become a lifelong friend of Cunha Seixas, and, after studying at *Curso Superior de Letras*, he also held an extraordinary professorship in that institution, hinting at some impressions he left in other intellectuals and at higher education. While, at the same time, Cunha Seixas dedicated his last years mainly to higher school education, by teaching, publishing compendia and other study materials[586], after withdrawing from further attempts at a university career.

Another figure outside the spotlight of Coimbra, notwithstanding its formative years in there, that would entertain strong philosophical leaning, was Amorim Viana. An intellectual associated with Porto, he was professor at its polytechnic school, thus his main studies have no direct relation to humanities but rather to mathematics and logic, through which he arrived at Hegel. In that respect, one must not forget the early Hegelian reception, at the hands of Saint-Simonian figures, was closely associated with mathematics and abstract numerical sciences[587].

Indeed, if the marks of German philosophy are strong in him, the spirit emanating from Proudhon and French socialism is even more profound. The philosophical inclination, however, revealed itself quite early, since he had some contact with philosophy in Coimbra before graduating in mathematics[588], and in 1850-51 he would briefly teach rational philosophy and moral at *Liceu Nacional de Lisboa*[589].

Amorim Viana's main work of 1866 reflects on the notion of faith in modern society, convening also Hegel in those endeavors, as he grows deeply interested about the relation

certa harmonia universal, da qual a universalidade da lei do ser é o primeiro factor" Cunhas Seixas, *Princípios Gerais da Filosofia e outras obras Filosóficas*, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, Lisboa, 1995, p.280.

[586] See Cunha Seixas, *Tratado de Filosofia Elementar*, A. Ferreira Machado & Ca Editores, 1887, Lisboa.

[587] His proximity with many thesis of Saint-Simon is duly noted by Victor de Sá, *Sociologia em Amorim Viana*, Livros Horizonte, 1981, pp.154-163.

[588] See Eduardo Abranches de Soveral, "A Situação de Amorim Viana (1822-1901) na História da Filosofia Portuguesa" in *Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, Universidade de Porto, Vol.7, 2ª Série, Porto, 1990, pp.292-293.

[589] See António Carlos Leal da Silva, *Dados sobre a Vida e Obra de Amorim Viana*, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1993, pp.21-22.

between reason and God[590]. The unifying principle of action as against contemplative being, evoked from his reading of the German philosopher, repudiates a separation of the spiritual sphere from the world, which is fundamental to the Hegelian spiritualization of reality and this precept is thus fully acknowledged by Viana[591].

However, he is rather careful in regard to the role of religion while considering Hegel, contrary to what one may be led to believe[592], because the intention is not to equate two different dimensions, much less to postulate philosophy over religion, or place reason in the place of faith. Although supportive of a more Hegelian conception of religion, there are clear warnings against some of its tendencies.

The true philosopher should, likewise, not substitute the eternal type of religion for some other ideal, as Strauss had done by partially resorting to Hegel[593]. The providential ends of religion on the other hand, the dogmas so to speak, reach closer on philosophy but to its detriment, as well as obviously to the detriment of religion itself, since it broadens its perspective by subtly converting the rational idea into something devoid of a needed negativity, namely, the egotistic desires of man[594].

Hence, such derivation could give pace to a certain prophecy based on Hegel, whereby the civil laws would reflect completely those philosophical doctrines of a finalist nature, which, according to him, cannot actually happen[595]. The moral senses and more symbolic dimensions are a social requisite together with reason and thinking, hence the necessity of religion and faith that cannot be replaced by science[596].

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[590] See Pedro Amorim Viana, *Defesa do Racionalismo ou Análise da Fé*, with preface by António Braz Teixeira, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, Lisboa, 2003.
[591] Idem, ibidem, pp.104-105.
[592] See for instance the extract of the following thesis, based on a Viana's article about the conferences of priest Ventura "Em seu entender, para os filósofos verdadeiramente dignos desse nome, confirma-se o dito de Hegel; a religião e a filosofia são na realidade uma só coisa, a forma só é que difere, mas o conteúdo é o mesmo" Maria do Céu Pereira Paiva Medeiros, *Pedro Amorim Viana: subsídios para o estudo da sua vida e obra*, Universidade de Lisboa – Faculdade de Letras, Lisboa, 1960, p.55.
[593] See Pedro Amorim Viana, *Defesa do Racionalismo ou Análise da Fé, op . cit.* p.108 et p.111.
[594] Idem, ibidem, p.114-16.
[595] "O fim da Providência, assim descoberto, tende necessariamente a incarnar-se nas leis civis, e verificar-se-á a profecia de Hegel. Soará a derradeira hora da religião, se as leis refletirem completamente as doutrinas filosóficas e, sobretudo, se as doutrinas filosóficas forem satisfatórias.
Não pode, porém, tal acontecer." Idem, ibidem, p.114.
[596] "Se a justiça fosse ideia pura derivada do raciocínio e da meditação, seriam as religiões escusadas; e, como já dissemos, a ciência sucederia à fé e a doutrina hegeliana seria rigorosa verdade." Idem, ibidem, p.123.

The reservations regarding Hegel, seem, however, to be directed much more at the Hegelianism of his followers rather than the philosopher himself. Those were the ones emphasizing the role of consciousness in the creation of reality, and anticipating the future in the present by confusing the prime causes with the transitory ones, they adopted those supposed chimerical ideas as rational conclusions[597]. Thus, the point of critic in the philosophy of Hegel is related to interpretation, or how he has been interpreted, leading to hermeneutical intricacies Hegelianism posed in future generations, which is an issue to be addressed in the next chapter.

Likewise, such development does not mean religion should not be reappreciated in light of modern thought, but rather quite on the contrary, particularly given the new historical times, faith presents itself under new aspects. The understanding of its old forms is even enriched by the new Hegelian philosophy, profoundly historical in its core and embroiled with the roots of the philosophical thinking tradition, giving it a scope beyond the present historical moment[598].

How much of the new philosophy is to illuminate religion would be found in religion itself, not the other way around, and the breath of this movement is already exhaled by the atmosphere described by Amorim Viana:

"religion pervades philosophy, and one breathes its air, spontaneously and unreflectingly. It became insensibly Aristotelian and Platonic, as it will soon perhaps become Kantian and Hegelian"... "Its influence is indirect, but immense, irresistible." ... "Let us not demand that the Church abandon miracles or mysteries, let it be not obliged to any sacrifice, any concession, leave this to the action of time and circumstances, and it will naturally be led to ask philosophy how much as is enough to civilize the dogma, to poetry and symbolism whatever it need to speak to the imagination of the faithful"[599]

[597] "Não havendo para Deus tempo nem sucessão e, na que imagem formamos da sua consciência, sendo o plano providencial do Mundo o motivo da sua acção, parece não repugnar que o futuro reaja sobre o presente, que as causas finais sejam causas eficientes também. É esta a tese fundamental do modo de interpretar a natureza adoptado pelos discípulos de Hegel." idem, ibidem, pp.153-154.

[598] Idem, ibidem, p.157.

[599] "A religião penetra-se da filosofia, e nós respiramos o ar, espontânea e irrefletidamente. Tornou-se insensivelmente aristotélica e platónica, como talvez em breve se tornará kantista e hegeliana" ... "A sua influência é indirecta, mas imensa, irresistível." ... "Não exijamos que a Igreja abandone os milagres ou os mistérios, não a obriguemos nenhum sacrifício, a nenhuma concessão, deixemos isto à acção do tempo e às circunstâncias, e ela será levada naturalmente a pedir à filosofia quanto baste para tornar o dogma civilizador, à poesia e ao simbolismo do que precisar para falar à imaginação dos fiéis." Idem, ibidem, p.290.

The aesthetical dimension of literature, according to the new historical models, in such theoretical configuration is also given recognition in the figure of Hegel, who traced the "laws of literary evolution so admirably"[600]. This immediately brings to mind the *Questão Coimbrã* polemic of 1864-1865 right before this 1866 publication, with the aesthetical dispositions of the contenders reflecting different philosophical inclinations and theories of historical time, which indicates at which side Amorim Viana stood, by having Hegel as guiding figure.

This is an example of a broader dialogue, because although the main topic is religion, Amorim Viana also demonstrably accounts for literature, politics and historical aspects and the role of philosophical thinking in them[601]. Hence, this work is probably where we spot most marks of Hegelianism in the Portuguese author's own philosophical positions, even if Hegel is not mentioned as often.

The work where Hegel comes forward more prominently, however, is in one of his articles about Proudhon's economic contradictions. In his analysis of the French author, he cannot help but to recognize how much France owes to German philosophy in regard to modern thought, not only relating to Proudhon, but the intellectual scene at large.

The professor from Porto places Victor Cousin as a fundamental nodal point in those developments, since his influence in France is undeniable, even if he lacked the originality and no enduring school of thought appeared from those efforts, all his other merits were not without talent.

Amorim Viana goes on to delineate a history of that French-German cultural exchange, showing also just how much he knew about German philosophy, especially in its French reception[602]. Proudhon will feed on that tradition, as well as on his contacts with German intellectual emigrates, and strives to appropriate, although poorly[603], much of the Hegelian categories, such as the notion of totality[604], and the philosophical understanding brought about by the German intellectual constellation.

One characteristic of this mode of philosophizing is its new systematic form, which is dynamic and based on dialectical principles, integrating contradiction as part of its own

[600] "as leis da evolução literária tão admiravelmente traçada pelo génio de Hegel" p.198.
[601] Some studies have emphasized precisely the laicism of Amorim Viana's religious conception as in Sant'anna Dionísio, *Teólogo Laico (Amorim Viana)*, Seara Nova, Lisboa, 1961.
[602] See Pedro Amorim Viana, *Escritos Filosóficos*, compilação, fixação do texto e nota prévia por António Carlos Leal da Silva, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, Lisboa, 1993, p.17-20.
[603] This is for instance an often-cited Marx judgment on Proudhon's Hegelianism. Karl Marx "Über Proudhon" in Marx und Engels, *Werke*, Band. 16, *op. cit.* p.27.
[604] See Pedro Amorim Viana, *Escritos Filosóficos, op. cit*. p.21.

constitution, instead of a polished version of reality that does away with apparent paradoxes. The antimonies and the series, as expressions of developing moments in the dialectical process, are picked up by Proudhon, making him a discipline of Hegel, as he brings metaphysics to the aide of political economy[605].

In the long march to overcome the shortcomings of syllogistic logic, materialism and nominalism were the prominent philosophies of those times, but as Plato had said, riddle with skepticism, these systems were incapable of producing science. The human spirit unable to remain in a state of incredulity and doubt, had Hume succeeded by Kant, and the destructive skepticism, turned to criticism. The profound analysis of the human spirit, in ways never tried before, created a new philosophy, going on to reveal a new instrument: the modern. the logic of antinomies that Hegel was "destined to perfect and to proclaim as a safe guide, which will open to science new and unexpected horizons"[606].

Amorim Viana was equally an educator, and on that account his investigative work could also easily be associated with the teaching of philosophy; even if officially he was a professor of hard sciences. As a good pedagogue, he points out the main vectors of strength as well as the weak points of Proudhon's philosophical system, reconstructing the formative process of that thought.

We are shown that the search for a harmonic principle, brought about by the laws of antinomies, could no longer be ignored by science after the "appearance of Hegel", but needs instead a solid vindication[607]. The sloppier and airy outlook of the French philosopher theory and method does not put him in Hegel's favor, or do justice to the legacy the German philosopher left, even if we are constantly reminded of Proudhon's filiation to the great dialectician[608].

The two works above develop on Hegelian materials more directly. However, there are other interesting topics relating to social and political subjects, where the reflex of his

[605] Idem, ibidem, p.23.

[606] "O materialismo e o nominalismo deviam, por conseguinte, ser o remate da filosofia dessas épocas. E assim aconteceu; e como esses dois sistemas são, conforme disse Platão, incapazes de produzir a ciência, o cepticismo devia segui-los; como, finalmente, o espírito humano não pode permanecer no estado de incredulidade e de dúvida, a Hume sucedeu Kant, isto é, ao cepticismo destruidor, o criticismo, fundado na análise profunda do espírito humano, análise como nunca dantes se fizera e que criou uma nova filosofia, revelando-lhe um instrumento novo — a lógica antinómica, que Hegel estava destinado a aperfeiçoar e a proclamar como guia seguro, que há-de abrir à ciência novos e inesperados horizontes." Idem, ibidem, p.26

[607] Idem, ibidem, p.29.

[608] Further along the article he writes that Proudhon "hegeliano como é" or speaks of him as "seguindo a lógica antinómica de Hegel" idem, ibidem p.41 et p.50.

philosophy comes forward, especially in his adoption of socialist positions, together with the critic of utopian socialism. The connection between French-German thought is particularly relevant in those endeavors, as we have seen in the case of Proudhon, but that choice of direction does not only reach to Hegel, since Kant also picked-up his attention, grasping fundamental points of his philosophy, such as the Kantian formalism[609].

The interest for German philosophy never weaned, quite on the contrary, it lasted for years, and upon retirement in Setubal, one is lead to believe, he immersed himself profoundly with that culture, as he meditates over metaphysical ideas[610].

There is a veiled critique of teaching practices, earning him wide support in the anti-clerical republican movement, without however being averse to morality and an ethic derived from the divine, cultivating a certain religiosity that was inherent to some socialist movements[611]. This would make him a guiding figure for future generations, with his philosophical alternative that did not embrace positivism, or other more materialist tendencies, and provided a critical counterbalance with spiritual dimensions to the Portuguese progressive thought.

Other Porto intellectuals would evolve in that same direction, engendering a trend in metaphysics that some labeled Porto's spiritualism, notwithstanding the existence of other relevant spiritualist figures associated with Lisbon, such as the aforementioned Cunha Seixas, with well-known philosophers emerging from Porto, such as Sampaio Bruno and Leonardo Coimbra[612]. The marks of Hegelianism in those latter intellectuals are patent; however, this should be seen in light of their political activity, which is a prominent feature of those intellectuals, especially when the movement descends to a political-cultural ideology of

[609] Idem, ibidem, p.220

[610] "Por um lado, a raiz germânica de grande parte da sua cultura: desde a manifesta influência filosófica de Leibniz aos escritores românticos do cristianismo. Eis alguns dos escritores germânicos citados e discutidos na sua célebre *Defesa do Racionalismo ou Análise da Fé*: Leibniz, Kant, Hegel, Shelling, Niebuhr, Brucker, Schleiermarcher, Lutero, Ewald, Burdach, Goerres, Creuzer, Ottfried Muller, Bauer, Britschneider, Stahl, Willm, etc. E já quase no final da sua longa existência, recolhido em Setúbal no aconchego da assistência familiar, é visitado por Alberto Pimentel que testemunha tê-lo ouvido «discorrer interessadamente sobre literatura, em especial alemã" Victor de Sá, *Sociologia em Amorim Viana*, *op. cit.* p.143.

[611] This sort of thinking is most noticeable in article about the "Conferências do Padre Ventura" in *Escritos Filosóficos, op. cit*. pp.159-171.

[612] This thesis is implied in the article by Arnaldo de Pinho, "Revelação e Razão no Pensamento do "Porto Culto" dos Séculos XIX e XX: Amorim Viana, Pascoaes, Sampaio Bruno, Basílio Teles" in *Humanística e Teologia*, no.24, Porto, 2003, pp.371-379.

conservative nature with the *Renascença Portuguesa*[613], which will be a later topic in the part that deals with political aspects of Hegelianism.

Amorim Vaiana was knowledgeable of the state of philosophy in Portugal, earning him appreciation from his intellectual successors, as well as the teaching directions of philosophical subjects when he writes about its prospects, in his 1864 article *Análise do Curso Elementar de Filosofia de A. Ribeiro da Costa e Almeida*[614]. Even though he taught mathematics throughout his career at the university, today he is celebrated for his philosophical works.

Furthermore, those writings touch more upon matters of a speculative nature, given his interest for metaphysics, rather than closer to formal logic or analytical methodologies he was occupied with on a daily basis. Considering the importance this philosophical digression acquired for posterity, in one phrase, Amorim Viana could be regarded as precursor of spiritualism.

An intellectual also known to have studied exact sciences, turning his interest later on to philosophy is António Sérgio, but in many respects, he was an opponent of Hegel, notwithstanding the admiration this philosophy caused him. In some of his early thoughts, there is a greater openness to Hegelianism, but his intellectual evolution leads him in different directions and extends itself in time, placing him on the threshold of this study's reference period.

However, from early on the pedagogical efforts and his desire to teach are manifested, such as his application in 1912 to a position as a philosophy professor, in the recently founded *Faculdade de Letras* in Lisbon. The associative movement and cooperatives that had the education of popular masses in mind, of which his early educational attempts were directed, through an affiliation with the Popular University, is another example[615].

In one of his writings in *Seara Nova*, the magazine to which he was indelibly associated, he tells us at one point "I am a disciple of Kant, Plato, Descartes, Spinoza, and I am a disciple of a Hegel, a Fichte, a Lachelier, a Cohen and dozens of other men" explaining further ahead "I have tried to learn from all men: and ambitiously took advantage with intelligence – with

[613] The gathering platform of their spiritualism is the journal A Águia, see in this respect Miguel Real, "O espiritualismo d'A Águia" in *Cultura*, Vol.28, Lisboa, 2011, pp.237-255.
[614] See Pedro Amorim Viana, *Escritos Filosóficos, op. cit*. pp.229-236.
[615] See António Sérgio, *Cartas de António Sérgio a Álvaro Pinto*, introdução e notas de Rogério Fernandes, 1st Edition, Edição da Revista Ocidental, Lisboa, 1972, p.11.

my own critical intelligence – of what I have learned from other men. What fits well into my organism of ideas (a modest organism, without a doubt, but I think it is evident for those who know how to read me) everything in it is in fact mine, even though together with me, many other people say the same."[616]

His restless and inquiring spirit will often lead him to polemical directions, thus becoming a style that is associated with António Sérgio, as a result of his countless controversies. In fact, he did not seek to distance himself from his opponents; on the contrary, diverse thoughts were a stimulus to reflection and creation, so he always cherished an approach that, instead of being eclectic, intended to be critical, even with regard to thinkers who were the closest to him.

Therefore, if our author's thinking leaned towards Hegel, which was hardly the case, it would not be difficult to foresee a close, albeit complicated, relationship with the German philosopher. Sérgio sought to dialogue with all the great thinkers, considering himself a disciple of these, by cultivating the critical spirit that characterizes him. Given the great weight that Hegel had in all contemporary philosophy, it is not surprising that in his workroom there was a frame of Hegel suspended on the wall, and parallel to it a frame of Spinoza. Confirming, in the eyes of everyone, the importance he attributed to these two great thinkers of modernity.

It is thus clear that the *seareiro* informed his conceptions with various modalities of thought; however, in the exercise proposed here the focus will be only on Hegel. The interest seems to be evident, not only because of the multiple connections that we could make from his critique of the German thinker in relation to Marxism, and to the problems typical of Portuguese contemporaneity.

Additionally, the need for some clarifications regarding his interpretation of Hegel are patent, since in many ways they appear to be somewhat distorted by his inclinations. In between, the Sergian philosophical conception marked by neo-Kantism will also be addressed, although with a strong ascendancy in mathematics and Platonism.

[616] "Sou discípulo de Kant, de Platão, de Descartes, de Espinosa, e não deixo de ser discípulo de um Hegel, de um Fichte, de um Lachelier, de um Cohen e de dezenas de outros homens" ... "De todos os homens procurei aprender: e ambicioso aproveitar-me com inteligência – com a minha própria inteligência crítica –, daquilo que aprendi dos outros homens. O que enquadra bem no meu organismo de ideias (modesto organismo, sem dúvida alguma, mas creio que evidente para quem me saiba ler) tudo que enquadra é de facto meu, ainda que o digam, comigo, muitas outras pessoas." António Sérgio, "Resposta a uma consulta" in *Seara Nova – Revista de Doutrina e Crítica*, Ano XVII , n.ºs542-594(n.º544), Lisboa, 15 de Janeiro de 1938, p. 366.

The criticism to which Hegel is subjected, as well as the one he makes of other thinkers, is closely linked to Portuguese intellectual history itself. Two authors that António Sérgio repeatedly refers to are Antero de Quental and Oliveira Martins, consequently, the marks of Hegelianism that he finds in both motivates the criticism he moves against the German author.

One of the points discussed is Hegel's relationship, and by extension of all German idealism, to romanticism. Sérgio considers that Hegel's thought is part of the romantic tradition, because, despite being different from the tendency of that same romanticism towards sensitivity, it preserves the main theses of that intellectual and artistic movement. According to him, this is particularly true with regard to the opposition between the ideal movement and the real movement (or in some contexts he speaks rather of contradiction).

Notwithstanding, this romanticism that he identifies in Hegel is somewhat mitigated, since, for example, he recognizes in the poet Antero de Quental the traces of Hegel in his luminous or Apollonian side, while the nocturnal Antero is closer to Schopenhauer and Hartmann. This duplicity subsists in the poet precisely through the oscillation between being and non-being, in the figure of becoming that we find in Hegel. However, in his understanding, due to its contradictory contours, in Antero tends towards non-being.

In this line of thought, we find a note in the margin of one of the books in his library, corresponding to a selection of Hegel's texts, the following sentence: “not being, that is the only absolute being”[617]. Because this note is found in Hegel's reflections on Buddhism, it is to be assumed that Sérgio also recognizes, in reading Hegel's own history of philosophy, the identification of Buddhism with this principle of nothingness.

This is a position that is not surprising, since the identification of this non-being with Antero himself, by reference to Hegel, is glimpsed in another note, this time in the book by Benedetto Croce with title *The Philosophy of Hegel*, which reads “Antero’s non-being”[618].

According to António Sérgio, we can equally see opposite tendencies in Oliveira Martins, due to this Hegelianism. In such a way that the artist, the historian and the politician are repeatedly in conflict, because in the manner of Hegel, and paraphrasing Sérgio, Oliveira Martins was:

“able to see, at the same time, the reverse side of all formulas, and the fundamental political antinomy of Liberty-Authority, [he] reflects, more than other men, the contradictions of his

[617] “Não ser, que és o ser único absoluto”.
[618] “o não-ser de Antero”.

time, perhaps the effect (so he supposed) of a certain essential contradiction of things; and he himself felt uncomfortable in the tangle of judgments this ended up making, and that he was kept in, calming the rebates of his own criticism by means of a Hegelianistic distinction between the real consciousness of Man and the evolution of the idea of collectivity."[619]

Another point in his interpretation of Hegel corresponds to the identification of being with knowledge. This implied, according to our author, denial of the Kant's unknowable (or the famous thing in itself), which led Hegel to identify nature with the absolute and with spirit. This universalization of thought to reality, therefore, entails for Sérgio a perfect fit between these two dimensions and subsequently the possibility of an absolute science. Concluding that:

"It also follows that the theory of thought is the theory of nature, and that is why there is a single science: Logic. The world is confused with absolute philosophy, and our philosophy is an approximation of the other; It is as important to say: universal evolution as the progressive march of thought that is universal."[620]

Hegel's conception of evolution would therefore only be an enunciation, or as expressed in a note in the margin of a previously mentioned work of selected texts by Hegel, it would only be a "desire to justify real evolution".

We must, however, keep in mind that when António Sérgio talks to us about Hegelianism he is, invariably, almost always attentive to what is happening next to him. That is, he also clearly has in mind the conceptions of Marx, the communists and the radical left. He considers, for example, that dialectical materialism is only "the Hegelian game of generic concepts set to play with a different purpose"[621].

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[619] "capaz de ver, a um tempo, o verso e o reverso de todas as fórmulas, e a antinomia política fundamental da Liberdade-Autoridade , [ele] reflecte, mais do que outros homens, as contradições da sua época, talvez efeito (assim o supunha) de certa contradição essencial das coisas; e ele mesmo se sentia mal no novelo de juízos a que viera dar, e em que se mantinha, sossegando os rebates da própria crítica por meio de uma distinção hegelianística entre a consciência real dos homens e a evolução da ideia da colectividade" António Sérgio, "Oliveira Martins. Impressões sobre o significado político da sua obra" in *Ensaios*, Volume V, 2nd edition, Livraria Sá da Costa Editora, Lisboa, 1981, pp.16-17.

[620] "Daqui resulta ainda que a teoria do pensamento é a teoria da natureza, e que por isso há uma ciência única: a Lógica. O mundo confunde-se com a filosofia absoluta, e a nossa filosofia é uma aproximação dessa outra; tanto importa dizer: evolução universal, como marcha progressiva do universal pensamento." António Sérgio, *Notas Sobre Antero, Cartas da Problemática e outros textos Filosóficos,* with a preface by António Pedro Mesquita, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, Lisboa, 2001, p.136.

[621] "o jogo hegeliano dos conceitos genéricos metido a jogar com finalidade diversa" António Sérgio preface in *Ensaios*, Vol. I, Livraria Sá da Costa Editora, Lisboa, 1971, p.44.

In other words, the so-called idealism of Hegel, which our author disparagingly considers to be a fantastic game, remains in Hegel's conceptualism, since the materialist conception would have, above all, only the name of materialism, because in large part it is not. As an example, he evokes Marx's theses on Feuerbach, as being anti-materialist.

The socialism that Marxists defend is, in our author's perspective, illusory in the sense that ontologically their philosophy is based on Hegelian metaphysics. The impulse to be a revolutionary emanates from a moral principle, inherent to ideality, conceived as an internal reason, which is in us and not in things. Otherwise, we would fall into what is given, instead of by an internal force being led to resist this materiality or, according to Sérgio, a revolutionism that is in things would be false because "No one is a socialist for conforming to matter, but for attachment to an ideal of justice, to an inner protest."[622]

The comments are aimed, above all, at those who, out of ideological blindness, or out of sheer laziness, got tangled up in formulas and phrases that ran across pages and which, worse than not corresponding in practice to what they preached in theory, was the fact of not excelling in scientific rigor, or as he tells us at one point:

"Science has sought to get rid of this tangle of arbitrary statements, of these clouds of imprecise words, of merely verbal reasoning, on terms of pure casual convention: and, if I answer the Hegelian correspondents, it is because I aspire that our philosophers are as rigorous as the scientists."[623]

In the preface to the re-edition of Oliveira Martins' work, *Portugal e o Socialismo*, we find, in a synthetic form, the problems that, through Hegel, he identified in Marx. The starting point of such critique assumes that Hegelianism, by confusing that which should-be with what actually is, positions itself outside of a consequent rationalism. Therefore, he positively evaluates in Marx what he considers to be the humanist economic critique of capitalism, but cannot accept on the other hand its metaphysics with naturalistic whims.

[622] "Ninguém é socialista por se conformar com a matéria, mas sim por apego a um ideal de justiça, a um protesto interior." Idem, ibidem, p.45

[623] "A ciência tem buscado livrar-se dessa nodoa dos enunciados arbitrários, dessas nuvens de palavreados imprecisos, de raciocínios meramente verbais, sobre termos de pura convenção casual: e, se respondo aos correspondentes hegelianos, e porque ambiciono que os nossos filósofos sejam tão rigorosos como os cientistas." António Sérgio, *Notas Sobre Antero, Cartas da Problemática e outros textos Filosóficos, op. cit.* p.418.

Further on, and referring more clearly to Hegel, he says that this "Hegelian" «logic of contradiction»"[624] appears to him to be arbitrary and tautological, since it seeks to explain everything or, according to him, intends to fit several cases or additions that are lead to conform with the horizon of reality. This erroneous ambition, as far as he is concerned, has its visible phase when he tells us that:

"The thesis scheme, negation-of-the-thesis, followed by the negation of the negation-of-the-thesis, [which] does not allow us to determine a certain process, specify a phase, predict anything, because it can adapt to any hypothesis, to any event. infinite number of possibilities where it is possible to fantasize concepts"[625].

Along a preambular note to the re-edition of *Teoria do Socialismo* by Oliveira Martins, he does not fail to point out Proudhon's marks in this work, which could be understood as an attempt to apply a certain Hegelianism to the conception of the history of socialism, which sought a conformity between evolution and revolution, something that he manages to identify in Hegel's dialectic.

In margins of a book with Lenin's notes on Marx, Sérgio summarizes some issues that arise interest in regard to Hegel, with thoughts on societal revolution. Among them, we find, for example, that "activity always presupposes something active. Marxism, deep down, preserves the permanence of the conceptual"[626].

In other words, the reading that Lenin and the Marxists make of Hegel retains in his view precisely what in another forthcoming note is called the "artifice of positing: contradiction = antagonism, struggle"[627], considering therefore that in Lenin as in Hegel "the being, is in this case, is more thought than thought"[628].

Further on he adds that "contradiction can only exist between ideas"[629] and then asks himself later "what struggle will continue after the establishment of communism?"[630] thus,

[624] António Sérgio "Sobre o Socialismo de Oliveira Martins" in *Ensaios*, Vol. VIII, 1st edition, Livraria Sá da Costa Editora, Lisboa, 1974, p.196.
[625] "O esquema tese, negação-da-tese, seguida da negação da negação-da-tese, [que] não permite determinar um processo certo, especificar uma fase, prever coisa alguma, porque se pode adaptar a qualquer hipótese, a todo o infinito das possibilidades várias onde seja possível fantasiar conceitos" idem, ibidem, p.200.
[626] "a actividade pressupõe sempre alguma coisa activa. O marxismo, no fundo, conserva a permanência do conceptual".
[627] "artificio de pôr: contradição = antagonismo, luta".
[628] "nesse caso, o ser objectivo é mais pensamento que o pensamento.".
[629] "a contradição só pode existir entre ideias".
[630] "que luta continuará depois do estabelecimento do comunismo?".

from these notes we can see how in his dialogue with the Marxists, our author realizes that Hegel is decisive to the discussion.

In the various correspondences exchanged, the dialectic of Hegel is a recurring theme, since his defense of a becoming points to Hegel and starts from the presupposition of a recurrent happening that probabilistically opens itself to the possibility of the different, but which would not necessarily imply the opposite. Therefore, such understanding reminds him in many ways that of Benedetto Croce, because the Italian philosopher also considers that in the relationship of the same with the other, not only opposition but also distinction plays a role, and that only the unity of both would give us the universal concrete.

Indeed, Croce was one of the authors with whom Sérgio became acquainted, and therefore we find notes such as the following in the margins of the Neapolitan author works: "If by definition we call the rational real, what will be the rational?"[631]

In the points raised in relation to Hegel, we can discern, on the other hand, the positions that António Sérgio defends, as well as the reason for not agreeing with certain assumptions of that philosopher. First of all, Sérgio will rely heavily on neo-Kantianism, especially for his ethical foundation of socialism, but of course that is not the only source.

The radical critical rationalism that he strives for in his philosophical positions is enriched by the dimensions of relationality that the neo-Kantian philosophical current defended, supported by a broader inter-subjectivity that sought to overcome the constraints of Kantian subjectivism.

Consequently, he considers the study of the mode by which the thing-in-itself behaves to be mistaken, because it would not give us the true physical constitution of the real. While, according to him, the philosophies of the concept or the realism of things had their focus on that problem. But instead, what we need is a "system of mathematical relationships that proves to be immanent in the sensible happening"[632] or what Sérgio calls "mathematical idealism or philosophy of relationship".

The Platonic basis of this conception is mentioned several times; however, the call to Kant also becomes evident, when he evokes, for example, the judgment as an element to retain while telling us that "to the philosophies of the concept (and the Hegelian is one of

[631] "Se por definição se chamamos real ao racional, qual será o racional".
[632] "sistema de relações matemáticas que se comprova imanente no acontecer sensível" António Sérgio, *Notas Sobre Antero, Cartas da Problemática e outros textos Filosóficos, op. cit.* p.232.

those, if I'm not mistaken) I prefer those of judgment and relation. In Platonian philosophy, which has been interpreted as a philosophy of the concept, I have wanted to see a philosophy of relation, assimilating the Forms, not to concepts and «universals», but to the equations of today's science."[633].

Sérgio's training in mathematics is well known, it took place during his study at the Polytechnic School, from which this defense of formal logic will be maintained throughout his life. That is why it is so difficult for him to live together with contradiction and, in many respects, he is lead more easily to a dialogue with Bertrand Russell and other representatives of analytic philosophy, than with Hegel.

However, the approaches of logical positivism, in vogue at that time, did not attract him either, since it would lack, as he tells us, a "creative mental dynamism"[634]. Notwithstanding, the mathematization of this philosophical current perhaps aroused his curiosity. His propensity points more towards the classics, such as Descartes, Spinoza or Kant, who also, in their way, sought that clarity that did away with contradiction from thinking or, at least, limited its scope.

But, even before António Sérgio, another great example of the presence of Hegel coming out of technical schools is Latino Coelho, with many of his writings leading to the assumption the philosopher could have been evoked in his lectures, particularly in historical aspects and with regard to the philosophy of nature. However, contrary to the earlier authors, he was never inclined to teach philosophy, because, although a prolific writer and politician, his inquests in the philosophical field were mainly made in the name of the sciences he had studied[635].

The professor is also known for his profiles on historical figures. Consequently, one of the first major texts that portray his knowledge of the philosophical currents around Hegelianism is a historical eulogy of Humboldt. We are told that the critique moved against the Hegelian philosophy of nature by Humboldt is guided by his philosophical and scientific

[633] "às filosofias do conceito (e a hegeliana é dessas, se não estou em erro) prefiro as do juízo e da relação. Na filosofia platoniana, que tem sido interpretada como uma filosofia do conceito, tenho querido eu ver uma filosofia da relação, assimilando as Formas, não aos conceitos e «universais», mas sim às equações da ciência de hoje." António Sérgio "Sobre o Miguelismo de Oliveira Martins" in *Ensaios*, Vol. 5, *op. cit.* p.253.
[634] See António Sérgio, *Notas Sobre Antero, Cartas da Problemática e outros textos Filosóficos, op. cit.* p.368.
[635] This is assessment of Costa Pimpão: "da ciência em que se especializou, é que Latino extraiu a formação filosófica do seu espírito. Mais do que a descrição dos objectos, interessava-lhe a sua significação cósmica" Costa Pimpão, *Gente Grada: Almeida Garrett, Latino Coelho, Antero de Quental, Eça de Queirós, Guerra Junqueiro, João de Deus, Eugénio de Castro*, Atlântida, Coimbra, 1952, p.35.

realism but, notwithstanding his distant attitude towards idealism, the naturalist was appreciated in Hegelian circles[636].

In this eulogy Latino Coelho considers, besides Humboldt, also Hegel as part of an incomparable genius row of German thinkers. However, the latter appears in the eyes of the former as a talented mind that dove into the phantasy of its dialectical creation, with such doctrines as the absolute identity between being and thought[637].

In essence, there are two ideological processes in confront, which follow either the philosophical-poetic or the physic-scientific methods, either Hegel or Humboldt, and in each of them the understanding reason is experienced differently[638]. According to the reading of Latino, the problem the German explorer sees in Hegel is that he believes the professed doctrines incite the abandonment of experimental sciences, but Humboldt does not condemn the application of the idea, if it does not disdain the role of experience[639], or sink nature in the reveries of imagination[640].

The text written by Latino Coelho reveals his discernment of Hegel's philosophy of nature, paraphrasing elements of his philosophy to later elucidate the criticism launched against them, while much of his knowledge is not direct, but comes from secondary literary, as in the often-cited work of Joseph Willm *Histoire de la Philosophie Allemande*[641].

However, probably the most exhaustive text in dialogue with the thought of Hegel is the study, about the Greek civilization, that precedes his translation of Demosthenes judicial discourse *A Oração da Coroa* (1877). The research regarding Hegel's philosophy is once again mainly based on the same book of J. Willm. However, there are also references to the original German *Geschichte der Philosophie* volume of Hegel's *Werke*. Notwithstanding its unliked, he read German fluently, even if he refers directly to Hegel when he agrees that "philosophy is born with the most advanced progresses of culture"[642].

Furthermore, other source for that study is a synthesis of the history of philosophy with the emphasis on German philosophy from Alfred Weber[643], and there is also a French

[636] See Latino Coelho, *Elogio Histórico do Barão Humboldt*, Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1863, p.299.
[637] Idem, ibidem, p.307 et pp.319-20.
[638] Idem, ibidem, p.503.
[639] Idem, ibidem p.505-507.
[640] Idem, ibidem, pp.497-499 et p.501.
[641] See for instance idem, ibidem, p.512.
[642] "A filosofia nasce com os mais adiantados progressos da cultura" J. M. Latino Coelho "Introdução" in Demosthenes, *A Oração da Coroa*, 2nd Edition, Typographia da Academia, Lisboa, 1880, p.LVI.
[643] He published *Histoire de la Philosophie Européenne* and was a professor at Strasbourg University, not to be confused with the brother of Max Weber.

translation of Heinrich Ritter's *History of Philosophy*, contrasting with Hegel's perspective of Greek philosophy[644].

One of the main aims of his study is to establish a connection between different thinkers, especially those of antiquity and the most modern ones, demonstrating that the originality of any thought is always connected to something more general relativizing it[645]. Thus, for instance, Heraclitus is at the basis of Hegel's dialectical conception because:

"the Heraclitean doctrine served as a foundation for the bold and profound system of the German philosopher, as so often from the carved and dispersed stones in the crumbling precincts of an ancient and sumptuous city, the monuments of a new civilization are made and improved. The flow, the ῥοή of the Heraclitean system, is a movement, which proceeds by contradiction, by antagonism (ἐναντιότης)"[646] [and as such] "Heraclitus receives the most brilliant consecration of his ingenuity, when Hegel, the first among the philosophers of this century, solemnly proclaims him his most illustrious predecessor"[647].

Continuing with this reasoning, Hegel's main thesis are fundamentally reproduced in the Eleatics, since he acknowledges that the absolute was conceived as substance by his predecessors. However, that absolute was not conceived as subject, alive and in movement. Starting from the nothing rejected by those ancient philosophers, the German philosopher moves on to the preposition that thought conceives reality[648].

Hence the originality of Hegel's concept is not as profound as it may seem, in comparison with the Greeks[649], because he recognized that the dialectic in the doctrine of Plato is the logical movement, from which consciousness of the spirit as absolute is reached, and as a result:

[644] The historian of philosophy main difference from Hegel was his stronger cultural perspective regarding philosophy, and they both became main authorities on the history of philosophy, notwithstanding contrasting positions and Ritter's proximity to Schleiermacher.
See Günter Scholtz, "Heinrich Ritter" in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 21, Duncker & Humboldt, Berlin, 2003, pp.656-657.
[645] See J. M. Latino Coelho, "Introdução" in Demosthenes, *A Oração da Coroa*, *op. cit.* p.XLIII.
[646] "a doutrina heraclitea serviu de alicerce ao sistema arrojado e profundíssimo do filosofo alemão, como tantas vezes das pedras talhadas e dispersas no recinto derrocado de uma cidade antiga e sumptuosa, se fabricam e aprimoram os monumentos de uma nova civilização. O fluxo, a ῥοή do sistema heracliteano é um movimento, que procede por contradição, por antagonismo (ἐναντιότης)" idem, ibidem, p.CIX.
[647] "Heraclito recebe a mais brilhante consagração do seu engenho, quando Hegel, o primeiro entre os filósofos deste século, o proclama solenemente o seu mais ilustre predecessor" idem, ibidem, p.CX.
[648] Idem, ibidem, p.CLXX.
[649] Idem, ibidem, p.CLXXI-CLXXII.

"just as in Plato ideas are not pure logical concepts, but essence and substantiality itself, so in Hegel the notion (der Begriff) is in itself substantial power, it is the principle of all life, the concrete, the absolute. As the basis of two diversely modeled but related systems, Plato's εἶδος, and the German philosopher's Begriff, represent the same function in the theory of the relations between being and thought."[650]

Finally, despite the praise and considerations about the importance of the dialectical philosopher in the modern age, it could be said that Latino Coelho develops a strong critique of Hegel. What is more, in spite of the issues associated to the philosopher, he does accept many of Hegel's theses, such as the principle that the order of ideas reflects the laws of the universe, but only if understood discreetly[651].

According to Latino Coelho, such thesis is not always true, especially not in the "exaggerated" idealism of Hegel and Schelling, notwithstanding the existence of the "forcible connection" between the spirit and nature, with the former being able to predict the later[652]. Therefore, much of his interest for Hegel is because of the relation between civil society and nature, since the laws of both found a connecting bridge in the German philosopher.

In addition to those main texts, there are references to Hegel from much earlier, such as a eulogy that speaks of the philosopher and his historical syllogism[653], or also, in another article about Humboldt, where he is labeled as the "great pantheist"[654].

The polygraph writer Latino Coelho has, likewise, a vast journalistic work and, as a hybrid correspondent, his interest span across various cultural themes and philosophical problems, above all, to do with the anthropological dimensions of men. Notwithstanding the dedication to the study of natural sciences, has led him to teach a new generation of scientists.

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[650] "Assim como em Platão as ideias não são puros conceitos lógicos, mas a própria essência e substancialidade, assim também em Hegel a noção (der Begriff) é por si mesma potência substancial, é o principio de toda a vida, o concreto, o absoluto. Como base de dois sistemas diversamente modelados, mas congéneres, o εἶδος de Platão, e o Begriff do filosofo germânico, representam a mesma função na teoria das relações entre o ser e o pensamento." Idem, ibidem, p.CCLII.

[651] Idem, ibidem, p.CXXXI.

[652] "Não é sempre verdadeira, nem plausível a teoria de que segundo o idealismo exagerado de Hegel ou de Schelling, o universo à piori se pode construir e ordenar como expontanea produção do intelecto. Ha porém princípios capitais, que na sua vasta generalidade o entendimento como que adivinha por esta forçosa ligação entre o espirito e a natureza. Há descobrimentos, que advieram á ciência, porque a razão foi adiante da experiência, alumiando-lhe com seus fachos o roteiro. A observação investiga, mas o espírito encaminha." Idem, ibidem, p. CCLXXV.

[653] See Latino Coelho, "Júlio Máximo de Oliveira Pimentel" in *Revista Contemporânea de Portugal e Brasil*, vol.2, Typ. da sociedade typographica Franco-Portugueza, Lisboa, 1860, p.443.

[654] See Latino Coelho, "Episódios da Vida de Alexandre Humboldt" in *Revista Contemporânea de Portugal e Brasil*, vol.3, Typ. da sociedade typographica Franco-Portugueza, Lisboa, 1861, p.358.

Therefore, Hegel finds its way, not only to educational institutions friendly to humanities, but also to a broad spectrum of other areas. As we had seen in Coimbra, for example with medicine or juridical studies, notwithstanding the main incidences in the historical and philosophical branches of knowledge, that were growing especially stronger in Lisbon. With the philosophy as main interest in the capital city, it goes to prove how such interest for philosophy outgrew Coimbra.

Therefore, back to Coimbra, that's from where much support at first arose for the development of humanities, according to new educational models. Those requirements were not only in terms of philosophy, but also the disciplines needed to understand those ideas of foreign extraction, namely, with the establishment of philological courses.

In regard to German studies, Carolina Michaelis will be a pioneer in many respects, even before establishing herself at Coimbra's University, as she was a very active correspondent with the great names of that epoch, who were interested in the German culture and its philosophy. The mastery of the language would be a necessary condition for a deeper understanding of Hegel's philosophy, and even more so for any Portuguese translation, which was still unavailable.

A certain competition with Lisbon begins to take shape in the teaching of humanities in Portugal, as the *Curso Superior de Letras* established itself in Lisbon, although quite unsatisfactory in terms of philosophy. From what we have seen earlier, there were many voices in Coimbra defending the creation of a specific higher education institution focused on the teaching of philosophy or, in a broader sense, a humanistic faculty.

Later, Joaquim de Carvalho will be in charge of that task, laying down the future directions in Coimbra for generations ahead with regard to philosophical studies, as a competing institution with Lisbon's *Faculdade de Letras* during the 20th century.

The life of Joaquim de Carvalho mixes-in with the recent history of humanities in Coimbra's University itself, since it was in 1909, when the University still lacked a humanities faculty, that Joaquim de Carvalho begins his studies in law. At the time, that was the faculty with the most humanities leaning tradition before the establishment of a faculty of letters in 1911, beginning from then on simultaneously his studies in philosophy. He graduates in law by 1914, and then in 1917 earns a doctorate degree in philosophy from the humanities faculty,

while teaching history of philosophy courses, since at least 1916, before a full professorship in 1919[655].

His progression at the University was not easy, both on achieving institutional level recognition and in the sense of acquiring philosophical knowledge, and early on in his career he clashes with the government's decision to detach the faculty of letters from the university of Coimbra[656]- Interestingly, while facing this difficult moment he confesses that "The vivacity of feelings led me to conceptually consider, with Hegel, history as the development of the spirit, that is, the development of philosophy in history as the creation of philosophy itself."[657].

The rest of the text is also quite revealing of the hard work still needed to bring the teaching of philosophy in Portugal to modern standards, reminding his readers of the incipient or nonexistent translations of defining works of modern thought, of which Hegel probably placed particularly high, given away by the very Hegelian nature of philosophy made explicit in that early consideration.

A greater part of Joaquim de Carvalho works is concerned with the Portuguese philosophy thematic, but this does not hinder him from summoning Hegel and other philosophers outside the Portuguese microcosmos, in order to compare, explain or contextualize some philosophical thoughts, which always had a historical perspective in mind. His doctoral thesis about Aristotelianism in the renaissance Portuguese philosopher António de Gouveia is one such example.

While Hegel is hardly mentioned except for a reference about his criticism of classical logic[658], German idealism is in his mind and, throughout the text, logical categories of Kant come forward[659], including a reference to the modern sense the concept of dialectics acquired[660].

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[655] See Paulo Archer de Carvalho, *Uma Autobiografia da Razão: A matriz filosófica da historiografia da cultura de Joaquim de Carvalho*, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2015, p.37.

[656] This was a decision coming out of Leonardo Coimbra 1919 reform, when he took up the post of minister of public instruction, which denotes quarrels within the national philosophical constellation owing to the minister's record related to philosophical matters, or perhaps there was a certain competition, as he wanted to move it to Porto, before deciding on opening a whole new institution while maintaining the faculty in Coimbra.

[657] "a vivacidade dos sentimentos levou-me a considerar conceptualmente, com Hegel, a história como desenvolvimento do espírito, isto é, o desenvolvimento da filosofia na história como a criação da própria filosofia" Joaquim de Carvalho, "A minha resposta" in *Obra Completa: Escritos sobre a Universidade de Coimbra (1919-1942)*, Volume VII, *op. cit.* p.5.

[658] See Joaquim de Carvalho, "António de Gouveia e o Aristotelismo da Renascença: António de Gouveia e Pedro Ramo" in *Obra Completa: Filosofia e História da Filosofia (1916-1934)*, Volume I, 2nd Edition, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisboa, 1992, p.61.

[659] Idem, ibidem, p.58 et pp.76-77.

[660] Idem, ibidem, p.63.

From an earlier account of the presence of Hegel in Joaquim de Carvalho, laid out in the historical part of the present work, it was shown how historical conceptions are probably the most fruitful appropriation of Hegel's thought. But his whole teaching of philosophy is also deep-rooted in it, because, according to the sense of conceptual totality, one is to seek philosophy through its history, which is to say that the signs of Hegel's philosophy often appear in relation to other figures and topics, from a history point of view. However, the philosophical teachings presented in that historical perspective are the focus here, rather than the dimensions of historicity he extracted from Hegel.

The knowledge of Joaquim de Carvalho regarding Hegelianism surely does not begin from zero, but he has to build a whole edifice for the studying of philosophy at the level of higher education, which had been neglected in the past. Ferrer and other professors of the law faculty did not look at Hegel for its own sake, but instead, in the functional sense of philosophy of right and now, from the point of view of philosophy, the Berlin professor needs to be looked at in terms of the doctrine, focused on fundamental concepts and more technical aspects of the discipline.

This discernment surely came from Hegel's works but, perhaps to a greater extent, from other readers of Hegel, such as Benedetto Croce, who would not say anything different in regard to the identity between philosophy and history. What is more, his contacts with Italian Hegelianism, or what became known as Neo-Hegelianism, began as earlier as 1918, when he writes about the Portuguese origin philosopher Leão Hebreu.

As a historian of philosophy himself, Croce had done research into the Italian renaissance period, and wrote about the Italian emigree from Portugal, discovering, in those readings, traces of modern idealism, which Joaquim de Carvalho took as a refinement of his understanding of the Hegelian unity of the diverse conceptualized in the thinking totality, here headlined by Hebreu's aesthetical theory[661].

The inter-war period of the 1920s leads him to reconsider the assessment of concentrating on the study of the modern philosophical tendencies of his preference, after he found himself unable to follow-up the Neo-Kantism of Marburg, frustrated by the great war. The unfulfilled initial objective of studying in Germany apparently left some

[661] See Joaquim de Carvalho, "Leão Hebreu, Filosofo" in idem, ibidem, p.257.

disappointment[662], even if those theoretical basis will accompany him for life. Thereafter, he chooses instead to keep the focus on the history of philosophy in connection to Portugal, together with his predecessors and spiritual guides of the 70s generation.

From the later, he meditated, above all, on the thoughts of "his poet" of election, Antero de Quental. Therefore, much of the study around Hegel's philosophy will be informed by these readings, since the poet had written extensively about the Hegelianism of that epoch. While German thought comes across as the most profound influx, for some, the prospects of a national idea was implied in the studies undertaken by Joaquim de Carvalho[663], because not long after, a nationalist drift appears in the pre-World War II authoritarian landscape of Europe.

But another period of intellectual development takes place precisely at this time, when, in 1934, Salazar as the head figure of the regime, who had been educated in Coimbra, ordered the closure of the University of Coimbra press. Interestingly and perhaps as a response, texts addressing the great European philosophers begin to appear after this period, translating some works and and/or examining their system, such as Espinosa, Locke, Leibniz or Hegel. Therefore, the relation of Joaquim de Carvalho to Hegelianism should go beyond the 1933 chronology, because many references as to how he understood this philosophy, will find answers in subsequent texts.

Finally, another moment of transformation took place after the Second World War, accentuating that universalist tendency we saw from the mid 30s, of what some consider to be Joaquim de Carvalho's full intellectual maturation[664]. The appraisal of Hegelianism, for instance, comes forward in a 1952 study, accompanying a translation of Hegel's *Introduction to the History of Philosophy*, when he tells us that "the Hegelian concept of historical temporality, or more properly spoken, transtemporality, suffered a deformation resulting from its «spirit of system»"[665].

[662] See José V. de Pina Martins Preface "Joaquim de Carvalho Pensador e Historiador da Filosofia" in *Obra Completa: Filosofia e História da Filosofia (1916-1934)*, Volume II, *op. cit.* p.XIII.
[663] See Alexandre Morujão, "Doutor Joaquim de Carvalho" in *Biblos*, Vol.24, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 1958, pp.661-663.
[664] See José V. de Pina Martins preface "Joaquim de Carvalho - O Homem e a Obra" in *Obra Completa: Filosofia e História da Filosofia (1916-1934)*, Volume I, *op. cit.* pp.XVIII-XIX.
[665] "o conceito hegeliano de temporalidade histórica, ou mais propriamente, de transtemporalidade, sofreu deformação resultante do «espirito de Sistema»" Joaquim de Carvalho, "Hegel e o Conceito de História da Filosofia" in *Obra Completa: Filosofia e História da Filosofia (1916-1934)*, Volume II, *op. cit.* p.470.

The above assertation could find support in the neo-kantian Dilthey, who raised objections to his dialectical method, or also in the turn of the century French reception of Hegel, for instance in the figure of Léon Brunschvicg, that became known as the critique of his panlogism[666]. However, a similar reprimand against Hegelian distortions is also found in Antero de Quental, who had based himself on the Hegelian critic of his day. Therefore, Joaquim de Carvalho was more likely to have absorbed it from him, given his esteem for the poet, since, during that inter-war period, he had focused on the roots of Antero's philosophy.

Furthermore, the reading of Croce also entails such elements, who the Coimbra professor had met personally[667], as the Italian putatively seeks to extricate itself from supposedly dead aspects of Hegel's philosophy[668]. Thus, without looking at length into this period after 1933, it becomes patent that those early contacts with Croce, or the reading of Antero, find reflexes much later. He understood Hegel in a certain critical manner, and taught his students along those lines, therefore the modifications of Hegelian inspired ideas in his thought capture precisely that understanding.

Thus, for instance Hegel's becoming is endorsed by Joaquim de Carvalho but not apprehended as a logical assumption, typical of the systematic deformation he complained about. His concept of totality is also inspired on Hegel, while breaking with a supposed absolutism of more dogmatic interpretations, which is another blow thrown at Hegelianism, tending instead to the Diltheyan contours of a worldview (*Weltanschauung*).

An emphasis on the experience "infinitely richer and more complex than the conceptions" reject fixed rational constructions, that do not grasp points of discontinuity, noting a shift of history in the sphere of reason rather than having it in a pre-formed continuum, awaiting historical validation, which was often read into the Jena philosopher[669].

All these probes were the result of hard study, as he left his fervent youthful Jacobinism and devoted himself to the task of elevating philosophy[670]. The study of philosophy and its

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[666] See in this respect Pietro Terzi "Wrestling with the Shadow: The Panlogism Controversy in Hegel's French Reception (1897-1927)" in *Modern Intellectual History*, Vol.17, Issue 4, pp.981-1008.

[667] "disse-me um dia que conhecera no estrangeiro Benedetto Croce" José V. de Pina Martins preface "Joaquim de Carvalho - O Homem" in *Obra Completa: Filosofia e História da Filosofia (1916-1934)*, Vol. VIII, *op. cit.* p.XIV.

[668] See Benedetto Croce, *Ciò che è vivo e ciò che è morto della filosofia di Hegel*, Laterza, Bari, 1907.

[669] "infinitamente mais rica e complexa do que as concepções" ... "com o filosofo de Jena respondo que a vida humana carece sem dúvida de continuidades, mas carece também de descontinuidades para que possa desenvolver-se em toda a sua profundeza" Joaquim de Carvalho "O Ideal Moderno da Ciência" in *Obra Completa: História e Crítica Literárias, Historia da Ciência (1925-1975)*, Vol. V, *op. cit.* p.306.

[670] See José V. de Pina Martins preface "Joaquim de Carvalho - O Homem" in *Obra Completa: Filosofia e História da Filosofia (1916-1934)*, Volume VIII, *op. cit.* pp.X-XI.

sources in what relates to Portugal's backwardness in this area, criticized by many intellectuals along the way, points also to the lack of translations of modern philosophy fundamental works, because such work create the conditions for new conceptualizations.

Therefore, in this regard, Joaquim de Carvalho emphasis on these aspects of translation, even if he did not translate Hegel, set in motion a movement in the direction of publishing into the Portuguese language texts of other important modern philosophers[671], to which he also publishes original academic studies, directly addressing the German philosopher[672].

When a group of philosophers, around what became known as *Filosofia Portuguesa* movement[673], took notice that this work of translation would be a step forward for the development of philosophy in Portugal itself, some of its members stepped in for the job. Then we have António Pinto de Carvalho, with his 1948 translation later accompanied by the earlier mentioned study of Joaquim de Carvalho, an intellectual with some studying experience abroad and a professor himself for Philosophy at the Lisbon University. Finally, the first Hegel translations came to light rather deep in the 20th century:

1948	*Introdução à História da Filosofia*
1952	*Estética*
1959	*Princípios da Filosofia do Direito*

By comparison, the first three translations coming from the closest cultures, as possibly more accessible sources from which Hegel's philosophical works could be read, took place in the following years:

[671] He was the main promoter and editor of the *Biblioteca Filosófica*, whose objective was to translate outstanding works of reference in the subject of philosophy into Portuguese, while he himself translate Spinoza, *Etica*, Atlântida, Coimbra, 1950.
See in this respect also Victor Matos de Sá introduction to Giordano Bruno, *Acerca do infinito, do Universo e dos Mundos*, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 4th edition, Lisboa, 1998, p.VII.
[672] See Joaquim de Carvalho, "Hegel e o Conceito de História da Filosofia" in *Obra Completa: Filosofia e História da Filosofia (1916-1934)*, Volume II, *op. cit.* pp.457-472.
[673] See in this regard Álvaro Ribeiro, *O Problema da Filosofia Portuguesa*, 2nd edition, Editorial inquérito, Lisboa, s.d, [1st Editions: 1942].
Fr. João Ferreira, *Existência e Fundamentação Geral do Problema da Filosofia Portuguesa*, Typ. Editorial Franciscana, Braga, 1965.

	France	England	Italy	Spain
1840	*Cours d'Esthétique*		*Filosofia della Storia*	
1848			*Filosofia del Dritto*	
1854	*La Logique Subjective*			
1855		*The Subjective Logic*		
1857		*Lectures on the Philosophy of History*		
1859	*Logique de Hegel*			
1863			*Estética*	
1872				*Lógica*
1872				*Filosofia del Derecho [partial translation]*

1874		*The Logic of Hegel*		
1907				*Filosofia del Espiritu*

These translations were, however, not the definitive ones and some early ones were actually quite illusive, but still, these first steps elsewhere in Europe happened almost a century before. Those Portuguese translations of Hegel came from authors either trained or associated with Lisbon's humanities course of History and Philosophy, which, notwithstanding valid concerns of pairing those two disciplines, was already a qualitative step on the way of establishing philosophical studies in Portugal.

The foundation of *Faculdade de Letras* marks an independent development from those earlier years at the law faculty of Coimbra; however, in Lisbon these developments stem from the *Curso Superior Letras* where we find the basis for the creation of a philosophy leaning course.

The journey towards Lisbon of the youths educated in Coimbra, will give way to a new attitude in the capital, prompting its launch to the footsteps of modern thought, of which the casino conferences are an example. In the case under consideration, the foundation of the main human sciences educational institution and the development of humanities are an important vector for the scrutiny of Hegelianism, especially in terms of the teaching personal and their lectures.

Philosophy extending to *Curso Superior de Letras* and the development of humanities

The earlier mentioned educational reforms are coincidental in Lisbon, with the creation of its own *Faculdade de Letras*, whereby Philosophy gains an important impulse. But unlike Coimbra, a more unified network of higher education institutions was lacking before the creation of the University of Lisbon. Therefore, the new organic institution had difficulties establishing the philosophy course.

At first, the course was very much embroiled in history, and this was a residue of the higher education institution preceding it, in which philosophical conceptions, especially Hegelianism, were pulsing in the teaching of history.

Concerning Hegel`s presence in the teaching of history at the *Curso Superior de Letras*, first of all, it should be pointed out that the programs of this course would be a fundamental element to attest this fact. But the documentation that contained these programs is unfortunally incomplete, or was partially lost[674]. However, some manuscript still available, for instance of the programs, prove to be of particular interest[675].

Moreover, it is possible to reconstruct some of these materials, through the doctoral thesis *Curso Superior de Letras* (1858-1911) by Manuel Busquets de Aguilar (1939), as well as by the programs of the courses that should be printed and delivered to the students after approval by the Judge of the Council, according to the regulation of 1859[676]. However, the print out of programs is found solely in 1865-66, as it appears they were the only years in which this measure was actually applied, with only isolated programs published in other years.

In the case of history, specifically regarding the chair of *Universal philosophical history*, it would be important to have access to its programs because, unlike Coimbra, professors of these subjects, except for some authors, such as Teófilo Braga, rarely published monographs exposing their readings and materials in which their lessons were based on, or even the basis of their doctrine.

Initially, the provisional teacher for the above mentioned history chair would be Levy Maria Jordão (1831-1875)[677]. However, this position would later be attributed, by a public civil service examination in 1863, to Jaime Constantino de Freitas Moniz (1837-1917)[678]. This indicates the difficulty of finding a consensus for the teaching of historical subjects of a greater philosophical nature, since rather than direct appointments the 4th chair *History of philosophy* and the 5th chair *Universal philosophical history* would be attributed by public tender.

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[674] See in this respect João Luís Serrenho Frazão Couvaneiro, *O Curso Superior de Letras (1861-1911): Nos Primórdios das Ciências Humanas em Portugal*, Tese de Doutoramento em História, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2012, p.9.

[675] A special thank you to Sérgio Campos Matos, for providing me copies of a collection of programs and manuscripts, that were available in the Arquivo da Biblioteca da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, but somehow were lost at some point during the 1990s.

[676] Idem, ibidem, p.137.

[677] See Manuel Busquets de Aguilar, *O Curso Superior de Letras (1858-1911)*, Dissertação para Doutoramento, na Secção de Ciências Históricas, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 1939, p.148.

[678] Idem, ibidem, p.151.

The 1860 examination did not result in a clear candidate, capable of teaching the subjects of the respective courses, according to the evaluators. Therefore, there would be provisory appointment until an examination could be repeated.

According to Busquets the Aguilar, Sousa Lobo was in fact the first choice for the chair, however, Lobo's experienced teaching history of philosophy from a previous course[679], while Jordão's had knowledge on the subject of philosophy of history, hence those attributions would be later switched, with Jordão taking the 5th and Sousa Lobo de 4th chair.

The manuscript of the program for Jordão's lessons anticipates the theoretical direction his chair would take, because instead of the chairs official name (Universal philosophical history) he gives it the title philosophy of history. What his more, the resonances from Hegel's philosophy of history model comes straight in the introduction, with the division between different modes of history (primitive, reflective, philosophical), pledging that the idea behind the chair is a synthesis between the science of facts and the science of ideas.

Those inclinations are made even more clear when he divides philosophy of history in a theoretical and practical side, writing that taking these into account he will look into the:

"Laws presiding the development of humanity and the historical formation of its life, analyses of its laws, three modes of development or categories – thesis, antitheses, syntheses; application of these categories to geography; three main ages of humanity, and its division in periods, corresponding to those categories"[680]

As for a direct mention of Hegel, the German philosopher appears when he writes about theories founded on the theodicy, in a row of those theories founded on experience and the ones founded on the ideal, leading up to the two historical theories – theories of nationality and theories of humanity, which synthetized together are considered as the true ones.

According to Jordão, one of the main topics of this chair is the idea of progress. However, the general law of the progress of humanity, in its historical development, is "subordinated to the great laws of ideal history". He follows therefore the historical

[679] See regarding this course José Silvestre Ribeiro, *História dos Estabelecimentos Científicos, Literários e Artísticos de Portugal nos sucessivos reinados da monarquia*, Vol.11, Tipografia da Academia Real das Ciências, Lisboa, 1883, p.261 et p-.277

[680] "Leis que presidem ao desenvolvimento da humanidade e a formação histórica da sua vida, analise dessas leis, três modo de desenvolvimento ou três categorias – tese, antítese, síntese; aplicação destas categorias à geografia; três idades principais da humanidade, e a divisão em períodos, correspondentes aquelas categorias"

conceptions that the idea, which was definitely Hegelian inspired, governed historical development, which is a thought found in historians such as Guizot or Thierry.

The theory of humanity he extracted from the French historians speaks about, could also easily have come from Martens Ferrão, who was a prominent legislator and academic at the Coimbra University. They were both doctoral students in Coimbra at around the same time, so this closeness and the noticeable shared interest in Hegelianism probably later accompanied him.

As for Sousa Lobo, the programs for 1863 are missing but those printed out in 1865-1866 present the German philosophy in the following terms:

"German Philosophie. Kant, Fichte, Schelling and Hegel. Originality and profoundity of their doctrines. They form a series, of which Kant is the first and Hegel the last knot. They realize a philosophical phase, so notable and complete, which establishes the brilliant and great truth that «everything that is rational is real, everything that is real is rational», and it deduces all sciences to the superior unity of a speculative system, built on pure reason. Oppositional and dissident philosophy in Germany: Jacobi, Schoppenhauer, Feuerbach, Fichte son etc., etc."[681]

German philosophy is portrayed as the apex of philosophical thinking and Hegel as its greatest representative, even citing the famous aphorism that led to problematic interpretations. However, German philosophy is not the closing philosophical current he addresses. That place belongs to French eclecticism but judging by the lack of any description, besides the name of Cousin, he possible considered it a reproduction of the former as it was usually thought.

The chair of history of philosophy will remain under the responsibility of Sousa Lobo , since the 1863 examination officially 234appoints him as the professor, and will remain so for many years. However, further reforms will expand the number of chairs thought at the Curso Superior de Letras, while history of philosophy becomes the 6th chair. The manuscript of the program from 1885 is available.

There is a noticeable change in the description of the program, notwithstanding the formulations remaining close to the German philosophical thought. The role of psycology in

[681] "Filosofia Alemã. Kant, Fichte, Schelling e Hegel. Originalidade e profundida das suas doutrinas. Serie que formam, da qual Kant é o primeiro e Hegel o último elo. Realizam uma fase filosófica tão notável e completa, fase que estabelece brilhantemente a grande verdade «tudo quanto é racional é real, tudo quanto é real é racional», e que deduz todas as ciências á unidade superior de um sistema especulativo, contruído pela razão puro. Filosofia oposicionista e dissidente na Alemanha: Jacobi, Schoppenhauer, Feuerbach, Fichte Filho etc., etc."

the understanding of mental phenomenon is recognized, along with “faculties of the unconsciousness”. Moreover, the reflexes of positivism and scientific discourse, coming from the natural sciences, also probably found its way to the lessons, since Sousa Lobo writes about the “criterium of certainty, especially of scientific and philosophical certainty".

On whole, however, he still endorses the previous general model based on German philosophy. Even though a greater emphasis on Kant is apparent, with a division between theoretical and practical reason that is behind moral sanctions, nevertheless the ideal is still consideration the aspiration of human consciousness. While the text mentions no philosopher in particular.

On the other hand, Levy Maria Jordão leaves the scene shortly after his appointment, but as seen earlier he was probably the one responsibility for taking the teaching of history along philosophical directions. All the more because, after the 1863 public examination for that chair, the same thematic will be carried on by his successor Jaime Moniz.

In the presentation for that vacancy, Jaime Moniz discusses the notion of progress as a law of humanity, particularly in regard to the fine arts (*belas-letras*), and these concerns are heavily guided by conceptions emanating from philosophy of history[682], while the progress of humanity thematic was a common topic of research, as in the case of Martens Ferrão’s earlier mentioned thesis *Teoria da Humanidade*. Ferrão’s was actually a member of the examination jury, for the attribution of the chair history of philosophy.

The links to Hegel and references to the philosophy of history permeate the entire text. However, how much of this spirit Jaime Moniz transports to his classes cannot be directly established, because the programs published in 1865 is silent in that regard. The course for the 1865-1866 years focuses on the Egyptian civilization, with only the introductory part engaged on a more general overview of the principles behind the science and notion of universal philosophical history.

Nevertheless, the intellectuals that experienced the life in Lisbon’s education institution, while taking part in the courses given by these professors, left some memory

[682] It would be later published as Jaime Moniz, *Da Natureza e Extensão do Progresso considerado como Lei da Humanidade: aplicação especial dessa lei às belas- artes*, Typographia Franco-Portugueza, Lisboa, 1863.

records of these classes, which confirm the dissemination of Hegelianism by the late professor[683].

However, the manuscript of the Program for the years 1885-86 is more complete in regard to the subjects covered in his lessons. The weight of Levy Jordão is then visible in the 5th and 6th part of the program, dedicated to different theories of progress and to the nations - theory of humanity respectively. But in many ways Jaime Moniz style, as was already noticeable from the 1865 program, leans towards a perspective of empirical and factual analyses, which is later reinforced with the naturalism that was popular within philosophical circles in dialogue with the natural sciencies.

Hence, the professor cites the theories present in the work of Friedrich von Hellwald as one of authors addressed in his class[684], which was a historian close to Haeckel and the evolutionist tradition based on Charles Darwin theory. There is therefore some tendency to account for those general developments in philosophy, the German philosophical and historical thought play a major role in those classes.

It is noteworthy that both of the first appointed professors for Universal Philosophical History had graduated in law at the University of Coimbra, showing how much intertwined both universities were when *Curso Superior de Letras* was taking its first steps. Besides the more obvious classes of history of philosophy, studied in conjunction with the various philosophical doctrines from the ancient to the modern, where German idealism is present, other classes have also incorporated elements of Hegel's philosophy.

In the chair of Philosophical Universal History we find, perhaps, a greater link to the philosophical reading of history inspired by Hegel, however, it is to be noted that the positivist orientation also strongly marked the contents of this class. The curriculum structure, however, did not appeal to everyone, as can be seen by António José Viale's proposal in 1867, which sought to end the course of universal philosophical history, according to Busquets de Aguilar, "this kind of philosophy of history"[685].

Such proposal would end up not being approved, as well as some others. Indeed, in the nineteenth century, there are various projects for the courses to be followed in the

[683] "No Curso Superior de Letras, a palavra primorosíssima de Jaime Moniz, divulgando Hegel e Herder, deslumbrava" José Caldas "Latino Coelho" in *Livro de Homenagem a Latino Coelho*, Município de Sintra, 1916, p.36.
[684] The work cited is: *Culturalgeschichte in ihrer natürlich Entwicklung bis zu Gegenwart*.
[685] Idem, ibidem, p.45.

teaching of history, and not everyone can be said to be receptive of a historical methodology according to Hegelian approaches, with its philosophical dimension of history[686]. The foundation of a higher education institution with emphasis on humanities was actually celebrated, as an importunity for intellectual regeneration, in an article from the journal *Revista Contemporânea de Portugal e Brasil*[687].

In this period, there was the idea that we were facing a decadence, especially in a moral sense[688], notwithstanding, in the article it considered through the prism of a march of civilization that is being challenged.

The objection was above all philosophical; therefore, that main issue was the ideal that needs correction, from the materialist conceptions in vogue to a positivity of well-established constructive traditions. In that regard, the new German intellectual movement was harshly criticized, not so much Hegel but those that took from his thought, as basis for their aberrant theories, difficult to understand and nebulous, even mystical.

However, according to the article, despite his Hegelian origins, Henrich Heine is celebrated for criticizing the excesses of that kind, which were destructive to the sciences of the spirit[689]. Whether or not the course was successful in elucidating such endeavors will depend on the evaluation. However, Hegelianism was certainly a topic at Lisbon's intuition, even though there is much room to criticize in the habits and routes it will take.

It is in the very nature of the *Curso Superior de Letras* that we find its limitations. This course was not thought to be a true higher education training, in itself able to prepare scientifically, exhaustively and methodically, those who took part in it. The lectured classes regularly slipped into the teaching of generalities in the habit of free studies, with a certain culture of recreation reigning over, and was attended above all by the middle classes.

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[686] See in this respect the interesting article from Sérgio Campos Matos, "O Curso Superior de Letras e Vulgarização Histórica em Portugal: Projectos em Confronto (1858-1901)", *in Separata das Actas do Congresso "História da Universidade"*, Universidade de Coimbra, 1991, vol.1, pp. 367–388.
See also from Sérgio Campos Matos "Escola Secular ou Escola Confessional? Um Polémica oitocentista" in *Clio*, Nova Série, N.8, Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa, 2003.

[687] See Andrade Ferreira "O novo Curso Superior de Letras" in *Revista Contemporânea de Portugal e Brasil*, Vol. 1, 2nd Edition, Lisboa, 1859, pp.221-230 et pp.261-267 et pp.313-320 et pp.361-371.

[688] See in this regard António Machado Pires, *A Ideia de Decadência na Geração de 70*, 2nd Ed., Vega, Lisboa, 1992.

[689] Idem, ibidem, pp.227-230.

Therefore, it would not come as surprise, as has already been pointed out by many[690], that attendance rate of classes and recognition given to teachers is due not to their scientific capacity, but more to other skills, which were incapable of establishing a scientific culture, such as exalted heart-felt speeches and/or cultivation of memory. Therefore, many of these professors did not leave works for posterity, which would have been the result of studies passed on to their students, since that was not their methodology of work[691].

In spite of everything, these classes meant an advancement in the philosophical knowledge of the main currents of European thought, and in their teaching of history professors adopted concepts coming from Hegel and German idealism, as well as variations of these conceptions such as those of Auguste Comte and the French thought, which became one of the main currents, since it was inscribed in the doctrines adopted by renowned figures of the institution[692].

However, the dependence of philosophical studies in relation to historical theorizations, as well as history having a walking stick in philosophy for the purpose of serving itself of the latter's dynamism, inhibited a true connection between the two areas of knowledge, especially not in the sense of what modernly came to be called interdisciplinarity.

In what relates to Hegel's connection to history, this is most evident in systematic terms or, more particularly, in the dialectic inherent to the process of the development of being. History is ontologically inscribed in the being, not only as past but also as a horizon of possibility, or what one might call the negativity in the realization process of the making up of reality. His philosophy of history presents itself as the phenomenalization of this process, in the various civilizations that, through advances and setbacks, realize reason.

Surely, certain elements of this Hegelian conception of history have been incorporated into classes, for example, of universal philosophical history, yet some of Hegel's historical conceptions are shared by positivist philosophy. Even Spencer, despite his decadence theory, has similar Hegelian-like conceptions, in his organically conceived historical developments.

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[690] See in this respect as an example Sérgio Campos Matos, *Op. cit.*, p.374; João Couvaneiro, *O Curso Superior de Letras (1861-1911): Nos Primórdios das Ciências Humanas em Portugal*, *op. cit.*, p.135.

[691] This fact could help explain the low quality of historical studies and research, as pointed out by Sérgio Campos Matos, "Cultura Histórica e Cultura Escolar no Portugal do Século XIX" in *Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, Universidade de Lisboa, 2002, pp.87-95.

[692] See in this respect João Couvaneiro, "O Ensino Superior da História em Portugal (1859-1911)" in *História da Historiografia*, Vol.6, No.11, Ouro Preto, 2013, pp.165-166.

A study of this phenomenon requires, therefore, a more in-depth study that contemplates the possibility of a cross-over or mixture of conceptions. Particularly because the Hegelianism that reaches Portugal, especially through France, comes precisely through Cousin's eclecticism and later from socialists and positivists sources, alongside the French translations of Augusto Vera, and most certainly the nascent 19th century British idealism, as well as possible Spanish and Italian translations. These sources will have their own interpretations of Hegel, which are not exactly consistent with the actual thought of Hegel.

The idea that embodies reality in history, for example, is understood in many of these appropriations as hovering outside the realm of reality, originating in preexisting structures when, on the contrary, the idea or the spirit, only have their reality in the human communities.

Hegel's idealism derives from this spiritualization of the real, and not, as some might claim, from an ideal that preconceives the world, according to the metaphysical tradition of that which corresponds to the essence.

Those crossways of positivism were, in any case, a determinant contribution for a dialogue with Hegel, since this tradition was endorsed by almost all the professors of the courses that proposed theories of history, and they kept the notion of a philosophy of history, or else, a universal history, specifically Jaime Moniz and Consiglieri Pedroso. But these tendencies also come from Teófilo Braga who, despite teaching literature, studied and wrote about the role of philosophy in the making of historical development theories, accounting for the directions taken by the human spirit.

On the other hand, Adolfo Coelho was critical of the positivist conceptions, while holding a close contact to philosophy in his own thought, within a conception of historicity, as we have seen in an earlier chapter. Through those theoretical layers, the teaching of Hegel's philosophy most certainly came across to his audience, but he was never a professor for either philosophy or history.

Therefore, notwithstanding Adolfo Coelho professorship in Lisbon, he was up for consideration somewhere else in regard to his dialogue with Hegelian theories of history and the theory behind educational policies, which took place mainly under the auspices of his civic-cultural activity, rather than his duties at the University. Yet, this is another example of the Hegelian marks in a broad spectrum of knowledges, this time in a professor of philology[693].

[693] Adolfo Coelho was also active more broadly in the pedagogical field as noted by Rogério Fernandes, *O pensamento pedagógico em Portugal*, Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, Lisboa, 1978, p.122.

As for the teaching of history, the classes of Consiglieri Pedroso on Universal History paid especially attention to the method in historical research, which is the first point considered in his compendium, followed by didactic and practical sides of history[694]. Thus, owing to the methods endorsed, the organization of history within the conformation of the different knowledges is more complex, placed in a higher scale than logical and temporal-chronological standpoints.

The necessity of forming relations between facts makes the comparative method its quintessential procedure. Moreover, the search for the constitutive principles of history come about precisely as a product of theory, which is a development from philosophy. Thus, even if Hegel is not mentioned in that methodology, in the didactic points to those marks when he characterizes historiography, according to categorization which had already been used by the German philosopher, as universal and particular history[695].

In the philosophy of positivism, the factual reality, or what is positively established, is its corner stone. Therefore, Consiglieri's understanding of history proceeds in that same direction of obtaining certainty of the facts that are before us, as this should be the goal of historical research, or is actually history itself[696]. But he postulates the imminence of the facts, even beforehand, with the very first phrase of the introduction saying:

"history is the science that describes facts, which take place within civilized human societies in time and space, and it studies as much as possible the laws that govern them"[697].

Teófilo Braga also speaks of those same facts, even recognizing them in Hegel as an advancement[698], but ultimately, he cannot accept their treatment at the hands of what he calls the metaphysical state. What deviates the metaphysical state from the course of modernity is how facts are established, namely as emanating from the idea. Thus, as a fatal consummation in interpretation of the German philosopher, because Teófilo reads into the Hegelian idea as inevitably leading from above:

[694] See Consiglieri Pedroso, *Compêndio de História Universal*, Livraria Universal, Porto, 1884, p.2.
[695] Idem, ibidem, p.5.
[696] Idem, ibidem, p.8.
[697] "A história é a ciência que descreve os factos, que se passam no seio das sociedades humanas civilizadas no tempo e no espaço, e estuda tanto quanto possível as leis que as regem". Idem, ibidem, p.1.
[698] "Hegel veio ainda na mesma corrente, mas procurando explicar tudo pela ideia no seu estado absoluto, ou tese, já obedeceu á força da positividade da civilização apoiando as suas afirmações com factos históricos" Teófilo Braga, *Sistema de Sociologia*, Typographia Castro Irmão, Lisboa, 1884, p.422.

"The Hegelian Baur considered history as the succession of a fatality, and therefore individual intervention as a consequence imposed by the urgency of the moment; and thus for him, if Charlemagne did not appear, if a Gregory VII was not elevated to the pontificate, the historical mission of each one would not fail to be fulfilled, being inevitably supplanted by others. Hegel considered history as the idea immanent in the facts, unraveled by events, by a divine fatality, which other metaphysicians call a providential plan, and as such outside the judgment of our moral criterion, dragging man in its incomprehensible current as an unconscious instrument of its externalization."[699]

In the positivist understanding, what is factual would then be able to reproduce reality more accurately than the idea, since the problem comes mainly from the contradiction between reality and the idea, as in Hegel both "reconcile in the spirit by the synthesis"[700]. But this synthesis cannot be accomplished by the method of Hegel's philosophy, and he is glad when others such as Oliveira Martins[701], or Antero de Quental[702], took part ways with the German philosopher.

According to Teófilo Braga, one cannot rejoice in a self-fulfilling past, of objectivist outlook, but rather engage in subjective synthesis, as Comte had done by "taking as a basis every human being, as an end in himself, and build [the synthesis] in an integral way in its three speculative, affective and active forms."[703]

Even though recognition is due to Hegel which, notwithstanding the metaphysical outlook of his philosophy, stands very close to positivist philosophy. Hence, this philosophical advancement is to be contemplated as an important moment to preserve from past thought, just as Hegel had done in relation to his predecessors[704].

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[699] "O hegeliano Baur considerava a história como a sucessão de uma fatalidade, e portanto a intervenção individual como uma consequência imposta pela urgência do momento; assim para ele, se Carlos Magno não aparecesse, se um Gregório VII não fosse elevado ao pontificado, nem por isso a missão histórica de cada um deixaria de ser cumprida, sendo inevitavelmente suprida por outros. Hegel considerava a história como a ideia imanente nos factos, desvendando-se pelos acontecimentos, por uma fatalidade divina, que outros metafísicos denominam plano providencial, e como tal fora do julgamento do nosso critério moral, arrastando o homem na sua corrente incompreensível como instrumento inconsciente da sua exteriorização." Idem, ibidem, p.150.

[700] "se conciliam no espírito pela síntese" Teófilo Braga, *As Modernas Ideias da Literatura Portuguesa*, Vol.2 Livraria Internacional de Ernesto Chardron, Porto, 1892, p.408.

[701] Idem, ibidem, p.347.

[702] "Com uma natureza poética verdadeira, e com esta simples, orientação humanista, tentou aliar Hegel; (das traduções de Vera) com algumas doutrinas de Proudhon, dois metafísicos atrasados, e depois conhecendo que o nosso tempo reclamava mais alguma cousa, lembrou-se de planear a filosofia do futuro caldeando Augusto Conte e Stuart Mill com os metafísicos Renan e Vacherot e como semi-metafísico Taine" Teófilo Braga, *Soluções Positivas da Política Portuguesa*, Nova Livraria Internacional, Lisboa, 1879, p.181.

[703] "tomando por base todo o ser humano, como fim de si mesmo, e construiu-a de um modo integral nas suas três formas especulativa, afetiva e activa" Teófilo Braga, *As Modernas Ideias da Literatura Portuguesa,* Vol.2, *op. cit.* p.412.

[704] Idem, ibidem, p.395.

What is more, Teófilo Braga is well aware of Hegel's progeny in positivism through the French-German exchanges, when he tells us "From Vico to Hegel, and from these to Comte, there were no doctrinal antinomies" and that Comte was "related to Hegel via a common friend Eichthall"[705]. While Teófilo Braga reviews himself in the positions found in Hegel's works regarding history, particularly on the basis of his geographical and ethnological assertions[706].

From what was shown above, Hegel's weight in academic circles was considerable, if we take into account the barriers to a wider dissemination. Not only because of the lack of translations but also because of the eclectic appropriation, for example, of some of his philosophical categories towards the critique of present society, especially among socialist circles.

The Hegelian philosophy will, by means of resignifications, regress in its importance, and in some cases, lead to a Kantian ethics of the *Sollen*, thus dismissing the dialectic and totality of the process that is constitutive of reality, which is endorsed by the Berlin philosopher[707]. Particularly with Neokantism, that found its way for instance to Ferreira Deusdado (1858-1918) and from him to other professors at *Curso Superior de Letras*.

In Lisbon, the philosophy of Hegel comes more from a the perspective of his dialectical method applied to history, through its conformation with practical historical research. However, what underlies the teaching of law in Coimbra and its connection to Hegel is its social dimension, with the tendency to give a greater importance to the collective or general interest.

The more obvious dialogues with Krause, by Vicente Ferrer, will be a bridge or a connection to Hegel, but it will be the students, almost as autodidacts, that try to get to know Hegelian philosophy more persistently. Therefore, so far as one has been able to observe, the in-depth treatment of the German philosopher by Ferrer or other teachers is for the most part absent.

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[705] "De Vico para Hegel, e deste para Comte, não existiam antinomias doutrinarias; o fundador do Positivismo sentia não ter conhecido para a sua constituição da Sociologia a obra do filósofo napolitano, e relacionado com Hegel, por via de um amigo comum Eichthal, ligava uma singular importância á síntese subjectiva do filósofo berlinês. A concepção de Comte, em quanto á hierarquia teórica ou filosófica das ciências, esclarecia a parte fraca da Filosofia da Natureza, de Hegel, como o vasto sistema deste completava a Síntese subjectiva de Comte." Teófilo Braga, *As Modernas Ideias da Literatura Portuguesa,* Vol.1, *op. cit.* p.297.

[706] See for instance Teófilo Braga, *As Modernas Ideias da Literatura Portuguesa,* Vol.2, *op. cit. p*.372.

[707] See for this thematic Domenico Losurdo(ed.) et Hans Jörg Sandkühler (ed.), *Philosophie als Verteidigung des Ganzen der Vernunft*, Pahl-Rugenstein Verlag, Köln, 1988.

As for Hegel's presence in the teaching of History in *Curso Superior de Letras*, this is an even less studied subject than in the case of the University of Coimbra. A few German authors with some works belonging to the University library, mainly theorists of history, are part of the program of Universal History, as in the case of Pflugk-Harttung - which will have critical readings of Hegel's philosophy of history, in a period that corresponds to about the beginning of the twentieth century - are an example of how the consequences, of the introduction of new authors in the program of studies, should be further studied, together with the consideration of whether these altered the readings of Hegel, or altered the tendency of positivism that had encrusted itself at the university.

The difficulty in investigating Hegelianism in the historical studies of the *Curso Superior de Letras* is, therefore, to trace the origin of the great diversity of doctrines, intersecting each other's at some given point. For this reason, as Fernando Catroga points out, there may be a "mating" of doctrines, in which a "pure state" of Hegelianism could hardly be said to exist[708].

The task of investigating the sources of some interpretations and readings of Hegelian thought do not, however, cease to be relevant, particularly when political developments reflect likewise an advancement in philosophical studies.

Introducing philosophy as a graduate course by itself would be a landmark of the 1911 reform, with the republican regime of 1910 attempting to break with the past, by creating the *Faculdade de Letras* as a whole new institution. However, this supposed emancipation from the past carries much of the same continuities. The professors of the old *Curso Superior de Letras* passed onto the new University, such as Joaquim Silva Cordeiro taking over the two courses of philosophy. All the while, traces of the positivist tendency in history and philosophy are to a great degree maintained, or only slowly will they find some new directions, such as in Francisco Vieira de Almeida.

But, from an organizational point of view, there are important changes, with a separate philosophy course, even if throughout this time it would mostly encompass classes from the history department, being absorbed into the historical-philosophical course with the 1926 reform.

Since 1902, Silva Cordeiro had been teaching the philosophy chair at *Curso Superior de Letras*, which would be a late reward for having studied deeply the problems of philosophy of

[708] See in this respect Fernando Catroga, "O Problema Político em Antero de Quental: Um confronto com Oliveira Martins" *in Revista História das Ideias*, vol.3, 1981, p.357.

history, particularly in relation to the French thought with a markedly positivist tendency, as we have seen in a previous chapter. However, his positivism was diluted, in face of the political tribulations of Portugal, at the beginning of the 20th century, rejecting most political thesis of positivism and its philosophical consequences, possibly giving way to opening a turning point[709].

Notwithstanding, the dominance of positivism in the subsequent professor Agostinho Fortes, and then Matos Romão, points otherwise, since both were devoted supporters of that philosophy. The latter did not even have a humanities background, since he was a graduate in natural philosophy and medicine from Coimbra; thus, his bet on experimentalism and the path of philosophical empiricism are not surprising, following the footsteps of "positivism in the mode of Ribot and Piéron"[710].

Matos Romão occupied himself with the study of philosophy in Portugal[711], continuing to pursue a link between philosophy and history, while repeating the old lesson of history as *Magistra Vitae*[712]. Therefore, the speculative philosophy of Hegel would be given more attention by Francisco Vieira de Almeida, who, since 1922, progressively takes over the teaching of history of philosophy and begins to cultivate a critical analysis of all philosophical systems, without, however, endorsing any of them as he proudly declares in his youth[713].

It is in this context that Hegel's philosophy will be looked at for itself, in a critical way, that led to the interest of future intellectuals studying in the historical-philosophical course, and who will translate Hegel. However, this Hegelianism was ultimate more of an object of study for Vieira de Almeida, since the ontological and dialectical conceptions of Hegel could hardly be harmonized with his critical epistemology, which rejects the approach of

[709] See Amadeu Carvalho Homem, *op. cit.* pp.67-76

[710] See "João António de Matos Romão" in *Dicionário de Educadores Portugueses*, edited by António Nóvoa, 1st edition, edições Asa, 2003, p.1218.

[711] He will address that topic of philosophy's inheritance to *Curso Superior de Letras* in a speech from 1949 J. A. Matos Romão "Curso Superior de Letras" in *Separata da Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, Vol. 15, Universidade de Lisboa, 1950.
Besides another speech from 1940 which is an overview of the evolution of philosophical studies at the humanities faculty, J. A. Matos Romão "Alguns aspectos da Evolução dos estudos Filosóficos na Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa" in *Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, Vol. 8, Universidade de Lisboa, 1942, pp.55-70.

[712] See J. A. Matos Romão "A educação Moral pela História" in *Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, Vol. 2, Universidade de Lisboa, 1934, pp.354-358.

[713] See Luis Manuel A. V. Bernardo, *O essencial sobre Vieira de Almeida*, Imprensa Nacional- Casa da Moeda, Lisboa, 2008, p.165.

philosophical systems branded metaphysical, inevitable leading to a classical logic of non-contradiction[714].

These two last professors had certainly a long career at the University that cannot be looked at in its entirety here. However, many of their early writings and teachings already denote their concern with pressing issues of modern philosophy, which were in straight dialogue with Hegel, as they present them to their students[715].

One could add Faria de Vasconcelos to those considerations, as one of the professors at the philosophical department before 1933, that could have transmitted knowledge he had gathered about the leading philosophical currents, for instance from when he wrote an early text revolving around historical materialism, inspired on Marx conceptions, which had strong Hegelian resonances[716].

Between the foundation of the new Faculty of Humanities and the 1933 chronology of reference, two defining historical developments took place. First, the world war, and secondly, the Russian revolution, are events that will have an enormous impact in Portugal in the subsequent years, mainly because they will contribute to the instability of the republican regime, by deepening internal quarrels, putting the nascent democratic feeling to the test. While the answer to those problems will come in the form of increased repression and authoritarian forms of government, first with Sidonism, and then the Portuguese version of fascism.

Those political detours, once again, seek theoretical confirmation, especially in a conservative tradition of state power, which had in the Hegelian typology of the "Prussian state apologist" a source of legitimation. The Coimbra faculty of law always had this function of "giving birth" to statesmen, providing the ideological basis for the formulation of state power; but now, under new circumstances, Lisbon starts to break this monopoly. Although, the faculty of law of the Lisbon University only slowly asserts itself, as an institution of weight in the production of ideology guiding state policies, and even so, mainly only after the period under study here.

[714] See Vieira de Almeida, *Obra Filosófica*, Vol.3, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisboa, 1988, pp.215-216.
[715] For instance in one of the first philosophical works of Vieria de Almeida, *A Impensabilidade da Negativa*, Arquivo da Universidade de Lisboa, 1922.
[716] See Faria de Vasconcelos "O Materialismo Histórico e a Reforma Religiosa do Século XVI" in *Obras Completas*, Vol.1, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1986, pp.3-26.

At any rate, the role of juridical and political doctrines fostering interest in Hegelianism will be under the scope elsewhere, for now, the proposal is to proceed towards the problem of different typologies and hermeneutics of Hegelian philosophy in the next chapter, which is a perspective that accompanies the conception of this research and is one of the most visible faces of the different uses of Hegel.

5. Hegel's Legacy and Hermeneutics

The teachings of Hegel became famous and led to further interest in his philosophy, already during his life time and much more so afterwards, as he left a wide range of disciples and sympathetic readers. What follows course is the development of Hegelianism as a current of thought, upon which throughout the 19th century Hegel stands out as the most valued philosopher on the aftermath of German idealism. This has propelled Germany to the heights of philosophical traditions, especially when the Berlin philosopher is taken as the Aristotle of the modern age, making its philosophy comparable only to that of Greek times.

There is an enduring legacy of Hegel that comes to the forefront in subsequent philosophers, despite concurring tendencies that emerge especially from the second half of the 19th century[717]. So much so, that the main philosophies of the timeline under study here, whether we like it or not, had important dialogues with the philosophical movement of Hegelianism. Those contain not just Hegel's philosophy, but rather problems raised by reflecting on his philosophy, often following in his footsteps but also contesting aspects of his thought. Still In other cases, vehemently denying its validity while moving in the universe of the same problematic, taking part as such in the Hegelian movement itself, as contraposition.

In essence, the philosophy of Hegel was impossible to ignore, even for those that were averse to it, since most of the critics and the reflections of philosophical nature, one way or another, acknowledge how it had become a frame of reference. Notwithstanding, some went even further and sought to adapt his philosophy, or at least its method, to new philosophical directions. Hence, many could say that all philosophy is in this sense post-Hegelian because it was forced to contemplate Hegel, or at least, one could say that Hegelianism is reflected, above all, in the very same philosophical tendencies of the epoch and for decades to come.

A good example in that regard is Antero de Quental speaking of a synthesis of Hegelian principles with what he calls the tendency of naturalism, that was fostered by the growing natural scientific discovers of the day. But these tendencies can already be seen in the Franco-German cultural exchanges within the Saint-Simonian circles and the broader contacts of utopian socialists with German philosophy, or even in the positivists whose ideas were based on Auguste Comte's ideas.

[717] These different narratives should not be ignored, as we are told by Frederick C. Beiser, *After Hegel: German Philosophy, 1840-1900*, Princeton University Press, 2014, pp.1-14.

In regard to positivism there are indeed common features with Hegel's philosophy of right, especially the emphasis on the political bureaucracy or the scientific administration of the state by an elite, which echoes Hegel's universal class embodied by the civil servants of the state apparatus. But this resemblance is also found in other aspects, such as the triadic progression in the Comte's "law of three stages" that is likewise a model taken from the Hegelian system.

It is in this sense that Karl Marx notices the similarity between French positivism and the liberal interpretations of Hegel, questioning the supposed originality of Comte's proposals[718]. While Marx himself was obviously inspired by Hegelianism in his social critique, he modifies many of those political theories, retaining, at the same time, Hegel's importance for dialectics. Thus, with regard to the universal class, for example, he will agree with Hegel that it would incorporate the interests of humanity. But contrary to the latter's views, and derived from his criticism of the notion of state in Hegel's philosophy of right, the proletariat instead of the civil servants embodies those interests, which is then seen as the universal class[719]

But other types of modifications are also proposed by concurring philosophies, as in the case of pessimistic philosophies critical of consciousness in its Hegelian structuring elements. These had a growing number of supporters, with for instance Eduard von Hartmann read attentively by Antero de Quental and Oliveira Martins. In that case, just as in Hegel, emphasis is placed on consciousness, however Hartmann points to the unconsciousness as a determining factor of it. According to its philosophy of the unconscious, more primal instincts reveal the deepest needs of man, which exceed a strict rational course.

Following that dialogue with Hegel's philosophy, Hartmann will publish the article *Über die notwendige Umbildung der Hegelschen Philosophie aus ihrem Grundsatz heraus* in 1870, which speaks precisely of this need to transform Hegelian philosophy[720]. He is particularly interested in the perspective of history fulfilling the aims consciousness, but at the same time rejects what for him is a panlogism at the base of that philosophy.

[718] See Marx Letter to Engels from 1866: Marx und Engels, *Werke*, Band 31, *op. cit.* p.234.
[719] It is in this sense that he speaks of the illusory nature of Hegel's universal class, as opposed to a the actual universal. Marx und Engels, *Werke, op. cit.* p.253.
[720] Eduard Von Hartmann "Über die notwendige Umbildung der Hegelschen Philosophie aus ihrem Grundsatz heraus" in *Philosophische Monatshefte*, Band. 5, Otto Loewenstein, Berlin, 1870, pp. 387-416.

This later will be a thematic line present around Hegelian philosophy, corresponding to its logical assumptions, and is therefore prior to Hartmann's text. However, this is one among many typifications, that will have lasting repercussions and a bearing on subsequent debates about Hegelianism.

As a result, it becomes apparent that Hegel's legacy could be seen from various angles of interpretation, both in those that claim to be followers as well as in other philosophers. This gives way to the research focus on typologies of Hegelianism which, more than negative or positive views of a given aspect, points to the definition of common readings in relation to the philosophical current[721]. Thus, for instance the earlier panlogism narrative, either endorsed or derided by some, is in itself a type of engagement with the Hegelian problematic.

The intention of Hegel's followers is to expand the thought of their master, or perhaps even go beyond it. The critique that intents to escape the dialectical philosopher, which was readily deem anti-Hegelian, as if it rebelled against its own begetter, is part of the Young-Hegelian heritage that many other later thinkers will embrace.

Furthermore, philosophical thinking will then become imbued with pessimism, as in the case of Nietzsche who finds himself embroiled in the same young-Hegelian dilemma of consciousness. That is, the problem of its true or false manifestation, or what makes the reality of consciousness, which is at the base of his theories of memory-forgetting with its pathological nuances[722].

More than ideological and political differences, the problematic is of a philosophical nature and as such, along this research, some typological lines of interpretation in that regard are discernable. I will now focus on this dimension in the thematic below, whose delineation is one of the objectives of the present work.

The typological perspective in regard to Hegelian philosophy

In what concerns the typological universe of Hegelianism, the work of Raimond Beyer is probably one of the most exhaustive studies, about the main typologies in the appropriation of Hegel's thought. Therefore, Beyer makes it clear that such typification is always about a

[721] A critique of certain tendencies identified in Hegel's historical theory (a misunderstood one, some would argue) which has had some following lately, is that of Karl Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism*, Routledge, London and New York, 2002, especially pp.96-149.

[722] False Consciousness is also a Marx thematic, and there is also of course Bruno Bauer influence on Nietzsche

kind of post-Hegelian follow up, that goes beyond Hegel's time, rather than his actual philosophy[723]. Since outside that hermeneutical consideration, under those circumstances, that insistence on his philosophy would amount to another typification. That is, of the "true Hegel philosophy" type.

Indeed, the German philosophical ideas that reached Portugal, in most cases mediated from second-tier sources with appended interpretations, would follow some of the typological features outlined in Beyer's study. At first, those of Alexandre Herculano were of a confirmative type, recognizing the authority of the German philosopher in the modern conception of right.

Soon enough, owing to a lack of familiarity with the German intellectual constellation and its philosophical jargon, there is also the typification of a nebulous Hegel with Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira. But those were some first appearances in that regard, since those forms are not restricted to one instance, later others will follow to complement on those interpretations. In the case of a supposed obscurity of such philosophy, Silva Cordeiro reproduces that same idea, while speaking about the idealism of Hegel's philosophy of history.

Furthermore, there are also almost diametrical opposed typological readings of the German philosopher, with on the one hand revolutionary interpretations of is thought, while on the other hand those leaning to authoritarian or conservative inclinations. In each of these two modalities, there are accordingly critical as well as supportive arguments. Regarding the revolutionary aspect for instance, it was acclaimed as an achievement of modernity for those supportive of such view, while others derided it as a source of impiety in face of the catholic tradition.

Additionally, for conservative interpretation one finds in Portugal the most eccentric appropriations of Hegel, with a lot of imaginative efforts at play, in authors such as António Sardinha or even Leonardo Coimbra. For example, they related the German authoritarian tradition to Hegel, as they look for theoretical support to their portrayal of state power, of which the enforcement of state authority they viewed positively.

Yet, this authoritarian interpretation of Hegel would be criticized by authors of the 1870s generation, such as Antero de Quental or Oliveira Martins. Not because they thought it was baseless, but rather because of their rejection of conservative undertone at odds with

[723] See Wilhelm Raimund Beyer, *Hegel-Bilder: Kritik der Hegel-Deutungen, op. cit.* pp.17-30.

some of their ideas, for instance the principles of free association that the poet took mainly from Proudhon.

Thus, we also find a mix between these two typologies, with a somewhat paradoxical interpretation in relation to Hegel, when in the case of Antero, Hegel's dialectical thinking is welcomed as the basis of the theory of evolution and human development, endorsing a progressive social theory[724]. But at the same time the idea of conservation and the rationalization, or apology, of classical normative premises associated to a German state with conservative elements, would be a contradictory reality. According to the Portuguese author, both tendencies apparently find support in the Berlin philosopher.

In Portugal we still find many other typologies of the philosopher, or even more than one in each interpreter. The conception of dialectics, or an attempt to retain the Hegelian methodology, is one example of such typological coexistence in Oliveira Martins. Because along with his other interpretations, the idea of preserving dialectical method is to be found in Martins first writings on socialism[725]. There is also a similar approach in the well-known Marx idea of Hegel's rational kernel, which points towards extracting this dialectical methodology.

There is however a certain interpretation, that based on Hegel's methodological assumption, postulates a critique of a cold logic or the imposition of rational forms, with the philosopher insistence on that dialectical method. Sometimes this goes by the name of the critique of panlogism (Hartmann), in other instances it is portray as an intellectualism almost of a scholastic sort (Humboldt), or yet others take issue with Hegel's systematisms (Croce).

Antero de Quental tells us precisely about the inability of this rationality to capture the depth of feelings derived from consciousness, apparently in line with the criticism of that form-type of Hegelianism. In spite of this, on the other hand, the panlogistic conception can be seen from the perspective of comprehensibility of reality, that it is rationally constituted, in which case reason is never a handicap but rather an ingredient of reality.

However, despite what for some was an alleged excessive rationalism, one can find the formation of some Hegelianism portrayals that see such ideas as chimeric, equated to

[724] See in this regard Fernando Catroga, "A Ideia de Evolução em Antero de Quental" in *Biblios*, n°56, 1980, pp.357-388.

[725] The dialectical becoming is something valued by the Portuguese author in his conception of historical culture according to Pedro Vilas Boas Tavares, "Da ideia de cultura à cultura Portuguesa: reflexões sobre o devir histórico em Oliveira Martins" in *Problemáticas em História Cultural*, Porto, instituto de cultura Portuguesa, 1987, pp.165-177.

metaphysical fantasies baseless of reality, as if reason turned against itself. This imaginary Hegel would then be banished from the curriculum, as a bad influence in the minds of youth. We can certainly find instances in Portugal where Hegel is understood in such a way.

There was much misunderstanding regarding Hegel's philosophy, especially when a more developed philosophical culture was lacking, as in its Portuguese incidence. However, even this lack of understanding does not prevent certain interpretations from being formed around Hegel. In this sense, Beyer also defines this misunderstanding of Hegel itself as a form of appropriation[726].

In fact, all the typologies of appropriation of the German philosopher summarized above were addressed by Beyer. But one in particular could prove interesting for the Portuguese understanding of Hegel's philosophy, which is that of a catholicized Hegel[727], since especially in the 20th century, some sought a configuration that reconciled Hegelian thought with Catholic--Christian traditionalism.

Yet, this type of engagement Beyer mentions is that of the Hegel citation, which actually found expression many times in Portugal. This meant, for the most part, not exactly a deepening of specific Hegel formulation, but its use as a mere appendix to justify one's own arguments[728].

Finally, with regard to Beyer, it is also necessary to bear in mind his tendency for a greater enthusiasm for the Marxist interpretation of Hegel. But while Beyer was a materialist, he does not follow the materialist typology that sees in the Hegel this sort of philosophical conception. But on the other hand, he certainly saw it as the best outcome of Hegel's philosophy, because those interpreters deemed "Hegelei" broke with the systematic principle of Hegel, while the Marxist understanding is seen as a continuation in the footsteps of Hegel.

Myths and legends around Hegelianism

In connection with those different types of Hegelian appropriation, there is a gallery of skewed readings of the philosopher, that have been accounted for and gained some

[726] See Wilhelm Raimund Beyer, *Hegel-Bilder: Kritik der Hegel-Deutungen, op. cit.* pp.35-36.
[727] Idem, ibidem, pp.176-192.
[728] Idem, ibidem, pp.90-101.

momentum in a collection of essays portraying them as myths and legends, in a work edited by John Stewart[729].

The research is organized along 5 or 6 axis of misinterpretation, or partial-interpretations, of Hegel's thought that distorted its general understanding. In regard to the half-truths, those are actually the most enduring legends, because they gave room for more intense discussions and, like utopian social and political theories, they had a basis in very real problems.

The first of those was the idea that the real and the actual, in their embodiment of the rational, were interchangeable, while in reality the actual is not always real. The existence embraces within itself transient forms that do not fully express rationality. Hence the need for a historical mediation, that finds the necessary forms to express and broaden the rational and the real, as they are always embodied together when they find expression in the existing.

Without dwelling at length on the other interpretative forms, that were not consistent with what Hegel thought, I would say that those presented move mainly around political aspects. As in the idea that Hegel supports some form of authoritarianism, or even totalitarianism, based on the principles of the Prussian state. Moreover, this would imply another form that corresponds to the mythification of war, and the imposition of force.

In addition, we also find the myth of the end of history, which in contemporary times has been so recurrently hurled at the philosopher. This would be a reading of his philosophy of history, disconnected from other philosophical assumptions, since for Hegel history has ends in mind but is an open progression.

However, we also find philosophical problems that have usually been misunderstood, or purposefully distorted[730]. One of them is that Hegel denies the law of contradiction, when he presents us with his dialectical logic, which, on the contrary, he does not deny the principle of contradiction, but rather defends that it is insufficient.

To conclude, this is an investigative work of interest for the study of the phenomenon of Hegelianism in Portugal, since the idea of a legend can be envisaged within the framework of a certain reconfiguration and inventiveness, in some cases bearing the marks of a misunderstood Hegel, which in any case constitutes a form of engagement of Hegelianism.

[729] John Stewart, The Hegel, Myths and Legends, Northwestern University Press, 1996.
[730] This is way Hegel should be understanding in the context of his life and work as we are told in Heinrich Dieter, *Hegel im Kontext*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main. 1971.

The hermeneutical quest, Hegel and politics

From what was said above, it is apparent that Hegel's legacy can only be understood in light of a hermeneutical approach, this realization went as far as establishing it as the task of philosophy, which is manifest in the modern philosophical hermeneutic endeavored for instance by Gadamer. Therefore, it is interesting to note that this interpretative tendency of Hegelianism was probably at the origin of the theory advanced by Gadamer.

In that sense, we are told about the centrality of a confrontation with Hegel, precisely because he reflected on the historical dimension as root to the hermeneutical problem[731]. The critical reflection is directed towards the post-Hegelian interpretations of Hegel, in particular the young Hegelians, because the mediation of truth and history in the framework of Hegel's absolute is shunned and reconducted to the political arena, rather than philosophy[732].

However, despite recognizing the dimension of experience that arises from effects of the consciousness of history, Gadamer defends that it must still be philosophically conceptualized. What is more, Gadamer considers experience to be one of the least explained concepts. Accordingly, the consideration of experience from a philosophical point of view, instead of its usual employment by the natural sciences, leads us to Hegel's dialectical movement as the experience of consciousness[733].

Hence, by going through the different historical manifestations of the understanding of hermeneutics, from Schleiermacher, through Ranke, Droysen, Dilthey and others, all the way up to Heidegger he his accounting for that same experience of the hermeneutical phenomenon. That is why throughout the text, while addressing the different thinkers, the dialectical philosopher often comes forward, since the debates around the topic one way or another go back to Hegel's thought.

However, the importance attributed to hermeneutic, in the study of different types of engagement with Hegel philosophy, is not necessarily coincident with the principle set forward by philosophical hermeneutics. Accordingly, the act of philosophizing in itself as hermeneutical is the meaning attached to it by that position, while the hermeneutic of Hegel's

[731] See Hans-Georg Gadamer *Wahrheit und Methode*, Band 1. Hermeneutik, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, 1999, p.351.
[732] Idem, ibidem, pp.348-350.
[733] Idem, ibidem, pp.359-361.

thought in a typified form is something to do with the factual reality, often related to usages other than from concerns of a philosophical nature. That was actually what Gadamer was wary of, when he speaks out against the politicization of Hegel's, by the young Hegelians and other radical appropriations.

As we saw in the case of Beyer, hermeneutics can also be seen from another perspective, that is, outside the confinement of the stricter philosophical methodology found in Gadamer. In fact, Beyer is critical of such methodology precisely because there is no room for Hermeneutical distance, or a legacy of Hegel for that matter, that understands itself as such, when Gadamer postulates that only through the others does the self recognizes itself in otherness. According to Beyer, that leaves little room for self-understanding that is both inherited and at the same distinct form that other, while on the contrary his position is open to many other manifestations of Hegelianism, that would otherwise be dismissed[734].

In the case of Portugal, Hegel appears more in the broader dynamic of its intellectual life and there lies the reason as to why the social, political and cultural dimension of Hegelianism often imposes itself over philosophy technically speaking. Only strengthened by the further reason, that the professionalization of this area of knowledge happened quite late. Therefore, the reproduction of myths and legends, in the manner I have outline above, finds even greater repercussions in Portugal with its flimsier knowledge of Hegel, however, not necessarily less relevant, as I attempt to demonstrate.

Furthermore, this study of mine is based on the historical field of studies, with its characteristic methodological and research directions, backed for instance by documental sources that are critically scrutinized. In such endeavor I selected data from a large host of material, in order to establish a *corpus* that I believe best coincided with the subject under study.

This does not diminish the importance of Gadamer's postulates, or any other standpoints regarding the study Hegelianism and its hermeneutical quest. Despite due precautions, characteristic of a study of this nature, which I have pointed out above. Above all, because the object of Gadamer's theorization is not exhausted in itself, and we can find other perspectives in this respect as we saw in the case of Beyer.

In fact, this hermeneutic dimension will greatly stand out in the next chapter. The domain of politics will be quite prolific in its interpretation of the main traits of the Hegelian

[734] See Wilhelm Raimund Beyer, *Hegel-Bilder: Kritik der Hegel-Deutungen, op. cit.* p.218.

tradition, following many of the typologies I have mentioned above. Furthermore, we shall see how the juridical tradition and theory of state, in debt to the ideas Hegel set forth, was also inspired by those hermeneutical efforts.

III. Politics

6. Political Manifestations, Ideology and Political Theory

The differences in hermeneutical interpretations have led to many typologies of Hegelianism, as it was ascertained in the previous chapter. These are particularly manifested in the political expressions of that philosophical current. However, Hegel himself was no stranger to the political developments of his epoch, since he extensively took into account political issues affecting modern society at the time. Hence, he wrote critiques and minor texts/essays on current affairs, in particular during his younger years and still in the effervescence of the French Revolution.

Furthermore, for a time, he was the director of the *Bamberger Zeitung* (1807-1808), being well aware of the role modern press played in the political-ideological makeup of society[735]. For him, the daily newspaper reading habit is equated to a "morning prayer" of contemporary men[736].

One major breakthrough out of Hegel's mature reflections is the concept of a civil society (*Bürgerliche Gesellschaft*). Unlike the traditional understanding of the Roman civitas, its basis does not involve an overlap between the civil and political orders through the institution of the state. Hegel's civil society is actually independent from those cultural-institutional frameworks, becoming the realm of subjective realization, while leaving room for individual autonomy.

That would go against the interpretation of the statist Hegel typology, within which the state imposes itself on personal freedoms and this would be an affront to a certain liberality. Yet, instead and quite on the contrary, this intimate sphere is something to preserve.

The theory of civil society takes a prominent place in Hegel's conception of the state and philosophy of right in the next chapter. However, some issues related to the civil society are the most interesting to look at now, in terms of their relation to the political theories and ideological alignments of certain interest groups, organizations or sections of society.

As for Hegelianism in political manifestations and the activism of Portuguese political actors, those inclinations follow suit with the path of modernization, from the conditions

[735] See in this regard Raimund Beyer, *Zwischen Phänomenologie und Logik - Hegel als Redateur der Bamberger Zeitung*, Pahl-Rugenstein Verlag, Köln, 1974.
[736] G.W.F Hegel, *Werke 2: Jenaer Schriften 1801-1807*, *op. cit.* p.547.

found in Portugal. After all, only slowly did they come into contact with the thinking about modernity, unfolding particularly with party politics[737].

The ideological background underlying those political movements could be organized into three main ones, corresponding to the socialist, liberal, and traditionalist backgrounds. The first two ideological orientations established themselves especially in the republican party, as well as in the socialist party. The latter found support in the main parties of the establishment, such as the *Partido Regenerador* or *Partido Progressista*.

However, many liberal and socialist views are also to be found together with the traditional-conservative tendencies. Hence, one could pinpoint more traditional values among, for instance, figures of the republican party, or even in the socialists. As a result, the ideology behind those parties is not monolithic.

In fact, ideology is a battleground for conceiving the political directions of governance and how the framework of society was apprehended, in its history and its future. The critique of German ideological premises by Karl Marx, in his first elaborated work of 1845-46[738], is a classic in terms of conceiving ideology. The problem arises from the adequacy between what is thought and that which develops in reality, or a diminished stance of the later[739].

This Marxian theory has strong Hegelian resonances, as it was pointed out by some, coming especially from the category of appearance[740]. Consequently, far from wanting an end to thought, or its ideology vehicle, the problem is placed at the level of historical processes.

The theory of ideology, stemming from such Hegelian reading, recognizes in the ideology, not only a falsification of reality but also the positive outcome of revealing its development. Insofar as essence only is in appearance, or it "must appear" for being to manifest in reality[741]. Thus, the features of reality embrace both the transitory and partial or biased accounts of what is, as well as the truth found in being as it discovers itself.

Those erroneous accounts, in the sense that they are unfit to represent reality, tell us nonetheless much about the directions of development and the provenance of the issues at

[737] See in that regard Jorge Borges de Macedo, "O aparecimento em Portugal do conceito de programa político" in *Democracia e Liberdade*, n°20, Julho de 1981, Lisboa, pp. 11-57.
[738] Notwithstanding this work and its more definite title, *Die Deutsche Ideologie,* would only be published much later, the work by then published *Die Heilige Familie* was written in the same spirit. See Marx und Engels, *Werke: Die Heilige Familie*, Band 2, *op. cit.* pp.3-223.
[739] Marx und Engels, *Werke: Die Deutsche Ideologie*, Band 3, *op. cit.* pp.18-20.
[740] See in this regard Arash Abazari, Hegel's Schein as ideology of Equality and Freedom in Capitalism" in *Hegel Bulletin*, Vol. 40, Issue 2, Cambridge, 2019, pp.257-280.
[741] See G.W.F Hegel, *Werke 6: Wissenschaft der Logik II, op. cit.* pp.124-125.
hence the well-known Hegel observation of the *Wesen* relation to the past form of being. idem, ibidem, p.13.

hand. Its shortcomings announce oppositions and substantive problems that require resolution, much in the same way the negative prepares the sublation of contradictions[742]. Therefore, Hegel's philosophy, or what for some would count as his metaphysics, clearly informs the political thought behind much of the Hegelian theories[743], such as that of civil society.

The metaphysical clarifications of Hegel also helped cement the political discernment behind Portuguese intellectuals. This is exemplified in Antero de Quental and Oliveira Martins acknowledging the dialectical relation between freedom and necessity, in regard to modern social organization and the proposals of socialism, from their readings of the Berlin philosopher[744].

Notwithstanding, the critiques of a statist Hegel are not gratuitous, given that the civil society is also object of criticism by the philosopher, who considered this social instance deficient regarding the universal interest[745]. Along that interpretative line, the conservative discourse also has some undertones in Hegel, endorsing a defensive position towards mass movements and the condemnation of social unrest. But this posture results much more from the apolitical irrational tendencies that were for him detrimental, rather than revolutionary transformations[746].

The author of *Elements of the Philosophy of Right* is afraid of terror and the reaction thereafter[747], rather than revolution *per se* one could say. In his last political writing *On the English Reform Bill,* he leans towards supporting reform instead of revolution, because the revolutionary outcomes are uncertain[748].

Reform is no guarantee of stability, as he also raises doubts regarding the codification of those changes, either through revolutionary means or by reform, if they are abstractly

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[742] See in this respect José Barata-Moura, *Da Mentira: Um ensaio transbordante de errores*, Caminho, Lisboa, 2007, pp.208-214.

[743] See for a defense of an interdependence between Hegel's politics and metaphysics George Armstrong Kelly "Politics & Philosophy in Hegel" in *Polity*, Vol. 9, No.1, 1976, pp.3-18.
Or more recently following a similar line Michael J. Thompson, *Hegel's Metaphysics and the Philosophy of Politics*, Routledge, New York, 2018.

[744] See Oliveira Martins, *Portugal e o Socialismo*, *op. cit.* pp.152-153.

[745] See G.W.F Hegel, *Werke 7: Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, *op. cit.* pp.339-346 et pp.442-444.

[746] See Nicolas Haines "Politics and Protest: Hegel and Social Criticism" in *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 86, No. 3, 1971, pp.406-428.

[747] See G.W.F Hegel, *Werke 7: Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, *op. cit.* p.52.

[748] See in this respect:
Joachim Ritter, *Hegel and the French Revolution: Essays on the Philosophy of Right*, MIT Press, Cambridge, 1984, pp.43-46.
Charles Taylor, *Hegel*, Cambridge University Press, 1975, p.454.

conceived[749]. Although reform is preferable for an orderly transformation, albeit politically speaking, not closing the doors to revolution some would argue[750]. Hence, the argument for a liberal-friendly philosopher is put to the test, when Hegel criticizes ideological foundations associated with liberalism, such as free trade and giving *carte blanche* to individual interests. But even so, this does not imply a negation of democratic principles.

In fact, the critique of liberalism stems precisely from not being democratic enough, not in the sense of popular sovereignty, which he perceives negatively, given the example of the French Revolution. These principles proceed from the popular associations legitimized through the state, in what would be an empowerment of the popular masses instead of a powerless state in face of the popular will[751].

Thus, by regarding the features of civil society as fundamental to the modern epoch, one could see Hegel as an advocate of liberalism. Notwithstanding, he goes well beyond the liberal standpoints, for his notion of the political organization envisions a highly socialized state, instead of a minimal state, much less a rigid and centralized one.

The driving force of development is precisely in the subjective accomplishment, with the possibility of realizing the full potential of each individual, as it enters into a relationship with the universal. However, even if capitalism could be read as that creative force, some would still consider him an advocate of moderate socialist reformism[752], in light face of the Marxist critique that implies the degradation of the subjectivity and human potential inherent in such social relation.

Admitting capitalism as being able to foster such capabilities, there is, however, an intrinsic contradiction in its working mechanisms. The principles of capitalism tend to its self-annihilation and no longer could this human potential be realized, but on the contrary, would damage its prospects. As a result, some read into Hegel's political thought the need for market regulation[753].

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[749] "Dem Englischen Parlamentarismus wie der Französischen Revolutionsverfassung bringt Hegel partiell misstrauen*"* Klaus Vieweg, *Hegel: Der Philosoph der Freiheit, op. cit.* p.528.

[750] "Im Unterschied zu Gans präferiert Hegel allerdings die Reform, schließt aber die Revolution nicht aus. Die Umbildung des Staates aus dem Begriff des Rechts verlangt ihre Fortführung. Hegels Credo lautet: Nicht Revolution contra Reform, sondern Revolution möglichst durch Reformen.*"* idem, ibidem, p.666.

[751] See in this respect Jay Drydyk "Hegel Politics: Liberal or Democratic?" in *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1986, pp.99-122.

[752] See in this respect Bruce Gilbert, *The Vitality of Contradiction: Hegel, Politics and the dialectic of Liberal-Capitalism*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013, especially pp.250-282.

[753] See Klaus Vieweg, *Hegel: Der Philosoph der Freiheit, op. cit.* p.504.

Besides his philosophical reflections, the thought of the dialectical philosopher is also fertile regarding political theories, especially in terms of a social organization. Having read the main political economists, he integrates the division of labor into his own theory of civil society, with the economic background of those human social relations leading to a system of needs.

This conceptualization first came to light in his early 1802/1803 work *System der Sittlichkeit*, and while elucidating the government of ethical life the system of needs becomes his first consideration, because this is what allows the physical functioning of the system. The workings of that system boil down to the exchange of needs, which no one possesses the full capacity to satisfy without the other, as each may have in excess what others do not and vice versa[754].

This writing already contains interesting aspects typical of Hegelian philosophy, namely the role of consciousness and how the rule of unconsciousness motives, reminiscent of Adam Smith's invisible hand, in the working of that system of needs, which demands a clearer discernment of the universal[755].

The inequality of wealth, growing out of those exchanges, is for Hegel a necessity of that same system of needs. However, these inequalities translate into a relation of dominance, and there lies the main problem, with the greatest wealth in straight relation to the greatest poverty. Hence, consciousness is incapable of attaining universality given the subservient relationship and lack of recognition between the actors. Therefore, the ethical life established by the system of needs has a tendency for self-annihilation, which must be counteracted by the state.

The state is not conceived outside the realm of civil society, but by integrating the different elements of civil society in estates. In doing so, the state ensures the excessively rich are compelled to take part in the structuring of the universal. They would abandon those power relations and reduce inequality, since the drive to an infinite generation of wealth is eradicated, embracing the interests of that totality[756].

As in other cases and reaffirming the core of Hegel's philosophy, the solution ultimately points to reconciliation (*Versöhnung*) in the act of attaining self-consciousness, whereby each

[754] See G.W.F Hegel, *Gesammlte Werke*, Vol.5, Felix Meiner Verlag, 1998, p.350.
[755] Idem, ibidem, p.351.
[756] Idem, ibidem, pp.354-355.

warring party recognizes their insufficiency or need for complementary. The civil society first comes into play in that first writing, with many short-comings already identified[757]; however, the critique is even more virulent in his philosophy of right. As a result, in this writing the trust in the state, as taking the role of an equalizer, seems to find even greater support and, one could argue, it has a more discretionary power.

In the earlier writing, on the system of ethical life, the state upholds the ideality of the universal and, taking that same word, one may wonder whether Hegel idealized the state. That critique came to light especially in the later young Hegelian theory of hegemony and ideological dominance, exerted through the state in favor of a certain class. This is something Hegel himself came to recognize in his philosophy of right, as the battlefield (*Kampfplatz*) from within civil society is brought into the sphere of the state, through the estates[758]. However, Hegel would go on to consider this as only subjective or formal freedom, a moment in the process of general well-being, but that's a topic for another chapter related to Hegel's theory of state.

Despite all the empathy shown towards the poor, there is yet very strong wording against the rabble, a manifestation not restricted to the poor layers of civil society, but that was peculiar it. He criticizes it much in the same way as the egotistic self-interest of wealth generation, because the rabble supposedly endeavor in the same destructive behavior. The rabble cannot control its emotions and, as result, resents injustices in a cycle of negativity (negative understanding - *Negative Verstand*)[759].

Moreover, Hegel is aware that the creation of more wealth is not a solution, because if there is a lack of consumers, one is precipitate to a crisis of overproduction, further giving strength to the nefarious trend. Therefore, Hegel is much more afraid of the rabble and its impulses to destroy the state than the richer classes, as this would not be in their interest, since the state is the guarantor of their wealth.

However, the formation of the rabble is, inversely, a byproduct of the later class. Ultimately, he connects the causes of crisis to the luxury and moral degradation of the upper

[757] The years between his professorship in Jena and Berlin are also accompanied by reflections about society and right, particularly in Nürnberg, even if there are not as many written records. Because on a personal level Hegel was engaged with the most basic formative social aspects, such as teaching young students, acquittance in the meanders of journalism, and not the least with the formation of his own family, after marrying Marie von Tucher. See in this regard Wilhelm Raimund Beyer et all, *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel in Nürnberg 1808-1816*, Selbstverlag der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, 1966.

[758] G.W.F Hegel, *Werke 7: Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts, op. cit.* p.459.

[759] Idem, ibidem, p.434.

classes, lacking the consciousness that they need a more equitable society[760]. The primacy of work becomes his main concern, since the functioning of modern economy, supporting the state, depends on work relations that generate wealth associated with the formation of classes[761].

Indeed, the concept of labor is, from early on, object of Hegel's attention. Inspired by Adam Smith's political economy theories, he elaborates those thoughts especially during his time in Jena. Besides the earlier mentioned work about the system of ethical life, those writings encompass also his Jena system drafts. One of the main results of this study was the conceptualization and differentiation between forms of labor, which take an abstract and concrete form instead of a more general one. However, some would argue that a certain form of heroism, attributed to work in the context of the Napoleonic invasions, actually blends those differentiations[762].

That notion would be close to his theory of the general subject being recognized through his work, since by the abstraction of labor (*abstrakt Arbeit*) particular individuals engage in socially validated general work (*allgemeines Werk*). The exchange of the individual's product, in the form of labor, leads to an alienation (*Entäußerung*). But at the same time, the subject earns recognition in a system that develops into the division of labor (*Arbeitsverteilung*)[763].

The equation of the general work to another commodity within the exchange of products is however problematic, because there is a living human being behind the work. In that activity, one almost acquires the status of a merchandise, the critics of that system would argue, based on Karl Marx assertions and especially emphasized by György Lukács and Herbert Marcuse[764].

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[760] Idem, ibidem, pp.395-396.
[761] Idem, ibidem, pp.389-391.
[762] See Hans-Peter Krüger, *Heroismus und Arbeit in der Entstehung der Hegelschen Philosophie (1793-1806)*, De Gruyter – Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 2014, pp.263-266.
[763] See for an overview of Hegel's theory in this respect Hans-Christoph Schmidt am Busch, *Hegels Begriff der Arbeit*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin 2022, pp.65-77.
[764] See György Lukács, *Geschichte und Klassenbewusstsein – Studien über marxistische Dialektik*, Luchterhand, Darmstadt, 1970.
See Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man: studies in the ideology of advanced industrial society*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1968.

Another innovative aspect of Hegel's philosophical and socio-political theory is its new conception of work[765], which diverges from the traditional philosophical understanding of Antiquity and the Middle Ages. In this new understanding, it would no longer be decried or used as a penalty, but instead, work is considered as the medium of reconciling freedom and necessity, allowing self-determination and realization of the individual[766]. Once again, the whole idea is based on the apparatus of consciousness, with the willing consciousness taking work for the tool to materialize or realize itself, not only in the individual itself but also for and by the others, through a social organization of work[767].

As a contribution, in outlining the fundamental structures of modern society, Hegel's theory also becomes a political theory, as well as an important guideline for political activity in the context of popular masses', given their relevance in modernity. His critique of democracy rejects the abstraction of democratic principles, just as the abstraction between poles of freedom and necessity, because it prevents the discernment of power and general interest.

That would lead to a false judgment of democratic-autocratic powers. As an example, particular interests may have a general perspective in mind, while on the other hand, some deemed general interests may hinder particular subjects from taking part in universality. Therefore, Hegel's theory accounts for different levels or spheres of political action, whereby in each there is a particular manifestation of the general interest.

Reflecting on those issues, the Portuguese authors were certainly not aware of all the philosophical technical aspects and theories of Hegel, but much of those political elements relating to Hegelianism surely shone through from cultural exchanges. At first particularly from the students of law in Coimbra to which, for instance, there was an understanding of civil society as portrayed in his philosophy of right, but later also at universities somewhere else or in newly formed intellectual circles.

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[765] The word Arbeit could be either translated as labor or work, the first conceptual significance is used tendentially while referring to the production process, and the second to a dimension of general activity. For lack of a better word, the term work was used in this case. See for a connection established between the practical and theoretical philosophy in this Hegel's new concept of work Myriam Bienenstock "Zur Revision der praktischen Philosophie Hegels in dem Systemenentwurf von 1805/06" in *Die Eigenbedeutung der Jenaer Systemkonzeption Hegels*, edited by Heinz Kimmerle, Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 2004, pp.215-228.

[766] See for Hegel's contribution to the modern concept of work Maxi Berger, *Arbeit, Selbstbewusstsein und Selbstbestimmung bei Hegel: Zum Wechselverhältnis von Theorie und Praxis*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 2012, pp.11-17.

[767] Wolfdietrich Schmied-Kowarzik "Die Bedeutung der Mitten des Bewusstseins" in *Die Eigenbedeutung der Jenaer Systemkonzeption Hegels, op. cit.* pp.140-144.

Those notions of political economy and the conceptions of work earned attention in Portugal as well. The social-political philosophy from Hegel outlined above supplied fundaments, for instance, both to classical economics and the socialist movement theories. Thus, in many respects the political directions out of the Hegelian constellation were multi-folded. They generally followed the inclinations towards either on the one hand a liberality enlightened by (self-)consciousness turned to reason, or on the other hand a stronger emphasis on communitarian principles bound by the spirit in its historical rational manifestation.

The critic of liberalism out of the 1870s generation refers strongly to that Hegelian principle of attaining rationality, in the economic-political spheres, through the elevation of consciousness. But others not directly linked to that group also defended similar positions, such as Frederico Laranjo.

The insistence on moral aspects in Antero de Quental, and also in the closest heirs of this line of thought. António Sérgio, will illustrate this dimension in politics, especially when regarding socialism as an ethical principle, with proposals on the verge of reformed economic liberalism.

Notwithstanding, theories based on materiality, or the actual social-economic life, will also have its relevance coming from left Hegelianism and communist theory as a more radical socialist line. But there are other nuances, since the facts-based positivism (quasi-materialist) fiddled with socializing tendencies, while being close to the liberal order.

Thus, the liberal background of Hegel's philosophy is noticeable in political outcomes, with the adaptation of liberalism to several demands, which directly resemble many of the philosopher proposals. These correspond for example to the implementation of a social state, recognition of political organizations and institutions representing different social classes, or the development of structures in the state administration supervising the principles of a liberal market economy.

The most radical advances of liberalism in Portugal fall mainly on the republican party, which sought to captivate the popular classes, as in the case of the Porto revolt, with its program to abolish the regime of privileges, implying greater social equity. But the republicanism in Portugal is much closer to positivist scientism, based on the technocracy of a well-lubricated liberalism, rather than socialism. Therefore, liberal democracy was the main

political ideology behind the republicans, and it is in them we tendentially find Hegel's more liberalizing appropriations.

On the other hand, the conservatives in opposition to liberalism, such as *integralismo lusitano*, for the sake of tradition decry the supposed rationalization of the liberal order. They draw on a communitarian background, in the vein of certain appropriations of Hegel, for example, earlier in Spain[768], taking refuge in history to find the ideological basis for a continuity of tradition. While with the rise of nationalism, prejudices are embedded into the German philosopher, by associating him with war and the expansionist policy of aggressive Prussianism.

Still, despite the criticism, many radical conservatives in their own ways encouraged that ideology, precisely because it sets a battlefield between nations. They would openly advocate the emulation of authoritarianism, with some of them later transitioning towards radical fascist conservatism. These would be inspired by the historical dimension of political theories, such as the one they had picked from their interpretation of Hegel.

The political analysis of Hegel's philosophy of history should, however, account for a very different component, namely, that all the working in history is realized by the spirit. Instead of prioritizing the past, the insistence is on historical processes in their different temporal dimensions. These would be forming (*Bildung*) the citizen (Staats*bürger*) in a modern state, looking both into the present and the future, without ignoring the past.

Hence, the state acquires a broader conception, whereby the state is the citizen, the spirit lives in him and the state is an extended dimension of culture, which is more than its institutional and historical expressions. The different forms of the state, politically instituted, lead to a philosophy of world history and, inspired by this Hegelian theory. Under such consideration, historical consciousness was taken differently, as in the traditionalist-historicist or socialist-dialectic sense of history.

This is where the realm of political ideology comes into play in regard to Hegelianism, giving place to the contestation of ideas, as structuring typologies dispute its true manifestation. The socialist claims of Hegelian heritage are widely known, since for Marx or Lenin the legacy of Hegel is philosophical and political, with his dialectical conception.

[768] See the first chapter of the present work, with the conservative interpretation of Hegel in the reception work of Antonio Maria Fabié Escudero.

Nonetheless, these appropriations can also occur in other political typologies, such as social liberalism or even restorative ideologies[769].

Thus, connected with the earlier chapter on Hegelianism's typologies, the political Hegel finds its way into Portuguese politics. Those typologies are generally associated with the three ideological currents outlined in this chapter (socialist, liberal, and conservative). These ideologies highlight different manifestations of Hegel's thought in Portuguese political movements, demonstrating that politics is certainly one of the most fruitful forms of Hegelian appropriations.

Overview of the main 19th century Portuguese socio-political and historical developments

On the aftermath of the liberal struggles and subsequent political instability, the *Regeneração* (1851-1890) stands out for defining the features of the Portuguese political system, with the foundation of a base of understandings, as well as ideological principles shared by the main political forces. In this sense, the idea of renewing the political life, or regenerating a decaying national reality, came from intellectual and political elites. In practical terms, this implied a modernization policy and a number of reforms that required a broad consensus[770].

This period began with a military insurrection in 1851 that led to the government of Fontes de Pereira de Melo, known to have invested heavily in the means of communication and transport. As mentioned in the chapter about cultural transfers, this facilitated the connection of Portugal to Europe, which goes in line with the European policy of the time, while it was curiously also the main idea behind Saint-Simonian Universalist theories. However, the objective of modernization and growth of the Portuguese economy fell short of expectations, as the state administration could not cope with the public debt that was generated. Thus, increasingly more taxes had to be levied.

This was, of course, a source of discontent but, at the same time, functioned as a pretext to reform the fiscal system and establish a more elaborate economic liberal structure. The next chapter shows how some of those reflections, on the theory of taxation, could have

[769] Regarding these last two see for instance Klaus Vieweg, *Hegel: Der Philosoph der Freiheit*, *op. cit.* pp.509-516 et pp.665-668 and respectively p.22 et pp.463-464.

[770] See in this regard *História de Portugal: O Liberalismo (1807-1890)*, José Mattoso (ed), coordenação de Luís Reis Torgal e João Lourenço Roque, Vol. 5, Editorial Estampa, Lisboa, 1993, pp.121-127.

dialogued with Hegelianism, such as the principle of progressive tax, notwithstanding the very limited social concerns of those reforms. Hence, besides material goods, this connection allowed the entry of cultural products, with various political ideas appropriated by the intellectual elites particularly while studying in Coimbra.

As always, these broad political understandings are an impetus for alternative political forces, albeit marginal ones as in the case of the socialist party or republican party, which will capitalize on all the shortcomings that characterized the *Regeneração*. The main criticism leveled at the political system is related to the creation of a clientele and local chieftains capable of manipulating elections, benefiting the two main parties (*Partido Regenerador* and *Partido Histórico/Progressista*). They shared mutual interests and made prior agreements, giving rise to shifts in power without a real change in policies.

Modern Portuguese historiography studies this electoral system and refers to it as *rotativismo* and *caciquismo*[771]. Due to the high public debt, the country was exposed the most to problems emerging from the international financial system. This led to a systemic instability that was stabilized through governmental alternations that sought fundamental continuities, while giving the appearance of changes. Notwithstanding the economic problems are only one among many aspects contributing to those political developments.

A first major crisis took place between 1868-1871, which led to the political dynamization of an intellectual elite with new ideas, that were close to socialism, republicanism and iberism, failing however to assert themselves in the political scene and much less to become dominant forces[772]. The challenges highlighted by the opposing political party discourses in Portugal are multiple, from colonial issues to education and the struggles of the working class. However, part of these ideas will still find an echo in the main parties, since the young politicians behind the contestation become disillusioned and seek to change the establishment by joining the parties in power, such as in the case of Oliveira Martins.

