

A Piety of the Enlightenment: the Spirituality of Truth of Teodoro de Almeida

I

The accession of D. Maria I to the throne at the death of her father, King Joseph I, in 1777, ended the political domination by the King's powerful Minister, the Marquis of Pombal. And the victims of the Pombaline era lost little time in petitioning the Queen to restore their lost fortunes and titles. They also included the returning exiles, among whom was the Queen's cousin, D. João Carlos de Bragança, soon to become, with D. Maria I's generosity, the next Duke of Lafões. Others, like the Portuguese Oratorian Teodoro de Almeida, returned, simply grateful for the opportunity to live and work in their native land once more. Perhaps the publication in 1779 of *O feliz*, a novel that Almeida wrote during his ten year exile from Portugal, was an expression of gratitude for being in Lisbon again. *O feliz* presented to the Portuguese reader an intellectualized piety, which had been germinating in his earlier devotional works, and which, for reasons to be explained below, we call a «spirituality of truth». The popularity of this novel¹, (though a modern critic has cited its lack of intrinsic literary value²) forces us to conclude that Almeida had hit upon a piety in tune with the times.

¹ ROBERT RICARD, «Sur la diffusion des oeuvres du P. TEODORO DE ALMEIDA»; *Boletim Internacional de Bibliografia Luso-Brasileira*, IV (Outubro-Dezembro, 1963), 626-630, V (Outubro-Dezembro, 1964), 632-634.

² HERNANI CIDADE, *Lições de cultura e literatura portuguesas*, Vol. II da *reação contra o formalismo seiscentista ao advento do romantismo*, 4.ª edição do «Ensaio sobre a crise mental do século XVIII», corrigida, actualizada e ampliada (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, Limitada, 1959), 286.

Teodoro de Almeida was born in Lisbon on January 7, 1722, and entered the Lisbon Oratory in 1735³. There, he came under the influence of Father João Baptista, an advocate of experimental philosophy. Captivated by the new ideas, Almeida became an accomplished teacher, and perhaps the best popularizer of the physical sciences, through the volumes of the *Recreação filosofica*, the first one appearing in 1751. Most likely because of his opposition to Pombal's Regalism, Almeida was banished to Porto in 1760, and from there was forced to flee to Spain in 1768, and on to France in 1769. He returned to Lisbon, as we have mentioned above, and continued his teaching career.

A man of the Enlightenment, Almeida was a founding member of the «Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa» in 1779, and gave what proved to be a controversial inaugural address at the Academy's first formal session⁴. Almeida, like the rest of the Portuguese, was horrified by the excesses of the French Revolution, and became the champion defender of Portugal's Christian heritage, against what he considered to be the errors and atheism of a society based on Rousseau's natural rights philosophy of man. Almeida's final years were spent in this battle, and his spirituality did not really differ from that of *O feliz*. Almeida died on April 18, 1804 in Lisbon.

Almeida's place in the Portuguese Enlightenment is secure simply because of his popularization of the experimental sciences. Yet, his spiritual writings were more creative. Almeida structured a spirituality that harmonized Christianity with the philosophy of the Enlightenment, and despite its weaknesses, that was no mean achievement.

Since Almeida favored eclectic philosophy, by its very nature devoid of system, he turned to literature as a vehicle for his thought. Perhaps this explains why his moral and philosophical objectives

³ «Vida do P. THEODORO DE ALMEIDA da Congregação do Oratorio de Lisboa, Fundador do Convento das Religiosas da Visitação no sitio da Junqueira, e o que mais trabalhou para de novo ser povoada a Casa do Espírito Santo da Pedreira depois de reedificada sobre as ruínas da que pelo terremoto de 1755, e incendio, que se lhe seguiu ficára destruida» ANTT, Mss da Livraria, 2316, *passim*. This work is the basic source for Almeida's life. Hereafter cited as «Vida».

⁴ TEODORO DE ALMEIDA, «Oração na abertura da Academia das Sciencias em 1 de julho de 1780», BAC, Mss. 782 Azul. For more information on the Academy, see Christovam Ayres, «Para a história da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa,» *Boletim da Segunda Classe, Academia das Ciências de Lisboa*, XII (1917-1918), pp. 783-897.

were similar to those of the «Arcádia Lusitana», and in particular to those of Francisco José Freire, a fellow Oratorian and prominent member of the «Arcádia». Freire equated philosophy with poetry, and held that the aim of poetry was to praise virtue⁵. Indeed, Almeida, in following Freire, was more like his French adversaries, Voltaire and Rousseau, in making philosophical literature, than he himself realized.

As in philosophy, so too in spirituality, Almeida was an eclectic, and devotional literature well suited his moralistic objectives. The reform spirituality of the Portuguese Oratorians formed only a part of Almeida's fully developed piety. Yet, it was the base to which he added ideas taken from other spiritual writers. An overview, therefore, of the sources of Almeida's spirituality, gives a perspective to understand the development of his piety from the *Elogio da D. Anna de Assis Mascarenhas*, of 1758, to its final form in *O feliz*, of 1779. Subsequent works did not alter his spirituality, though *A Vida Alegre do Filósofo Cristão*, of 1803, explained more systematically the structure of his piety⁶. Unfortunately, an overview of Almeida's works gives probable, rather than exact, sources, since he failed to document his writings. Evidently, he presumed that his audience either knew them, or else was concerned only with the synthesis he achieved. Nevertheless, because of his eclecticism, the similarity of his ideas with certain writers could not have been mere coincidence.

II

The last years of the seventeenth century witnessed a Christian revival in Portugal. Two men identified with it, were the Franciscan António das Chagas (1631-1682), founder of the Varatojo Seminary, and Bartholomeu do Quental (1626-1698), founder of the Portu-

⁵ ANTÓNIO ALBERTO DE ANDRADE, *Vernei e a cultura do seu tempo* (Coimbra: Imprensa de Coimbra, 1965), p. 271. