

DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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ARRIAGA, José de (Horta, 1848 – Lisbon, 1921)

José de Arriaga was born in the city of Horta (Azores), in 1848, into an aristocratic family descended from Flemish, French and Basque stock, settled on the island of Faial over several generations. His parents lived comfortably, being owners of extensive entailed estates (see “Os Últimos Vínculos Arriaga Brum da Silveira e o Herdeiro Manuel de Arriaga”, in *O Tempo de Manuel de Arriaga*, 2004, p. 156). In 1861, José de Arriaga, then thirteen years old, moved to Coimbra with his student brother Manuel. Being eight years younger, he would start with preliminary studies before entering the Faculty of Law, in 1864, and finishing his course in 1869. In Coimbra in the 1860s the student community was discovering new cultural and political concerns which were behind activities with a large impact on public opinion, such as the student protests, organized in a secret society (the *Sociedade do Raio* [Thunderbolt Society]), in the university’s historic *sala dos Capelos*, against the orders of the Rector (1862), and the famous *Questão Coimbrã* (1865), a dispute over the status of Romanticism. It was in this atmosphere that José de Arriaga spent his adolescence and youth, under the tutelage of his older brother. Furthermore, Republican societies were mobilizing many students, such as Antero de Quental, José Falcão, Emídio Garcia, Teófilo Braga, Eça de Queiroz, Manuel de Arriaga, amongst others (see *O Republicanismo em Portugal da Formação ao 5 de Outubro de 1910*, vol. 1, 1991, p. 25). It was in this environment that José de Arriaga passed his adolescence and youth, under the guardianship of his older brother. It seems likely that he was an early supporter of Republicanism, although his name does not appear to be linked to any type of activism, as was the case with his brother Manuel. After finishing university, he followed a career as a keeper of land registries, being appointed successively to Armamar, Resende, Benavente, Moura, and finally Reguengos, though he never took up office there, being relieved of the position. That is all we know, and there are no more precise details about his early life. We come across him again only after the foundation of the Republic, in 1910. He then gained a position in the National Library, where he remained for some time, until, “affected by severe neurasthenia”, he emigrated to Brazil, “where he endured great privations”, according to the entry devoted to him in the *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*. According to the same source, he returned to Portugal at an unspecified point, taking a position in the *Recolhimento das Merceeiras* [Grocers’ Hospital], a charitable foundation for the impoverished elderly. Here he met up once again with his brother, Manuel. He died in 1921.



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If we know relatively little of his life, José de Arriaga nevertheless left an important legacy in the form of his books. While Manuel de Arriaga distinguished himself essentially as politician, one whose career culminated with his taking the position of President of the Republic, José de Arriaga proved himself as a writer. His first work, *A Influência do Cristianismo nas Ideias Modernas* [The Influence of Christianity on Modern Ideas], written in 1870, when he was aged 22 and still a student, was never published. Some ten years later he wrote *A Política Conservadora e as Modernas Alianças dos Partidos Políticos Portugueses* [Conservative Politics and Modern Alliances of the Portuguese Political Parties] (1880), an account of Portuguese political history from the Marquis of Pombal, taking in the events of 1808, 1820, 1836, and 1846, up to 1879. With the book José de Arriaga started a new career as historian and promoter of a new theory of Portuguese history, with emphasis on the contemporary period, which would play a central role in Republican propaganda. The Republicans believed that in order to achieve a Republic they needed to win over not only the educated elites but also the urban population open to new political ideas. Teófilo Braga, the intellectual leader of the Republican cause, gave himself over entirely to this task. As a lecturer in the Higher School of Letters, in Lisbon, he mainly devoted himself to the history of culture and of literature, while also emphasizing history, which he regarded as decisive. In his own words, “the greatest service that can be given to this country is to remind it of its history” (*As Modernas Ideias na Literatura Portuguesa*, 1892, p. 9). It was not sufficient to remember, it was necessary to rewrite the history of Liberalism with a view to justifying the Republican project of overthrowing the monarchy, without destroying — rather, deepening, perhaps — the Liberal principles inaugurated by the revolution of 1820. The title of Teófilo’s book, *Soluções Positivas de Política Portuguesa – Do Sistema Constitucional como Transigência Provisória entre o Absolutismo e a Revolução* [Positive Solutions in Portuguese Politics – On the Constitutional System as Provisional Compromise between Absolutism and Revolution] (1879), was in itself a programme. His aim was to discredit the constitutional regime constructed by the victors in the civil war of 1834, under the banner of the Constitutional Charter, which misrepresented and betrayed the democratic values of the Revolution of 1820 and the Constitution of 1822. It was José de Arriaga that took upon himself the task of writing a history of the Liberal revolutions. Without ever abandoning his passionate and forceful style, he wrote in different ways according to the public he was addressing. For the educated classes, he wrote long and careful works, with detailed accounts of the events, drawing on a strong documentary base, as is the case with his studies of 1820 and 1836. For a more popular audience, though, he wrote more pamphlet-like works, as was the case with *A Política Conservadora*. Meeting the Republican Party’s political need to discredit the two monarchist parties, the Progressive and the Regenerator Parties, and of course the Regeneration itself, Arriaga constructed a narrative according to which, after the Liberal movement of 1820 and the hiatuses of 1836 and 1846, the country ended up in the hands of the “moderate or conservative side”, which always managed to prevent the implementation of the “frankly democratic” reforms, “with the aim, simply, of strengthening the monarchy”, and with it “all the classes of the old regime” (*A Política Conservadora*, 1880,