The internal oppositions within the leading parties, as well as the worsening political conditions, will still lead to contending ideas progressively gaining a foothold, namely on the one hand through the Republic Party and on the other and by the socialist movement. Another

[771] See Pedro Tavares de Almeida, *Eleições e Caciquismo no Portugal Oitocentista (1868- -1890)*, Difel, Lisboa, 1991.
[772] See in this regard Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *História de Portugal: O terceiro liberalismo (1851-1890)*, Ed. Verbo, Lisboa, 1989, pp.48-49.

instance of an acute crisis is 1890-1891, whereby once again the public debt contributed to the increased impact from an international financial crisis.

At the same time, colonial disputes in Africa will shake the spirit of the nation, which is humiliated in the face of the so-called English ultimatum. In addition to the fact that other European powers progressively dispute influence in these territories, as in the case of the German Empire.

The conjunction of all these factors and the erosion of the political system will give rise to a republican revolt in Oporto on the 31st of January of 1891. Although unsuccessful in its outcome, the possibility of a republican uprising remained on the table during the years that followed, becoming a memory of cult in the Portuguese republican imaginary. However, at first, most of the republican leaders pledged to have had nothing to do with such uprising. The socialists distance themselves from what they dub adventurism, emphasizing the need for clemency. That was only natural since, within the opposing parties, fear of generalized political repression was evident.

This Oporto revolutionary attempt is largely tributary to the strong presence of republican ideals among low-ranking military men, where the cultivation of a sense of patriotism tends to be stronger. In fact, one of the first historiographical texts about the Oporto tells us precisely that the diplomatic-colonial issues were the tipping point for the movement[773].

The date of 1890-1891 also signals the end of the regeneration period, following which there will be the governance of *Partido Progressista*, instead of an alternation between the two main parties. This however failed to bring about any positive development to the Portuguese political situation, with a systemic crisis brewing on the horizon. Therefore, many sought a resumption of this political rotation that benefited the interests in place[774].

That alternation experienced interruptions only between 1890-1893 and then later on with the dictatorship of João Franco in 1906-08. There were, however, various forces conspiring to bring about an end to the monarchic regime, especially with a blooming of secret societies and associations, which finally came to fruition by the beginning of the next century.

[773] See Jorge de Abreu, *A Revolução Portuguesa: O 31 de Janeiro*, Edição Casa Alfredo David, Lisboa, 1912.
[774] See in this regard João Medina, *História de Portugal contemporâneo político e institucional*, Universidade Aberta, Lisboa, 1994, pp.114-122.

Hegelianism in the socialist movement and socio-political revolutionary thought

From very early, theorists of the political thought on socialism acknowledged Hegel's philosophical considerations, first with Eduard Gans and later the young Hegelians of the left. In Portugal, the youth looking for new cultural references, with the intention of intellectual innovation, also embarked on that political demarche around Hegelianism.

That was something very present in the Coimbra generation of Antero de Quental which, besides enthusiastically embracing the new thoughts of the socialist camp, also looked at neighboring Spain in terms of politics. With the advent of the first republic there, many would also endorse an iberianist federalism, based on different political ideals, namely liberal, republican and socialist, prompting cultural exchanges of political nature.

It is not completely surprising that the political Hegelianism of the 1870s generation is associated with the university that educated them, given that long before its emergence, socialism and the new philosophical currents were a topic of discussion in academic circles, at around the middle of the century and during the revolutionary waves of 1848-49.

Only the scale would be different, since the Coimbra students Amorim Viana, José Júlio de Oliveira Pinto Moreira, Custódio José Vieira, belonging to that earlier period, all of them were attentive readers of Proudhon and the Francophone cultural Germanism, forming by then an academic niche. Those predecessors rehearsed the Hegelianism of the new generations, later giving support to their ideas in the intellectual debates and the circuits of cultural dissemination, or even through informal channels.

This was the case with the late Custódio José Vieira (1823-1879), as Camilo Castelo Branco's son-in-law, he must have had an influence on the outcome of the 1865 polemic between Feliciano de Castilho and the youths of Coimbra. A rift is drawn between the polemist and Castelo Branco, with moderate positions of the latter easily interpretable as support of Coimbra's Hegelianism.

In the 1852 short-lived journal *A Peninsula*, Custódio J. Vieira publishes an essay on aesthetics filled with Hegelianism, reflecting on the artistic forms of a future society, that goes beyond the romantic literary forms and corresponds to the socialist demands of social justice[775].

[775] See Custódio José Vieira "Estética" in *A Península*, 1852, n. 34, Porto, 1852, pp.401-402.

In another article, in the same newspaper, the author addresses the problem of public education, that he considers of first order in regard to the social question, and on which the success of socialism also depends[776]. While his short text *Um, Alguns e Todos, ou A História de um Absurdo*, published during the eruption of 1848 revolutionary wave, shows the extent Hegelian philosophy of history sets the tune for his political-historical theories[777].

The structure of the work resembles the three different phases of historical development the state went through, according to the German philosopher (Oriental, Greek-Roman, German). Moreover, Custodio Vieira translated these into politics accordingly, equating "one" with the monarchical political form, "some" corresponds to aristocratic rule and finally "all" represented by the republican form of government[778].

Following the republican ideals, he will defend a federalism of several Iberian republics, instead of an Iberian union. The Spanish 1873-74 republic, coming out of the revolutionary movement of 1868, would have served as great encouragement. Those advocating for a republic are also associated with radical political ideas, in particular of the socialist sort, and did not dismiss the overthrow of instituted powers[779].

The Iberian intellectual elites, attempting to organize a political alternative, were informed about the new philosophical developments as these gave fundaments to their theories. Therefore, as some have pointed out, the first socialist ideas in Portugal came together with Hegelianism[780].

In that respect, Antero de Quental emerges at the beginning of 1860s period, as one of the dominant voices seeking to deepen connections to the currents of European socialism, which found support in the Berlin philosopher's thought. However, as we saw earlier, other thinkers, including some of German origin such as Krause, played a role in mediating many basic ideas. Although, not all followed from Hegelian footsteps, they accompanied however

[776] See Custódio José Vieira "Instrução Publica" in *A Península*, n.35, Porto, 1852, pp.418-421.
[777] In fact, this idea of a philosophy of the absurd in liberal societies will find echo in Antero de Quental, which speaks in the same terms, and interestingly would also be acquainted with Custódio José Vieira when Antero moved to Porto, where the jurist helped him settle.
[778] See Custódio José Vieira, *Um, Alguns e Todos, ou A História de um Absurdo*, Typ. Na rua do Bonjardim n.649, 1848, Porto.
[779] Custodio José Vieira graduation thesis went by the title *Liberdade de Pensamento, Direito de Insurreição, Sistema Representativo e República, Concorrência e Comunismo*.
[780] See Victor de Sá, *A Crise do Liberalismo e as primeiras manifestações das ideias socialistas em Portugal (1820-1852), op. cit.* pp.337-344.

general guidelines of German idealism, which would later help in the understanding of Hegelianism[781].

In one of his first letters in 1865, Antero confesses to having read "Hegel and Goethe" in his studies [782]. Notwithstanding, in another instance, he makes clear the animosity towards the spirit of system present in German philosophy. This is probably due to the sources from which he receives Hegelianism, since Renan, Taine or Proudhon had that same approach in regard to Hegel and other philosophical systems, appropriating according to their needs and in that way severing Hegel's philosophical system.

From the onset, Renan's marks are visible in one of his theoretical writings from the 1860s, about the historical developments of humanity, conceptually and philosophically based on spontaneity[783]. In this text, as well as in other texts of a far more political nature, the role of contradictions is recognized in light of Hegel's dialectical principles, especially in its notion of synthesis or a triadic logical progression, which is taken in the historical dimension of social progress.

Thus, in the appropriation of Hegel by socialism in Portugal, *revolutionary protest* is the keyword. It will be along those lines that Hegel's importance was understood, with particular emphasis on Hegelian dialectic, according to this conceptualization combative potential for the socialist movement.

That contestation certainly includes political reformulations; however, these can have several interpretations regarding the employment of revolutionary changes (through reforms, or open insurrection), the form of government (republican or monarchical), or the territorial basis (Iberian federation). In any case, the polarization is evident, described by Antero de Quental, as a push to either submit or rebel against the establishment. This was made clear in a political article about the liberal concessions to Catholicism, with the shatter of illusions by virtue of the papal encyclical[784].

Later, in his intervention at the *Casino Lisbonense* conferences on the causes of peninsular decadence, of the main three identified, the culminating one is the moral decay

[781] See in the case of Krause the article by António Braz Teixeira "Raizes Krausistas do pensamento de Antero" in *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*, T. 47, Fasc. 2, Antero de Quental (1891-1991), 1991, pp.255-264.
[782] See Letter to Alberto Sampaio from 28 May [of 1878] Antero de Quental *Cartas*, Vol. I, *op. cit.* p.85.
[783] See Antero de Quental, *Filosofia, op. cit.* p.49.
[784] See Antero de Quental, *Política*, *op. cit.* p.91.

brought by the Catholic despotism out of Trent's Council, which runs counter to the advancements of the reform and the new philosophical trends[785].

In that speech, we see a connection between Portugal and Spain, considered under the same problematic prism, as this was a concern since at least 1868. He had written an article about Portugal's relationship with the short-lived Spanish republic, explaining that the ideals of both nations are co-fused, in a unity of interests and aspirations, to which a limiting nationality should be sacrificed[786].

Undeniably, Antero de Quental became a supporter of republicanism in this first phase of his life, but such republican regime should follow the ideals of socialism and democracy. The concept of ideal itself derives from Hegel because, according to him, that philosophy furnishes the science behind the ideal. In other words, it presented the logic behind it, through the metaphysical dialectical process of negating the negation, we are told in a letter to Oliveira Martins[787]. Notwithstanding, the sources of his metaphysics are multiple, not to mention many ideas come more from expressions of Hegelianism, instead of directly from the philosopher.

The researcher Fernando Catroga has pointed out a three-layered order of subordination, in regard to the sphere of ethics, economy and politics in the thought of Antero[788]. For this reason, we are told ethics would always have preeminence in the poet, despite the metaphysical-logical principle of Hegelian inspiration, since nothing should be at odds with it.

In reality, Antero will end up criticizing excesses of logicism. The reason for it is that for him morality has a very strong sentimental component, as well as a mystical religiosity. Therefore, it is not surprising when he writes positively about transcendental irony, in that letter to Oliveira Martins[789], which is a concept employed by the German romantics, in particular Schlegel[790].

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[785] See Antero de Quental, *Causas da Decadência dos Povos Peninsulares nos últimos três séculos*, op. cit. pp.19-21.
[786] See Antero de Quental, *Política*, *op. cit.* pp.125-128.
[787] See his letter to Oliveira Martins: Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. II, *op. cit.* pp.38-41.
See also Oscar Lopes, *Antero de Quental: vida e legado de uma utopia*, Editorial Caminho, Lisboa, 1983, p.32
[788] See Fernando Catroga "O Problema Político em Antero de Quental – um confronto com Oliveira Martins" in *Revista de História das Ideias*, Vol.3, Coimbra, 1981, pp.341-347.
[789] See letter to Oliveira Martins from 6 August [of 1877] in Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. II, *op. cit.* pp.38.
[790] See regarding Shlegel's irony Ingrid Strohschneider-Kohrs, *Die Romantische Ironie in Theorie und Gestaltung*, Max Niemeyer Verlag, Tübingen, 2002, pp.7-90.

Subsequently, at the same time, he is quite critical of the lacking ideality in popular masses, because democratic principles become a double-edged sword at the hands of the mob. In such circumstances, discontent may be used by liberal democracy demagogues against the people's own interests.

Thus, this republican conviction of his conforms well to what Hegel himself defended, since Antero decisively opposes Jacobinism[791]. Consequently, from the 1880s onwards, the form of political regime ceased to be so relevant, but it is quite possible such a position was determined by his friendship with Oliveira Martins.

Oliveira Martins was also an important intellectual and, considering he retains a Hegelian background with regard to his socio-political theories, more than drawing a parallel between the doctrinal basis of the two friends, one can see the mutual reflection and correction of each other's' ideas[792]. Indeed, there are many similarities between the Hegelian appropriations of Antero de Quental and Oliveira Martins, one can likewise, for example, find the importance of dialectics reinforced by Martins.

In the abundant correspondence they exchanged, Antero highly appreciates Martins' intellectual productions, as he admits reading other authors in the light of what he had read in Martins[793]. What is more, he says an article written by Oliveira Martins is as if it were his own, because he immediately subscribes to his theses[794]. He curiously writes in a letter that if his sister needs help, she can resort to Oliveira Martins, because he is "another me"[795].

Oliveira Martins gave him just as the same power to reformulate some of his writings[796], with Antero often suggesting alterations and work directions undertaken by Oliveira Martins[797], while also taking notes to later make corrections jointly with Oliveira Martins[798]. Finally, the state and ideological preferences of both authors evolve in the light of their philosophical discussions.

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[791] See Antero de Quental, *Política*, *op. cit.* p.113.
[792] This is also duly noted by Fernando Catroga "O Problema Político em Antero de Quental – um confronto com Oliveira Martins" in *op. cit.* pp.351-353.
[793] See letter to Oliveira Martins from 23 August [of 1877] in Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. II, *op. cit.* p.43.
[794] See letter to Oliveira Martins from 21 September [of 1877] in idem, ibidem, p.52.
[795] See letter probably to Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho from 30 [June of 1891] in Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. III, *op cit.* p.384 et p.386.
[796] See letter to Oliveira Martins from 23 October [of 1877] in Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. II, *op. cit.* p.54.
[797] See letter to Oliveira Martins from 28 August [of 1878] in Idem, ibidem, pp.112-113.
[798] See letter to Oliveira Martins from November [of 1879] in Idem, ibidem, p.152 and letter to Oliveira Martins from May [of 1881] p.257.

In his book *Teoria do Socialismo* there is an overview of the development of right together with its social significance, while rightly pointing out that in Hegel it relates to the state[799]. Despite the criticism of social atomism promoted by liberalism, in Martins' perspective, we also run the risk of subsuming the individual in the state, with the tendency found in Hegel. In this work, Oliveira Martins differentiates between authoritarian socialism (related to German philosophical ideologies) and Proudhonian socialism, preferring the theory of association of individuals in society from the latter.

According to Martins, the French political thinker postulates the bounding principle of society in humanity itself. It is based on natural sciences, history and economics as it appears in the consciousness of men, rather than unconscious forces or a metaphysical speculation that transcends it and creates an external entity[800]. This seems to be the interpretative line corresponding to the typology of Hegel's metaphysical imagination and, even if this is not consistent with Hegel's thought, the consideration of metaphysics will be a topic of debate with Antero. The objections of Martins regarding Hegel stem precisely from this opposition towards metaphysics, which the poet ends up lamenting[801].

However, perhaps because of Antero's insistence on a unifying principle of reality, Martins' idea of a connecting wholeness in society relies heavily on the idea of a social organism, as a similar construction, in order to counteract those metaphysical notions. In the part of this work devoted to philosophy, we saw that the concept of organism was greatly developed in Hegel and is an integral part of his theory.

Therefore, this is another aspect to bear in mind regarding the Portuguese historian Hegelian readings. But before placing it on the level of society and the right, the German philosopher establishes the organism as a logical category. The emphasis of Oliveira Martins on organicism structuring society, comes from his attempt to maintain himself on the grounds of positivity.

[799] See Oliveira Martins, *Teoria do Socialismo*, with a preface by António Sérgio, Guimarães & Cª Editores, Lisboa, 1974, pp.79-81.
See also Bruno Gonçalves, *The Reception of Hegel in Portugal: The case of Oliveira Martins*, Universiade de Lisboa, 2016, especially pp.61-78.
[800] See Oliveira Martins, *Teoria do Socialismo*, *op. cit.* p.84.
[801] See the Letter to Jaime Batalha Reis from 24 December [of 1885]"Você sabe que o Oliveira Martins desdenhou sempre da metafisica. Lastimemo-lo!" in Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. II, *op. cit.* p.495.

It is in this context that Oliveira Martins follows closely the *Kathedersozialisten* and, since it was Antero characterizing him as such[802], while the poet also moves in the same direction[803]. It was at this time that Martins and Antero welcomed Schäffle, Spencer and other theorists close to those ideas, as they point to a socialism of moderate and gradual reforms. As a result, the political struggles were more intertwined with the state, which would be the scientific path to socialism, and there were greater reservations towards Proudhon.

This phase takes place after the republican failure in Spain and could be seen as a rapprochement with Hegel and the tendencies they early criticized, They gave up on a Proudhonist associationism because they believed it proved incompatible with the disorganization of the masses, which were first in need of a more lucid and structured organization. In fact, it was not only from Spain that Antero had his republican grievances, because it was when he was in contact with the republicanism of France that his opinions began to change.

One could regard these views as coming from Oliveira Martins, however, by reading the correspondence exchanged between the two, during Antero's stay in Paris, to a large extent, the opposite could be said. Subsequently, the socialist party invites Antero as a candidate for the socialist party (in 1879) on a socialist and republican platform, but he reneges on the second epitome, saying that he does not identify with the current republican movement[804].

Thereafter, for Antero as well as Oliveira Martins both the republic or the monarchy in its liberal tendencies are comparable, or without much differences[805]. Notwithstanding, in the last phase of his life, he did not believe that the monarchy could undergo reform. However, at the same time, the republic would be a catastrophe for Portugal[806]. This position is elucidative of his mental state, and indicates the transformations Antero is going through, writing in other

[802] See letter to Tommaso Cannizzaro from 2 October [of 1886] in Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. III, *op. cit.* p.42.
[803] See in this regard also Fernando Catroga "O Problema Político em Antero de Quental – um confronto com Oliveira Martins" in *op. cit.* pp.514-515.
See also João Oliva, "Oliveira Martins e o Socialismo catedrático" in *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, vol. 18, Coimbra, 1999, pp.125-137.
[804] See the letter to Oliveira Martins from 10 October [1878] in Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. II, *op. cit.* p.115.
[805] See the letter to Oliveira Martins from end of August [1880] in Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. II, *op. cit.* p.201.
See also his letter to the electoral commission of the socialist party in Lisbon Antero de Quental, *Política*, *op. cit.* pp.200-203.
[806] See the letter to José da Cunha Sampaio from 1 February [of 1890] in Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. III, *op. cit.* p.288.

letters that his interest shifts more and more to events of destructive contours[807], which is in line with the pessimism taking hold.

Deep down, this was always the main problem faced by Antero, which he himself relates to Hegelian metaphysic of the negation of negation. That is, he sought to harmonize the naturalistic realism of the French political philosophers, especially from the Proudhon of his youth, with the German idealism according to his understanding of Hegelianism.

Hence, he recounts in a letter those attempts at synthesis between naturalism and idealism, which is also related to his own syncretism or perhaps oscillation between optimism and pessimism, in his quest to transform pessimism into optimism through dialectical negation[808].

Therefore, *Kathedersozialismus* in political terms, with its dive into the biological world, seemed to him a good way to achieve that objective. The principles of immanence coming out of Hegel's pantheism will furnish a needed psicodinamism. According to him, there is a crisis of naturalism, since it was faced with the impossibility of an ultimate explanation[809].

Throughout his life, he recognized the need to clarify political positions, once writing, for example, that he had been guided by false idealisms[810]. Thus, together with his republican detachment, he also abandons Proudhonian inspired federalism[811], owing mainly to his conclusion that it was ineffective, given the current historical moment of parliamentary liberal political system. Hence, certain principles of democracy, in its liberal contours, will be criticized.

This occurs in conjunction with alterations of a philosophical nature, in his quest to adapt the ideal into the practice of a problematic reality. He drops early illusions, coming to the conclusion negativity goes beyond a limited rational conception. Incidentally, this evolution is also observed in the friend Oliveira Martins, who actualizes his theories to become more attentive to the fortuitous, and of unconscious forces at play in history and society[812].

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[807] See the letter to Oliveira Martins from 29 [December of 1889] in Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. III, *op. cit.* p.280.
[808] See the letter to Jaime de Magalhães Lima from 14 November [of 1886] in Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. III, *op. cit.* p.62.
[809] See the letter to Wihlelm Stork from 14 May 1887 in Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. III, *op. cit.* p.99.
[810] See letter to Wilhelm Storck from 14 May [of 1887] in Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. III, *op. cit.* p.95.
[811] See letter to Oliveira Martins from end of August [of 1880] in Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. II, *op. cit.* p.200.
[812] See Bruno Gonçalves "A Filosofia da História em Oliveira Martins: itinerário das primeiras perspetivas dialéticas até uma posterior valorização do inconsciente" in *História da Historiografia*, vol. 12, n. 31, 2019, pp.303-337.

Much because of those unsettled problems, Antero does not manage to write down the philosophical system his political ideas are based on, since it kept moving beyond his grasp, and he could not explain it in a systematic form. However, we know that much of what he had read from French political writers, would later be seen in light of German social reforms and the theory behind German liberal-conservative reformism.

Philosophical inspiration arises from Albert Lange, Eduard Hartmann and the new German philosophical and political tendencies, coming especially from Ferdinand Lassalle. Not that he had abandoned Proudhon or Renan, since the former is, along with Hegel, probably the most continuously read author that he praised[813], but instead they will be rather supplemented for example by what he reads in Lange[814].

But earlier, in the most devout phase of democratic socialism, he had spoken mainly of [Jules] Michelet, Feuerbach, Proudhon and the Hegelianism appropriated in the flavor of left-wing political radicalism[815]. Those ideological assumptions, out of the socialist movement theorizations, have their tipping point with the Spanish Republic's disenchantment. Although, such a scenario still entailed a mode of Hegelianism, while some of these typologies oriented towards the revolutionary path, normally associated with socialism, were instructive for future developments.

The later endorsement of state socialism is on track with reformism, but does not automatically translate into a vindication of authoritarian rule. This was a type of intolerant Germanism some accuse him of, from those tendencies seen in the later phase of Antero and Martins[816].

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[813] The marks of Renan left in him are significant, owing to the Frenchmen shifting positions, like himself later softening down democratic and republican feelings, towards moderate conservative positions. Curiously Antero recognizes similarities with Oliveira Martins, as he makes several allusions to Renan, and comparisons between the French writings and those of his friend (Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. II, *op. cit.* p.291) he even says that there are several traits in Renan's works that remind him of Martins (Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. III, *op. cit.* p.90). However, the criticism of Renan is more noticeable in later correspondence (idem, ibidem, p.106), considering that the new books by the Frenchman were weak, despite some positive points (idem, ibidem, p.136), and other books caused a great impression on him, in the negative sense (idem, ibidem, p.322), but still finds some of Renan's ideas interesting, especially the metaphysical background recalling Hegelianism (Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. II, *op. cit.* p.481), in addition to continuing to follow whatever comes out of the French author.

[814] See letter to Jaime de Magalhães Lima from 14 November of 1886 in Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. III, *op. cit.* p.61.

[815] "Os mais ilustres representantes da ciencia contemporânea são também heróis, e não raro mártires, da causa democrática: Proudhon, [Jules| Michelet, Feuerbach..." Antero de Quental, *Política*, *op. cit.* p.131.

[816] See in this regard Sérgio Campos Matos, "A ideia de ditadura no círculo dos vencidos da vida" in *Clio*, Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa, vol. 5, Lisboa, 2000, pp.73-91.

In reality, the Germanism that Antero defends is greatly modified, in as much as one is left with a typology of what the poet calls a meridional Germanism[817]. Therefore, in principle, it would not be possible to make a complete parallel or to affirm he endorsed German authoritarianism, because he often also criticized it to a certain extent[818].

Notwithstanding, it is in the excitement of Proudhonism that many political economy notions unveiled by the socialists reach Portugal, with a taste of German metaphysics. Antero presents these notions in his writings, but one can also find them in many other authors, such as Amorim Viana. We were witnessing a time of upheavals, with an ever-growing number of intellectuals being conquered for the socialist cause, such as the young Sebastião de Magalhães Lima. This student published in 1872 *Proudhon, O Idealismo Social e a Ideia Federalista*, which besides the French social thought also shows the imprint of German philosophy.

Just as the revolutionary wave of 1848, which some considered to be led by youthful minds full of Hegelianism[819], in the early 1870s another event will shake the political foundations of Europe. The Paris Commune would become the greatest expression of the international socialist movement up until then. However, different tendencies co-existed within the socialist organizations, which had their own interpretations of Hegel.

Intellectuals such as Marx, Proudhon or Bakunin who, despite coinciding valuations of some aspects of the dialectical philosopher, to a large extent, end up in opposite directions with their critiques. Consequently, if in the 1840s the left grappled with ultra-criticism, at this stage of political turmoil, the ideological debates would be just as much or even more intense.

Furthermore, one cannot forget that this took place on the threshold of the famous *Casino Lisbonense* conferences, demonstrating the impact these great social movements had on Portuguese intellectuals. They also thought about the problems of modernity, based on the currents of thought that in Europe were attempting to move beyond the previous forms of Hegelianism.

Hence, it is possible to spot a duality in the adoption of philosophical propositions, because the Hegelian dialectic was acknowledged but also criticized, at the same time, by Proudhon as absolutist. He links it to the arrogance of the state, which according to the French

[817] See letter to Wilhelm Stork from 14 May [1887] in Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. III, *op. cit.* p.100.
[818] See his writing about Lopes de Mendonca from 1880 in Antero de Quental, *Política*, *op. cit*. p.198.
[819] See in that respect for instance Michael Bakunin, *Statism and Anarchy*, translated and edited by Marshall S. Shatz, Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp.129-138.

thinker is found in Hegel, and is the reason why the political synthesis takes place on the basis of state government for the German philosopher[820].

These same conclusions, about the need of correction regarding Hegel's thought, are more or less reproduced in Portugal by the adepts of Proudhon, as we have seen in Antero's similar line of interpretation. But despite Proudhon's criticisms of the state, he will still take refuge in a dynamic of creation-destruction of order. This was based on the idea of establishing an equilibrium, balancing out contradictions[821].

Thus, that arithmetic will still be set up by a constituted society in the free association of individuals, which is equivalent to a state structure and is actually defined as a democratic state in his last writings on federalism[822]. Those balances resemble the Hegelian concept of reconciliation, since politically it is also postulated in the state.

Those concerns will generate a split within the international working-class movement, after the contribution of Marx's theory to the 1872 Hague Congress, which in the case of Portugal will have consequences from the point of view of political philosophy, and the organization of socialist tendencies. The issue at hand relates to the problem of authority, because some would argue that, by contesting state policies, socialism is opposed to such principle. The united action of individuals, striving for radical transformations, would be incompatible with the authoritarian rule of states.

Marxism will have its own vision of Hegelianism, which in a way harmonizes with Proudhon's critique of Hegel, whereby the political order is responsible for the maintenance of social inequalities. Nevertheless, Marx prioritizes the seizure of power and control of the state, accepting the socializing element of state policies, just as the Berlin philosopher had defended.

However, the materialist philosopher is far from subscribing to the political theory of Hegel's philosophy of right, by which the state operates according to the general interest,

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[820] See in this respect the synthesis of the interpreter of Proudhon's thought Georges Gurvitch, *Proudhon: sa vie, son œuvre, avec exposé de a philosophie*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1965, pp.20-22.

[821] See P.J. Proudhon, *De la Création de l'Ordre dans l'Humanité ou Principes d'Organisation Politique ou Principes d'Organisation Politique*, Libraire de Prévot, Paris, 1843, pp.240-242.
See also his letter to Langlois from 30th December of 1861 where he writes about "la balance des antinomies, c'est-a-dire la reduction à l'equilibre des forces en lute, *l'equation*, en un mot" in P.J. Proudhon, *Correspondance*, Vol. 11, A. Lacroix et Cª Éditeurs, Paris, 1875, p.308.

[822] See in this respect how democracy is the principle of identity between the state and what he calls the nation, which would be the path to a definitive solution to the problem of the state or its secession in P.J Proudhon, *Du Principe Fédératif et de la Nécessité de Reconstituer le parti de la Révolution*, E. Dentu Libraire-Edituer, Paris, 1863, pp.35-38.

criticizing instead the conception of estates at the base of a general interest, emanating from the state, as illusory[823].

This critique extends to the state bureaucracy, which according to Marx is in Hegel idealized[824]. The agreement of civil society to submit to the general interest would imply an unresolved contradictory duality of man, because only as an individual would the citizen be a political subject in face of the state[825].

Therefore, according to him this would not supplant the liberal framework of social atomism[826], contrary to its promise, given that such contradiction is enshrined in the constitution of modern states. In Hegel, this boils down to the illusion that the state determines civil society rather than the other way around[827].

He will supplement his commented critical reading of Hegel's philosophy of right with a broader critique of Hegel's philosophical system, with economic and philosophic manuscripts of 1844. The issues raised by Marx in those writings can be subject to interpretation, as Hegel presents general guidelines regarding the organization of society and what makes up right, which judging by his portrayal of the civil society's relation to the state, were far from resolved.

For that reason, Marx follows the line of philosophical idealism critique[828], which does not constitute a refusal of ideals, but rather focuses on the basis by which those ideals come to be. According to him, they derive from material reality, as opposed to the spiritualized reality he criticizes in Hegel.

In Portugal, Azedo Gneco (1849-1911) is probably one of the political figures closest to Marxism, discernible through his exchange of letters with Engels. In one of these letters, Gneco refers precisely to the problem of authority and those who criticized it, which led to

[823] See Karl Marx "Zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie" in Marx und Engels, *Werke*, Band.1, *op. cit.* p.253 et pp.286-287.
[824] Idem, ibidem, pp.263-264.
[825] Idem, ibidem p.281.
[826] Idem, ibidem, p.283.
[827] Idem, ibidem, p.295 et p.305.
[828] In other authors that line of criticism is sometimes presented in relation, for example, to Plato's republic or other philosophical works of a political nature. One such example is found in Oliveira Martins, *O Helenismo e a Civilização Cristã, op. cit.* p.261 or also in Teófilo Braga, *Sistema de Sociologia*, Typographia Castro Irmão, Lisboa, 1884, pp.130-131.

opposition towards the party's own decisions, making it difficult to organize the workers' movement[829].

The Portuguese political leader was familiar with socialist literature, however, Hegel's philosophy only came to him via Marx, in his analysis of capitalist contradictions. Moreover, Gneco focuses more on practical political activities of organization and agitation, instead of theoretical-philosophical issues[830].

The fellow socialist politician Nobre França (1838-1920) will have a greater inclination to endeavor in philosophical meditations, especially in his later study about the relation between Philology and History in face of German science. That work clearly demonstrates the appreciation he nourishes for German thought and, on several occasions, the philosophical background of his assertions comes forward, especially those of a political nature, as this is the way through which a culture or language affirms itself[831].

He writes in one of the text's passages, with a tone reminiscent of Hegelian philosophy, that "the true philosophy is the one that reconciles the irreconcilable"[832]. Furthermore, a letter to Magalhães de Lima (1850-1928) shows his preference for what he calls the German school of socialism[833].

Hence, Nobre França was at the time probably one of the main readers of Marx's economic theory[834], as seen from his articles in the newspaper of the Portuguese Socialist Party. Besides speaking effusively to the public about these themes[835], he also publishes excerpts of studies in that regard, such as the problem of overproduction in the capitalist system according to Marx[836].

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[829] See letter to Engels from 10 April of 1876 in Azedo Gneco et all, *13 Cartas de Portugal para Engels e Marx*, recolhe prefácio e notas por César de Oliveira, Iniciativas Editoriais, Lisboa, 1978, pp.59-60.

[830] In another to letter to Engels from 18 January of 1876 he mentions that only at great sacrifice was he able to acquire some scientific knowledge, and with little time on his hands, he superficially learned a few languages to study some of those books. Idem, ibidem, p.55.

[831] See for instance his understanding of the scientific and philosophical basis of the Roman civilization ascension. Nobre França, *A Philologia perante a História: Ensaio de critica á sciencia allemã e a várias sciencias*, Livraria Brazileira, Lisboa, 1918, [1891] pp.188-191.

[832] "A verdadeira filosofia é aquele que concilia o inconciliável" idem, ibidem, p.609.

[833] See the transcription of this letter in Carlos da Fonseca, *Integração e Ruptura Operária: Capitalismo, associanismo, socialismo, 1836-1875*, Editorial Estampa, Lisboa, 1975, pp.219-220.

[834] Nobre França will even be praised for those philosophical inclinations and his exposition of Marx critique of the capital in a conference to the works association in *O Protesto Operário: Órgão do Partido Operário Socialista*, 18th of May 1884, pp.1-2.

[835] see the report of one of his interventions in *O Protesto Operário: Órgão do Partido Operário Socialista*, 6th of May 1883, p.4.

[836] See *O Protesto Operário: Órgão do Partido Operário Socialista,* 1st of May 1881, pp.1-2.

As far as Hegel is concerned, his esteem for Antero, visible in an article from 1891[837], led him to the study of philosophy and to move to the realms of abstraction, which informed the theoretical basis of his political developments. In that regard, José Fontana (1840-1876) was also the driving force, together with Antero, of the critical renewal that gave rise to Lisbon conferences, as well as the foundation of the Portuguese Socialist Party. This brought together socialist reformers, where the newly joined Azedo Gneco and Nobre França soon became important leaders.

O Pensamento Social, under the direction of José Fontana and Antero de Quental, is the newspaper that synthesizes ideas that were at the origin of the Party. It states in its first publication of 1872 that "every affirmation begins with negation, it is a dialectical process that proceeds fatally, by the individual spirit as well as by the collective spirit"[838]. Therefore, this exercise of thinking, along the lines of a philosophy close to German idealism, occupies for them a prominent place in the solution to the social question that modernity is faced with.

In the official newspaper of the socialist party that was latter founded, it is clear that the Paris Commune will always be present as an inspiring political project. The early importance of Hegelianism is recognized as a determinant factor, in the history of socialism, for example in an article about the development of theoretical socialism in France and Germany by Ramos Lourenço[839].

It is, however, blatant that the discourse seeks distance from the 1848 revolution, which would correspond to those first hesitant years of the socialist movement. Thus, for example, Gneco criticizes Felizardo Lima (1839-1905) because of his "antinomic ideas of 48"[840], or also in that same year we are told that the revolutionary movement of 1848 was a romantic masquerade[841].

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[837] See *O Protesto Operário: Órgão do Partido Operário Socialista,* 27th of September 1891, pp.2

[838] "Toda a afirmação começa pela negação: é um processo dialéctico seguido tão fatalmente, pelo espírito individual como pelo espirito colectivo" in *O Pensamento Social*, n.1, February 1872, p.1.

[839] "Foi, efectivamente, pouco depois de 1840, que deu entrada no socialismo uma plêiade de jovens filósofos revolucionários que primeiramente haviam seguido as doutrinas de Hegel.
Estes «hegelianos da esquerda» como lhes chamavam, não tinha conservado do pai o fatalismo histórico e das antinomias, senão a poderosa dialectica cuja base transformavam, fazendo preceder a exposição metódica (que, em Hegel, se apoiava sobre a ideia pura) de uma rigorosa investigação, subordinando assim o seu racionalismo á experiência" in *O Protesto Operário: Órgão do Partido Operário Socialista,* 3rd of October 1886, p.2

[840] See *O Protesto Operário: Órgão do Partido Operário Socialista,* 21st of January 1883, p.2.

[841] "O movimento revolucionário de 1848 é inegavelmente que foi uma mascarada romântica, sem uma linha de conducta traçada antecipadamente" *O Protesto Operário: Órgão do Partido Operário Socialista,* 8th of April 1883, p.2.

Consequently, Hegel's thought will be taken in line with Proudhon's libertarian-critical socialism, as well as, above all, with scientific socialism in light of Marx, even if the latter had less of a follow up[842]. Leaving behind other Hegelian interpretations of Saint-Simonian contours and utopian socialism, as well as Hegel's philosophy in the official sense that conducted to rigid formulas. Notwithstanding, the philosopher is still important for the ideals of the socialist movement, and it is in this spirit that, an article from 1884, recalls how Hegel is at the origin of the theory of a new conception of labor, which restored the dignity it deserved by portraying it as a necessity[843].

However, this appropriation of Hegel from a socialist point of view, will generally not have the depth of a thorough philosophical study. It focuses instead on a political critique of capitalism, to which Hegel was only secondarily summoned. But despite all the criticisms of the idealism of the young Hegelians pointed out earlier, later on in 1891, it is still recognized that the movement of 1848 led to the constitution of the political doctrine of modern socialism[844].

In fact, this idealism was very dear to Antero de Quental, which leads him to criticize positivism and materialism as philosophical conceptions, in which, according to him, the ideal of socialism is missing. He thought this ideal could only be found in philosophical idealism, although as we have seen, a synthesis is needed between these two tendencies.

As for scientific socialism, a term popularized by Engels, it should be noted that Antero alerts to the fact that science can be corrupted according to doctrines[845]. For this reason, despite having supported the Marxist orientation within the international, in his correspondence there are glimpses of criticism towards Marxism given that, according to him, it fanaticizes the masses[846].

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[842] See the article referencing Hegel's progeny on Karl Marx in *O Protesto Operário: Órgão do Partido Operário Socialista,* 25th of March 1883, pp.1-2.

[843] See *O Protesto Operário: Órgão do Partido Operário Socialista,* 10th of August 1884, p.3.

[844] See *O Protesto Operário: Órgão do Partido Operário Socialista,* 10th of May 1891, p.2.

[845] See letter to Oliveira Martins from 9 [of October (?) 1888] in Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. II, *op. cit.* p.202.

[846] "Mas a *verdade* humana e social não é a verdade científica. Os *científicos* não são capazes de compreender isto, exactamente como os *ideólogos* do século passado (com quem se parecem muito, e julgo que para pior) e como o próprio de tais espíritos estreitos e sistemáticos é a presunção e o optimismo atrevido, a sua influência será ainda mais nociva que a dos ideólogos, que ao menos partiam de princípios psicológicos." letter to Oliveira Martins from [31 August/1 September 1880] in Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. II, *op. cit.* p.193.

Nevertheless, in an article published by the socialists in 1892, Antero de Quental was identified as a scientific socialist, and a follower of Marx more than anything else[847]. However, this is not a correct assertion according to the present research, which believes he is more in tune with Proudhonist ideals and through Oliveira Martins also close to the armchair socialists (*Katheder-Sozialismus*)[848].

But there are also, of course, some reasons for those assertions, since the autobiography he wrote to Wilhelm Stork, which was widely publicized after his death, is ambiguous in that regard. Instead of raising doubts about the course of Marxism, on the contrary, he recounts how he was a supporter of Marx in his youth, upon the foundation of the socialist party[849]. In any case, it is possible that Antero maintained such support, perhaps in different molds, owing to the constant quarrels within the party itself, with often shifting positions.

That would be one of the reasons for the decline of the socialist party from the mid-1890s onwards, greatly aided by factionalism, and the division that took place at a certain point between possibilists/reformists and Marxist-oriented revolutionaries. Despite everything, Proudhon continues to have a great ascendency in the socialist movement, facilitating as such as bridge to anarchism.

As far as Hegel is concerned, this will also be a fruitful path for the dissemination of his philosophical thought. This was already outlined Bakunin, but those considerations had deeper roots in the young Hegelians, above all in Max Stirner[850].

The anarchist tendencies began to grow in Portugal, driven especially by some intellectual and student circles. Thus, an interesting 1896 study by the then student Manuel da Silva Mendes[851], on Libertarian Socialism or Anarchism, speaks profusely of Hegel as the forerunner of ideas found in the socialists, such as Marx.

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[847] "Não era um socialista de Estado, nem um socialista catedrático, nem um reformador filantropo. Era verdadeiramente um socialista científico, partidário das doutrinas de Marx, proclamando a fatalidade e a razão da luta de classes" in *O Protesto Operário: Órgão do Partido Operário Socialista,* 11st of September 1892, p.1.

[848] See in this respect Fernando Catroga, "O Problema Político em Antero de Quental – um confronto com Oliveira Martins" in *Revista de História das Ideias*, Vol.3, Coimbra, 1981, pp.341-520.

[849] See the letter to Wihlelm Stork from 14 May 1887 in Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. III, *op. cit.* p.93

[850] See in this regard Alexander Stulpe, *Gesichter des Einzigen: Max Stirner und die Anatomie moderner Individualität*, Duncker & Humboldt, Berlin, 2007.

[851] Manuel Silva Mendes was a student from Coimbra that latter became an important politician and intellectual in Macao. As a sinologist he was an avid collector of Chinese art. His books about the radical left political ideas are still notable today. While in Macau he wrote philosophical texts about oriental philosophy.

In his work, Mendes draws a picture of the intellectual origins of the socialist and anarchist movements in Europe, with an especial emphasis on the early Russian anarchist movement. What is interesting about this book is precisely the discernment of a cross between currents on thought, whereby the thought of Hegel is, for instance, appropriated by Max Stirner.

"In Hegel's system the same fundamental thought prevailed; although, for this philosopher, progress was neither a development of the plan of Nature, nor a divine Revelation, nor Space, nor the Unconscious, but the continuous process of a dialectical evolution of the spirit or the Idea leading up to a final synthesis"[852]

Moreover, at the beginning of said work, Mendes recognizes that Proudhon took much from Hegel ideas. This would form the basis of his anarchist thought in its ideological-political contours:

"What economic form, if not the individualist or the communist? – The answer is in possession says Proudhon, and [he] goes into Kantian and Hegelian subtleties to demonstrate it. The human spirit, according Hegel's teachings, proceeds by formulating a positive idea and then a negative one contrary to the first. It is the thesis and the antithesis, but the truth is not all in the first nor all in the second, it is in a third, higher notion that reconciles the two incompletely true, it is in the synthesis. Now the thesis is property and community; the antithesis, the negation of one and the other; the synthesis, the freedom, which applied to the economy, is resolved in equality"[853]

Many would argue that this appropriation of Hegel was a simplification by Proudhon, drawing criticism about his comprehension of the dialectical philosopher, but still, the theoretical basis stems from German philosophy. The collaboration of Bakunin with Marx, between anarchists and communists, is also emphasized by Mendes[854]. As one reads along, it

[852] "No sistema de Hegel prevaleceu o mesmo pensamento fundamental; se bem que, para este filosofo, o progresso nem fosse um desenvolvimento do plano da Natureza, nem um Revelação divina, nem o Espaço, nem o Inconsciente, mas o processo continuo de uma evolução dialéctica do espírito ou da Ideia até uma síntese final" Manuel da Silva Mendes, *Socialismo Libertário ou Anarchismo: história e doutrina*, Letra Livre, Lisboa, 2006, p.223.

[853] "Que forma económica, pois se não a individualista ou a comunista? - A Posse Responde Proudhon, e embrenha-se em subtilezas kantianas e hegelianas para o demonstrar. O espírito humano, segundo ensina Hegel, procede formulando uma ideia positiva e depois uma negativa contraria à primeira. É a tese e a antítese, porem a verdade não esta toda na primeira nem toda na segunda, esta numa terceira noção mais elevada que concilia as duas incompletamente verdadeiras, esta na síntese. Ora a tese é a propriedade e a comunidade; a antítese, a negação de uma e de outra; a síntese, a liberdade, que aplicada á economia, se resolva na igualdade" idem, ibidem, p.34.

[854] See idem, ibidem p.70.

becomes noticeable that Silva Mendes considers Hegel as the intellectual link, uniting all those currents of political thought and ideological conceptions, which are concerned with the social problematic of modern society.

When addressing Marx, the Portuguese author engages himself at length with Hegel's thought, given that many of the socialist thinker's ideas are directly affiliated to the Berlin professor and a wealth of other German intellectuals. He tells us, for instance, that the idea of progress is to be found already in Kant, Schiller, Fichte but along different lines, since for Hegel this translates into the "dialectical evolution of the spirit or the Idea"[855]. Marx would take the dialectical conception of Hegel over, which was able to furnish him with the rationale behind each historical phase in the unity of the whole movement[856].

In contrast to Hegel, Marx roots his historical conception on the economic field, rejecting the "hegelian pretention of reducing everything to pure reason"[857]. Thus, the conception at the base of the social theory of each thinker:

"For Hegel, it is the idea that embodies the fact, for Marx, it is the fact that determines the idea. If, for Hegel, all history is self-evolution or a constant *to fieri* of the absolute Idea; for Marx all social life is the self-evolution of the economic phenomenon. But for both, the passage from one phase to the other takes place by virtue of the principle of contradictions."[858]

These connections between theories also find their way into the liberal system, since there is also the phenomenon of some socialists joining the republican party. Not least, because some republicans were receptive to socialist ideas, as in the case of Magalhães Lima who wrote *O Socialismo na Europa*, or João de Menezes with his *A Nova Fase do Socialismo*.

Within the socialist party, an alliance with the republican party is proposed (for instance by Gneco), but this does not come to fruition. The socialists themselves could not match the liberal-democratic doctrine, dominant within the republican party. For this reason,

[855] See idem, ibidem, p.223.
[856] See Silva Mendes bases himself on Robert Flint for his interpretation of Hegel's thought in idem, ibidem, p.224.
[857] See idem, ibidem, p.225.
[858] "Assim, pois se, para Hegel, é a ideia que incarna no facto, para Marx, é o facto que determina a ideia. Se, para Hegel, toda a história é auto-evolução ou um *to fieri* constante da Ideia absoluta; para Marx toda a vida social é a auto-evolução do fenómeno económico. Mas para ambos, a passagem de uma fase para a outra efectua-se por virtude do princípio das contradições." Idem, ibidem, pp.225-226.

the very option for a republic was not guaranteed within the socialist ranks, and some were actually receptive to the Germanic reformism of a socialized liberal monarchy.

Frederico Laranjo will be amongst those attracted to German philosophical and social thought, as he criticizes the French appropriation of those social concerns at the hands of Proudhon, who eclectically uses an "artificial Hegelian method of thesis, antithesis and syntheses"[859]. He was against a federative association in countries such as Portugal, where one finds a more homogenous population, for there was no need for agreements and negotiations characteristic of a federation.

This results in Laranjo's support for an architecture of treaties on the diplomatic field, rather than being at the mercy of hegemonic parties. He gives the example of the German proposal, of delimiting the African territorial claims with Portugal, in that same parliamentary speech[860].

After the Commune, the great transformation within the socialist movement will take place with the Bolshevik revolution. Hegel was present in the theoretical framework of the Russian Marxists, above all in the readings of Lenin, which had in the background other thinkers such as Plehkanov, a supporter of dialectical thinking derived from Hegelianism[861].

The socialist proposals still find an echo in the new republican regime, despite the downturn of the Portuguese socialist party, which sought alignments with the monarchical regime, sealing its demise. In that regard, Botto Machado will successively (1911, 1914, 1915) present in the parliament a bill that proposes a daily 8-hour journey of work, which is in line with the international socialist movement. Furthermore, the bill also draws an outline of the developments in contemporary socialism, when we are told that:

"Marx and Lassale, impressed by their readings of Hegel, convinced themselves that the mental, moral and economic world, in the same way as the physical world is subject to the laws of historical evolution"[862]

[859] See Frederico Laranjo speech in *Câmara dos Deputados* from 1893-07-14 accessible at https://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/mc/cd/01/01/01/074/1893-07-14/9
[860] Idem, https://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/mc/cd/01/01/01/074/1893-07-14/10
[861] See in this regard Hans Heins Holz, *Einheit und Wiederspruch: Problemgeschichte der Dialektik in der Neuzeit*, Vol. 3, Verlag J. B. Metzler, Stuttgart, 1997, pp.361-424.
[862] "Marx e Lassalle, impressionados com a leitura de Hegel, convenceram-se de que o mundo mental, moral e económico, tal como o mundo físico, está do mesmo modo sujeito às leis da evolução histórica" Botto Machado bill presented at Assembleia Constituinte from 1911-07-25 accessible at https://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/r1/c1911/01/01/01/030/1911-07-25/4

After the outbreak of First World War, many still admired the merits of the German intellectual tradition and, in that regard, Ramada Curto's parliamentary intervention is a good example of how German thought is important for the development of socialist ideas [863]. The war was a powerful ferment for social upheaval and great revolutionary movements, which were on the ascension all over Europe.

In the case of Portugal, the loss of influence of the socialist party, with its subsequent near disappearance from the national political scene, accompanies the rise of currents linked to anarchism, especially in connection to the trade unions. It is from this lineage that the Russian revolutionary successes began to echo in Portugal, mainly associated with the work of the *Federação Maximalista Portuguesa* and its publication *A Bandeira Vermelha*[864]. It is this group stemming from the labor movement also had its intellectual constellation, laying the foundation for the Portuguese Communist Party.

The first general secretary of the party, José Carlos Rates (1879-1961), will publish in 1925 *A Russia do Sovietes*. In this book, Rates considers Russia had become a "laboratory of socialism", since the socialist doctrine itself was a theory that developed based on practice. This does not prevent, but rather demands, the study of philosophy and its theory of knowledge and the nature of being, with special emphasis on the historical process. Therefore, in the preface Rates ends up stating that:

"It was Hegel, a German philosopher, who first considered History to be a process subject to laws, just as it had been already applied in his time to the study of the natural sciences, by the succession of causes and effects, mutually dependent, he was one of the first who sought the motive of the historical movement without considering human nature as a determining factor."[865]

[863] "A Alemanha de Kant e Haeckel, a Alemanha de Beethoven, e Schubert, a Alemanha da ciência de aplicação, a Alemanha que levantou a tradição intelectual do mundo, a mais forte e formidável, a Alemanha onde há crianças, mulheres e artistas, essa pode bem opor-se Às acusações do seus adversarios" Ramada Curto in a speech at Câmara dos Deputados from 1920-03-30 accessible at https://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/r1/cd/01/04/02/058/1920-03-30/43

[864] From early on that would be the case, since the first publication contains a biographical synthesis of Lenin in *A Bandeira Vermelha*, N.1, 1919, p.2

[865] "Foi Hegel, um filósofo alemão, quem primeiro considerou a História um processo submetido a leis, tal qual como se aplicava já no seu tempo para o estudo das ciências naturais, pela sucessão de causas e efeitos, dependendo-se reciprocamente, foi ele um dos primeiros que buscaram o móbil do movimento histórico sem considerar a natureza humana como factor determinante." José Carlos Rates, *A Rússia dos Sovietes*, Livraria Editora Guimarães, Lisboa, 1925.

Perhaps because of that importance attributed to historicity in Hegel's philosophy, the first translated excerpt of the German philosopher appears in the journal *Seara Nova* in 1933 under the epigraph *O Contéudo da História Universal*[866]. In fact, this periodical will have links to many intellectuals belonging to the communist party, such as Bento de Jesus Caraça (1901-1948). Another prominent intellectual in the communist ranks, Vasco de Magalhães-Vilhena (1916-1993), is deeply interested in the dialectical process of history, conducting research into the concept of progress in historical perspective[867].

But the Marxist reading, reaffirmed by Lenin, does not fail to criticize Hegelian idealism. Thus, completing his assertion in relation to Hegel, Carlos Rates also denounces that:

"However, even with Hegel, the question remained «What is the hidden cause that produces the historical movement of humanity» Because Hegel, despite everything, was an idealist, that is, he saw objects and movements in the real world as reflections of the intelligence, instead of looking at intellectual manifestations as consequences of the real and living world"[868]

Notwithstanding, this Hegelian interpretative typology, which is critical of idealism and seeks to invert idealism into materialism, is not as present in the periodical of the *maximalistas*. There are several passages implying the expression idealism, on the contrary, had positive contours. For example, an article tells that sincere revolutionaries are those who, with their idealistic faith, seek to overthrow the corrupted existence[869], or yet in another article, socialists are called "idealists of the real"[870].

The appropriation of idealist philosophies under the branding of Marxism is vast[871], but regarding the Bolshevik revolution, or Lenin in particular, a well-known Hegelian interpretation is the one from Althusser. According to him, the shift from idealism to

[866] See *Seara Nova*, n.344, 25th of May 1933.
[867] See his thesis: Vasco Magalhães-Vilhena, *Progresso. História Breve de uma Ideia*, Tipografia Ramos, Lisboa, 1939.
[868] "Todavia, mesmo com Hegel subsistia a pergunta «Qual é a causa oculta que produz o movimento histórico da humanidade» Porque Hegel, apesar de tudo, era um idealista, isto é, via objectos e os movimentos do mundo real como reflexos da inteligência, em vez de olhar as manifestações intelectivas como consequências do mundo real e vivo" José Carlos Rates, *A Rússia dos Sovietes, op. cit.*
[869] See *Bandeira Vermelha*, n.20, 1920, p.4.
[870] "Então neste caos, estes idealistas do real que são os socialistas, voltam-se para o senhor soberano das coisas, para o povo inteiro" *Bandeira Vermelha*, n.57, 1921, p.1.
[871] See regarding idealist incidences in various contemporary philosophers associated with Marxism José Barata-Moura, *Ontologias da «Práxis» e Idealismo*, Caminho, 1986.

materialism would be, above all, a matter of refocusing the perspective under the point of view of the proletariat, which would be what Lenin mainly endeavored to do[872].

His proposal of the identity between subject and object, in that case supposedly centered on the proletarian collective subject, along the lines of a theoretical practice, rather than a theory of practice, draws such a connection between the Russian revolutionary and the German philosopher[873].

But taking those philosophical considerations aside, this use of the word in the journal actually seems to empty its philosophical content most of the time, by taking idealism in its mundane sense of a certain sentimentality, which is something that Karl Marx had already criticized in the young Hegelians. It is in this sense that, for example, an article speaks of Russia as a country of "great idealist people"[874], while others clearly speak of this idealism literally from the perspective of idealistic sentimentality[875], or of a certain selfless disinterest[876].

But even so, we also find the criticisms of idealism more coincident with philosophical points of view[877], which shows the heterogeneous constitution of the maximalist movement, given the opposing contributions of intellectuals to its journal. In fact, anarchism was still a dominant current in this political group, and an article from 14th March 1920, with the title *The Anarchists and the Revolution*, tells us that a true anarchist should accept the dictatorship of the proletariat as transitory, without abdicating the anarchist ideal[878].

There is a connection of anarchism to the study of currents of Hegelian thought, as we saw with Manuel da Silva Mendes. In the republican period, we have likewise another intellectual supportive of researching those trends engaged with Hegel. Emilio Costa (1877-1952) publishes a biography of Marx in 1930[879], which includes several references to Hegel,

[872] See "Lenin before Hegel" in Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, translated from the French by Ben Brewster, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1971, pp.113-116.
[873] "Lenin takes from Hegel the following proposition: there is only one thing in the world which is absolute, and that is the method or the concept of the process, itself absolute." [towards the end of the text further adding that] … "his reading of Hegel, were only possible from a proletarian class viewpoint, and with it the new practice of philosophy that follow from it." Idem, ibidem, pp.123-124.
[874] See *Bandeira Vermelha*, n.19, 1920, p.4.
[875] See for instance *Bandeira Vermelha*, n.28, 1920, p.2 or also *Bandeira Vermelha*, n.36, 1920, p.1.
[876] See *Bandeira Vermelha*, n.8, 1919, p.1.
[877] See for example the opening number of the journal: "De facto, só os idealistas os que vivem alheados do mundo numa torre de marfim, é que se convencem, ou pretendem convencer os outros, de que a formidável organização capitalista se desagrega ás nossas inflamadas perorações humanitárias..." in *Bandeira Vermelha*, n.1, 1919, p.1.
[878] See *Bandeira Vermelha*, n.24, 1920, p.2.
[879] See Emílio Costa, *Karl Marx*, Livraria Peninsular, Lisboa, 1930.

despite the author's pledge not to develop on the subject because of its delimitation to Marx, and the complexity of Hegel's philosophical theories.

For the author, what Marx collected from Hegel was above all his dialectics, or the idea of a constant evolution, giving a new meaning to the concept of Greek origin. As Emilio Costa recounts, this doctrine is found in Hegel's "main work, the logic", which implies an idea of constant movement, in which nothing subsists but transits to a new stage.

Furthermore, according to him this movement of getting rid of "dead things", led Marx to the logical conclusion of this dialectical truth. Consequently, this formal principle of evolution would supplant itself, to enter the domain of established reality.

At the origin of this transformation, which led him to naturalist positivism, stands the work of Feuerbach *The Essence of Christianity*. From then on, Karl Marx begins to develop his theoretical criticism of Hegelian philosophy, and a new conception emerges which is the combination of the "Hegelian idea with the knowledge of the natural sciences".

It is on this basis that, according to Emilio da Costa, Marx's scientific socialism derives from a social science of naturalist extraction, that looked for evolutive tendencies, rather than endeavoring in social constructions according to utopian socialism.

Those considerations, about the value of Hegel's philosophy to Marx, bring with them a line of interpretation from the sources linked to Georges Sorel and René Berthelot. The latter actually defended the value of Hegel's theories against accusations of absolutism, or a rigid determinism and, with regard to Marx, he also points to Hegel's social philosophy as the most profound imprint in him[880]. As a man of culture and a professor, Emilio Costa tends to draw from academic circles and, due to the ideological affinity, also from intellectuals linked to syndicalism and anarchism, and not from revolutionary communists.

In fact, in this respect, the difference between communists and anarchists dates as far back as the first international, if not earlier. This divergence is accentuated in the early years of the Russian revolutionary struggle, because despite the left-wing alliance within the Russian social democratic party, there is much criticism, both by Plekhanov and Lenin, of the theoretical-political assumptions of anarchism.

In his analysis of both the theoretical and practical political results of the anarchist efforts, Lenin will even cite the examples of the "Romance nations", which would include

[880] See in this regard René Berthelot "Le Sens de Philosophie de Hegel" in *Evolutionnisme et Platonism*, Felix Alcan, Editeur, Paris, 1908, pp-257-258.

Portugal, as an example of that detrimental dominance of this tendency for the socialist movement. Worse than a failure, it implied the subordination of the working class to the bourgeoisie with its denial of politics[881].

The previously mentioned work by Carlos Rates also makes this ideological distinction. The author states that anarchism has nothing to do with it and that, in reality, it is opposed to socialism, because in essence anarchism is an individualist theory[882].

Those writings reproduce precisely Lenin's judgment about the philosophy of the anarchists as having a bourgeois origin, but turned inside out, and instead of expressing the future of bourgeois society, it illuminates its past and present. Hence, its similarity to liberalism's individualist beliefs, focusing on small enterprises and democratization of capital[883].

The liberal Hegel, democracy and the struggle of republicanism in Portugal

Several socialists, including Marx, highlight Hegel's liberal tendencies, because for the Hegelian left the problem would be to go beyond those political positions. As for the right-wing Hegelians, their focus was to remain faithful to the philosopher's thought. Several ideas that could be fertile ground for left-wing opponents will be modified or annulled by the "old" Hegelians, paradoxically, misrepresenting the philosopher and falling prey to what they criticized in adversaries.

From a doctrinal point of view, Hegel will have greater exposure from the left and right divisions, even if there is also a center. In the same sense, the liberal Hegel will not be as visible, in comparison with the polemics involving less consensual political forces of the left and right political spectrum. According to Antero de Quental, the liberal tradition in Portugal was intellectually linked to France, which was invariably the destination of exile[884].

The liberals in France also adopted Hegelian points of view, mainly through authors such as Guizot, who thought that liberalism would constitute a historical consummation of

[881] See "Anarchism and Socialism" in V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1960, p.328.
[882] See José Carlos Rates, *A Rússia dos Sovietes*, Livraria Editora Guimarães, Lisboa, 1925, pp.1-2.
[883] See "Socialism and Anarchism" in V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 10, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1960, p.73.
[884] See letter to Tomaso Cannizzaro from 20th of May [1888] in Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. III, *op. cit.* p.158.

reason[885]. Notwithstanding, they decisively opposed the most radical factions of Hegelianism, especially to the vision of a historical process tending to the collective economic egalitarianism of socialist proposals.

As heir to Portugal's liberal revolution, Alexandre Herculano will be in line with this French tradition[886], and became the most prominent liberal who had knowledge of Hegel. However, in the period under study here, the evolution of liberal ideas is best defined by the culmination of the Oporto revolt from 1891. The republican party embodies the advancement of liberalism, since some supporters of those ideals see in the monarchy a limited liberal experience.

Precisely this opposition, between liberalism and monarchy, is one of the main points of discussion in interpreting Hegel's political thought. Domenico Losurdo, writing on this subject, argues that in political terms the problem arises from two interpretations that regard Hegel either as liberal or conservative[887], with the monarchical issue as key to the problem.

The problem is most often abstractly conceived, because the idyllic liberalism of Hegel's critics had other causes, and above all other purposes in mind. Hegelianism itself has in its conception liberal ideas, such as freedom of thought and conscience[888].

The critique owes to the fact that Hegel's liberalism had at its core important social considerations, which were ideologically unacceptable to the most hawkish ideologies of liberalism, especially because liberal democracy viewed itself threatened by a socialist revolution at every turn[889].

Thus, in essence it was unforgiving for the uncompromising liberals, as well as to liberalized conservative trends, that Hegel was behind those ideas that were against the classical liberal order, coming from the radical left and socialism, even if Hegel did not go as far as them[890]. This reveals the lack of flexibility of certain liberal tendencies, but above all, it

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[885] See about Guizot's Liberalism and its relation to Hegelianism: Claude Lefort, *Écrice. Á l'épreuve Politique*, Calmann-Lévy, Paris, 1992, pp.113-139.

[886] See in this regard Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho, *As Ideias Políticas e Sociais de Alexandre Herculano*, 2nd edition augmented and corrected, Seara Nova, Lisboa, 1971, p.230.

[887] See Domenico Losurdo, *Hegel and the Freedom of the Moderns, op. cit.* p.27.

[888] Hegel is supportive of Dutch political reforms precisely because of its support for free thought, limiting the religious interference in socio-political spheres, idem, ibidem, p.97-98 et p.210.

[889] See idem, ibidem, p.233.

[890] Notwithstanding there are those who propose a more radical or "secret" Hegel, for example associated with the Freemasonry as in Jacques d'Hondt, Hegel Secret: *Recherches sur les Sources Cachées de la Pensée de Hegel*, Presses Universitaires de France, Deuxième Edition, 1986.
See also from the same author *Hegel et L'Hégélianisme*, Presse Universitaires de France, Troisième edition corrigée, Paris, 1991.

imposes limits on the possibility of reforming liberalism within certain parameters, if any of those social considerations are attended to.

According to Losurdo, the accusation was made; the defendant had to go to court. While the tribunal and the constitution of the jury falls above all to the supervision of the Anglo-Saxon world, where liberalism ruled with an iron fist, and from where most of the ideological condiments of this selective liberalism emanated[891].

Some have attempted a liberal rehabilitation of Hegel, as for example Ilting[892]. But obsessive liberals, mainly neoliberalism ideologues, continue their efforts to isolate Hegel and tie him to illiberal or despotic world views[893], if not consign him to the history of totalitarianism[894]. For he interpreted freedom not in the sense of being at liberty to simply pursue one's own interests, but instead conceived it in much broader and complex terms of human freedom, within a social context.

This purge also implied a conceptual emptying of the category of liberalism[895], alienated from the concrete realization of freedom, in such a way that many of the issues surrounding liberalism in regard to freedom and progress are placed abstractly. For example, Haym is part of the nationalist and conservative project and was a liberal critic of Hegel. But the basis of his criticism is not so much the supposed support of monarchism in Hegel, but rather the denationalizing tendency found in him. That is why Losurdo considers that there is a false dichotomy between liberalism and conservatism, because Hegel is more than simply one of the two, especially if we attend to the marks he later left in the field of political economy.

It is in the context of discussions about political economy that the Hegelian thoughts of 1848 arrive in Portugal, in the writings about the topic associated with studies on Proudhon by the Coimbra students Oliveira Pinto, Amorim Viana as well as Martens Ferrão. In fact, the provisional professor Bernardino Joaquim da Silva Carneiro (1806-1867), in those years of the 1848-49 political turmoil, was forced to address the problem of redistribution of wealth[896].

[891] Idem, ibidem, pp.279-282 et pp.290-296 et p.300.
[892] Idem, ibidem, pp.282-286.
[893] Idem, ibidem, pp.279-280.
[894] Idem, ibidem, p.310.
[895] Idem, ibidem, pp.78-78.
[896] See the compilation of those lessons by some of his students in Bernardino J. da S. Carneiro, *Lições de Economia Política*, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1850, pp.302-306.

In the modern context, such problem relates to the organization of work and wages, and the two dominant theories analyzed come from the French politicians Adolphe Thiers and Louis Blanc. His preference for Thiers is obvious, since his critique of Blanc's theories is at the same time directed against socialism and communism.

In regard to the studies of right at the faculty, the problem of the relationship between capital and labor was later addressed at greater length by Martens Ferrão dissertation presented to the university in 1853. He defends already by then the principles of association in the economic sphere. These ideas were partially embraced by political economy professors, such as Forjaz Sampaio (1810-1874), which greatly facilitated the acceptance of more radical proposals of those endeavoring to reform liberalism.

As mentioned in an earlier chapter about Hegelian philosophy in the Portuguese context, at around this time, Silvestre Ribeiro, an important liberal politician, uttered a critical reflection about German philosophy in the parliament. The speech comes precisely in the context of Martens Ferrão entry into the parliament, where he will face the accusation of abstraction and incomprehensibility of his language, which is reminiscent of German metaphysical jargon. Although, while defending himself we are told that he "did not spoke of German philosophy, but only tributed respect to it"[897].

The former students of philosophy of right, will subsequently raise, in the parliament, those references to German philosophy, particularly regarding Kant. Hence, in 1865 once again there is an exchange between Fernandes Vaz and Tomas Ribeiro regarding the role of the state in the liberal system. According to the former, Kant is no longer the leading authority in that regard, but rather Krause and its disseminator in French H. Ahrens. While the latter is leaning towards Kant, Fernandes Vaz responds by saying:

"the most advanced writers of juridical philosophy do not hesitate to state, in accordance with their principles, that the owner who does not have the intelligence, good will or necessary means to use his property well, can be forced by the powers of the state to transfer this property"[898]

[897] "não falei da filosofia alemã, só disse que lhe tributava respeito" Martens Ferrão in Sessão Parlamentar da Câmara dos Deputados from 1855-02-26 accessible at https://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/mc/cd/01/01/01/042/1855-02-26/224

[898] "os mais adiantados escritores de filosofia jurídica não hesitam em assentar, conformes com seus princípios, que o proprietário que não tem inteligência, boa vontade ou meios necessários para bem utilizar a sua propriedade, pode ser obrigado pelos poderes do estado a ceder esta propriedade" Fernandes Vaz in Sessão Parlamentar da Câmara dos Deputados from 1865-02-17 accessible at https://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/mc/cd/01/01/01/037S2/1865-02-17/536

At this point, Ferrão was climbing up the echelons of power until he becomes finance minister in 1868, and it became clear that his peers, at the parliament, recognized the greatness of German philosophy. Even if not thoroughly knowledgeable of it, some would emphasize its difficulty, as in Silvestre Ribeiro. All the more given that many politicians were educated in Coimbra and, in light of this background, some of Ferrão adversaries mentioned the German philosophers. They would sometimes tease the politician, given his base studies, such as Freitas de Oliveira implying the finance minister administrative shortcomings by telling us:

"I didn't go looking at Kant or Ugel[sic. Hegel] to make these calculations. All these numbers are in the modest leaflets that the government pays the national press to distribute to the deputies, and which are the accounts of the ministries in the economic years that I referred to, and the report of Finance Minister."[899]

As expected, the leading modern thinkers were often recalled in the political arguments. Furthermore, the knowledge about these modern intellectual trends also became part of the political concerns of the legislators in the parliament. The reform project of António José Teixeira proposes an educational reform that intends to harmonize the education of humanities in the main higher education institutions, privileging the philosophical studies, which in the case of Oporto had to be created from scratch.

These courses would need to follow the philosophical tendencies of modernity, justifying himself in placing aesthetics chair in the philosophical sciences with "the works of Kant, Schelling and mainly of Hegel"[900]. The study of humanities would adopt the philosophical method, which the legislator deems as the most advantageous, implying the exposition of a "critiqued of philosophical systems"[901].

The social transformations happening Europe motivated the proposed reforms, from the standpoint of liberalism. Some of its results are even mentioned in the educational reform

[899] "Não fui consultar Kant nem o Ugel[sic. Hegel] para fazer estes cálculos. Todos estes números estão nos modestos folhetos que o governo paga á imprensa nacional para que sejam distribuídos aos deputados, e que são as contas dos ministérios nos anos económicos que me referi, e o relatório do sr. ministro da fazenda." Freitas de Oliveira in Sessão Parlamentar da Câmara dos Deputados from 1871-04-17 accessible at https://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/mc/cd/01/01/01/026/1871-04-17/326

[900] António José Teixeira in Sessão Parlamentar da Câmara dos Deputados from 1874-03-03 accessible at https://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/mc/cd/01/01/01/040/1874-03-03/594

[901] Idem accessible at https://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/mc/cd/01/01/01/040/1874-03-03/595

proposal presented by deputy António José Teixeira, who mentions the 1868 revolution in Spain and the Italian reform after unification[902]. Both events had important dialogues with the socialist movement in its criticism of the organization of society.

Given that on the aftermath of those developments the first International emerges, we have some liberal tendencies appropriating the social concerns highlighted by the socialists. In spite of the fact that a majority in the international tended towards more radical forms of socialism, there are also more reformist social-liberal currents, which dialogued with socialism, as we saw earlier in the case of Magalhães Lima.

But within the republican spectrum of action other figures stand out, for instance, Felizardo Lima follows a radical tradition, within the republican movement, and took part in the organization of the international. Although, a supporter of Proudhonian federalism and municipalism, his liberal concessions lead him to be expelled from the socialist party.

As for political economy, the social concerns will also be manifest in republicans sensitive to the socialist theories, as is the case of José Joaquim Rodrigues de Freitas. The professor at Porto Polytechnic School will publish a book on the principles of political economy, where the author defends a social economy, with an easier production of wealth and better distribution[903]. But at the same time, he aligns himself with the "regime of freedom" brought about by competition, and the economic laws of liberalism, which must therefore be guided by the philosophy of right and political economy in a new social organization[904].

In that work on political economy, we do not see any reference to Hegel, but in another of his books, publish posthumously with a collection of his studies, he acknowledges the German philosopher's criticism of the atomistic society of classical liberalism. He further concedes Hegel defends that the state should intervene in order to discipline the organization of work[905].

Rodrigues de Freitas probably only knew Hegel through French sources and the expressions of Saint-Simonian Hegelianism. It is worth noting this notable mark of social

[902] Idem accessible at https://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/mc/cd/01/01/01/040/1874-03-03/588
[903] See J. J. Rodrigues de Freitas, *Princípios de Economia Política*, Livraria Universal, Porto, [1883] p.239
[904] Idem, ibidem p.240.
[905] "o regime de isolamento pesa sobre cada um de nós pelo próprio espírito da legislação moderna a sociedade vai por um declive que leva ao estado que Hegel denominou atomístico, e no qual já não há coesão, que os poderes públicos deviam intervir no regime disciplinar do trabalho" J. J. Rodrigues de Freitas, *Páginas Soltas*, Livraria Chardron, Porto, 1906, p.13.

thought, emanating from German-origin philosophy, is found not only in this republican, apparently sympathetic to socialism, but also in the aforementioned Felizardo Lima.

Indeed, despite being a republican, Felizardo Lima continued to declare himself a socialist and, in the early 1880s, his proposals give rise to a polemic with Azedo Gneco in the periodical *O Protesto Operario*, as shortly mentioned before. At the bottom of the dispute would be the question of regime, since for Felizardo, the republic meant an advancement over monarchy and therefore every socialist should also be a republican, proposing thereafter an alliance between socialists and republicans.

On the other hand, Gneco considers that this would depend on the republic in concrete, since the republic defended by the true socialists differs greatly from the republic of the *Portuguese Republican Party*, which embodies the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Felizardo Lima was a leader of the republican revolt of Oporto in 1891, and had in his curriculum this reformist socialism steeped in Hegelianism. But it wasn't just him who drew from German philosophy for his political theories. At the head of this rebellion, which lasted just a few hours, was Augusto Alves da Veiga, who issued the proclamation of the republic. He was perhaps even more receptive to German philosophy, especially to Hegel, during his student days, and one of the few republicans who was not a positivist, as his biographical note in the *Galeria Republicana* reveals:

"Alves da Veiga is still not a positivist. The doctrine of Kant and his disciples left in his mind deep-seated impressions of German subjectivism, which have prevented him from entering resolutely and definitively into the *positive majority*."[906]

During his student years, he incorporated traces of this German philosophy into his work, which can be better appreciated in the report he prepared at the request of Emídio Garcia (1838-1904) on the topic of political philosophy in 1872[907]. In this text, Alves da Veiga begins by postulating "the invincible link between the real phenomenality and the ideal"[908], considering contrary to Kant that thought is not separate from its objects as thing-in-

[906] "Alves da Veiga ainda hoje não é positivista. A doutrina de Kant e dos seus discípulos deixou no seu espírito profundas e arreigadas impressões do subjectivismo alemão, as quais o tem impedido de entrar resoluta e definitivamente na maioria positiva" in *Galeria Republicana*, N.14, July 1882.
[907] Emídio Garcia was also the one writing the biographical note in the *Galeria Republicana* cited above.
[908] "a ligação invencível da fenomenalidade real com a ideal" Alves da Veiga, *Estudos de Philosophia Política: feitos em 1871-1872 para uma das comissões do 3º ano*, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1872, p.10.

themselves, but is rather united, thus forming the "universal empire of knowledge, the harmonious future of human civilization"[909].

Not only is his theory of knowledge marked by Hegelian thoughts, but the ontology of his political philosophy also finds in the spirit, Hegelian conceived, the support of being, and is the principle bounding reality:

"The spirit is, in Man, the superior unity that generates and produces everything. As a pure essence, it is determined in reason and conscience, as objective reality, it is determined in history, religion, art, law, in a word, in all sciences in which elements of sensibility enter"[910]

This principle of unity in the spirit, in addition to its metaphysical background, has repercussions in the domain of history, since the progress of civilization is based on the activity of that same spirit in the world. Therefore, the study of history that ignores this principle of unity, if knowledge takes place only in the empirical domain, is conditioned to isolated facts that cannot reveal the secret of things, or the reason for their being[911].

Despite the positivist yearnings, which also partially find echo in Alves da Veiga, his academic background and the theoretical basis of his thinking are multiple. These include besides Hegel and German idealism, also Proudhon and the federalist tradition, or even a certain openness to other socialist considerations.

This tendency towards German thought, however, will never be abandoned. Quite the contrary, it progressively integrated new elements of this tradition, as can be seen in his major work *Politica Nova*. This book, not only denotes the early Hegelian considerations but also reflects on the new challenges posed by Marxism[912].

After the failed attempt to establish the republic (1891), Alves da Veiga went into exile in Paris and, even after the pardons issued by the liberal monarchy, he decided to remain there. This exile experience also brought him in closer contact with the European reality, which led to the deepening of his federalism. It is no longer just inspired by Proudhon, but

[909] "império universal do conhecimento, o futuro harmónico da civilização humana" idem, ibidem, p.12.
[910] "O espírito, é, no homem a unidade superior que gera e produz tudo. Como essência pura, determina-se na razão e na consciência, como realidade objetiva, determina-se na história, na religião, na arte, no direito, numa palavra, em todas as ciências em que entram elementos de sensibilidade" idem, ibidem, p.20.
[911] Idem, ibidem, pp.6-7.
[912] Idem, ibidem, pp.217-221.

also on the improvement of the bureaucratic machine according to the German school[913], and the dynamism of the Anglo-Saxonic voluntarist associative tradition[914].

However, given all those considerations, Alves da Veiga did not cease to be a profound admirer of Hegelian philosophy, as denoted by Magalhães Lima[915]. Already with the republican regime in motion, he would then return to Portugal and, as a result of this experience acquired in Europe, will help the young republican find its place on the international scene at diplomatic levels.

Long before the 1891 revolt, opposition to the monarchical governance, and its sponsorship of the existing political system, was preeminent in various sectors of society. This confirmation is to be found in the *Liga Patriótica do Norte* galvanized by Antero de Quental, which encompassed besides republicans also monarchists, as well the socialist concerns of Antero himself, who at the time was averse to a republican configuration.

Notwithstanding, the Oporto republican movement had revolutionary elements coming from socialism[916]. Especially because it sought to win working-class sectors to its aid, but mostly had a strong trend pending towards a liberal republic with its main tenets on economic competitiveness, free trade and a democracy free of political cronyism.

Much has been said about the problem of democracy-caesarism in Antero and Oliveira Martins, since at that stage they sought the organization of society, given the complete disorganization of the masses[917]. This would be the main obstacle to democracy because in, such a state of affairs, political outcomes could thus be easily misled.

One aspect that should be noted is that, on the part of Antero, there was no openness to Caesarism in *stricto sensu*. But instead, possibly related to formulas of radical liberalism, since we are told in a letter that he had "fallen under the power of Gervinus"[918].

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[913] See for example, his hailing of Germany's discovery of the progressive tax, which came to remedy the injustices of the tax system. Idem, ibidem, p.173.

[914] Idem, ibidem, p.199.

[915] "Embora tivesse pertencido a uma geração de românticos, Alves da Veiga, que foi um brilhante cultor da filosofia hegeliana, revelou sempre qualidades de um verdadeiro homem de governo" Magalhães Lima "Dr. Alves da Veiga" in *Archivo Democrático*, n.8, January 1909, p.56.

[916] See Fernando Catroga, *O Republicanismo em Portugal. Da Formação ao 5 de Outubro de 1910*, 2nd edition, Editorial Noticias, Lisboa, 2000, p.87.
See also for this positivist appropriation of the historical Portuguese revolutionary ideal: idem, "Positivisas e Republicanos" in *História da história em Portugal sécs. XIX-XX.*, Luis Reis Torgal(ed.), Circulo de Leitores, [s.l], 1996." pp.113-115.

[917] See in this respect Oliveira Martins, *Política e Economia Nacional*, 2nd Edition, Guimarães Editores, Lisboa, 1954.

[918] "eu continuo sem alteração sensível na minha trágica situação desde que caí em poder do Gervinus" letter from [beginning of June 1882] to Oliveira Martins in Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. II, *op. cit.* p.414.

Gervinus (1805-1871) was a liberal political theorist and, as a political historian, he envisaged a democratic dictatorship, temporary in nature. It would subside after the political order returns to the course of history (*vis-à-vis* the Hegelian world spirit), conceived according to the prism of historical trends[919].

Many of his theories bore hallmarks of the Berlin philosopher, or had a background in philosophy of history, while interestingly establishing a relation of friendship with the philosopher's son, the historian Karl Hegel. But he still remained on the level of empirical analysis, in his studies of history, which were in any case supported by a philosophical overview attentive to wholeness, doing justice to the legacy of German idealism.

At the base of Gervinus' political theory is the conclusion that the masses play a fundamental role in any modern political movement[920]. This involvement of the masses will be in the minds of the 1891 Oporto rebels, even if most were not aware of Gervinus's theory or it only played a marginal role in them. But as we saw earlier, there was some knowledge of doctrines originating in Germany or those that were Hegelian in nature, on the part of politicians associated with the republicans. However, one of those implicated in the uprising had deeper philosophical concerns, I am speaking of Sampaio Bruno (1857-1915).

From early on, the philosopher from Oporto reaped liberal ideas from his father, a small owner from Oporto and a member of a freemasonry guild, encouraging him in his studies[921]. His interest in philosophical topics began at an early age under the teachings of Amorim Viana. Following Viana's critique of faith, with his own writing *Análise da Crença Cristã* [922], the metaphysical studies will afterwards occupy him throughout his life.

Additionally, he brought those inclinations to the political movement that took shape in Oporto, which, after its defeat, led him into exile, and there he obtained important theoretical insights into social movements. These would come from Marxism, as he becomes familiar with French socialist politician Jules de Guesde.

See also his mention of a Gervinus book he had sent to Martins in a letter from 31st [of October 1889] in Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol. II, *op. cit.* p.655.

[919] See for instance his reflection on the dissolution of aristocratic powers, through a democratic tyranny, when he tells us "die neuere Absolutie bildet, wie im Alterthum die Tyrannie, in dem Übergang von den aristokratischen zu den demokratischen Ordnungen nur den Durchgangspunkt." G.G. Gervinus, *Einleitung in die Geschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Vierter Auflag, Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann, Leipzig, 1864, p.18

[920] Idem, ibidem, p.78 et p.168.

[921] See Joel Serrão, *Sampaio Bruno, O Homem e o Pensamento*, Editorial Inquérito, Lisboa, 1958, p.17.

[922] Idem, ibidem, pp.31-32.

After the manifesto of the exiled rebels, that he wrote together with Alves da Veiga[923], he will publish a collection of essays that bear the title *Notas de Exílio 1891-1893*. In this text, one can read him at length, speaking about the religious thematic of the Hegelian left. It arouses interest in him due to the fact that Feuerbach, making use of Hegel's philosophy, is at the origin of the turn from God to Man and by "using the master's dialectical method, the disciple highlighted the contradiction between the human essence and the theological essence of Christianity."[924]

However, the most interesting in this book is the essay *Bebel*, which constitutes one of the first considerations about Marxism in Portugal, since the author was in direct contact with leading intellectuals of this current of thought. In this text, Sampaio Bruno tells us precisely that Marx's "economic critique proceeds from a general metaphysical concept about the universe. It renews the thought of Heraclitus and in the currents of Hegelian interpretation, Marx emphasizes the character of the instability of phenomenology"[925].

These references to Hegelianism in Marx and, in another essay, also speaking about Hegel's presence in Russian intellectuals[926], is not just a mere tracing of intellectual lineages. It is rather the result of his own study of Hegelian doctrine, that he ultimately identifies with other thinkers that he also studies. This is something already noticeable in a book prior to his exile, as he speaks of the new generation that started the revolt in Oporto, summoning the dialectical philosopher to his aesthetic-philosophical judgments.

The reason for studying the German philosopher relates the intention Hegel's intention of establishing aesthetics as a science of the beauty. For him, Hegel's great contribution in this regard was to delineate the principle of historicity of artistic forms, seeking, with this historical concatenation, the laws of the aesthetical phenomena. Notwithstanding, he does not cease to criticize the philosopher because this law is found in the movement of thought, in the idea, which would be the "demiurge of reality"[927].

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[923] See Sampaio Bruno, *Manifesto dos Emigrados da Revolução Republicana Portuguesa de 31 de Janeiro de 1891*, Governo Civil do Porto, Porto, 1991.

[924] "Usando o método dialético do mestre, o discípulo pôs em evidencia a contradição entre a essência humana e a essência teológica do cristianismo." Sampaio Bruno, *Notas de Exílio 1891-1893*, Livraria Internacional de Ernesto Chardron, Porto, 1893, p.6.

[925] "critica economica do alemão, procede de um conceito metafisico geral sobre o universo. Renovando o pensamento de heraclito e na corrente de interpretação hegeliana, Marx frisa-se o caracter da instabilidade da Fenomenologia" idem, ibidem, p.127.

[926] Idem, ibidem, p.99.

[927] See Bruno, *A Geração Nova: Ensaios críticos e novelistas*, Magalhães & Moniz, Porto, 1886, pp.251-255.

But Hegel is not the only philosopher Bruno studies in this book, Kant's doctrine is also discussed at length in some of its pages[928]. His interest in ideas of German extraction is apparent, as he was perhaps the first Portuguese philosopher who had in-depth knowledge of the German language, reading these philosophers in their original works. In fact, in the years following his exile, he was even responsible for translating Heinrich Schäfer's work *History of Portugal* (1836-1854), that was much appreciated by Portuguese historians and intellectuals[929].

But despite his early criticisms of religion, the exile in France led him into mysticism. Hence, philosophically and politically, we witnessed some changes in doctrine shortly after his stay. One can observe an approximation towards prophetic notions of nationality, as these were linked to political movements of a conservative nature, which integrate them in their traditionalist theories. But the philosopher himself progressively distances himself from politics, and one could identify him, in this second phase, as following a liberal-conservative trend of reformist liberalism.

In his next book, perhaps the last one before those philosophical tendencies permeate his political thought more profoundly. We see him writing about Hegel regarding the ideological-intellectual makeup of Brazil, in the main tendencies of French positivism and German monism.

It is not surprising, however, that he identifies many inclusions of Hegelianism in positivist thought, as in its notions of state[930], or also its metaphysics[931]. But it is in monism that Hegel comes more prominently, as the great system of the modern age "by rehabilitating dialectics as the highest form of thought" from where the body of doctrine, forming the theory of evolution, came about[932].

The thought of Sampaio Bruno is complex, and his philosophical studies were extensive. Although the pulse of Hegelianism is found in him, by then coming more directly from Germany, this was not the main current of thought inspiring his philosophical evolution, perhaps it was Hartmann?

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[928] Idem, ibidem, pp.237-250

[929] See in this regard A.H. de Oliveira Marques, "Heinrich Schäfer e a sua História de Portugual" in *Portugal-Alemanha-África. Do imperialismo colonial ao imperialismo político*. Actas do IV encontro-luso- alemão (coorden. de A. H. Oliveira Marques, A. Opitz e F. Clara), Edições Colibri, Lisboa, 1996, pp.63-70.

[930] See Bruno, *O Brazil Mental: Esboço Critico*, Livraria Chardron, Porto, 1898, p.136.

[931] Idem, ibidem, p.175.

[932] "ao reabilitar a dialéctica como forma mais elevada do pensamento" idem, ibidem, p.358.

Despite his withdrawal from politics, his ideas continue to echo in republican circles, and in theoretical undertakings about the nation. These political struggles, for democratic advances, continue to make themselves heard in his reflections about consciousness, as this is the domain he prefers to focus on, in this second intellectual phase.

The establishment of the republic in 1910, with the promise to bring a much sought after political renewal of democracy and a revived national mood able to move Portuguese society into progress, mobilized large popular masses and brought to power people with new political ideas. These would also include appropriations of Hegelian sources, in the vast ensemble of currents of thought that makeup the liberal republican theoretical background.

Such evidence is found in the first president of the Republic, Manuel de Arriaga, when he tells us in one of his books that the efforts in favor of the metaphysical cause, undertaken by the great German philosophers, like Kant and Hegel, should not be lost but integrated into modern science[933]. Clearly, this position stands by positivist scientism, a tendency predominant in the principal leaders of the republican movement, which leads him to criticize a modulating horizon of knowledge in the metaphysical views of philosophy, taking inspiration instead in the models of natural sciences.

Therefore, social organicism guides Arriaga's ideological conceptions, as one of the great political models. He ascertains in a passage from that book that the evolution of the biological cell would tell us much more about the harmony of the social organization, than those philosophical conceptions[934].

However, those principles are themselves found in Hegelianism, so it is not surprising he mentions the German philosopher in that context, complaining about the metaphysical foundation of Hegel's organicism, which he deems should start from positive observations.

For these men, science was looked upon as a new kind of religion, which is also a plausible explanation for the anti-clericalism of the republicans. Considering that science competed with Catholicism at the ideological level, with its own apostles/clergy in the establishment of the truth behind existence[935]. In Manuel de Arriaga, this was also one of the main reasons for his interest in Hegel, as a myth-figure, who could be presented on the altar of the venerable, the way by which positivists conceived a civil religion.

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[933] See Manuel de Arriaga, *Harmonias sociais: o problema humano e a futura organização social (no debute da sua fase definitiva)*, F. França Amado Editor, Coimbra, 1907, p.173.
[934] See idem, ibidem, pp.40-41.
[935] See regarding this competition idem, ibidem, pp.270-271.

But in the range of heads of state, Manuel de Arriaga was not the only one who was aware of Hegel's contributions, besides Teófilo Braga previously discussed in another chapter, Bernardino Machado (1851-1944) also had an appreciation for the Berlin philosopher. His inquiry about the philosophical backwardness in Portugal leads him to assert that Hegel is comparable to Aristotle in the modern age, as the later was still dominantly taught in Portugal[936].

It is evident from one of his works that what he takes from Hegel is selective. First, he writes that the principle of unity, the synthesis, and the establishment of harmony, as emanating from the philosopher, would constitute the principles of our time. Secondly, he claims likewise this principle does not involve the antithesis that Hegel spoke about, because, according to him, science has come to prove that the law of progress involves rather attraction and symbiosis, which in the social sphere translates into association and solidarity[937]. In another text, he seems rather to affirm that the Hegelian synthesis, synonymous with peace, results from the resolution of the antithesis, and as such the world would be heading towards some kind of final synthesis[938].

But even so, independent of his understanding of Hegelian logic, his peculiar Germanism draws attention. Especially because for him the greatness of Germany would be consubstantiated in its science and knowledge, and not in the use of force and Caesarism.

That would be only an apparent or passing form of that greatness, which ultimately is best represented by a constellation of superior spirits, with its hegemony in the domain of thought[939]. Perhaps for this reason, the preceptor of his children was of German origin[940].

Notwithstanding, this appropriation of Hegel unaware of some fundamental ideas is a continuity already observed in previous liberal-conservatives, especially from other countries such as France.

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[936] "Multiplicara-se a matemática, chegava-se á mecânica celeste, quer dizer, a Laplace; a física progredia com Franklin; por exemplo, o domador do raio e da tirania; já Buffon escreverá a história natural do homem; houvera Rousseau – estava até para explodir a revolução de 89 -; tinha nascido Hegel e nós marcávamos o passo na doutrina aristotélica!" Bernardino Machado, *Afirmações Públicas 1882-1886*, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1888, p.22.

[937] See Bernardino Machado, Da Monarquia para a Républica 1883-1905, Typographia Franca Amado, Coimbra, 1905, pp.472-473.

[938] See Bernardino Machado, *A Universidade de Coimbra*, Typographia Franca Amado, Coimbra, 1905 pp.225-228.