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p. 456). In this his inaugural work of history, Arriaga makes insistent use of a term essential to the Republican discourse, namely democracy. Teófilo Braga had presented the “democratic aspiration of the Portuguese people” as an ongoing characteristic since medieval times (*História das Ideias Republicanas em Portugal*, 1880). In the same way, Arriaga declares that “democratic government” is the only regime capable of fulfilling the aspirations of the “people”, identified with the “nation” and the “most numerous popular class”, and the “small-holders”, allied to the “other classes”, all seeking to “expand their kind” and fulfil “their legitimate development” (*A Política Conservadora*, 1880, p. 466). The Constitution of 1822, with its single chamber, restricted powers for the king, and the “sovereignty of the people”, represented the high point of democratic aspirations. After that, the nation never again had such an auspicious moment. It is 1879, and Arriaga concedes that the monarchy may still raise up the country, if it wishes, by the “formation of a democratic party of men who are honourable and sincerely love their fatherland”, a party such as emerged in 1820, 1836, and 1846 (*idem*, p. 490). His condescension is evident, however. The ground is being laid for democracy to soon show itself incompatible with the monarchy. In this first work by Arriaga we already find two important strands in his vision of Portuguese history: 1) a fascination with the figure of the Marquis of Pombal, his entrepreneurial spirit, his “massive plans” to raise Portugal to the “heights of glory and power”, thereby reversing the long-established climate of decline (*idem*, p. 473), and 2) the demonization of two countries, England and Spain. In nineteenth-century literature hostility towards England was assiduously cultivated by, amongst others, José Liberato Freire de Andrade, a radical Liberal, who lived in England as an emigrant in the 1820s. José de Arriaga would become one of his most direct disciples (*Historiografia*, 1998, p. 96). In 1882 he published his book *A Inglaterra, Portugal e as suas Colónias* [England, Portugal, and its Colonies], in which he outlines the history of the Portuguese alliance with England, from the Middle Ages up the Treaty of Lourenço Marques. Arriaga asserts that the regeneration of the country requires its independence from the “overwhelming domination” of England, and emphasizes the importance for Portugal of the African colonies, regretting the disdain for them shown by the government. If, he says, the English are “our odious exploiters”, Spain is our second external enemy, because it “wants to annex us” (*A Política Conservadora*, 1880, p. 486). The Iberism (union of Spain and Portugal) supported by the likes of Latino Coelho, Antero de Quental and Henriques Nogueira, had no traction amongst the second generation of Republicans, responsible for the rise of the Republican Party. Neither Teófilo nor Arriaga was attracted to the Iberist idea, because it had little support amongst large sections of the population. However, the main reason for rejecting Iberism lay in the fact that over the previous two decades of the century a nationalist discourse had become widespread all over Europe, in all political sectors, with the exception of the Socialist movement. In Portugal, the Republican Party was the most successful in exploiting this sentiment, thanks to a strategy of national exaltation which reached its apogee in the British Ultimatum (1890). In 1882 Arriaga was already collaborating on the *Dicionário Universal Português*, edited by Henrique Zeferino de Albuquerque, which was inspired by the *Larousse*. In the 1880s he contributed to many Republican