[939] Idem, ibidem, p.239.

[940] Interestingly enough, the preceptor Helena Domke would marry the early discussed student of philosophy Manuel da Silva Mendes, who was knowledgeable on the Hegelian currents of thought.

Those interpretations set their tone on the result, through the idea of reconciliation found in Hegel's philosophy, instead of the process. The republican party itself contains these two elements, democratism and moderate liberalism, which are at the root of the first split within the republican party in 1912.

The ideological background of this division was already delineated in the period of the liberal monarchy. These discussions were linked to the principle of nationality, as well as to racial theories, and unavoidably to the problem of Portugal's historical decline in the international world system.

In view of this, the conservative discourse added some novelties to the interpretations of Hegelianism, above all, during the first republic. Notwithstanding, its genesis lies in liberal-conservative ideology within the republican party of the monarchical period, especially in the lead-up to the 1910 regime.

Hegel from the perspectives of conservativism and the thought of tradition

The notion of conservative principles that guide political life can be found in different political quadrants, including in all of those outlined above. However, the concept of conservatism operates on its own, as a political ideology, within certain parameters not necessarily but rather commonly associated with force, order in relation to institutional power, and especially the concept of tradition.

In a way, there is always a tradition, but the thought of tradition as the cult of a true way to be followed, endorsing a return to a past, either real or imagined, is something associated with conservative thought. In the case of Portugal, the national Christian traditions are at the base of such socio-political conception.

The claim of those principles by political movements in Portugal, during the liberal monarchy, will be associated with the maintenance of the regime. There was, however, a reformist impetus that some earlier critics had sought to instill in the echelons of power, such as the meetings of the so-called *Vencidos da Vida* to discuss the Portuguese political landscape.

Other political orientations also have idealized versions of the past projecting into the future, but in its systemic and conservative facet, this refers specifically to the *regeneração* period (1851-1890) and its subsequent reflexes. There were pledges to end the degeneration,

as the nation is identified along pathological traits, reminiscent of positivism's philosophical leanings towards natural sciences, embodied in the concept of *degenerescência*[941].

The crisis of 1891-92 will become the greatest challenge to the political order, strengthening the political positions of more radical contours. Its outcomes generated discomfort among the conservative centers after a political debacle, in the colonial territorial context against Great Britain, moving some of those sectors towards nationalistic stances.

However, a well-established ideological foundation, backing a theory of tradition along national lines, will only present itself with *Integralismo Lusitano*, after the establishment of the republic. Those efforts loosely drew inspiration from the idea of an integral nationalism as portrayed by the French movement *Action Française*. This form of conservativism does not seek to maintain the *status quo*, but rather a transformation of reality by ideologically aligning itself with illiberal, anti-parliamentarian, counter-revolutionary and authoritarian tendencies that some define as radical conservatism[942].

Moreover, its political theory is tendentially monarchical, or in the limit power is to be concentrated on an authoritarian figure capable of maintaining order. Therefore, many of its supporters felt closer to the German political developments, rather than British and French parliamentarianism, which they saw as ineffective.

Through this same route, the Berlin dialectical philosopher's political thought has been associated with the conservatives, and by extension claimed as an intellectual source by some integralists. The connection between political developments in nineteenth-century Germany and philosophy, as exposed by Hegel, starts with the principle of justifying the very state of affairs.

The similarities are immediately apparent, as Hegel also endorsed the monarchical political form, as the appropriate one for Germany. However, it remains to be proven that this defense had any semblance of a dictatorial governance or political Caesarism, as many other indications point out otherwise[943].

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[941] See in this respect Sérgio Campos Matos, "Representações da crise finissecular em Portugal" in *A República no Brasil e em Portugal 1899-1910*, coordenação de Amadeu Carvalho Homem, Armando Malheiro da Silva, Artur César Isaia, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2007.

[942] See in this respect António Costa Pinto "A formação do integralismo Lusitano (1907-1917)" in *Análise Social*, Vol. XVIII, 1982, pp.1409-1419.

[943] Hegel was a strong critic of restorationist ideologies and fought against them, as those ideas were represented mainly in the thought of Karl Ludwig von Haller.

In the previous chapter, one of the typologies of Hegelianism is precisely the apologetic defense of Prussianism. However, even if such interpretation could be contested altogether, those who criticize it also often endorse this reading. The critique of Oliveira Martins and Antero de Quental is a good example, since they give credit to the widely disseminated myth of Hegel as an apologist of restoring the monarchical power, as well as other narratives along those lines.

The conservative tradition is also supportive of that trend, but for a very different reason, which is their ideological affinity. Henceforth, a certain tradition has developed into a gallery of myths and legends. Could one therefore speak almost of a Hegelian imaginary?

In many respects, the traditionalist discourse will carry on and assimilate that tradition, because a tradition can also be an invention[944], and the problem was not whether those ideas could be adequately affiliated to Hegel's thought, but instead if that tradition was adequate to the ideological narrative of a certain conservative thought. There is a similar meaning attributed to imagined communities in their sense of belonging, referring to a thematic adjacent to this same issue of tradition, in the context of nationalism and identity constructions.

This does not negate that in Hegel the civil society in its liberal order is to a great extent maintained, contrary to proposals of radical socialism. In that regard, Hegel could be seen as a proponent of conserving such order, even if advocating a number of reforms.

As for imperial Germany and its reformism and bureaucratic apparatus, supposedly mirroring Hegel's ideas, it is important to note that the correlation of political forces is quite diverse. The support given to the Prussian state, at the time in which the philosopher lived, is linked to a progressive position against the return of retrograde restorationist political alternatives.

Notwithstanding, many would equate Bismarck as a continuation of Hegelian philosophy into the field of politics. This is echoed in the author of historical novels Luis Guedes Coutinho Garrido (1841-1882), praising the wisdom of the Germans in light of the new political order established under the German politician[945].

[944] See in this regard Eric Hobsbawm et all, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, 1983.

[945] "O sabia Alemanha, vela o rubor de tuas faces com as tuas venerandas mãos! Tu, para quem é um escândalo a doutrina do livre arbítrio, que realizaste no teu império o Estado ideal, que tens nas tuas leis confessionais o código mais perfeito da legislação religiosa, e no teu *fundo de reptis* o mais seguro *palladium* da liberdade de pensamento, tu, para quem Hegel é Hegel e Bismarck o seu profeta, deixa-te mover de um sentimento que outrora se chamava comiseração, e dize a este sismador do meio dia que não existe o dever, nem a

However, very often the conservative elements at the end of the century, and later the integralists, balance out their Germanism by highlighting the distance between the peninsular traditions and the German reality. They also endorse comfortable ambiguity, in relation to the conservative interpretation of Hegel's philosophy.

The political thinker Basílio Teles (1856-1923) is a great example in regard, with a profound interest in the political situation on the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian war, as Germany would represent, in his view, the conservative world[946]. Thus, his support for democratic ideas would be more tactical than doctrinal, because he defends a republican form of government as a means of a Portuguese national revival. Hence, the disregard of the ceasarist tendencies of the third French republic, and the evident fascination with the cultural superiority and organization of conservative Germany[947].

Ultimately, he relates the national interests of Portugal to an alliance with the Latin world, and this is what hinders any alliance with the German Empire. Besides of course the German African territory colonial competition, which goes beyond the problems of cultural differences. This all added up to the inability of German idealism to respond to the needs of the Latin nations[948].

Moreover, reflecting on the problem stemming from the British colonial dispute, Basílio Teles finds the proposal of the Germanophiles who wanted a closer political alignment with the central powers laughable. On the grounds that it is merely based on their literary readings and philosophical inclinations, from which they developed a certain Germanism, rather than *Realpolitik* as the Germans themselves were famous for[949].

The great minds of the political philosophy out of German idealism were being assimilated by Portuguese intellectuals, before the breaking of the conflict with Britain, especially from the youths of Coimbra searching for new ideas. This led to their interest in

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responsabilidade, nem a justiça. Mas não... entoa antes um hino entusiástico à casta *Vaterland*, colhe pensativa um ramo de *vergissmeinnicht*, empina com olímpica serenidade o copo de cerveja e, em quanto te dispões para a nocturna ronda habitual daquelas praças e daqueles jardins que bem conheces, encolhe os ombros, e pronuncia *fatalmente* a fatal sentença: É um original!
E a Madre Germania, a India do Ocidente, tem razão. Crer na pátria, na liberdade, no ideal... Quantas originalidades!" Luis Guedes Coutinho Garrido, *Estudos de História e Literatura: ensaios críticos, discursos e conferencias*, edição prefaciada por Fidelino Figueiredo, Livraria Universal, Lisboa, 1923, p.227.

[946] See Basílio Teles, *Memórias Políticas*, Publicações Alfa, Lisboa, 1990, p.142.

[947] Idem, ibidem, p.146.

[948] Idem, ibidem, p.151-152.

[949] See Basílio Teles, *Do Ultimatum ao 31 de Janeiro: esboço de história política*, Bazilio Telles editor, Porto, 1905, pp.7-10.

Hegel and the Hegelianism of Strauss, Feuerbach, Taine, Renan, Proudhon, Marx and others[950].

He understands the attitude of this new intellectuality, being himself apparently sympathetic and even knowledgeable about Hegel and the currents of German thought. But in his perspective, these ideas must have a basis in the underlying nature of Portugal and its interests.

Indeed, several of his writings of a philosophical nature indicate that same knowledge, as he examines the nature of reality and its different doctrines historically conceived[951]. Therefore, the conservatism associated with Basílio Teles, especially after the implantation of the republic, will be ideologically close to those reflections around the character of German conservatism, going beyond its mere monarchical appearance[952].

Morais Sarmento (1843-1930) is another figure of the liberal monarchy subscribing to the political reading of Hegelianism along the lines of German nationalism. Such a mindset is common for the geopolitical-military thought in regard to this political ideology, with its attempts to trace an intellectual historical precedent just as Basílio Teles had done.

The military writer is under the assumption that Hegel was the leading authority of German contemporary thought, echoing the famous aphorism, that what is rational is real and that what is real is rational, taken in its conservative interpretation as an apology of the existing[953].

However, the politician's observations go further than this apologetic sense. Those principles led to providentialism and fatalism associated with the law of force and the

[950] Idem, ibidem, p.8 et pp.23-24.

[951] See in this regard his mentions of Hegel while considering the nature of being and thought in Parmenides, or the rebuttal of the Kantian notions of the subjectivity of space, in favor of a more Hegelian approach of both subjective and objective dimensions. Basílio Teles, *Ensaios Filosóficos*, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, Lisboa, 2006, p.188 et pp.257-258.

[952] Leading some to label it *sociocratic conservatism*, Pedro Miguel Martins, *O republicanismo autoritário de Basílio Teles (1856-1923)*, Caleidoscópio, Lisboa, 2011, pp.551-552.
See also *Dicionário biográfico parlamentar. 1834-1910*, Maria Filomena Monica(ed.), Vol. 3, Instituto de Ciências Sociais – Assembleia da República, Lisboa, 2004, pp.682-683.

[953] "Foi Hegel (1770-1831), porém, quem com as suas doutrinas filosóficas e, sobretudo, com a enorme autoridade de mestre do pensamento na Alemanha contemporânea, apontou o caminho, que depois trilharam os grandes pensadores nacionais. — «As ideias não correspondem somente á realidade como a imagem ao objecto, escrevia ele, são a própria essência da realidade; o racional é o princípio do real e tudo quanto existe é justificado totalmente pelo próprio facto da existência, o que subsiste é a própria razão consumada.»" José Estevão de Morais Sarmento, *A Expansão Alemã: causa determinante da guerra de 1914-1918; suas tentativas e perigos na áfrica portuguesa*, Guimarães & Ca Editores, Lisboa, 1919, p.35.

imposition of a superior right, as a result of victory. Thus, force is synonymous with the right and virtue, seeing war as something positive or necessary[954].

Consequently, he also derives from Hegel the idea of the predestination of individuals and peoples, according to which these would be endowed with force to fulfill the mission in which they were invested. In that case scenario, this would mean the supremacy of Germany, not only in intellectual terms but also in its relation with other nations. He concludes that the practical result of Hegel's idealism is the cult of force, and a theory of conquest, legitimized by this messianic idea of the strongest[955].

Finally, besides the apologetic Hegel, there is also for him an officialdom side of Hegelianism, since he thinks this has been the official philosophy thought at higher education to men of sciences and letters. This extends likewise well into other social classes, laying the theoretical basis for the current popular class conflict[956].

From that line of thought, the Portuguese writer speaks of Karl Marx which, following the footsteps of Hegel, developed his theory of class struggle as a social doctrine[957]. Therefore, Morais Sarmento recognizes, almost paradoxically, that Hegel's weight is felt in both the maintenance of the existent and in its transformation. This takes place through the concept of force as a motor of progress, being nevertheless enclosed in the notion of an official Hegel that maintains a broader cultural presence.

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[954] "A aplicação deste princípio á história e á política levou Hegel a demonstrar o acordo de quanto vinga com as leis providenciais e fatais, que regem a vida humana; a reconhecer na vitória e na força o vestígio de um direito superior; a afirmar que a civilização só se elabora pela guerra, e que a força, o direito e a virtude são sinónimos" idem, ibidem, p.35.

[955] "Pretendia ainda Hegel haver indivíduos e povos predestinados e dotados da força indispensável para cumprirem a missão, da qual haviam sido investidos, levando-o este raciocínio a predizer para a Alemanha a supremacia universal, o império do mundo. E não foi somente a supremacia intelectual, a irradiação superior da civilização ou do pensamento que aquele filosofo previu, para a sua pátria, mas o domínio verdadeiramente real, um império germânico perante o qual deixaria de existir o direito nacional dos outros povos e até o próprio direito humano. O idealismo de Hegel levava, na vida prática, ao culto da Força, á teoria da conquista e ainda á legitimação dos abusos perante a ideia da missão destinada ao povo forte, ao individuo forte" idem, ibidem, p.35.

[956] "Sabendo-se que o hegelianismo tem sido a filosofia oficialmente ensinada nas escolas, e a fonte de inspiração dos homens da ciência e literatos germanos, compreende-se facilmente como ele estendeu os seus domínios até às próprias classes populares" idem, ibidem, p.35.

[957] "Karl Marx (1818-1883), que baseou o seu sistema social na lei da evolução de Hegel, na lei da luta pela existência de Darwin e no estudo da história, sustentou a tese de que, tanto de facto como de direito, é a necessidade da alimentação que guia os povos, e não a da igualdade e da justiça. E esta concepção da humanidade, que é alheia á noção de direito, e na qual a ideia de luta para a satisfação das exigências materiais se matem soberana, tem verdadeiros pontos de contacto com a doutrina social dominante na Alemanha actual." Idem, ibidem, pp.35-36

These ethnic-cultural criteria, defining a Latin culture as opposed to a Germanic one, extended into the beginning of the 20th century, and were particularly reaffirmed after the outbreak of the First World War. At that time, an article by Alberto Cunha Saraiva (1886-1946) in the journal of the Faculty of Law of the University of Lisbon attests to this fact. The author identifies a German political doctrine in light of the recent events, conjecturing that its theoretical support is found in Hegel, but also in others because "deification of the state" is the "dominant note" of various German political doctrines.

In what concerns Hegel, the Portuguese will read into the German world, that the philosopher speaks in his lectures on the philosophy of history, the election of his people to the detriment of other states regarding rights and historical progress[958].

This type of criticism is also found among republicans, as in the case of Manuel de Brito Camacho (1862-1934), who sees in Hegel that same bellicose support of the German ambitions. But according to him, not all national philosophers endorse such developments, as this was in opposition to the Kantian perpetual peace[959].

However, he is more reticent to a direct connection between politics and philosophy. Especially regarding supposed responsibilities of the war attributed to philosophy, because the political field often ignores philosophers and is prone to confusions[960].

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[958] "Manifestação daquele orgulho teutónico, de que se encontram sinais na mais remota história da Germania, a deificação do Estado alemão é a nota dominante naquelas doutrinas políticas. Aparece-nos a cada passo nos livros dos filósofos e nos discursos dos homens de estado. Fichte fala do povo alemão como sendo o povo em si". Hegel diz que o mundo vai entrar depois das épocas oriental, grega e latina numa quarta época, a maior de todas, a época alemã; então um só povo representaria o espírito universal – o povo alemão; em face dele outros povos não conservarão nenhum direito" Alberto da Cunha Rocha Saraiva "As doutrinas políticas Germânica e Latina e a teoria da personalidade jurídica do estado" in *Revista da Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de Lisboa*, Ano I, Julho a Dezembro de 1917, Lisboa, p.284.

[959] "Hegel, sim foi um apologista da guerra, que considerava inevitável, sempre moral, sempre vantajosa, a despeito de todos os protestos subjetivos da consciência. Ele foi um grande admirador de Napoleão, cujas as victórias, consideradas no ponto de vista dialéctico, nada mais eram do que a consequência lógica de premissas inatacáveis – a sanção material do *direito da força*, o primeiro e o mais valioso de todos os direitos. Como não havia de ser apologista da guerra, se ele a considerava, indispensável ao desenvolvimento moral da humanidade?

Muito diferente pensava Kant com respeito à guerra, tão diferentemente que em sua opinião o estado se organizou para garantir uma paz perpetua. Ele bem sabia que a pay eterna nada mais é do que uma aspiração generosa, uma utopia sentimental, mas porque lhe repugnava o estado da guerra, considerava a paz como um limite de que nos podemos aproximar indefinidamente sem nunca o atingirmos" Brito Camacho, *Nas Horas Calmas*, Guimarães & Cª editores, Lisboa, 1920, p.201.

[960] "O sr. Laskine atribui uma grande responsabilidade aos filósofos Alemães na actual guerra, particularmente a Kant, que talvez o Kaiser apenas de nome conheça. O imperador não foi estudante de mão cheia, e certamente não foi depois de subir ao trono que ele arranjou disposições e vagares para entreter com as filosofias kantista e hegeliana." ... "Possivelmente o sr. Laskine, escrevendo sob a impressão de qualquer boletim da guerra, favorável aos Alemães, fez uma lamentável confusão de filósofos, e querendo descarregar as suas iras sobre Hegel, descarregou-as sobre Kant." Idem, ibidem, pp.200-201.

The republican regime peremptorily finds this Hegelian conservative line of interpretation, both as a critique and in a sense also as a fascination for its presumed powerful political repercussions.

It should be noted, This discourse, as we have seen in the case of Basílio Teles and Morais Sarmento, runs deep into the liberal monarchy. But other examples could also be given, inclusively regarding a more open defense of conservative thought in António Cândido (1850-1922).

In one of his parliamentary speeches, the politician is quite emphatic in stating that Hegel belongs to the German conservative line of thought, while praising Bismark's triumph in recent historical events:

"And yet, one can confess aloud the conservative creed, and if the doctrines reflect the beauty of the spirits that form or realize them, this one, the conservative, is of the most brilliant ones. It had Hegel in Germany before having the triumphant history of Bismark..."[961]

In another speech, António Cândido also refers to Hegel as having reformed history and philosophy[962]. Moreover, one of his biographers writes he valued the objectivism of Hegel[963].

Finally, shortly after António Cândido had passed away, an extensive historical eulogy by the correspondent of *Academia das Ciências de Lisboa* António Ferrão, demonstrates he was a great source of inspiration for the new generations of the republican regime. The tribute also refers widely to Hegel because, according to the author, António Cândido's own concept of history was marked by that philosophy and its historical conceptions[964].

It is in this conservative repertoire, outlined above, that we see the base of the nationalism of *integralismo lusitano*, leading the Portuguese tradition of conservativism to much stronger ideological foundations. It is still possible to glimpse some contrary views, regarding the conservative interpretation of Hegel, in some circuits frequented by integralist

[961] "E todavia, pode-se confessar em voz alta o credo conservador, e se, as doutrinas reflectem a beleza dos espíritos que as formam ou que as realizam, esta, a conservadora, é das mais brilhantes.
Ela teve na Alemanha Hegel antes de possuir a história triunfante de Bismark..." António Cândido in Sessão Parlamentar da Camara dos Deputados from 1881-01-19 accessible at https://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/mc/cd/01/01/01/013/1881-01-19/183
[962] See António Cândido, *Discursos e Conferências*, Empreza Litterária e Typographica, Porto, [1917], p.99.
[963] See Joaquim da Costa, *António Cândido: O pensador e o artista*, Imprensa Portuguesa, Porto, 1923, p.33.
[964] See António Ferrão in *Boletim da Segunda Classe, Actas e Pareceres, Estudos, Documentos e Notícias*, Vol. XVI 1921-1922, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1926, p.231.

political ideologs. This is found in the journal *A Águia* with the reproduction of a translated article from the French literary critic Paul Souday (1869-1929).

The article tells us that, even if the dialectical philosopher was indulgent towards the established powers of his time, the Hegelian theory of the state does not imply support for the absolutism of the Prussian state.

He further highlights that some of his disciples were socialists, and humanity, against the individual, would be above the state in Hegel's political theory. What is more, politics would be taken over by philosophy in the typological fashion of a superimposition of philosophy over other areas of knowledge[965].

In reality, as seen earlier, the socialist circles tend to accentuate other aspects of Hegel's philosophy, notwithstanding the awareness of conservative paths in Hegelianism, which they also criticized. Yet the rebuttal of this interpretation is less obvious among Portuguese socialists, even if such views could have come forward.

Therefore, it is no coincidence that the author of the previous text is a foreigner. Once again, there is another example in a work by the Spanish socialist Fabra Ribas (1879-1958), translated by Magalhães de Lima, questioning the supposed support of authoritarian rulers by Hegel, without developing on the subject[966].

However, concerning *integralismo lusitano*, what it reaps from that conservative tradition of Hegelianism is far from a reproduction. It has instead more of critical dimensions, even if that criticism reaffirms itself modified along similar lines. For example, in the opinion of António Sardinha (1887-1925), the main ideologue of that political movement, the conservative policies should then be conducted in the right order, with a strong state refraining from excesses of authority in certain domains, such as the private individual sphere or in religion.

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[965] "Quanto a Hegel, cita-se a sua teoria do estado como parecendo apoiar o absolutismo prussiano; mas, se de facto ele foi indulgente para com esse regime nos últimos quinze anos da sua vida, talvez que a filosofia que professou a isso o não obrigasse. Alguns dos seus discípulos foram não monarquistas, mas socialistas revolucionários, e se, para ele, o Estado fica acima dos indivíduos, a humanidade mantem-se contudo superior aos Estados e desenvolve-se pela acção, pela ciência e pela religião. «De como a filosofia governará um dia o mundo e a política desaparecerá» é um titulo muito hegeliano de Renan. Spinoza, não menos atacado por Renouvier do que Hegel, também como panteísta e fatalista em metafisica, era democrática e liberal em política" ... "Edmond Scherer, que em nada se parecia com um absolutista, tinha a maior admiração pelo génio de Hegel, ao qual consagrou um luminoso e profundo estudo" ... "Nem Kant, nem Hegel, nem Goethe, nem Schiller tem muito que ver com as vicissitudes por que passa a Alemanha" Paul Souday "Renouvier e a Guerra de 1870" in *A Águia*, Vol.XVII – 2ª serie, Tipografia da «Renascença Portuguesa», Porto, 1920, p.32.

[966] See Antoni Fabra Ribas, *O Socialismo e o Conflicto Europeu: O Kaiserismo: eis o inimigo!* Guimarães & Cª Editores, Lisboa, 1916, p.155.

These insights in relation to Hegel are present in a number of reflections, during the first great war, that were later published in a monograph. He writes about the influence of Oliveira Martins on the king D. Carlos, shedding light on the role of conservative socialism from Lassalle and the contribution of Hegel, which is characterized as a Prussian state apologist[967].

On first appearances, this intellectual lineage does not seem to deserve his endorsement. But later in the text, it is notorious that Caesarism and the so-called conservative democracy it inspired, supposedly theorized by Oliveira Martins and initiated by D. Carlos, has in him firm support as a political project that must be resumed[968].

In the footsteps of other interpreters, António Sardinha identifies two phases in Oliveira Martins. The first is guided by a confused Hegelianism, that undermines the "secular foundations of the fatherland", while the second is rectified by the social conservatism of Lassalle, and Mommsen's theory of Caesarism[969]. According to Sardinha, that understanding is confusing because, for example, it mixes Hegel's metaphysics with the enlightenment optimism of progress[970].

António Sardinha's refusal of the first Oliveira Martins takes place in the context of the multiplicity of Hegelianism, which was both the prerogative of nationalist conservatives and internationalist revolutionaries, detaching himself from the latter. He identifies that tendency in German thought generally speaking, with its structuring flaws. In order to avoid contradiction, it plunges us into the absolute, while seeking the reconciliation formula in the state[971].

In a posthumous writing, it becomes evident that the underlying distancing from Hegelianism is because of the excesses of criticism associated with it, even if Sardinha takes into account some of Hegel's inspiring conceptions. Nevertheless, as a whole this led the "indigenous intelligentsia" away from the problems inherent to Portugal, into an absolute denationalization of the youth[972].

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[967] "Mais tarde, o socialismo de Lassalle orientou-lhe a inteligência no sentido aproximado ao da noção do Estado histórico, para o que contribuíram não pouco a leitura e meditação de Hegel, o apologista do Estado prussiano" António Sardinha, *Durante a Fogueira: páginas da guerra*, Livraria Universal, Lisboa, [1927], p.152.
[968] Idem, ibidem, pp.154-156.
[969] See António Sardinha, *Ao Princípio era o Verbo: ensaios e estudos*, Livraria Portugália, Lisboa, [1924], p.28.
[970] Idem, ibidem, p.165.
[971] "Por paradoxal que pareça, é aí que o critico de Portugal Contemporâneo se penetra da noção histórico do Estado, talvez já recebida de Hegel. Nos seus vícios estruturantes, o germanismo, para evitar o vácuo, encaminha-nos para o Absoluto. Donde a quase divinização do Estado, com Fichte e Hegel por seus corifeus na pátria de Kant, - solar do livre-exame." idem, ibidem, p.168.
[972] See António Sardinha, *Ao Ritmo da Ampulheta: critica & doutrina*, Lvmen, 1925, p.127.

This will be the type of criticism Francisco Homem de Cristo (father) (1860-1943), whose son was a supporter of António Sardinha, moves against Hegel with the accusation of lacking patriotism. He extends this critique to most German intellectuals, at the time of the revolution and the subsequent French invasions[973].

It would then be necessary to distinguish what could be learned from Hegelianism, but from within the Portuguese national context and without falling into these denationalizing tendencies that prevailed in Hegel. The readings referring to Hegel's statism, the use of force and war, are likewise echoed in other figures close to the ideas of *integralismo lusitano*, which remain in the traditionalist/nationalist discourse of a confrontation between nations.

The traditionalist João Ameal (pseud.), for instance, tells us on the aftermath of the First World War that the German roots are based on militarism. For his part, Hegel would be a leader and educator of this Teutonic spirit of domination, as he predicts the resurgence of war[974].

Another intellectual following this same discursive line was Raul Proença (1884-1941), who was in dialogue with the integralists, but defended democratic and socialist principles, while at the same time studying the traditionalist ideas in-depth, particularly the eternal recurrence theory from Nietzsche.

In some late political reflections, Proença went on to consider Hegel as the theoretical source of Germanism's doctrine of war and invasion, with the Berlin philosopher falling short of following Kantian ethics in its political extent[975]. This criticism has fundamentally two directions he opposed, both Soviet socialism and Italian fascism, being aware that some tendencies in those movements had a progeny in Hegelianism, while he advocated democratic and reformist socialism.

In the integralist intellectual constellation, other figures, that dialogued with the conservative ideals, also recognized the Hegelian background in Socialism. For instance, the Villa-Moura Viscount (1877-1935) associates the understanding in regard to the formation of class consciousness in workers as something accomplished by German intellectuals[976].

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[973] See Francisco Homem de Cristo, *Cartas de Longe: em defesa da instrução do povo*, Typographia Nacional, de Homem Christo, Aveiro, 1922, p.41.

[974] See João Ameal, *Claridade: prosas contemporâneas*, Lvmen, Lisboa, 1925, pp.153-154.

[975] See Raul Proença, *Páginas de Política*, Vol. II, Seara Nova, 1972, Lisboa, p.32 et pp.66-67.

[976] "Há lá o que por cá falta a «consciência de classe».
Desde 1848 que a *Federação dos Comunistas*, misto de elementos populares e dos mais notáveis elementos intelectuais, definiu no mais largo intuito humanitário o traçado da sua opinião reformadora – lógica com as aspirações socialistas adstritas ao trabalho espiritual que os nomes de Fichte, Hegel, Feurbach [sic], Hess, Karl

Not only in politics does one find praise for German intellectual, artistic and political landscape, but in the area of culture and literature, as well as those more occasionally interested in political issues. This much can be read in the last writings of João Penha (1838-1919) with its Germanophile tune[977]. Indeed, this is a trend from the Coimbra generation that carried through time, to which Penha belonged as a late-comer. But in addition to those historical antecedents of affinities to German culture, other Germanophiles appear in the new historical context.

According to Luis Reis Torgal, a historian of intellectual movements in Portugal, there is a notable influence of Germanism in the 19th century Portuguese intellectuals in their experience of nationality. Yet the new generation, at the beginning of the 20th century, cultivates a stronger emphasis on ethnic and traditional roots, connected to land, religion and the culture of what they deemed was the Portuguese spirit, leading to a reformulated Germanophilia[978].

The cultural-philosophical movement *Renascença Portuguesa* established this indigenous notion of a Portuguese thought. Others would later expand this topic, for example by defending the affiliation of 19th century intellectuals to a typical Portuguese tradition instead of German idealism[979].

In fact, the earlier mentioned António Ferrão ascertains precisely that the Portuguese were capable of philosophical discernment, just as any other people[980]. However, Leonardo Coimbra (1883-1936), one of the chief promoters of that so-called Portuguese philosophical thought, raises doubts in regard to certain philosophical "Germanic values"[981].

This may lead some to rush and read in this article, at the height of the great war, a rejection of the German philosophical heritage. However, it is clear that the entire article is rather an overview of his criticism of German thinkers, addressing a multitude of doctrines. In

Grün, Karl Marx e Engels foram sucessivamente lançando e acreditando" Villa-Moura, *Vida Literária e Política*, Magalhães & Moniz, Lda editores, Porto, 1911, p.217.

[977] See João Penha, *O Canto do Cisne*, Livrarias Aillaud e Bertrand, Lisboa, 1923, p.178.

[978] See Luis Reis Torgal "Germanismo e Germanofilia numa Revista Universitária. O *Boletim do Instituto Alemão* da faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra (1926-1943)" in *Portugal, India e Alemanha: actas do V Encontro Luso-alemão: Colónia 1998*, Zentrum Portugiesischsprachige Welt, Universität zu Köln, 2000, pp.495-509.

[979] See in this regard Pinharanda Gomes, "Aspectos da Filosofia Católica em Portugal" in *Lusitania Sacra*, 2nd serie, Tomo 12, 200 pp.343-45.

[980] See António Ferrão, *Boletim da Segunda Classe, Actas e Pareceres, Estudos, Documentos e Notícias, op. cit.* p.271.

[981] See Leonardo Coimbra "A insubsistência dos valores germânicos" in *Atlântida*, n. 18, 1917, pp.434-439.

regard to Hegel, the author runs counter to his dialectics of history since, alienated from experience, the spirit justifies all historical successes[982].

The journal *A Águia* will be the major publication giving voice to the philosophical-political thought of that intellectual movement. One can read Coimbra's early objections to Hegel in those pages. He considers this philosophy a rational exaggeration of Kantian premises, which led to a panlogism that falls to the opposite irrationalism, branding it the greatest intellectualist speculation[983]. However, on the other hand, he considers Hegel surpasses Kant in epistemological terms, by restoring unity to thought with his method of synthetic progression[984].

In the context of the First World War, many intellectuals felt the need to take a position in relation to the contending powers, often in a mix between politics and philosophy, which could have been distinguished but complicated by the war were not. It is then that we can read Leonardo Coimbra writing about the Latin soul, in contemplative sentimentality, as opposed to a Germanic activism, which forces its soul to *cousificar* (reify) itself in the world, while also recalling his dislike of Hegel's historical conceptions [985]. This would be a new thematic itself, since not all intellectuals align themselves in the Germanic field, namely the correspondents of this journal.

The poet Fernando Pessoa is one of those intellectuals going against the theses defended by Leonardo Coimbra. Those theses were actually first exposed by others, particularly Teixeira de Pascoaes (1877-1952)[986]. Pessoa was a proud Germanophile, defending the Portuguese neutrality in the war, as he seeks a polemic with João de Barros in *A Águia*, but the text ends up not being published[987].

It was in an article about the new Portuguese poetry that Pessoa confesses he was a follower of, what he calls, a pantheistic transcendentalism, referring to Hegel's philosophy as the "sole and eternal" example of that cathedral of thought[988].

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[982] Idem, ibidem, p.437.
[983] See Leonardo Coimbra "Natal e novo anno" in *A Águia*, 1st serie, n.3, Porto, 1911, p.2.
[984] See Leonardo Coimbra "Sobre a distinção entre o pensamento platónico e o pensamento moderno" in *A Águia*, 2nd Serie, Vol. III, Porto, 1913, p.141.
[985] See Leonardo Coimbra "O sentido da guerra" in *A Águia*, 2nd serie, Vol. IX, Porto, 1916, pp.147-149.
[986] See Teixeira de Pascoaes "Portugal e a Guerra e a Orientação das Novas Gerações" in *A Águia*, 2nd serie, Vol. VI, Porto, 1914, pp.161-168.
[987] See in this regard José Barreto "Fernando Pessoa – germanófilo ou aliadófilo: Um debate com João de Barros que não veio a público" in *Pessoa Plural – A Journal of Fernando Pessoa Studies*, n.6, 2014, pp.152-215.
[988] "Vê-se que este sistema é, não o materialismo nem o espiritualismo, mas sim o panteísmo, transcendentalizado; chamemos-lhe pois o *transcendentalismo panteísta*. Há dele um exemplo único e eterno.

Notwithstanding, even if Leonardo Coimbra finds himself in the camp of those who defend the Latin world, he is far removed of completely opposing Hegel's philosophy. Mainly because his theory of knowledge, revolving around the concept of *cousa* (thing)[989], actually sees the German philosopher as the least prone to "*cousismo*" (thingness)[990]. Therefore, this suggests that notwithstanding the shortcomings of turning knowledge into a *cousa*[991], in the German context, there is a clear preference for Hegel over other philosophical doctrines.

However, in political terms, he considers Hegelian doctrinairism to be the geo-political opponent of the Latin world, but he will certainly find inspiration in nationalist and traditionalism trends, generally speaking. Those come forward in the political and educational reforms he conducted, during his governmental experience, as we saw in the first chapter of this work.

His thought draws on various backgrounds, inclusively from Hegel's philosophy, which will be present in some of his works of that period, especially in a study about Antero de Quental[992]. He praises Hegel's idealist gnoseology in another work as well, due to its dynamism, that guided reason in the right direction[993].

In that sense, Leonardo Coimbra has a peculiar understanding of tradition, amounting to a recurring renewal of continuities. This has clear repercussions in his political thought, as he praises Kant in a parliamentary speech, because there is a recreation of the scholastic spirit with his categories. Leonardo defines such movement of expansion and actualization of knowledge as realism or experimental reason[994]. This could also perhaps shed light on his centralist type of governance, since the authoritative idea of tradition points to a schematic or methodological type of democracy as we are told.

É essa catedral do pensamento – a filosofia de Hegel." Fernando Pessoa "A nova poesia portuguese no seu aspecto psicológico" in *A Águia*, 2nd serie, Vol. II, Porto, 1912, p.189.

989 See for Coimbra's philosophy of knowledge Samuel Dias "A filosofia do conhecimento de Leonardo Coimbra" in *Cultura: Revista de História e Teoria das Ideias*, vol.29, 2012, pp.11-23.

990 "As filosofias, que menos pecam do vicio cousista são a de *Fichte* e de *Hegel*" Leonardo Coimbra, *O Criacionismo (esboço de um sistema filosófico)*, Biblioteca da Renascença Portuguesa, Porto, 1912, p.240.

991 idem, ibidem p.241.

992 See Leonardo Coimbra, *O Pensamento Filosófico de Antero de Quental*, J. Pereira da Silva, Porto, [1921] in particular pp.86-87 et p.105.

993 "As gnoseologias idealistas, à Hegel, estão aqui em melhor terreno, pois que desde logo resolve os problemas pelo dinamismo do pensamento, e, embora esse dinamismo seja erradamente visto na propriedade do crescimento do pensamento por oposições, levam involuntariamente dentro desse dinamismo à liberdade dos juízos construtores" Leonardo Coimbra, *A Razão Experimental: Logica e Metafísica*, Renascença Portuguesa, Porto, 1923, p.306.

994 See Leonardo Coimbra in Congresso da República from 1921-01-26 accessible at https://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/r1/cr/01/04/03/006/1921-01-26/22

Moreover, he tells us in another intervention that great men are representative of "the people", they embody the people's own development or are its "higher inflorescence" and men like "Kant, S. Francisco, Christ are stars to which the maternal night is the people"[995].

His policy of reforms from above, in the name of the people, implied heated debates in parliament. One of the visible faces of this clash was the attempt to reform the University of Coimbra, where Joaquim de Carvalho appears as one of the principal opponents. In parliament, Dias Pereira denounced this campaign against the university and defended the actions of Joaquim de Carvalho[996].

This attack on the University of Coimbra is evident, for example, in a speech by Orlando Marçal, defending Leonardo's reform by stating that the University of Coimbra supposedly had a reactionary tradition[997]. Orlando himself was not indifferent to philosophical topics, having studied at the humanities faculty, he recalls being led away from his studies on Kant, and was told that they were not in accordance with the catholic faith[998].

Indeed, this same critique of Kant is to be found in the parliament, where many Coimbra students would take political and administrative positions. The politician Ribeiro Coelho speaks, for instance, of the "German philosophers from Kant to Hegel, that dominated the superior currents of thought up until half of our century"[999], as responsible for the objections against the practical side of Christian catholic doctrines.

Following that same line, Luis José Dias presents a long critical reflection of modern philosophical systems in one of his speeches. By attributing to humans more than its due to them, as the German criticism had done, one falls into moral confusion leading to the disregard of the religious principles guiding the catholic faith[1000]. He further adds that:

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[995] See Leonardo Coimbra in Câmara dos Deputados from 1919-07-24 accessible at https://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/r1/cd/01/04/01/028/1919-07-24/65

[996] See Dias Pereira speech in Câmara dos Deputados from 1919-06-24 accessible at https://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/r1/cd/01/04/01/012/1919-06-24/25

[997] "a universidade de Coimbra é reacionária, porque jamais admitiu um leve assomo de independência e liberdade dentro dos seus negros muros. Os seus professores fugiam impudicamente às discussões dos altos problemas do espírito humano, porque tinham em mira guiar a juventude por veredas tortuosas que se afastavam do progresso." Orlando Marçal speech in Câmara dos Deputados from 1919-07-08 accessible at https://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/r1/cd/01/04/01/021/1919-07-08/36

[998] Idem, accessible at https://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/r1/cd/01/04/01/021/1919-07-08/41

[999] "Os filósofos alemães desde Kant a Hegel, que dominaram as correntes superiores do pensamento europeu até meia do nosso seculo" Ribeiro Coelho speech in Câmara dos Deputados from 1898-01-24 accessible at https://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/mc/cd/01/01/01/008/1898-01-24/122

[1000] See Luís José Dias speech in Câmara dos Deputados from 1885-05-06 accessible at h https://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/mc/cd/01/01/01/077/1885-05-06/1456

"Kant begins by assessing and appraising the objective value of the ideas of reason, and by breaking the link between the cognitive principle and objective reality, stumbles upon an iron formalism and falls into skepticism. Conceiving freedom as a negative force, as the absence of all external obstacles and the removal of all motives for internal and external coercion, he arrives at the negative formula of right; the *neminem laede* is the fatal conclusion of his philosophical conceptions, and the way in which he confronted the relations between civil and religious society derived from these previously established doctrines."[1001]

Hence, the perspective of the Portuguese Catholic tradition about Kant or Hegel was not as welcomed by many politicians, preferring instead other range of doctrines that could more easily harmonize with the catholic principles, such as those of Krause. Therefore, the teaching of the German philosophers was filtered through those lenses, even if many were probably more attracted to the thought of Hegel. Leonardo Coimbra attempt at appropriating German philosophy in light of the Portuguese catholic tradition is one such case.

The Portuguese philosopher is part of a broader movement that sought the development of philosophy in Portugal. This will later be appropriated by the movement *Filosofia Portuguesa*, with the most influential ideas in Coimbra's own thought coming perhaps from the late Sampaio Bruno. As seen earlier, Sampaio Bruno had great preponderance in the republican liberal movement. There is, however, a conservative facet that asserts itself in the later years of his life[1002].

The interest in religious issues leads him to a mystical-prophetical direction with clear political repercussions, which are underlined above all in *O Encoberto* (1904). Although this was already visible in *A Ideia de Deus* (1902) or rather the invisible, unknown and unconscious takes hold in that text.

It could be said this is a second Sampaio Bruno, abandoning the calls for a national reform through classical economic-political means. Political blindness has forced the national efforts to a demise, and the sincerest political elements had to conceal themselves. In turn,

[1001] "Kant começa por avaliar e aquilatar o valor objectivo das ideias do razão, e quebrando o laço entre o principio cognitivo e a realidade objectiva, esbarra num formalismo de ferro e cai no cepticismo. Concebendo a liberdade como força negativa, como ausência de todos os obstáculos externos e remoção de todos os motivos de coacção interna e exterior, chega á formula negativa de direito; o *neminem laede* é a conclusão fatal de suas concepções filosóficas, e o modo como defrontou as relações entre a sociedade civil e religiosa derivou-o d'estas doutrinas anteriormente estabelecidas." Idem.

[1002] This was a process that had been unfolding, and right after the republican regime change he pledged to be a moderate and conservative, as opposed to his early radical and revolutionary attitude. See Ernesto Castro Leal "Sampaio Bruno e o Republicanismo moderado" in *Republicanismo, Socialismo, Democracia*, Centro de História da FLUL, Lisboa, 2010, pp.84-85.

those figures appear in the domains of culture and history, from which it would then be possible to revitalize national life, in a kind of historical destination sensible to politics.

It is in this context that he welcomes providential reason in Hegel's theory of history, as he speaks of Hartmann and the place of the unconscious[1003]. This unconsciousness in politics becomes remembrance and memory, which projects into the search of restoring the origin reality, ultimately taking the form of a mythical recurring that lies at the heart of progress[1004].

Besides Leonardo Coimbra, those developments in Sampaio Bruno will have a great impact on the traditionalists during the republican regime. The theses he develops about the causes of Portuguese decadence are, for example, partially echoed by the traditionalist historian Fortunato de Almeida[1005].

This does not imply Bruno renounced previous considerations, regarding his readings of Hegel's philosophy. Quite on the contrary, he is heir to 19th century Philo-Germanism of Portuguese intellectuals, such as Amorim Viana.

Therefore, he keeps on studying the subject at length, in no smaller part due to his interest in religious questions, as they had been debated by the left Hegelians[1006]. However, in this new state of mind he aligns himself with a hermetic tradition and, for example, elements of the Berlin philosopher, deemed excessively rational, are dismissed in favor of the affective and moral faculties[1007].

In the history of radical conservativism there is a development that, like the socialist agitation and the subsequent Russian revolution, will have major political repercussions, namely, the rise of fascism in Europe. This study avoids entering the period after 1933, however, the marks of authoritarianism were already felt, especially with the so-called National Revolution of 1926. Those changes will have the support of some intellectuals, among which are devoted Germanophiles.

[1003] See Sampaio Bruno, *A Ideia de Deus*, Livraria Chardron, Porto, 1902, p.185.
[1004] This is the main thematic of Sampaio Bruno, *O Encoberto*, Livraria Moreira Editora, Porto, 1904.
[1005] He will also point out the colonial administration and problems of political culture, as being at the origin of the decline of the Portuguese empire in his article: Fortunato de Almeida "Causas da Decadência do Império Português" in *O Instituto: Revista Científica e Literária*, Vol. 72, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1925, pp.367-414.
[1006] He will write about Hegel, Feuerbach and other Hegelians in Sampaio Bruno, *Os Modernos Publicistas Portugueses*, Livraria Chardron, Porto, 1906, pp.67-75 et pp.230-231.
See also Sampaio Bruno, *A Questão Religiosa*, Livraria Chardron, Porto, 1907, pp.186-187 et pp.232-234
[1007] In the analysis of a poem by Antero de Quental, this is what becomes apparent in Sampaio Bruno, *Portuenses Ilustres*, Vol. III, Livraria Magalhaes & Moniz, Porto, 1908, p.194.

One such case is the philologue and politician Gustavo Cordeiro Ramos, minister of education between 1928 and 1933, as well as professor for German literature at *Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa*. In a multi-volume work on Goethe's Faust, the university professor mentions the Berlin philosopher profusely[1008], as he speaks of philosophy and German idealism relation to the poet's thought, showing knowledge of the original texts by citing Hegel's works in German[1009].

In the last pages of his study published between 1913-1918 he goes on to say, paraphrasing Kronenberg (1865-1935), that the Romantic era ends with the greatest symphony of thought: Hegel's philosophical system[1010].

It is well known that Gustavo Cordeiro has links to National Socialism and Salazar, the representative of fascism in Portugal. He even published translations of some speeches of the dictator in German[1011].

But other intellectual supporters could be mentioned, as in Alfredo Pimenta, another Germanophile who converted, from being an integralist, into an apologist of *Estado Novo*. He was knowledgeable in Hegel's philosophy as well, writing for example an essay on Taine's thought in 1930 pointing out his Hegelian traits[1012]. The work of his initial anarchist phase also contains Hegelian themes[1013].

There is a Philo-Germanist political tendency in the epoch of fascism, due to ideological affinity with authoritarianism[1014]. However, one can find such precedent in Portugal's conservatism at the time of Sidónio Pais who, as a charismatic authoritarian leader, was also sympathetic towards Germany in World War I. But the level of philosophical knowledge, in regard to Hegel is rather quite limited, for example in comparison to Italian fascism, and was

[1008] Interestingly, this work will be involved in controversy, due to an accusation of plagiarism made by Sant'anna Dionísio, for the author transcribed long passages of a French work by Adolphe Bossert translated into Portuguese, without citing the original work. Sant'anna Dionísio "A probidade de um Germanista que fala da cátedra sobre Kant e Nietzsche" in *A Águia*, 4th serie, n.9, Porto, 1929, pp.244-256.
[1009] See in this resgard Gustavo Ramos "O Fausto de Goethe: no seu duplo significado filosófico e literário" in *O Instituto: Revista Científica e Literária*, Vol. 62, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1915, pp.595-598.
[1010] See Gustavo Ramos "O Fausto de Goethe: no seu duplo significado filosófico e literário" in *O Instituto: Revista Científica e Literária*, Vol. 65, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1918, p.170.
[1011] See António de Oliveira Salazar, *Das Werden eines neuen Staates: Reden und Dokumente*, mit einem Vorworf von Prof. G. Cordeiro Ramos, Essener Verlagsanstalt, Essen, 1938.
[1012] See Alfredo Pimenta, *Estudos Filosóficos e Críticos*, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1930, pp.36-38
[1013] See Alfredo Pimenta, *Factos Sociais (Problemas d'hoje): Ensaios de Filosofia Critica*, Livraria Chardron, Porto, 1908.
[1014] See in this regard Luis Reis Torgal "«Germanófilos» … visões da literatura e da cultura alemãs durante o Estado Novo e o nazismo" in *Cultura: Revista de História e Teoria das Ideias*, Vol.36, 2017, pp.329-354.

in most of the times associated with certain typological universes, such as the preconception of a strong-handed state in Hegel.

7. Debates over Philosophy of Right and Conceptions of State

In connection with political manifestations, at the level of ideology and theoretical thought, Hegelianism also reverberates in institutions and the conceptions of state. This also pertains by extension to the philosophy of right that was taught at the University, which later had repercussions on state policies, for instance, through appointed statesmen. These conceptions were the subject of debate in the public sphere, as well as in intellectual circles because, as we have seen in the previous chapter, ideological alignments follow different traditions with regard to their views of the state.

Furthermore, even though the guiding chronology of the study begins in 1865, the basis of Hegelianism and the time Hegel belongs to, as well as the first contact of Portuguese authors with the German philosopher, is much earlier. Notwithstanding, a thorough examination of the philosopher's thought takes place later, which is likewise suggested by the chronology of reference in the title of this work. Hence, the more active contact with Hegel should be deemed the actual reception of Hegel in Portugal.

This consideration is indeed noticeable throughout the work, however, regarding this chapter and the first contacts with Hegelianism, there is also an important aspect to account for, namely the fact that the most fundamental changes in the Portuguese society happened in the first half of the 19th century. They became known as the liberal reforms, which was a political outcome of wars and epoch-making conflict, leading in many respects to revolutionary changes. The encompassing transformations, particularly in regard to right and the conceptions of state, are important to understand the various phases of the development of Hegelianism in Portugal.

Therefore, it is necessary to focus first on these earlier stages, particularly from 1820 on, when the philosophy of Hegel was invigorating the youths, while the professor still lived. As well as shortly after his death, with the general expansion of his thought, through Hegelian groups that kept up his legacy, by discussing his theses and publishing his works, accompanied by the international ramifications of Hegelianism.

By undertaking the research course mentioned above, it is possible to better grasp the later developments of Hegelianism in Portugal. Given this notice, one should be aware that the more ingrained presence of this philosophical current in various intellectual constellations,

particularly in the reflections about the political and social thought characteristic of modernity, only really comes to light in Portugal after the middle of the 19th century.

This holds true for the philosophy of right, of which Vicente Ferrer Neto de Paiva was certainly the main precursor, when he included in his lectures the modern German philosophers' theories, relating to the subject of right, as study material. In effect, he made the law students familiar with the thought of Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel and perhaps most importantly, in the Iberian case, the doctrines of Krause adapted to the Latin world by Heinrich Ahrens (1808-1874) and Guillaume Tiberghien (1819-1901)[1015].

The sources of the ideas proposed by Hegel had a widespread reach, for example in France, especially in the years around 1830[1016]. It is important to remember that Hegel relates more or less to certain traditions when it comes to the philosophy of right. One such case is Kant and the rationalist premises he defends in matters of right, particularly in the development of his criticism and efforts to debacle long yield traditions, all of which according to him led to dogmatic forms of thought, which were contrary to the principles of subjectivity and the advancement of the freedom characteristic of modern times.

The shortcomings of Kant's handling of history, in regard to the philosophy of right, became clear to Hegel. Therefore, he parts ways with the rationalist tradition of natural right, by accounting for historical perspectives. This however does not mean he adheres to theses of the historical school of right, which developed around Savigny, as his conception of right opposes the traditionalist visions that solidify history, just about in the same way the rationalists solidified reason into specific cannons.

In that sense, the rationale of the right is found in the unfolding of reason in history, through the manifestations of the spirit. This concretely amounts to the community where humanity finds itself, in a reality this same humanity built and made its own.

This type of relation man has with its surrounding world resembles other philosophical traditions, such as the Italian philosopher Pico de Mirandolla's assertion that being human is something of our own creation because one "is permitted to obtain what he desires and to be

[1015] See in this respect his book on philosophy of right, particularly the 1850 edition as a decisive step, which goes by the name *Elementos de Direito Natural ou de Filosofia do Direito*. Furthermore, Ferrer will expand the topics related to the German Idealism in later books.

[1016] See for instance for the relationship between ideas of Hegel and Saint-Simon: Norbert Waszek (ed.), *Hegelianismus und Saint-Simonismus*, *op. cit*.

what he wills"[1017]. Further down the line, there is also the theory of Giambattista Vico, which precedes the idea behind Hegel's theory of historical development in stages[1018], recognizing likewise the historicity of reality since for him man makes his own history, although not in Marx's materialist sense[1019].

Along with other philosophers, Vico will be for example read in conjunction with the Berlin philosopher in Hegelian circles, including from a German audience, such as the aforementioned Marx. In Portugal, Oliveira Martins duly notes this relationship of Hegel with historicity and, in light of Italian Neo-Hegelianism of the 20th century, is also mentioned by Fidelino Figueiredo, Joaquim de Carvalho or António Sérgio.

There is a cultural background of Romance language countries required to be worked upon, since those connecting points, such as that closeness of thought between Vico and Hegel outlined above, came over time and progressively fostered the adoption of Hegelianism. For this reason, the period prior to 1865 is treated not so much as a time for the appropriation of Hegelian thought, but rather a period of transformation that implied a variety of contacts with a universe of conceptions about modernity, especially regarding the state, its laws and administration. Even more so with the changes resulting from the establishment of liberalism in Portugal.

Hence, one should understand the interval between the 1830s and 1850s as a transition period, in the teaching of law at the Coimbra University, because the introduction of the modern conceptions of right by Vicente Ferrer only slowly picks up pace. This is particularly the case with ideas having an origin in Krause, as Ferrer is in and out of the University and embroils himself in the political struggles of his time. This had led him, for instance, to being first fired from his appointment as a professor at the University, only to be reappointed. Moreover, he will later occupy positions in the government, with a subsequent hiatus from the University[1020].

Moreover, Vicente Ferrer was himself educated in the tradition of Martini's jusnaturalism, accounting only later, by his own initiative and research, for different

[1017] See Pico della Mirandola, *Oration on the Dignity of Man: A new translation and commentary*, edited by Francesco Borghesi, Michael Papio and Massimo Riva, Cambridge University Press, 2012, p.119.
[1018] See Giambattista Vico, *The First New Science*, edited and translated by Leon Pompa, Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp.11-12.
[1019] See Lawrence H. Simon "Vico and Marx: Perspectives on Historical Development" in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 42, N.2, 1981, pp.317-331.
[1020] See for a more detailed biographical note: the article in the newspaper *O Conimbricense* from 1886 across numbers 4007-4018.

approaches closer to the Hegelian conception of right. He was very likely also pulled by his times and what was happening in Europe at the time, with the 1848 Revolutions and the socialist ideas of Saint-Simon. Consequently, only by the end of the 1840s does a more widespread acceptance of a new juridical tradition take place, which is more concerned with the dynamics of modern society and the social dimensions of right (Krause).

The Debates in Hegelian Circles

The kind of modern society brought about by the liberal standpoint was, however, far removed from being without contradictions and further problems. This came to the attention of Eduard Gans, the most prominent follower of Hegel regarding his political and juridical thought, while assisting him in holding seminars on philosophy of right.

Already in 1833, not long before Hegel's death, he speaks of a changed reality in the preface of a new edition to Hegel's philosophy of right, and it becomes clear that he is speaking of the social conditions of his time, (which were giving birth to the modern proletariat)[1021]. Gans goes on to further imply that Hegel's philosophy of right is even partly surpassed, because it can no longer respond to the problems posed by recent times[1022].

We can also read elsewhere his concerns about the modern industrial society, as liberal principles of free competition governed it, with its accompanying capital accumulation and widening wealth inequality[1023]. These new issues, raised in the matters of right, were further enriched by his connections to the Saint-Simonian movement, as some have pointed out[1024].

It is therefore more likely that the concerns of Gans and Hegel were quite transversal, that is why the saint-simonists were themselves interested in Hegelian philosophy as it was stated by Gans[1025]. In the earlier chapter about cultural transfers, we have seen how many

[1021] See Eduard Gans, "Vorwort zur 2. Ausgabe der Rechtsphilosophie" in *Materialien zu Hegels Rechtsphilosophie,* Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main. 2016.
[1022] See in relation of Gans understanding of Hegel's philosophy of right, especially in regard to the edition of his work Wilhelm Raimund Beyer, *Denken und Bedenken: Hegel-Aufsätze*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1977, pp.67-83.
[1023] See Eduard Gans, *Rückblicke auf Personen und Zustände*, Verlag von Veit und Comp, Berlin, 1836.
[1024] See for instance Warren Breckman, *Marx, the Young Hegelians, and the Origins of Radical Social Theory*, Cambridge University Press, 2001, p.171.
[1025] „Also foreign nations have finally got to know his name and his work. The French sized namely his Philosophy of History. Cousin, Chateaubriand, Lerminier, [Jules] Michelet and lately the Simonists know him, study him, draw him out" — „Auch fremde Nationen hatten sich endlich an Seine Werke und an Seinen Namen gemacht. Die Franzosen ergriff namentlich seine Philosophie der Geschichte. Cousin Chateaubriand, Lerminier,

Saint-Simon followers made trips to Germany, in order to gain knowledge of the latest philosophy there.

As a matter of fact, the problem of poverty, which comes forward mainly when the philosopher speaks of the rabble, and its relation to the freedom of the subject, also occupied Hegel's thought. The manifestation of this social phenomenon is one of his key concerns, because the rabble is a danger to the state. However, the philosopher does not restrict this problem, inherent to the formation of the rabble, merely to the field of economy because he also speaks of a "rich rabble"[1026].

Henceforth, while there are material consequences coming out of that social organization, in direct relation to the distribution and accumulation of wealth, the manifestation of the rabble has more of a socio-ethical origin. The poverty is rather of the universal, he concludes, since the rabble does not envisage the universal interest. This is why Hegel writes elsewhere that such social constitution is incapable of grasping philosophy, precisely because the nature of philosophy is in the universal, leading him to characterize philosophy as esoteric, which is rejected by the rabble in favor of the so-called common sense.

In overview, one could say that there were many conceptions of philosophy of right confronting each other. To begin with, all the previous theories of right, in particular the modern ones, from Bodin up to Kant, which endorsed concepts such as Natural Rights, Popular will, Common law, Customary law and so on[1027].

As a result, the two new main trends regarding philosophy of right, that affirmed themselves during Hegel's time, had more of a historical perspective in mind. Particularly in light of the popularity of universal or world history, philosophy of history and the idea of *Volksgeist* (spirit of the people). Both Hegel and Savigny, the representatives of those two tendencies of historical dimensions, mobilized these concepts to fundament their theories of right, recognizing history as one of the vehicles by which right expresses itself.

[Jules] Michelet, so wie zuletzt die Simonisten, kannten, studierten ihn, zogen ihn aus" Eduard Gans in *Hegel in Berichten seiner Zeitgenossen*, *op. cit.* p.476.

[1026] This expression can be read for instance on notes of his lectures from 1820/21 and 1824/25: Hegel G.W.F. Hegel, *Gesammelte Werke: Vorlesungen Über die Philosophie des Rechts*, Volume 26.2, Felix Meiner Verlag, Hamburg, 2015 p.754.
G.W.F. Hegel, *Gesammelte Werke: Vorlesungen Über die Philosophie des Rechts*, Volume 26.3, Felix Meiner Verlag, Hamburg, 2015 p.1390.

[1027] See for an overview on the history of Philosophy of Right: J. Friedrich Carl, *Die Philosophie des Rechts in Historischer Perspektive*, Springer Verlag, Berlin, 1955, pp.34-77.

Owing to history's central role in such conception, the Historical School of Savigny went on to highly value the Roman law, defending also in the process more traditionalist views, laying the basis for an essentialist understanding of right, with its notion of the character of a people. While Hegel, on the contrary, firmly opposed such a usage of history, because in a rational state within the sphere of the ethical order, reason is the determinant of history, not the other way around, otherwise by the way of costume alone one could perpetuate the most blatant unrighteousness.

In sudden breaks with the past reason plays an even more fundamental role, because, as Mouzinho da Silveira mentioned in the case of Portugal, the rationality of a specific historical time needs to actualize itself[1028]. This happens according to Hegel often by means other than reason, or means that appear contrary to its aims, hence the cunning of reason. Therefore, resistance and splits within reality itself, due to asynchronous phases of development in specific regions or even countries, are to be expected.

The way to overcome those difficulties could be either to adapt the laws to the specific realities, or to simply have it enforced by the state. Hegel fiddles with both possibilities in his conceptualization of the monarchy, whereby the monarch and the state's administration apparatus would uphold the principle of unity and rationality, faced with the multitude of voices and interests coming from civil society.

However, it should be noted that Hegel's position on state coercion is not gratuitous or unlimited, but rather follows strict logical principles, according to his system of a three-folded syllogism[1029]. Hence, the state enforcement of the state comes from a combination of democratic and higher powers of the state representatives. Hegel sees the monarchical system as a citizen representative system, while a hereditary monarch is, more than anything, the embodiment of a personality principle.

As some have pointed out, one could conceive that person in some other form, such as a President, Chancellor, Kaiser and so on[1030]. The function of giving personhood to the citizen in charge of the state would still be the same, while one should think of the regent, on a whole, as a human being with general characteristics. The form of hereditary monarchy has

[1028] See in this respect Miriam Halpern Pereira, *Mouzinho da Silveira: pensamento e acção política, Assembleia da República*, Lisboa, 2009, p.49.
[1029] See in this regard Klaus Vieweg, *Das Denken der Freiheit: Hegels Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, Wilhelm Fink, München, 2012, pp.407-432
[1030] Idem, ibidem, pp.423-424

more to do with historical traditions, which in any case is not devoid of rationality but, as Hegel points out, also further brings into account the natural birth of man and the entitlement to the being of his state's community.

State building, from revolution to reform in 19th century Portugal

The epoch under study here takes place in a time of state build and reform, which at least since the early 1820s was undergoing in Portugal. As with the rest of Europe, the acquirements of the French Revolution were not completely established, and populations accustomed to the habits, practices and structures of the *Ancien Régime* still existed. For the catholic nations of the Iberian Peninsula, this was even more the case.

The monarchical principles upheld to the extremes, with a kind of romantic conservatism wishing for a return to pre-parliamentarian and pre-constitutional monarchy, were a reaction against the rapid dissolution of the old order of society. Many of the traditional sectors in some ways still dominated the governing culture and ideological underpinnings, because they still exerted control over large areas of Portugal and its populations, mainly in rural areas[1031].

This explains in part how more conservative readings of Hegel, such as in Lassalle, with its views of the nobility and monarchy as a modular force in detangling class struggles, were a romantic view of that past greatness. One could perceive it as a middle ground between the modern and old system, pushing naturally toward the conservative side.

But the demands for change were echoing all over Europe, not just by the spreading of ideas of freedom and political reform, but with actual different living conditions gaining prominence. New forms of organization emerged, that grasped the individual in a different light, allowing for an existence emancipated from the past. The general tendency was moving towards adopting these new ways of, an increasingly complex and large-scale, social production of human subsistence, the industrial scale of development.

[1031] See in this respect for instance:
José Manuel Sobral, "Family, power and property, ascend and decline of a rural elite" in *Elites, Choices and Leadership on Succession*, pp.131-144.
Salvador Calatayud Giner, "Señores y campesinos en la Península Ibérica, siglos XVIII-XX" in *Noticiário de História Agragria* n.5, pp.197-204.

The material and spiritual conditions for such drastic transformations were, however, in many places not yet mature, but once again this was the general direction of development[1032]. Nonetheless, the concept of reform, or even of revolution itself for that matter, is not static but has actually rather been developing throughout modernity[1033].

Here lays the reason, why it took some time for the Portuguese to occupy themselves more systematically with the problems posed by the liberal models of modernity. The struggle for changes in the political, social and economic organization was met with resistance and drove many away, as exemplified by the *vintistas* and liberal intellectuals pushing for reform, who were forced to migrate to such places as France or England[1034].

While abroad they certainly had contact with the ideas circulating in Europe, as well as recent philosophical discourses in the domains of right. The Saint-Simonians were a good example of a group that questioned the social structure of the liberal regimes themselves, making them an interesting leverage point for new directions. The English, on the other hand, were keen translators of Hegel's works, which would later be fundamental for the Portuguese readers not familiar with the German language.

However, the Portuguese had at first more humble concerns, as the possibility of implementing an extended liberal regime, was still hindered by the challenges of a society sink into dependence ties, of which the more visible signs were the lack of industrial development and attachment to rural interests.

Many of the Portuguese exiles went to France when Hegelian thought was blooming among the Saint-Simonians. Moreover, the French increasingly recognized the importance of German philosophy, even if they usually did not acknowledge it due to the existing rivalry between both cultures. That was the case with Mouzinho da Silveira, Alexandre Herculano, Almeida Garrett, José Silvestre Ribeiro and many others. This last one actually attended philosophy seminars in France held by Cousin[1035], who at the time was heavily influenced by

[1032] Although not entirely supportive of modern trends, the spirit of protest also contaminated the rural areas according to José Manuel Tengarrinha, "Contestação e revolta camponesa na zona centro de Portugal nos fins do Antigo Regime" in Sep. X Encontro de Professores de História da Zona Centro, Aveiro, 1992, pp.27-40.
[1033] See the interesting essay of Koselleck "Historische Kriterien des neuzeitlichen Revolutionsbegriffs" in *Vergangene Zukunft: zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 2003, pp.67-86.
[1034] See the master thesis of Fabio Alexandre Faria, *Circulações Internacionais e Liberalismo: O Exílio Liberal Português, 1828-1832*, particularly pp.23-30.
[1035] Maria de Lourdes Costa Lima dos Santos, "Sobre os intelectuais portugueses no século XIX (do Vintismo à Regeneração" in *Análise Social*, Vol XV, n.57, p.96.

Hegel (to whom he dedicated his 1828 book *Nouveaux Fragments Philosophiques. Cours de l'Histoire de la Philosophie*).

Herculano's stay in France was short, but he surely had a good knowledge of the French language, and his political interests led him to study the main contemporary intellectuals of his time, probably making himself acquainted with the ideas circulating by then in France, as he mentions Hegel in the context of the modern fundaments of right.

Lastly, to complement on the above-mentioned Mouzinho da Silveira, scholars of the statesman acknowledged that his time in France was of intellectual development and study. He was therefore probably also aware of the ideas proposed by the Hegelian circles, as he reflected deeply on the roots of French liberalism.

One of those sympathetic to the Portuguese exiles was the Marquis de Lafayette, a patriarch of liberalism in France who was, however, not averse to the monarchy despite his liberal inclinations and ardent support of the American Revolution and its republican movement. In that regard Hegel himself was in some respects quite moderate, when he tells us certain monarchical principles, or the suitable forms of political regimes at large, depend on the level of development and particularities of specific nations and cultures[1036]. Those ideas are not very far from what Mouzinho attempted to apply in Portugal, by adapting the legislation of the liberal reforms to the Portuguese reality[1037].

England was also another country with a large Portuguese diaspora, but interest in German idealism and Hegelianism was still in its infancy there. As a result, in terms of social and political thinking, the English tradition provided a more classical liberal theoretical basis, with its updated monarchical conception of liberalism.

The period of exile was therefore also one of exchange and cultural enrichment, for many of those staying abroad. Above all, because other political émigrés, from many different national backgrounds, had found refuge in those same European countries, helping to establish a constellation for the circulation of ideas to foreign lands. Hence, those experiences

[1036] "Nowadays the constitution of a land or peoples is not thought to be so much a matter of free choice. The fundamental but abstractly formulated definition of freedom has led to the widespread theory that the *republic* is the only just and true constitution. Indeed, a number of men who have held high positions in a monarchical form of government, for example Lafayette, have not contradicted such a view or have subscribed to it. But they have seen that such a constitution, even though it may be the best, in actuality cannot be introduced everywhere, and that, because *humans are what they are*, one must make do with a lesser degree of freedom. As a consequence, under these circumstances and in light of the moral condition of the people, the monarchical constitution may be the *most workable one*." Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History, Volume I: Manuscripts of the Introduction and the Lectures of 1822-3, op. cit,* pp.106-107.

[1037] Mouzinho da Silveira considered in fact that Portugal was actually quite anti-liberal.

account for many other dimensions besides the immediate political circumstances from which they emerged, namely an intellectual dimension[1038].

Furthermore, those political elements also had reflexes in the philosophical doctrines of the Portuguese intellectuals, who would in turn be responsible for the education of legislators, politicians and the state administration during these years. The members of Coimbra's academic scene welcome the ideas behind the revolutionary wave of 1848, with many of them having relevant positions in the state and political decision-making centers after 1865.

One of them was Martens Ferrão, who became a well-known politician mainly owning to his 1867 reform of the central state. He actively participated in studying groups as an academic in Coimbra, focusing on social and economic concerns, as mentioned in a publication of *O Instituto de Coimbra* from 1853.

We are told that the first issue raised by the discussion group, in relation to their readings and interests, was "what would the best system of taxes be, and what influence the progressive tax can have on its enhancement"[1039]. Indeed, for Martens Ferrão taxation was one of the most important functions of the state because, as he writes in his dissertation, the political body levies them for the interest of the whole nation. Therefore, the state can exercise its right to employ "public force" for their enforcement. That requires in turn, according to him, the centralization of the state administration, to whom these powers would be attributed[1040].

Hegel entertains the idea that taxes function as a complement to the welfare state because they can socially regulate wealth inequality through the system of taxation[1041].

[1038] See in this respect Fábio Alexandre Faria, "O exílio liberal português de 1828-1832, um fenómeno multidimensional: práticas sociais e culturais" in *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura*, Vol. 16, 2016, Lisboa, pp.271-292.

[1039] "I. Qual a maneira de melhorar o sistema de impostos, e qual a influência que o imposto progressivo pode ter nesse melhoramento" in *O Instituto: Jornal Científica e Literária*, Vol. 1, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1852-1853, p.225.

[1040] "a esse poder central deve pertencer o direito exclusivo de fazer as leis gerais, de as promulgar, e de providenciar para a sua execução; —o direito, não menos importante, de lançar os impostos que interessam proximamente toda a nação;—o direito de dispor da força publica que for necessária para factos gerais que afectem toda a nação; isto é, esse poder central deve reunir em suas mãos a parle da autoridade publica que se estende, e que deve estender-se sobre a universalidade dos cidadãos. — A centralização administrativa é essa parte das atribuições do poder central" Martens Ferrão, *Dissertação inaugural para o acto de conclusões Magnas na Faculdade de Direito: Teoria do Homem e da Humanidade; Teoria Transcendente da Ciência Económica; Organização da Indústria, op. cit.* p.261.

[1041] See in this respect Domenico Losurdo, *Hegel and the Freedom of the Moderns*, Duke University Press, London, 200, p.189.

Therefore, while the idea of progressive taxes could come from a variety of sources, particularly the socialist movement, it is likely that this came as a result of the studies on German philosophy by Martens Ferrão, judging by a program of studies published in 1853.

The program revolves around the principle of entity ("entidade"), which could be understood as being ("ente"), not far from the Fichtean notion of the absolute I[1042]. In the first lesson we have for a subject "the idea of progress in relation to those three fields (philosophical, moral and social sciences), and its derivation from that same principle of entity"[1043].

As one moves along the lessons, Martens employs many Hegelian formulations in his theorizations, such as the role of consciousness in the paradigm of the relation between subject and object, for instance in the 2nd and 3rd lessons:

"2. Lesson
The idea of Reason. – Deduction of the idea of reason in relation to the absolute ideas of reason, and consequently [in relation] to the theory of conceptions and perceptions, analyzing the characters more salient the phenomena of the spirit and nature in reference to consciousness.
3. Lesson
The idea of subjective and objective. Its antagonism will be a necessity of its nature, or rather a difficulty created by the philosophers. On the other hand: is there an absolute impossibility to go from the subjective to the objective with a criterium of certainty? (I will defend the negative). This difficulty is the principal fundament of objective scepticism. Digression about the most notable theories of skepticism"[1044]

It is then noticeable that Martens Ferrão deduced the idea of progressiveness from those philosophical studies, which he wished to apply to the theory behind the system of

[1042] See Martens Ferrão, *Dissertação inaugural para o acto de conclusões Magnas na Faculdade de Direito: Teoria do Homem e da Humanidade; Teoria Transcendente da Ciência Económica; Organização da Indústria, op. cit.* p.27.
[1043] "Ideia do progresso em relação aqueles três ramos [ciências filosóficas, morais e sociais], e sua derivação do mesmo princípio da entidade" Martens Ferrão "Programa de um Curso de Filosofia Transcendente" in *O Instituto: Jornal Científica e Literária*, Vol. 1, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1852-1853, p.225.
[1044] 2.ª Lição Ideia da razão.— Dedução da ideia da entidade em relação ás ideias absolutas da razão; e consequentemente á teoria das concepções e percepções, analisando os caracteres roais salientes dos fenômenos do espirito e da natureza em referencia á consciência. 3.ª Lição Ideia do subjectivo e objectivo. Seu antagonismo será uma necessidade de sua natureza, ou antes uma dificuldade criada pelos filósofos? Por outra: haverá uma impossibilidade absoluta de passar com critério de certeza do subjectivo ao objectivo?— (Seguirei a negativa). Esta dificuldade é o fundamento principal do cepticismo objectivo. Digressão sobre as teorias mais notáveis do cepticismo." Martens Ferrão *op. cit. O Instituto: Jornal Científica e Literária*, Vol. 1, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1852-1853, p.225.

taxation. All the more because the principle of entity is also examined from the standpoint of the social sciences, both in terms of public right as well as political economy[1045].

The laws were therefore seen as a rational instrument, with the progressive fusion of right and philosophy. Practically, this meant that the "history of philosophy was the realization of philosophy in its successive epochs", rejecting the division between the historical and philosophical schools of right. He goes on to characterize the state as imminently social in its character[1046].

While those were the theoretical presuppositions found in his work, the fiscal and administrative reforms, undertaken by Ferrão in the late 1860s, were far from applying them. Practically speaking, those reforms focused more on the centrality of the state and its viability, rather than the progressiveness of taxes.

As a result, the generation of 1870s formed by the Coimbra students that had by then moved to Lisbon, was very critical of his policies. Above all, because on his orders the state meddled with their aims of raising awareness to the social question, by prohibiting, at the last minute, a set of conferences in the *Casino Lisbonense*, as they were detrimental to social stability and peace.

The moderate reformist discourse is first challenged by the more radical socialist ideas, as well as by the republicans who saw no possibility of regime change within the legal framework. Those positions leaned towards more revolutionary outlooks, that intended to break the political order of the establishment, instead of a progressive reform, within the prerogatives of the instituted powers.

As we saw earlier, both political camps (socialism and republicanism) will mobilize Hegel, but in each case, moderation guides the vast majority of the immediate political proposals. For this reason, the adoption of more radical positions was only occasional, normally associated with moments of crisis[1047].

Later on, with the 1910 republican regime, however, after the initial profound changes, we witnessed a resurgence of the reformist discourse. While many of those intellectuals

[1045] See lesson 6 in Idem, ibidem, p.226.

[1046] "entendemos que a história social é a realização da filosofia em suas épocas sucessivas, e que esta, para adquirir o caráter social, deve incarnar-se na sociedade, e determinando as modificações desta, reciproca monto modelar-se pelas existentes." Martens Ferrão, *Dissertação inaugural para o acto de conclusões Magnas na Faculdade de Direito: Teoria do Homem e da Humanidade; Teoria Transcendente da Ciência Económica; Organização da Indústria, op. cit.* p.288.

[1047] The concept of crisis defines moments of transformation, as pointed out by Reinhardt Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History*, Stanford University Press, 2002, pp.236-247.

proposing reforms were philosophically inclined, or even knowledgeable on Hegelian philosophy.

There is such a reformist example in Augusto Alves dos Santos proposals in regard to an overhaul of primary and middle school education, with ideas close to sociology and psychology of positivist orientation guiding them, as they derived from his philosophical studies. While at the same time, he opposes the other projects of reforms, namely those coming from Leonardo Coimbra, who had a theoretical basis in the philosophy of German idealism.

The reformism emanating from the juridical studies also finds support in Coimbra with the professor José Marnoco e Sousa, as he was inspired by liberal conceptions of political economy. On the other hand, the socialist-leaning jurist Sebastião de Magalhães Lima, who had been very critical of the liberal monarchy was more contained in his criticism of the republic, choosing instead to defend the republic abroad. Thus, even if his social concerns were not fully addressed, he preferred to focus on reform within the newly established order.

Last but not least, the civic and pedagogical activity of António Sérgio propels him into the government, from which he attempts to implement a number of reforms to modernize schools and higher education institutions. He gives particular attention to scientific research in connection to European modern thinking, as this reform denotes the need for a lacking investigative direction at the Universities[1048].

As we can see, during the republic there were different ways and possibilities of building the republican state. The maintenance of the republican state guided the vast majority, although one can also find nostalgic ideas about the monarchy. Therefore, a reformist tone is quite accentuated in this political period of Portuguese history. The great number of projects in conflict, however, gives rise to recurrent governmental instability.

The critic of liberal society and the forms of regime in the age of liberalism

Besides the many doctrines regarding philosophy of right there are also different conceptions of state, which have had consequences on the concrete material reality of the living community, primarily in the organization, administration and the institutions of the

[1048] See for an overview of his time in the governmental post Rogério Fernandes. "António Sérgio, Ministro da Instrução Pública" in *Revista de História das Ideias*, vol. 5, António Sérgio, t. II, 1983. pp.603-700.

state. The series of liberal reforms in Portugal were, as such, a transformation that wanted to do away with the old system of privileges in which the regional administration, or in other cases the monopoly of certain commercial or productive activities, was a privilege given to particular well-connected individuals, with ties to the traditional nobility and clergy.

They functioned as an instrument of the state but, at the same time, had their own self-interest at stake. However, the lack of democratic legitimacy, made them unreliable representatives of the people under their responsibility and was at odds with the principles of self-determinacy, recognition and freedom, which characterize this new epoch. Hence, the subject at hand here is the critic of liberal society, or that which marks the coordinates of its development.

Achieving a move into new directions with the liberal conception of state was not easy, neither could one say it was created from square one[1049]. The French influence on these reforms was blatant, particularly the later legislation of Mouzinho da Silveira, but already in the 1820s was the case[1050]. Other countries and experiences also inspired the drafting of the constitutional charter and other state legislation (such as decrees, ordinances or bills), particularly the Spanish constitution of Cadis, the English system of political parties, as well as the celebrated Greek liberal revolution.

Nevertheless, the liberals themselves had to make choices in the law-making process, for instance, between polarities such as centralization/decentralization, autonomy/dependence, planned/spontaneous and the answers differed substantially. What was the function of the state in this new state of affairs? is it enough to merely protect the exercise of freedom or should one actively foster or created it in a way?

These issues would later evolve, with the debates around socialism, leading to the question of what was the role of the state in the economy, whether or not it should more actively intervene in it and, if so, in which ways? Moreover, the formation of the citizen in the modern epoch also required this intervention, namely with the process of alphabetization which, more than the cultural and economic value, had an important ideological function.

[1049] In reality, some of its fundamental characteristics had already been developing since the early modern epoch, such as the separation between the political (state) and social-economic (civil society) spheres, something already pointed out by Hegel, in the early periods of capitalism. See in regard to Portugal António Manuel Hespanha, "O debate acerca do "Estado Moderno"" in, *A Historiografia Portuguesa, hoje,* José Tengarrinha(ed.), HUCITEC, São Paulo, 1999, pp.133-145.

[1050] See António Pedro Manique, "Junot e as influências francesas na reforma da administração pública em Portugal – o Papel dos corregedores-mores" in *Ler História*, n.60, pp.73-99.

The bottom line is that, although the liberal and progressive men did not agree with the older social order, the new establishment was divided in their conceptions, and unsure of what to fill in the place of the older institutions, such as, for instance, the corporations of medieval origin, which stabilized the labor market. Therefore, in many cases, we find a hybrid compromise between conservative and progressive beliefs, which were hard to categorized but, nevertheless, sought essentially to bring about stability amid profound changes.

There were authors, for instance, that on one hand defended municipalist views[1051], while at the same time condoned the imposition of reforms by a bureaucracy of the wise upon the unenlightened, such as in the case of Alexandre Herculano[1052]. On the other hand, there were others supporting a radical democratism, as José Estevão, who believed the monarchy carried some principles of solidarity, understanding a commitment to the nation as an organic whole, or in other words a government for the people[1053].

Those endorsing some more radical political outlooks, however, could not accept the conservative twist attached to the interpretations of Hegel coming either from the left or the right political spectrum, which was generally criticized by the former and highlighted by the latter. The Hegelian philosophy, with its emphasis on change and movement, through a dialectical process, proved instead to be a powerful instrument for theorizations on social transformation, as with many socialists.

When some nations still struggled with the most basic liberal reforms, as in the case of Portugal, there were forces fermenting the political discontent, nourishing the possibilities of social change, dissolving religious feelings from within, by questioning its fundaments. From this standpoint, the critique of liberalism led many times to its reconfiguration.

It should not go unnoticed that radicalism, being it political, philosophical or religious, even if in principle set aside by the establishment, was a useful instrument to the moderate sectors of society seeking support for their reformist endeavors. It was not unusual when faced with opposition, by a renewed old order which had not completely disappeared, regular liberals embraced the Jacobinism they otherwise criticized.

[1051] See for a overview in this regard Fernando Catroga, "Natureza e História na Fundamentação do Municipalismo: Da revolução liberal ao estado novo" in *Estudos de homenagem a Luís de António Oliveira Ramos*, Vol.2, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2004, pp.407-420.

[1052] See Pedro Vilas-Boas Tavares, "Alexandre Herculano e o Antigo Regime: "pontes" de uma ruptura" in *Revisitando Herculano no bicentenário do seu nascimento*, p.10.

[1053] See for a thorough study on the political and biographical aspects of the life of José Estevão the 1909 book by Jaime de Magalhães Lima, *José Estevão*, F. França Amado, Coimbra, 1909.
See also, José Manuel Tengarrinha, *José Estêvão: O homem e a obra*, Assembleia da República, Lisboa, 2011.

Developing on this same subject, Almeida Garrett, a figurehead of liberalism, draws a vivid picture of this atmosphere in his 1830 books, in which philosophers, atheists and freethinkers were at the forefront of an ideological struggle[1054]. He evaluates modern philosophy as an effective instrument in the overthrowing of the old order, particularly regarding religious beliefs, but in many ways also encouraging the spiritual emancipation from oligarchical aristocratic dominance or in his words

"A terrible enemy was born in the bosom of its abuses, it grows, nourishes and invigorates with them, more formidable than the spirit of sect or reform, of more devastating weapons, of more ambitious pretensions, more irreconcilable hatred, - with whom there can be no peace or war, because in war it will win, in peace it will scoff: - it is 'modern philosophy' - skepticism or philosophical impiety."[1055]

What he calls the "modern philosophy" could very well be a synonym for Hegelianism, but he is obviously referring to a general mode of philosophizing characteristic of modernity and, I would add up, Hegel along with the German idealist tradition were the imminent founders and representatives. The main idea of this book is, however, that the balance of Europe has been lost with the advent of modernity.

As a result, the present movement of civilization is an inevitable outcome, since the idea behind movement is precisely that one can hinder it but cannot stop it. It is interesting to observe how, in the middle of this shift, he tries to conceive a better outcome for Portugal in the nearing clash, by making us aware of the mistakes of the past[1056].

One interesting aspect is the relationship Garrett makes between European transformations and colonialism, or if we prefer, the more neutral term of discoveries, as the driving force behind the general movement. The movement of people to America, and in the Portuguese case to Brazil, stimulated the moral character of the peoples to fight against tyranny. The overseas misdeeds that were part of colonial powers became clearer, in the face of the factors modeling the formation of the new world, which meant a society that was freer from the more static hierarchical configurations of Europe.

[1054] See Almeida Garrett, *Portugal na Balança da Europa*, Obras do V. de Almeida Garret, Tome XIX, Em Casa da Viuva Moré - Editora, Porto, 1867, pp.269-274.

[1055] "Um terrível inimigo lhe nasceu do seio de seus abusos, cresce, nutre e avigora com eles, mais formidável que o espirito de seita ou de reforma, de mais assoladoras armas, de mais ambiciosas pretensões, mais irreconciliável ódio, - com quem não pode haver paz nem Guerra, porque na Guerra a vencerá, na paz as escarnecerá:- é a 'filosofia moderna' – o cepticismo ou impiedade filosófica." Idem, ibidem, p.270.

[1056] Idem, ibidem, pp.78-86.

Freedom is indeed the main thematic of this book, and his reasoning about Portugal in the balance of Europe amounts to the question of how could the Portuguese exercise and maintain their freedom, during a time of foreign intervention and the danger of being assimilated into Spain, with many Iberist thesis circulating.

His arguments against an Iberic union are not merely nationalist in character, but rather analyze that possible outcome and how it harms Portugal in general. However, he does not focus on these thoughts, but rather on the ideas of how one could develop better social conditions, institutions and mechanisms that would make such eventuality more unlikely. But if worse comes to worse, he argues a federation would be a better solution for Portugal[1057].

Throughout the text his patriotic ardor comes forward, because it is clear that the substance of his discourse deals with ameliorating the state his countrymen find themselves in, not isolated, but rather open to the movement of civilization in Europe, with a relation of nations as equals.

The similarities of Garrett and the social thought of the Saint-Simonians are flagrant, for all if we focus on their notion of an inter-relation between states, with their mutual connections but also independence. The colonial thought occupies a central role in their theories as well, due to the fact they wanted to achieve a synthesis of cultures, namely of the oriental and European characters, at which point a large group established themselves as a community in Egypt.

Their influence on the colonial policies of France was also long-lasting, owing to the principles of acculturation they defended, whilst preserving the diversity. Due to this fact, they gathered sympathy from the government, as it could easily be worked on as an ideological tool, by practically continuing the practices of colonial exploitation. All of these thoughts were embedded with a diffused Hegelianism, that they adapted into their massive social experiment, besides their faith in industrial development as an antidote to the problems of modern society.

Similar ideas of Saint-Simonian origin, particularly regarding the industry but also indirectly through the notion of a gathering of cultures, largely inspired the industrial leap of Fontism. This inspiration can be seen, for instance, through the railway projects that were a cornerstone of the Saint-Simonist thought of a flow of cultures coming together[1058]. One of its

[1057] Idem, ibidem, pp.321.

[1058] See for this topic the Hugo Silveira Pereira work, particularly the following articles:

enthusiastic supporters was Lobo d'Ávila, who lived in France at the time of the 1848 revolution and was a firm supporter of it. He propagated, shortly after his return to Portugal, the ideals of these utopian socialists[1059].

It does not come as a surprise that Antero de Quental will mention Garrett in one of his letters to Oliveira Martins. He speaks about parliamentary discourses and memories of the politician, telling his friend to "read it, because it contains some prophetic pages, that you may like to address in your *Portugal Contemporâneo*"[1060].

The generation of Antero will be very critical of liberalism in the regeneration period, particularly in regard to its economic aspects. Therefore, they readily appropriated the critical tradition relating to the liberal ideology. Many would balance those liberal critical conceptions, which go back much further than just 1865, hence the above-mentioned Garrett, together with their understanding of Hegelianism.

Oliveira Martins for instance, notwithstanding his critical views of the liberal regime would reap many ideas from Lerminier, who had updated his liberal views with his study of Hegelian philosophy. The French author's historical perspective in regard to philosophy of right, leads him to appreciate the thought of Hegel while, at the same time, objecting to the Hegelian portrayal of the state, since for him the importance of the individual is lacking in there. Just as the French author, Oliveira Martins tries to find a middle ground between Hegelian social thought and the English liberal tradition of individualist inspiration[1061].

At any rate, the golden age of the liberalism critique came with the 1870 generation[1062]. The social critic of liberalism from Martins, which is most visible in *O Portugal Contemporâneo*, comes forward in the fictional works of Eça de Queiroz, such as O *Primo Basílio* or Os Maias, and in the poetic work of Antero de Quental, particular his *Sonetos* and *Raios da Extinta Luz*.

Hugo Silveira Pereira, "Fronteiras e Caminhos-de-Ferro: Da Quimera Saint-Simoniana ao desencanto tecnodiplomático (C. 1850-C. 1900)" in *Revista História das Ideias*, Vol.35, Serie 2, Coimbra, 2017, pp.227-259. idem, "Caminho de Ferro portugueses na década de 1890, entre crença no progresso e o pessimismo tecnológico" in *Revista Portuguesa de História*, Tome 50, 2019, pp.111-112.

[1059] Idem, "Joaquim Tomás Lobo d'Ávila, conde de Valbom: um Homem da Regeneração" in *Revista História da Sociedade e Cultura*, n.16, 2016, pp.298-304.

[1060] "leia-o, que tem algumas páginas proféticas, que Você talvez gostasse de extractar no seu Portugal Contemporâneo" Antero de Quental, *Cartas*, Vol.II, *op. cit.* p.199

[1061] See in this regard Oliveira Martins, *Teoria do Socialismo, op. cit.* pp.48-49.

[1062] The style and oratory behind political discourse in Portugal owes much more to writers and men of culture, rather than career politicians according to José Tengarrinha*, Estudos de história contemporânea de Portugal*, Editorial Caminho, Lisboa, 1983, pp.129-180.

The intellectual constellation surrounding this generation will cultivate this critical perspective in regard to liberal thought, as it comes forward in several authors. Therefore, it could be said that here lies the root of the crisis of liberalism in ideological terms, given the awareness of the acute social problems, as researchers have pointed out[1063].

Those ideas would lead to the republican heterodoxy found in Alves da Veiga, as well as Sampaio Bruno and, above all, in Basílio Teles. The germ of the demoliberalism critique, which appears in the years leading up to the republican and after, has for its basis the insufficiencies of the parliamentarian system, that Hegel had already criticized in a text about the English reform bill.

In that sense, the critique of liberalism in Portugal is not restricted to the liberal monarchy, but rather perhaps even gains a new emphasis and continues with the republic, although the liberal political framework was still dominant amongst the political elites. Moreover, those challenges were particularly prominent in the law studies, where Hegel's philosophy of right became increasingly relevant.