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newspapers, such as *Era Nova*, *Folha do Povo* and *Democracia*. In the last-mentioned he published various articles about Manuel Fernandes Tomás which he later brought together in his book on the revolution of 1820. In 1883 his signature appears under various articles on modern music, in a magazine of arts and letters called *Perfis Artísticos*, edited by Zacarias d'Aça. A new series, now called *Perfis Literários e Artísticos*, was then produced by Arriaga himself, with the aim of devoting itself to publicizing Portuguese arts and artists, as well as “national monuments”, in line with the cultural nationalism practised by intellectuals at the end of the century. Arriaga contributed to this aim with a biography of Machado de Castro and an article on the monument to D. José I. In total, six issues of the magazine were published. In 1886, when he was 38 years old, he published his first serious work on contemporary history, *História da Revolução Portuguesa de 1820*, which was followed by his *História da Revolução de Setembro* (1892). In these two books Arriaga made a valuable contribution to the history of these two key moments in the installation of Liberalism in Portugal. In the former, a vast study in two volumes, he is able to recreate in its entirety the myth of 1820 as the inaugural moment of modernity in Portugal. But as a preface to this the reader is offered a synopsis of Portuguese history. We find signs of Herculano in various places, particularly in the image of a medieval period dominated by a “municipal and parliamentary regime”. Like many nineteenth-century historians, Arriaga regards the past with present-day eyes without any scruples about using concepts inappropriate to the period, for example by identifying the medieval *cortes* with a parliamentary regime. The Church is held to be primarily responsible for the death of the medieval regime. The “Popes” wanted to create great Catholic empires to fight against Protestantism, he asserts. Republican discourse inherited the distrust and animosity of many Liberal intellectuals towards the Church, and in particular the Jesuits (although the anti-Jesuit tradition goes back to the eighteenth century, as witnessed by the *Dedução Cronológica e Analítica* of 1767) and the Inquisition (exemplarily outlined in Herculano’s *História da Origem e do Estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal*, 1854–59). Arriaga extends this discourse. According to him the country fell into decline with the reign of D. Manuel, and this was due essentially to the Church, which he, a “weak king”, did not oppose. In locating this “fall”, Arriaga follows the interpretation of the German historian, H. Schaefer, rather than Herculano, for whom it coincided with the introduction of the Inquisition and the Jesuits during the reign of D. João III (*Historiografia*, 1998, pp. 206-15). From D. Manuel’s reign onwards, he argues, Portugal is in the hands of two foreign interests: the Pope and Spain (*História da Revolução Portuguesa*, vol. 1, 1886, p. 17). In 1580 Spain took over the country with the support of the Inquisition and the Jesuits, who dominated culture, took control of the University and reduced the country to “ignorance”. Nothing changed with the Restoration of 1640. Portugal continues on its “pathway of prayers”, with its “autos-da-fé”, its “convent soups, processions, sung masses, terces and sermons” (*idem*, p. 150). Only Pombal was able to change this state of affairs, by his daring policies as a great reformer. Arriaga, in his anticlerical zeal, practically reduces the evolution of Portuguese history to the crushing influence of the Church. Antero de Quental, in his famous *Causas da Decadência dos Povos Peninsulares*



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[Causes of the Decline of the Peninsular Peoples] (1870) also indicts post-Tridentine Catholicism, but combines it with two other factors (Absolutism and the Conquests). As a historian – which Antero was not at all – Arriaga makes an exaggerated simplification of the problem, the explanation for which certainly lies in his militant Republicanism. His *História da Revolução de Setembro*, in three thick volumes, has a different feel to the *História da Revolução Portuguesa de 1820*, since he regarded the September Revolution (1836) as inferior to that of 1820. It was object of a critique, over a hundred pages long, by the monarchist writer Marques Gomes, called *A verdade histórica e a história da Revolução de Setembro por José de Arriaga* (1894). Marques Gomes undertakes a minute examination of Arriaga's book, making numerous corrections to what he regarded as erroneous interpretations, as well as to facts he thought lacked documentary evidence, some of which he classifies as "fantasies" (*A Verdade Histórica*, 1894, p. 507). In the field of interpretation, Marques Gomes objects particularly to the importance Arriaga gives to the "democratic spirit" in Portugal in the nineteenth century (*idem*, p. 548). His critique was pointed, for its rejection of Arriaga's dramatization of history, and courageous, since Republican opinion was monopolizing public opinion in an unstoppable way. Before the end of the century, Arriaga produced a "Prologue" to the *Catálogo dos Manuscritos da Antiga Livraria dos Marquês de Alegrete, dos Condes de Tarouca e dos Marquês de Panalva e pertencente à sua actual representante, a Condessa de Tarouca* (1898). He saw in the archive and library of these noble families "two true literary monuments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries", "which allow us to understand the intellectual production of those two centuries" ("Prólogo", p. xvi). Given that the Republicans had a low opinion of the intellectual gifts of the aristocracy under the Ancien Regime, Arriaga's enthusiasm for this library is curious, reflecting perhaps his own aristocratic origins. At the beginning of the twentieth century he wrote the *Oitenta anos de Constitucionalismo Outorgado* (1905), whose intention, like *A Política Conservadora*, is merely propagandistic. However, twenty years had passed since then, and the anti-monarchist discourse had hardened: now only a Republic could cleanse Portuguese society of the evils it was suffering. In 1907 he worked on a book of a different kind: *As Civilizações do Oriente e do Ocidente*, an ambitious project of which only the first volume (The Civilizations of the East). In 1911 he published his last book, dedicated to "Dr António José de Almeida, distinguished Republican and Democrat": *Os Últimos Sessenta Anos da Monarquia: Causas da Revolução de 5 de Outubro de 1910*. Finally the Republic had triumphed, and with it the "democratic principle", as the culmination of a fierce battle against the "monarchist principle" (*Os Últimos Sessenta Anos*, 1911, p. 8). Many had fallen for the "national revolution". Arriaga, who had emphasized the peaceful nature of the revolution of 1820 now paid homage to "the heroism, abnegation and patriotic love of Buiça and Costa" (*idem*, p. 227), the assassins of D. Carlos and the crown prince. The author had nothing new to write in this little book, but the legitimation and consolidation of the new regime called for a repetition of the Manichaean discourse which associated the monarchy with darkness and the Republic with light, and Arriaga was outstanding at that. Despite his bias, the revolution of 1820 owes a lot to him: without him it would have remained in the shadows, unloved by