One could therefore identify different phases of Hegelianism in relation to those critical developments around liberalism. First during the time of Hegel's professorship, then right after with the direct disciples he left, then at the time of the 1848 revolution and yet another one is, for example, the Hegelian appropriation in French radical political thought, such as Proudhon.

At the turn of the century, on the one hand, the communist movement's general expansion leads to a further appreciation of Hegelianism, in its critical aspects of liberalism and theoretical-philosophical premises. While on the other hand, the conservative reading of Hegel is viewed more positively by some sectors, which were critical of the liberal political outlook.

In that last regard, there is the interesting case of António Sardinha's defense of an anti-liberal regime, which he saw as the definitive solution to the political instability Portugal faced during the republic. He would be critical of the ideas associated with classic liberal thought, such as Kant, preferring instead political solutions closer to authoritarian lineages, where the state plays a prominent role, as he bashes Fidelino Figueiredo in the parliament:

[1063] See in this regard Victor de Sá, *A Crise do Liberalismo e as primeiras manifestações das ideias socialistas em Portugal (1820-1852)*, *op. cit.*

"But without the state to attribute finality and consciousness, what is it in itself, in its mere instructive activity, the natural veto - Nation? Hearing Mr. Fidelino Figueiredo, with his fondness for the pure idea, I had the impression that it was Kant speaking. Contrary to what your sir affirmed there is a protectionism of the intelligence, which is a reason for the inviolability of peoples and nationalities."[1064]

Even though Figueiredo himself was reticent towards many modern liberal formats, following rather a more classical posture. The evolution of the liberal thought is therefore also an important aspect to account for, since the nationalist discourse reacted more vigorously against the liberal concessions to progressive discourses that discarded the traditional values, such as socialism and other progressive tendencies.

The Hegelian background in the philosophy of right

Against the backdrop of the ideas outlined above, in regard to political philosophy and the practical aspects of state administration, the philosophy of right thought at Coimbra University would provide the theoretical support for the social and juridical ideas of the political elites, along with the formation of intellectual circles. Those classes would point towards the sources of German idealism and Hegelianism in particular, notwithstanding the difficulties of acquaintance with the original texts and interpretative challenge posed by Hegel's bequest.

The academic curriculum of Coimbra will increasingly include philosophical concerns, especially through Vicente Ferrer's professorship, who began to introduce ideas from modern German philosophy in juridical studies. That interest arose from the recognition of its importance in understanding modern society, rather than simply out of curiosity, while the manuals provided to his students shine a light on the conceptions Vicente Ferrer upheld.

They revolved on the one hand around Kantism, informed on the other hand by the conceptions of Krause, while confessing at the same that he "eclectically choose from all the

[1064] "Mas sem o Estado para lhe atribuir finalidade e consciência, o que é em si, na sua actividade tão somente instrutiva, o veto natural - Nação? Ao ouvir o Sr. Fidelino de Figueiredo, no seu amor pela ideia pura. pelo conceito abstrato, tive a impressão de que era Kant quem falava. Ao contrário do que S. Exa. afirmou existe bem um protecionismo de inteligência, que é uma razão de ser inviolável para os povos e para as nacionalidades." António Sardinha speech in *Câmara dos Deputados* from 1918-07-29 accessible at https://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/r1/cd/01/03/01/004/1918-07-29/18

old and modern writers what it seemed best, and added up the products of [his] own lucubration"[1065].

His critique in regard to Kant goes as follows: the framework of freedom is limited to negative obligations in Kant, therefore, he rejects not so much the fundament of such conception but rather "the mode by which such definition was formulated. 1. because it is restrictive and negative" and "2. because this definition refers right only to freedom, while it must be addressed to all human faculties"[1066].

It is, however, within the individual's sphere of action that the faculty of practicing the right way must be emphasized in a positive, since contrary to the limitation of freedom in order to allow individual action, the keynote should be on the right of "obligation, that the others have, of providing us those positive conditions"[1067].

Thus, they sought the fundament of right by taking into account the practices then in vogue in central Europe (Germany, Belgium and France) which reinforced the main theses of liberal democracy. In such a view, the principle of individuality, valued by bourgeois society, accommodates and overlaps a collective dimension. Thus, the individual interests would ideally coincident with the latter, instead of the former imposing its dictates upon the collective[1068].

The so-called social problem comes precisely from this collective that created obstacles to individual interest. These concern particularly the right, or so to speak, the sacred right of private property and unbridled competition, at least in regard to the capitalist social relation that determines the price of labor.

Fontes Pereira de Mello will exacerbate these contradictory effects with the reforms pushing for economic development. Moving at an ever-faster pace towards modernity, that was the first great transformation that Portugal faced, however, it would still be quite distant from the most advanced forms of modern society. The later support for industrialization, major public works and the creation of technical and vocational schools, generalized these dynamics that were already manifest in some industries, such as the tobacco one.

[1065] See Vicente Ferrer Neto Paiva, *Princípios Gerais da Filosofia do Direito*, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1850, p.101.
[1066] Idem, ibidem, pp.125-127.
[1067] Idem, ibidem, p.131.
[1068] See in this respect the short study of Benedita Maria Duque Vieira, *A Formação da Sociedade Liberal*, Centro de Estudos de História Contemporânea, Lisboa, 2005.

The right, based on solidarism, was one of the ideological supports of the socio-economic regime in place. In some ways, one could regard it as an idealization of mutualism that existed in the workers' associations. However, it was also incapable of solving the fundamental problems of the working class. Serving, therefore, more as a moralizing, condescending right, that equates society to a solidary whole, yet requiring an institutional and legal apparatus to regulate its "defects".

The aim was to bring a more harmonious outlook to the workers' demands and hinder radical discourses, through an appeal to solidarity as a collective value that overlapped class divisions. That sociological basis of right will therefore have strong associations with the economic aspects mentioned above, while its markedly ideological outcomes will find an echo in the political establishment and even amongst its critics.

The study of Cabral Moncada *Subsídios para a história da filosofia do direito em Portugal* reflects on this tradition, while at the same time intends to bring focus on the philosophical dimension of right, as a central aspect in the juridical studies. The professor himself was an adherent to the Germanic philosophical tradition in the domain of right, but in this work, he goes in the direction of historicizing on the subject.

Indeed, he dedicates one of chapters of the above work to a period understood to be dominated by Kant and Krause, in regard to the theory of right. But at any rate, Vicente Ferrer, the main introducer of Kant in the juridical studies, was only partially knowledgeable about Kant and Krause. Therefore, Moncada tells us that there was no "Kantian criticism, but rather the system of Krause together with certain ingredients of Kantism, interpreted above all by its disciples Ahrens and Tiberghien"[1069].

The spirit of Hegelianism will be mostly felt in the thought of José Dias Ferreira (1837-1907) and Martens Ferrão during this period which, according to Moncada, goes until 1869. The reaction against individualist doctrines of right starts with Dias Ferreira eclectic appropriations of a variety of doctrines, which also encompasses "something from the historic school and of Hegel" by attributing to history the role of revealing human nature, by realizing in history the designs of providence[1070].

[1069] "não foi o puro criticismo kantiano, mas o sistema de Krause com certos ingredientes do kantismo, interpretado sobretudo pelos seus discípulos Ahrens e Tiberghien" Cabral Moncada, *Subsídios para uma História da Filosofia do Direito em Portugal, op. cit.* p.64.
[1070] Idem, ibidem, pp.80-84.

As for Martens Ferrão, his social doctrine will follow the Hegelian doctrine of "thesis antithesis and syntheses as the basis and substance of the whole historical becoming"[1071]. António Costa Lobo (1840-1913) follows this logical determination of social evolution by conceiving the state in the same organicist terms, according to which social harmony is established in this last evolutionary stage through a free association[1072]. But as the most consequent Krausist, Costa Lobo fell short of the Hegelian understanding of dialectics. Instead, he leaned towards the principle of unity and harmony that could be achieved through the mutuality of a system of corporations proposed by Krausism.

On a whole, the general opinion of Cabral Moncada, with regard to Portuguese insight into German idealism, is quite negative. But this is a tendency found in many other formulations when he tells us, for instance, that with the generation of Antero de Quental "the thought of Hegel, Comte, Michelet, Taine, Littré, Feuerbach, Spencer, Büchner and later Haeckel, etc, became little by little know, or at least better known" …. "but in short, as far as a solid philosophical education is concerned, all that hope was lost"[1073].

As a result, it is almost a paradox that Moncada's attention focuses on the German philosophical tradition, in Portuguese higher education and its law schools, while at the same time considers that this phenomenon was rather superficial. As he says, for instance, there was no true Kant of the three critics, or that Krausism was merely an intellectual activity that mostly restricted itself to academic debates about the social nature of right, with almost no impact on practice[1074].

That attitude possibly comes from his recognition of the value of German philosophy which, despite its limitations, in many ways helped renew the studies of law at the Coimbra University. Notwithstanding, he is unhappy about the insufficiencies in that regard, particularly owing to the fact that the introduction of German philosophy was not direct, but rather by means of a European cultural mediation, emanating mainly from France and other nations, such as Spain.

[1071] "sente-se perto da linha do seu raciocínio neste ponto o pensamento hegeliano e proudhoniano da tese, antítese e síntese na base e na substância de todo o devir histórico" idem, ibidem p.91.
[1072] Idem, ibidem, p.99-100.
[1073] "Proudhon, Hegel, Comte, [Jules] Michelet, Taine, Littré, Feuerbach, Spencer, Büchner, mais tarde Haeckel, etc., tornam-se pouco a pouco conhecidos, ou, pelo menos, melhor conhecidos" ... "porém a breve trecho, no que toca a uma solida educação filosófica, toda essa esperança se perdeu" idem, ibidem, p.114.
[1074] See in this regard idem, ibidem, pp.110-112.

This later reason becomes clear in the conclusion, as he observes that Krausism in Spain was different from its manifestation in Portugal, precisely because it was directly received from Germany through Sanz del Rio[1075]. In that sense, the Spanish intellectual-philosophical circles would be in a better position to receive the thought of Hegel.

Moreover, the dialectical philosopher would present itself as a good bridge between idealism and realism because, according to Moncada, the latter is greatly appreciated by the Iberian people. This explains the feeble adherence to Kant's philosophical principles, as opposed to the political ideas of those liberals.

Consequently, Cabral Moncada looks into the phenomenon of Hegelianism in Spain, rather than Portugal, in one of his essays about the work of Tejada Spínola *El Hegelismo Jurídico Español*. While identifying three different forms of reception 1. Hegelian orthodoxy 2. Impure Hegelianism 3. Verbalist Hegelianism. Cabral Moncada clearly leans towards the first one represented by Benitez de Lugo.

The critique of Spanish Hegelianism, goes along the same lines of the Portuguese German idealism reception. Furthermore, there is a great disadvantage over Krausism since the latter one had already established itself in Spain, while the sources for the former were now rather indirect ones. This led mainly to the misunderstanding of Hegelianism, or merely to its use for other purposes, which according to the author had nothing Hegelian about it. Those efforts were rather ideologically driven and mixed with other elements, in order to justify political designs, which were theoretically syncretic in nature[1076].

In that regard, Cabral Moncada seems to be averse to the idea of different philosophical currents within Hegelianism. He considers, for instance, that the thought of Marx is a “false Hegelianism”, while the partial use of Hegel is for him erroneous. He gives particular importance to the ontological basis of Hegel’s philosophy, which was not captured in that reception, along with the concepts of the dialectical philosopher, in which the freedom of the spirit is actually very different from the political freedom of those Spanish interpreters.

Indeed, Cabral Moncada seems to defend a more orthodox view of Hegel, or at least the establishment of a minimum delimitation of what encompasses the actual thought of Hegel. That essay about Spanish Hegelianism is from 1945, but already at about the same time

[1075] Idem, ibidem, p.172.
[1076] Cabral Moncada, “Hegel em Espanha” in *Estudos de Filosofia do Direito e do Estado*, Vol. II, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, Lisboa, 2004, pp.260-261.

as his *Subsídios* to the history of philosophy of right, he will hold a conference in Berlin and Cologne about the *German Idealism in the Philosophy of Right in Portugal* (1938), where he also defends something similar.

In that speech Cabral Moncada considers this relationship, between German idealism and philosophy of right, was the "most interesting history of the spiritual relations between Portugal and Germany"[1077]. But cannot help to mention to the audience that he speaks of German idealism in Portugal with many reservations, because it was far from the pure classical German idealism[1078].

The fault is, on the one hand, in the lack of interest in the new metaphysic of Kant, Hegel and other representatives of German idealism, but on the other hand, it relates more to the level of knowledge of German philosophy[1079]. For this reason, it seems that already back then he thinks systematically about each of the eminent German philosophers, following a certain orthodoxy.

Despite finding the adaptation of German idealism, inspired by Krause, to the political framework and Iberian culture quite interesting, he was unable to admit the existence of philosophical currents, that highlighted certain aspects in detriment of others, in place of more structured philosophical systems. As we have seen, the former still belongs to the realm of the doctrines they based themselves on.

He attributes this failure of the popularity of German idealism, with regard to philosophy, to the imminently practical character of the Portuguese people. As a result, he was most enthusiastic about Antero de Quental and Faria e Maia, because they sought to combine the naturalist tendency with the advances of modern German metaphysics. That is why the period he defines as scientist, or naturalist, actually contains many thoughts on Hegel.

However, at the same time, things do not go according to expected in this sense of a synthesis. The positivist tendency, of sociological nature, according to him ends up annihilating philosophy of right. For example, Calisto, the last representative of a certain

[1077] Cabral Moncada "Idealismo Alemão e a Filosofia do Direito em Portugal" in *Subsídios para uma História da Filosofia do Direito em Port*ugal, op. cit. p.187.
[1078] Idem, ibidem, p.193.
[1079] "E o que se diz de Kant diga-se também de Fichte, Schelling e Hegel. Em si nunca foram suficientemente conhecidos nem estudados antes do fim do século, e tudo aquilo que antes dessa data deles se sabia nunca passou de meia dúzia de citações ou dos resumos contidos nas obras clássicas francesas, principalmente de Lerminier, Willm, Vera e sobretudo Ahrens." Idem, Ibidem, p.193.

eclectic Krausism, allowed himself to be dominated by the questions raised by the positivists and began to adopt their language and methodology[1080].

Yet despite his advocacy of a certain Hegelian orthodoxy, Moncada still refers to Stirner, Feuerbach and Marx in this 1837 work as the Hegelian Left[1081]. In that regard, he is sensitive to some criticism of liberalism and the capitalist economic organization but, instead of the socialist revolution, Moncada defends a corporate system according to moderate principles of a social organization, with the state playing a major role. Therefore, in addition to philosophy, some of the political Hegelianism also had repercussions on his thought.

As for Cabral Moncada's philosophical and juridical thought itself, which is found in his law studies, in general lines it meant the defense of the principles of German idealism, particularly of Hegel[1082]. According to him, this could have been the source of a renewed Christianity, based on the spirit conceived in Hegelian terms, which would emancipate itself from the traditionalist molds of Catholicism[1083]. He praises therefore the efforts of Lissarrague, a Spanish philosopher, in that sense of trying to reconcile Catholicism with this idealist tradition[1084].

While personally, Cabral Moncada's interest for the ontology of right leads him into a permanent dialogue with Hegel[1085]. In fact, in his study of the history of philosophy of right, Hegel was probably for the first thoroughly studied and consistently outlined to the Portuguese readers. The philosopher is, perhaps, the one he spends the most time to expose, as he explains his ideas, and possibly was also the one he was most enthusiastic about[1086].

As previously mentioned, his thought leans more towards a sense of orthodoxy, considering new readings of Hegelianism as different doctrines, because they were more or less detached from Hegel's original system. But still, in his work from 1947 he cannot help but mention that:

[1080] "krause, Ahrens, Hegel, foram modificando o seu trajo ainda um tanto romântico, da primeira metade do século, para aparecerem por fim vestidos à moda de 1870 em diante, vertidos em linguagem naturalista, quando não já ostentando as próprias roupagens do pensamento de Comte, Spencer, Darwin, De Greef e Icilio Vanni." *Subsídios para uma História da Filosofia do Direito em Port*ugal, op. cit. p.166.

[1081] Idem, ibidem, p.175.

[1082] See in this regard his Hegelian formulation of the spirit while reflecting on the juridical sciences Cabral Moncada, *Filosofia do Direito e do Estado*, Vol. II, Coimbra Editora, 1995, pp.82-84 et pp.164-168.

[1083] This is one of hypotheses regarding his essay about the Hegelianism in Spain

[1084] Cabral Moncada "O Poder Político e a Sociedade" in *Estudos de Filosofia do Direito e do Estado*, Vol. I, pp.231-235.

[1085] See in this respect Cabral Moncada, *Filosofia do Direito e do Estado*, Vol. II op. cit. pp.110-111.

[1086] See Cabral Moncada, *Filosofia do Direito e do Estado*, Vol. I, *op. cit.* pp.279-301.

"Hegel, like all the greatest thinkers of all time, he is and will always be a sign of contradiction, and susceptible to the most diverse and opposing interpretations, both conservative and revolutionary."[1087]

In this respect, it is quite clear that the jurist is in the critical field, seeking however to preserve the classic Christian principles from a renewed Catholicism, not least because there was always the communist threat, which he believed could only be fought if the problems raised by modernity were solved according to the Christian perspective[1088].

In conclusion, we can say that the Hegelianism surrounding the juridical studies, which was spread across different currents of thought in the philosophy of right, will be one of the main reasons Hegel was present in the political theories of the Portuguese intellectuals throughout the 19th and 20th century.

It is from this heritage that the political thought around German idealism later developed, at first with Krausism, which also brought the historicization of philosophical knowledge. This leads in a double sense to the deepening of the discipline of philosophy, as well as to the use of political theories deriving from philosophical thought in the juridical field, with special emphasis on Hegelianism as current of thought that, contrary to other ones such as Krausism, will hardly subside.

[1087] "Hegel, como todos os máximos pensadores de todos os tempos, é e será sempre sinal de contradição, e suscetível das mais diversas e opostas interpretações, tanto conservadores como revolucionárias" idem, ibidem, p.294.

[1088] See Cabral Moncada, *Filosofia do Direito e do Estado*, Vol. I, *op. cit,* pp.310-312.

The Meaning of Hegelianism in Portugal: concluding remarks

This study aimed to investigate the field of intellectual history in Portugal, in search of Hegelianism as a current of thought. In that regard, the introductory chapter advanced some objectives, working hypotheses and a problematic that demanded answers to the questions raised by this intellectual movement. It is now pertinent to endeavor in a retrospective look, with those initial plans in mind, and assess the results of this research.

This thesis ultimately proposes that Hegelianism in Portugal follows the different international trends of this philosophical current, even though there is no well-defined Hegelian school as in other countries, but rather marks left by this current of thought. As such, the angle of research focuses on the thematic and interpretative lines of the German philosopher and the reflexes of different Hegelian typologies within the Portuguese intellectual landscape.

It also advances that this introduction takes place along the framework of cultural transfers, which leads to a dialogue between various currents of thought. The overview below will recapitulate each section in their guiding lines, along with the relationship between the findings in view of the whole work. Besides this, I will also endeavor to reflect on other possible research directions not undertaken, or that were only partially explored.

I first began by addressing the topic of cultural transfers within the framework of Hegelianism. Because, as pointed out in the working hypothesis, ideas originating in Hegel's philosophy permeated quite diverse intellectual currents and this is reflected in Portugal as well.

As such, these appropriations reached Portugal, in the vast majority of cases, through multiple cultural transfers rather than from a single source. Those transfers, when not interpreting the philosopher's thoughts, had at least to engage in an adaptation process to different circumstances, or a cultural environment with its own philosophical background and indigenous thoughts.

Therefore, the reading of Hegel's source texts, or a more direct reception of German philosophical culture, was determined by that factor. Moreover, the usual mediating routes come mainly from France (Saint-Simon, Proudhon), Italy (Croce) and Spain (Ginar de los Rios, Unamuno). But there is also mediation from other countries, such as the Hegel translations in English, or Hegelian charged aesthetic-artistic works of northern Europe. Notwithstanding, the

study of the Berliner philosopher from a German provenance was not out of the equation, but we find it instead mostly in authors more committed to the study of philosophy. These would include, for instance, Sampaio Bruno or Joaquim de Carvalho.

At first, the journey led us to encounter Hegelianism in the various national realities, shedding light on the international dimension of Hegel's reach. By the same token, I took into account its reception in association with linguistic and aesthetical characters, specific to a dialogue of cultures in Portugal. The look into this intellectual constellation, as a transnational movement, included foreign students who attended philosophy classes at the University of Berlin.

Finally, such an overview of Hegelianism, beyond isolated national borders, was later enlightening for the focus on the marks Hegelian thought left in the Portuguese philosophical studies, as well as in the section related to the political manifestations. Consequently, the notion of cultural transfers is based on encounters with different currents of thought and backgrounds (for example Cousin's Eclecticism, Saint-Simonism, Positivism, British idealism or the Italian Humanism tradition). In Hegelianism, they are associated particularly with discussions on history, voiced along the lines of conceptions from philosophy of history related to the Berlin philosopher.

Hence, another moment of the study considered the relationship between various historical theories, with several concepts (*i.e.,* reason, spirit, consciousness) and interpretations (historical layers-levels, cycles in history, idea of progress) of those theories bearing the imprint of philosophy of history. This is the case with authors such as Antero de Quental, Adolfo Coelho or Fidelino Figueiredo.

In another chapter, the focus was on the innovation Hegel introduced in the conception of history, which is duly noted by various Portuguese thinkers, as early as the 1840s with Cunha Rivara, José Júlio de Oliveira or Martens Ferrão, all the way to the 1870s generation led by Antero de Quental. The young students of Coimbra, endowed with this new historical consciousness, that acknowledges the historicity of reality, began to look philosophically into the past. The great historical movements and its ends, with different stages and tendencies according to historical times, became the new concern of historical research.

The historical perspectives coming from Hegelianism modeled the conceptions of various intellectuals writing about history, such as Oliveira Martins or Frederico Laranjo. On

the other hand, history becomes part of political, social and aesthetical considerations, especially from the 1870s onwards with the Coimbra generation.

Therefore, the revolutionary upheavals were a historical landmark, that kept stirring up the political arena, while the appearance of the proletariat led to the discovery of a new social dimension in history. Finally, the aesthetical effects were also visible in the dramatic portrayal history, as the theater where the spirit gains insight into reason, often in tortuous ways under the auspices of worldly passions.

The second section of this study delves into philosophy, more precisely the reflexes of Hegelianism in the context of Portuguese philosophical developments. The knowledge of Hegel's philosophy was looked upon by going through a wide range of thinkers and thematic areas.

On the other hand, it also explored the possibility of a contact between the German intellectual scene and Portuguese nationals, who could have established more direct intellectual relations, as in the case of the Graf von Oriola and Agostinho de Ornelas. However, the focus was on the teaching of philosophy in Portugal, as well as on those who were interested in philosophical subjects, which led us also to other areas of knowledge where philosophy played a role.

The establishment of philosophy as a field of study had a difficult journey, marked by practices of self-study, rather than grounded on educational institutions. Only late, already in the 20th century, did the main Universities open philosophy courses. The republican regime founded the Universities of Lisbon and Porto, and implemented reforms at the University of Coimbra that were very important in that sense.

In Coimbra, Krausism became a dominant current at the university, while in Lisbon positivism gained a foothold at *Curso Superior de Letras*. As far as the humanities are concerned, Lisbon competed with Coimbra, in terms of philosophical knowledge, starting with the foundation of higher education courses there. This became even more pronounced with Lisbon's *Faculdade de Letras*, but this trend extended to other areas, such as law, that was later also taught in Lisbon.

The knowledge of Hegel's philosophy was, therefore, at least in the area of philosophy, also incremental. Yet the interest in Hegelianism peaked somewhat with the 1870s generation, even if the philosophy of Hegel was, back then, not as well understood. However, a better grasp of this philosophy, does not mean misconceptions later faded away, but rather

that a more professional study takes place. This then led us to the problem of interpreting the German philosopher's thought.

Accordingly, another chapter was dedicated to the different typologies of Hegelianism, which came forward in other chapters of this study and are found in several Portuguese intellectuals. The typological universe of Hegelianism, along the lines of modern philosophical hermeneutics, was a defining perspective of this research. For good reason, since this chapter showed that Hegel's philosophy, and its associated current of thought, was probably one of the most defining philosophical tendencies of modernity.

Lastly, in the third section of this work, the typologies of Hegelianism come forward livelier. The political side of Hegelianism, according to the standpoint of ideological alignments, was a fertile ground for the inclusion of philosophical considerations in political debates.

The political thought of Hegel such as his theory of civil society, the new conception of work or also the dispositions provided to a theory of ideology, have marked the Portuguese discourse about politics. The readings of Portuguese politicians contained many connections to Hegelian-inspired ideas, which have impacted political theories and their practical activity in the public sphere.

In addition to ideological issues, one chapter of this section showed those ideas, from Hegelian extraction, found their way to the conception and apparatus of the state, in politicians such as Martens Ferrão, Frederico Laranjo, or Bernardino Machado. As for the teaching of the philosophy of right, a long tradition regarding German thought began its transmission at Coimbra University. This will continue all the way up to the late Coimbra professor Cabral Moncada, who was very much an admirer of this Germanist tradition. He researched this subject and published in-depth studies of this philosophical tradition in the law faculty, which had many resonances of Hegelianism or led students in that direction.

The study of Hegelianism in Portugal encompasses various other philosophers and systems of thought. Throughout this work we saw how these appropriations were present in many theories and, in light of different authors, benefited from the inclusion of ideas originating in Hegel. It was associated with socialist currents, from Proudhon to Marx; had a presence in the juridical schools under the aegis of Krausism; the introduction of Positivism in

Portugal also brought Hegelian conceptions that were appropriated by Comte, mainly through his early contacts with the Saint-Simon movement[1089].

However, intellectuals also studied the German philosopher by itself, especially among the members of the 1870s generation, such as Adolfo Coelho or Antero de Quental. The spiritualist philosophical tradition in Oporto also engaged more directly with the philosopher, with Sampaio Bruno as the greater example. Those appropriations followed the individual interests of each Portuguese intellectual, often along the various typological interpretations of Hegelianism.

Therefore, while the Hegelian thought left a strong imprint on Portuguese intellectuals, in general they did not adopt the philosopher's ideas in a systematic form, but rather valued in some specific aspects. For example, Antero de Quental and Joaquim de Carvalho appreciate historicity; the aesthetical theory finds an echo, especially in Teófilo Braga and Fidelino Figueiredo; others yet value monism and focus on the ontological basis of Hegel's philosophy, such as Amorim Viana and Cunha Seixas. Hence, one could say that this philosophy was taken as a current of thought, according to varying typologies.

These concluding notes intend to address the meaning of Hegelianism, which was highlighted in the introduction, with further remarks in light of the whole preceding work. On the one hand, the term relates to the idea that many types of dialogues with the German philosopher led to an ample range of thoughts. But on the other hand, there is also a meaning to Hegelianism, due to its importance for the Portuguese intellectual landscape, or the double sense that could be attributed to the word meaning, in terms of "significance".

In this last regard, we have seen how Hegelianism played a role in the historical, philosophical and political ideas of Portuguese authors, and in the cultural sphere at large. It would have been impossible to grasp and follow the traits of modernity without this current of thought, something which was recognized by those authors themselves, as I endeavored to demonstrate.

In the introduction, we already pointed out those issues regarding the first sense of the meaning of Hegelianism, or the marks left by Hegel in a multitude of tendencies. But now, after what transpired in this work, these gained a new breadth. The clarification of the word Hegelianism, led us to include several thinkers addressing those problems within the horizon

[1089] See Mary Pickering "Auguste Comte and the Saint-Simonians" in *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 1993, pp. 211-236.

of Hegel's philosophy, which is why the study of Hegelianism in Portugal does not imply the existence of strict followers. In fact, we have this same line of criticism within Hegelianism, when some refer to the *hegelei*[1090], as the acritical readers of this philosophy.

Under this prism, one can study Hegelianism not merely focusing on the adherents of this philosophy, but rather as ways of reading his philosophy and more from the perspective of different interpretations, which gave rise to a typological universe that emerged in the shadow of Hegelianism. For all intents and purposes, the idea of Hegel's disciples, or closer followers, changes instead to the marks left on various intellectuals, and the viewpoints they adopted, which more accurately fit the Portuguese model.

This approach is also similar to what the Hegelian developments in Germany went through, when some preferred to value the political and dialectical, or the metaphysical, aspects of Hegel, according to certain philosophical preferences. Hence, there were some attempts to clean up Hegel from some misdemeanor, as in the case of Feuerbach's move to materialism, wanting to overcome the contradiction of Hegel's dialectical process, or Marx's famous rational kernel of his philosophy, which sought to preserve those same dialectical principles in a materialist conception.

Those different valuations of aspects coming out of Hegel's philosophy are evident in politics, upon the divisions between left, right and a more liberal center of the political spectrum. In Portugal, it was the political left initially predominantly valued Hegel, while liberal reformism assimilated his lessons as well. However, it will lose ground to right-wing interpretations and conservative readings further in time.

The invocation of Hegel under conservative considerations by António Cândido is one such example pointed out earlier. But this also holds true for Sebastião Baracho, who was a supporter of the nationalist cause, even if he portrays himself as identifying with the "precepts and practices, genuinely liberal and progressive"[1091]. He would refer, in one of his parliamentary speeches, to Hegel's formulation that "men do not learn from the lessons of history"[1092].

[1090] This term of German origin may be translated as the hegelianizers (in Portuguese *hegelianizadores*) or those that endevour in hegelianity (in portuguese *hegelice* or *hegeleinidade*), as a kind of religious following lacking critical thought.

[1091] "me identifico com os genuínos preceitos e praxes, lidimamente liberais e progressivos" Sebastião de Sousa Dantas Baracho, *Entre duas Reações*, Vol. I, Editores J. Rodrigues & Ca, Lisboa, 1917, pp.II.

[1092] "Nunca teve tanta propriedade como no actual momento a máxima do filosofo alemão Hegel, afirmando que os povos não aprendem com a lição da história" Sebastião Baracho discourse in *Camara dos Pares do Reino* from 1905-09-05 accessible at https://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/mc/cp2/01/01/01/018/1905-09-05/217

While conservativism never became the dominant tendency in the Portuguese expressions of Hegelianism, the inclusion of reformist and progressive discourses, shaped along contrasting political alignments by radical conservatism is inventive, since Hegel could also be summoned in conservative outcomes of Portuguese national politics. The supporters of *integralismo Lusitano* carefully condemn some aspects of Hegel's thought, while highlighting conservative elements of their ideology that had a tradition in some Hegelian readings.

In fact, already in the period of Estado Novo, Domingos Fezas Vital elaborates a report, in 1937, on a proposed corporative law in which we are told that "The *Estado Novo* does not intend to be an absolute of Hegelian features, to which man would be a relative. The mussolinic conception «everything for the State, nothing against the State, nothing outside the State» is far from corresponding to the conception of the Portuguese *Estado Novo*"[1093].

This conservative discourse that seeks to integrate certain elements of progressive liberal traditions, as in the case above with its defense of the human personality, will be a consequence of this rupture with traits of conservatism leaning to conformism. Hence, despite the criticism, Hegelianism is present in the reflections of this new traditionalism, that engages with the course of modernity and is more defiant, in terms of politics.

Although addressing the area of knowledge corresponding to philosophy, this work takes a historical perspective and, as a result, falls within the field of intellectual history, focusing on currents of thought in association with Hegelianism. Notwithstanding, something left open for further inquiry would be the consideration of philosophical concerns in a broader sense. Possibly, also a comparison in terms of, for example, different conceptions about the nature of philosophy[1094], such as the debates around idealism and materialism.

This leads us onto open questions and directions of research that were not explored in this work, or were only marginally addressed, but nevertheless could have been an angle to adopt or deepen in this investigation.

[1093] "É que o Estado Novo não pretende ser um absoluto de feição hegeliana. A concepção mussolínica «tudo pelo estado, nada contra o Estado, nada fora do Estado» está longe de corresponder à concepção do Estado Novo português." Fezas Vital report in *Diário da Sessões Parlamentares* in the Assembleia Nacional 1937-03-02 accessible at https://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/r2/dan/01/01/03/118S6/1937-03-02/26

[1094] See in respect to the history of ideas, and the relevance of philosophical knowledge, the short overview of this problem in the context of Portuguese philosophy by José Barata-Moura, *Estudos de Filosofia Portuguesa*, Caminho, Lisboa, 1998, pp.13-36.

One of these possibilities would be to examine how the state of philosophy in Portugal was perceived from the outside, specifically in the case of Hegelianism, for example in Germany, France or neighboring Spain. But since the movement took place predominantly in the opposite direction, with many cultural products mediated from outside, the work did not delve much into that aspect of exchange. However, as far as the perspectives on Portugal are concerned, in general they are represented from a cultural point of view, rather than a consideration of philosophical knowledge.

It is still possible to find some outlines in that regard, such as the translation of Antero de Quental poetry by Wilhelm Stork, more specifically the accompanying introduction and autobiographical note the poet provided. The text is filled with various remarks about the Portuguese philosophical landscape which, for instance, became noticeable to the German readers. Indeed, a journal for compared history of literature points out that the translation "also contains a history of the more recent influence of 'Germanism' on the intellectual life of Portugal"[1095].

Interestingly enough, Antero himself also published an article about the historical-philosophical perspectives of his friend Oliveira Martins in the Parisian journal *Revue Universelle et Internationale*[1096]. Hence, translations and texts about Portuguese authors, as well as any attention given to those writings in the cultural circles of other countries, would be one such possible direction.

Furthermore, the route of linguistics and the teaching of German remained outside our scope, which was initially considered as a potential source enabling contacts with Hegelianism. This can be seen for instance in Gustavo Cordeiro Ramos, who read the German philosophers in the original language[1097]. However, it did not turn viable research direction, because it was a vast field and direct links to Hegelianism more tenuous.

[1095] "der zugleich eine Geschichte des neueren Einflusses des 'Germanismus' auf das geistige Leben Portugal enthält". *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Literaturegeschichte und Renaissance-Litteratur*, Herausgegeben von Max Koch und Ludwig Geiger, Neue Folge Erster Band, Druck und Verlag von A. Haack, Berlin, 1887-1888, p.298.

[1096] See Antero de Quental, "Le Portugal Contemporain - Oliveira Martins" in *Revue Universelle et Internationale*, n.5, Paris, 1884, pp.129-133 (reproduced in Quental, Antero de, *Oliveira Martins: O Critico literário, o economista, o historiador, o publicista, o político*, Typographia da Companhia Nacional Editora, Lisboa, 1894, pp.39-49.

[1097] See for example his report about the teaching of the German language, on the occasion of a research stay in Germany, while at *Curso Superior de Letras*: Gustavo Cordeiro Ramos, *Die modernen Richtungen im deutschen neusprachlichen Unterricht*, Leipzig, Oscar Fürstenau, 1908.

The theme of religion in Hegel was also barely mentioned, notwithstanding the connotations to the German philosopher's thought, for example, in the work of Oliveira Martins *O Helenismo e a Civilização Cristã*. The reflections on Hegel in this book have clear Young Hegelian resonances, since that was perhaps the primary focus of those radical German intellectuals. The critique of religious hierarchy was also an aspect of Portuguese republicanism, which had already found an echo in the intellectuals of the 1870s generation, and such a glance could have benefited from a deepening of Hegel's conception of religion.

Finally, one could also build a framework around the idea of an awakening for the interest in Hegelianism from the standpoint of negation, regarding some of its teachings, the greatest example being António Sérgio. He was an attentive reader of the philosopher, but also a prominent critic of Hegelian dialectical theses and the principle of contradiction associated with it, arguing that this was problematic for nineteenth-century Portuguese intellectuals. For this reason, there are also cases where the study of Hegelianism did not aim to adopt ideas coming from this current of thought, but rather to combat some premises or its philosophy altogether.

To conclude, this thesis aspired to reveal the scope of Hegelianism in the intellectual reflections of the Portuguese cultural space, after the second half of the 19th century and on the threshold of 20th century, as it was found in the thought of various authors and their associated social and intellectual circles. Those ideas coming from Hegelian sources were amplified in the subjects of history, philosophy and politics, where they found widespread use.

Besides recognizing the need for a comprehensive view of the phenomenon of Hegelianism in Portugal, due to the role it played in the intellectual directions of that epoch, the novelty of this study is the focus on interpretative lines of Hegel's thought and its typological universe. Hence, the marks of this current of thought could be found in the background of other theories, which had a more committed following in Portugal.

The introduction of positivism in Portugal is one such case, because much of its theoretical thought was tinted with Hegelianism, as we have seen for instance in the young Teófilo Braga. Although this later tendency became predominant in some intellectual circles, particularly after the 1870s,[1098] the Portuguese thinkers reflected on Hegelianism, if not as methodical, surely in a broader range, not least because the popularity of positivism comes

[1098] See Fernando Catroga «Os Inícios do Positivismo em Portugal. O seu significado político-social», em *Revista de História das Ideias*, Vol.1, Coimbra, 1977, pp.287-394.

more from the advances in natural and empirical sciences than from an original philosophical basis[1099].

In that regard, Hegelianism also has its conceptions on the scientific development in the knowledge of the positively given, which were in a way open to many other conceptions, for example ranging from spiritualism to materialism, when considering this phenomenon. Then there is, of course, the question of how much those currents of thought borrowed from Hegelianism, as in the case of positivism.

Moreover, the tendency of Krausism, that dominated the teaching of law in Coimbra during the period studied here, also shed light on the introduction of German idealism to Coimbra students. They attempted to account for that same scientific prism, which Hegelianism was in a better position to fulfill. Antero becomes, for example, a critic of positivism, but nevertheless seeks to harmonize what he calls modern naturalism, that is, the rise of natural sciences and experimentalism, with the ideal principles of Hegelian extraction.

The subjects where those modern ideas also come forward are in the theory and methodology of history. Hence, parallels could be drawn, for instance, between philosophy of history and history viewed as a science, with its efforts of building historical synthesis, moving away from the classical conception of history as *Magistra vitae*[1100]. This new historical consciousness was rehearsed through continued cultural transfers, which almost always had a Hegelian backdrop.

In reality, the thought of Hegel was a landmark in the thinking about modernity[1101], whose philosophical discoveries became part of a global exchange circuit that is linked to the universalization of knowledge and scientific discoveries. As a result, this study also points to Portugal's relationship to the intellectual movements of modern thought.

[1099] See for the interaction between philosophy and the empirical sciences Hans Jörg Sandkühler, *Interaktionen zwischen Philosophie und empirischen Wissenschaften*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main, 1995.
[1100] See Sérgio Campos Matos, *Memoria e Nação: historiografia de divulgação e nacionalismo (1846-1898), op. cit.* pp.250-261.
[1101] See in this regard Robert B. Pippin, *Idealism as Modernism: Hegelian Variations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997.

Detailed Index

Abstract 4

Resumo Alargado 5

Zusammenfassung 9

Opening Remarks and Acknowledgements 13

Introduction, Research Directions and Methodology 16

- **State of Research** 18
- **The Methodological Guidelines** 22
- **I. The concept of Hegelianism and the conceptualization problematic** 24
- **II. Reception theory** 35
- **III. Hermeneutics** 38
- **IV. Cultural transfers and intellectual history** 47
- **Some Other Concluding Remarks on Methodology** 55

I. History 57

1. Cultural Transfers within the Horizons of Hegelianism 58

- **The discussions and concepts surrounding Portuguese cultural acquisitions** 61
- **Associated perspectives in the consideration of a cultural transfer approach** 66
- **Hegelianism as a transnational intellectual movement** 69
- **Dissenting voices, western bias triumphalism and Eurocentric critique in cultural transfers** 89

2. Philosophy of History, Theories and Complementary Models in Dialogue 94

- **Theories of Antero de Quental drawn from Hegel's philosophical and historical assertions** 102
- **The dynamic of theories in Portuguese overview and Hegelian historical theory** 110
- **In alliance with philosophy and history, educational reforms advocated by Adolfo Coelho** 117
- **Fidelino Figueiredo and the dialogues between theories from a man of the world** 124

3. Hegel, Theory of History and Historical Consciousness in Portugal 133

- **What is consciousness in light of Hegel's theory** 136
- **Philosophy and Theory of History** 140
- **The intellectual panorama leading up to the 1870s Generation** 148
- **Theoretical prowess and the cultural constellation surrounding the 1870s Generation** 153
- **Reflexes of Hegel's theory of history and the new artistic consciousness in Portugal** 162
- **New interpretations of Hegel's historical thought and the concept of historicity** 165

II. Philosophy 171

4. Hegelian Philosophy in the Context of its Portuguese Receptiveness 172

- **The blooming of Hegel in the philosophical thinking out of Coimbra's generation 182**
- **Other movements supporting Hegelianism and its criticism beyond Coimbra's bounds 202**
- **Philosophy extending to *Curso Superior de Letras* and the development of humanities 231**

5. Hegel's Legacy and Hermeneutics 247
- **The typological perspective in regard to Hegelian philosophy 249**
- **Myths and legends around Hegelianism 252**
- **The hermeneutical quest, Hegel and politics 254**

III. Politics 257

6. Political Manifestations, Ideology and Political Theory 258
- **Overview of the main 19th century Portuguese socio-political and historical developments 268**
- **Hegelianism in the socialist movement and socio-political revolutionary thought 271**
- **The liberal Hegel, democracy and the struggle of republicanism in Portugal 294**
- **Hegel from the perspectives of conservativism and the thought of tradition 308**

7. Debates over Philosophy of Right and Conceptions of State 327
- **The Debates in Hegelian Circles 330**
- **State building, from revolution to reform in 19th century Portugal 333**
- **The critic of liberal society and the forms of regime in the age of liberalism 339**
- **The Hegelian background in the philosophy of right 346**

The Meaning of Hegelianism in Portugal: concluding remarks 354

Detailed Index 364

Sources and Bibliography 366

Annex 407

Erklärung 408

Sources and Bibliography

I. SOURCES

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6. Portugal: Society, Culture and History

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Annex

Word count by authors (selection)

words (with suffixes)	**Antero de Quental**	**Adolfo Coelho**	**Oliveira Martins**	**Fidelino Figueiredo**	**Cabral Moncada**
Hegel	**197**	**11**	**114**	**14**	**313**
Kant	**122**	**27**	**54**	**27**	**504**
Marx	**30**	**1**	**57**	**5**	**92**
Alemanha	**187**	**163**	**312**	**46**	**260**
Germânico	**173**	**27**	**232**	**13**	**40**
Idealismo	**204**	**23**	**72**	**4**	**255**
Moral	**788**	**150**	**759**	**79**	**656**
Pensamento	**918**	**43**	**422**	**125**	**1064**
Conhecimento	**240**	**116**	**205**	**97**	**523**
Razão	**776**	**68**	**462**	**62**	**450**
Concreto	**20**	**2**	**77**	**15**	**240**
Abstracto	**188**	**4**	**136**	**88**	**291**
Dialéctica	**66**	**27**	**22**	**6**	**97**
Síntese	**199**	**14**	**66**	**44**	**141**
Metafisica	**353**	**8**	**140**	**22**	**398**
Estética	**20**	**17**	**55**	**59**	**43**
Contradição	**76**	**6**	**81**	**14**	**97**
Essência	**471**	**46**	**253**	**51**	**638**
Fenomenologia	**10**	**-**	**1**	**-**	**70**
Imanência	**105**	**-**	**31**	**1**	**62**
Absoluto	**466**	**6**	**127**	**35**	**187**
Espírito	**1683**	**270**	**959**	**280**	**845**
Conceito	**83**	**42**	**51**	**48**	**911**
Universal	**803**	**32**	**180**	**58**	**385**
Consciência	**763**	**43**	**411**	**123**	**570**
Insconsciente	**92**	**3**	**55**	**1**	**31**
Transcendente	**175**	**3**	**159**	**16**	**190**
Filosofia	**1848**	**124**	**416**	**90**	**1392**
História	**1088**	**451**	**2595**	**874**	**1490**
Liberdade	**670**	**61**	**619**	**44**	**501**
Anarquismo	**61**	**1**	**119**	**8**	**22**
Socialismo	**560**	**8**	**401**	**4**	**145**
Comunismo	**142**	**-**	**76**	**1**	**71**
República	**444**	**58**	**352**	**12**	**96**
Revolução	**541**	**55**	**679**	**46**	**226**
Moderno	**611**	**75**	**529**	**68**	**520**
Sistema	**399**	**49**	**1114**	**82**	**568**
Proletariado	**79**	**11**	**51**	**2**	**39**
Burguesia	**164**	**38**	**218**	**20**	**66**

source: computer generated word occurrences in the works cited in the bibliography from the corresponding authors

Erklärung

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Jena, 07.09.2023,