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Liberal historiography, since Herculano had dismissed it as a demagogic revolution of words, not deeds, unlike the rupture represented by the triumph over D. Miguel, in 1834. He returned to it the mysticism that it only enjoyed from the mouths of its own protagonists. In 1820 the nation had risen up against the absolute monarchy and the “English invaders”, after which the constitutional *cortes* had assembled to draft a constitution that was unparalleled for its “democratic spirit”. In Arriaga’s discourse are embedded two key concepts that inspire and structure his whole narrative: revolution, as a state of exception, and the people, as the class upholding an exemplary patriotism, formed by abnegation and a love for the fatherland. Revolution is seen by Arriaga as something that goes beyond the consummation of social necessity. We do not find in his narrative the anxiety normally expressed in Liberal historiography at the risk in any revolutionary process of unleashing social anarchy and plebeian revolt. Revolution has something of the transcendental, as an exemplary and exceptional event, involving the whole nation in a communion of wills. It is a truly cathartic moment of liberation from all the ills of the past and the start of a new life – the revolution of 1820 was all of that. Through it, Arriaga proceeds to a sort of pedagogy of revolution, trying to calm the anxieties accumulated over generations against revolutionary processes, and to make use of history to transmit the idea of revolution as a regenerative moment in society. Portugal is transformed into a revolutionary nation, marked by a series of emancipatory movements, and Afonso Henriques is compared to an early Fernandes Tomás (*História da Revolução Portuguesa*, 1886-87, p. 634). This is another example of anachronism, evidence of Arriaga’s desire to write “a popular history, accessible and usable to the common reader” (*Historiografia*, 1998, p. 67). The author’s other great passion is the people. The concept of the people underwent several modifications over the nineteenth century. The revolutionaries of 1820 adopted a very positive image of the people, equating it, particularly in the work of Fernandes Tomás, with “nation” and “public opinion”. This image, though, coexists with another, more critical, shared by Liberals and counter-revolutionaries, which sees in the people an innate propensity for disorder, confirmed in their eyes by the events of the French revolution. The people, as promoters of “excesses”, will furthermore be a recurrent image in Liberal discourse in Portugal (“Povo-Povos”, *Ler História*, 2008, 55, pp. 141-54). In short, to the nineteenth-century intellectual class, from Herculano to Oliveira Martins, the popular classes, both urban and rural, deprived of any “material or moral interests” of their own (in line with the distinction made by Herculano between the plebe and the people), almost always played an undesirable role, being associated with outbreaks of violence and anarchy, to civil war and to Miguelism. This despite a paternalistic attitude, very common amongst the elites, favouring education and “the happiness of the people”. We find exceptions, on the radical wing of Septembrism, notably in José Estevão, or in Almeida Garrett’s Romantic vision of country people in his *Romanceiro* (*idem*, p. 149 and p. 151). Republican discourse effects a semantic shift in the concept. The disorderly people of monarchist culture, excluded from active citizenship by the Liberal regime, is transmuted into the purest representative of the nation. In Arriaga the people divide into two types: the docile people – “always the most peaceful and respectful of order in Portugal” (*História da Revolução de*



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Setembro, vol. II, 1892, p. 407) – and the victimized people. This new way of regarding the people goes beyond party-political boundaries, due to two related phenomena: the nationalist environment at the end of the century and the process of “monumentalization of the people” (to use anthropological language) effected by ethnography at the end of the century by intellectuals of a Republican bent, such as Teófilo Braga and Consiglieri Pedroso. However, José de Arriaga is perhaps the author who contributed most to the myth of the people, who in his works acquire a unique set of characteristics, as “the heart of the nation”. Being “gifted with an admirable good sense [...] they are the first to accept all that is good for the fatherland and for humanity. It is the class which has the most active national instincts” (*idem*, p. 587). In Arriaga both the Republican and the aristocrat speak, giving witness to his paternalistic concern for the popular classes. Since the people are the motor of history, we would not expect to find any great appreciation of the leading politicians, let alone those loyal to the monarchy. Arriaga is a supporter of the Positivist theory of history, and a critic of those who attribute too much influence to statesmen (*História da Revolução Portuguesa*, vol. I, 1886-87, p. 633). However, paradoxically, that does not prevent him from lauding two characters, Pombal and Fernandes Tomás. The former is the object of ardent admiration by Republicans in general. They were actively involved in organizing the commemorations of the first centenary of his death, hailing him as a fighter against religious oppression, a reformer of education and modernizer of the economy. Arriaga sees in Pombal a precursor of the revolution of 1820 (*idem*, p. 178). Manuel Fernandes Tomás took things a step further: “He represents the last word in the great labour of Pombal, that is, the political revolution” (*idem*, pp. 633-34). In his eyes, Fernandes Tomás takes on a truly mythical dimension, only comparable to his enthusiasm for the people. The portrait of him is one of the most passionate in political literature, body and soul in a unique symbiosis. His body was “colossal”, “the sturdy figure of a Roman”, as would be demanded of a statesman who aimed to impress. His gaze was “firm, resolute and intelligent”, his eyes were “black, open and brilliant”, his face “expressive and engaging”. His soul, likewise, was “frank, generous and loyal”, his character “persevering, austere and of heroic resolution”, his heart “good, just and generous”, and only capable of speaking “the pure and unaffected truth” (*idem*, p. 645). This man would be responsible for transforming the 24 August 1820 into a revolution that was “national” and “democratic”, something that was very important in the work of Arriaga, and in the Republican project in general. A “national revolution” because it defined its own path and developed independently, shunning any foreign influence, and brought together the whole nation. “Democratic” because the representatives of the people approved a constitution that consecrated the principle of “national sovereignty”. The revolution of 1836, being made “spontaneously by the people”, was betrayed by its leaders. Passos Manuel was not Fernandes Tomás, “he did not have his rigour, firmness and constancy” (*História da Revolução de Setembro*, vol. II, 1892, p. 83), and was susceptible to royal allurements. Hence the revolution of 1836 had been “idealistic, romantic, sluggish, weak and incoherent” (*Os Últimos Sessenta Anos*, 1911, p. 82). Finally, another concept dear to Arriaga was that of dictatorship. A good dictatorship is that of the people, examples of which are those of Pombal and Passos



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Manuel, while D. Pedro's was a bad dictatorship. Passos's dictatorship was "frank, with broad and bold aims, without being despotic and oppressive, as D. Pedro's had been" (*História da Revolução de Setembro*, vol. II, 1892, p. 87). In the nineteenth century the concept of dictatorship did not have the pejorative sense of despotism, and for Arriaga too it could be "good". Other Republicans would also defend it, as did Basílio Teles, an "implacable supporter of dictatorships", although he recognized that only brief dictatorships could count on the support of his fellow Republicans, while prolonged ones were "anathema to the whole democratic orthodoxy" (*As Ditaduras*, 1911, p. 34). Amongst Spanish Republicans, too, at the end of the century, support for dictatorship was commonplace, as an exceptional form of government ("Dictadura", in *Diccionario Político y Social*, 2003, pp. 245-49).

The works of José de Arriaga were quickly forgotten. During the Republic, Portuguese historiography turned away from the nineteenth century, while the Estado Novo was careful to exclude this period from university courses. After the 25 April 1974, the enthusiasm of investigators for the contemporary period led them to rediscover Arriaga, while treating him with caution as someone whose work was unequivocally at the service of ideology. None of his works were republished, apart from one (by Guimarães, in 1980), being a chapter from his book *História da Revolução Portuguesa de 1820* concerned with Portuguese philosophy (1720-1780), with preface and notes by Pinharanda Gomes.

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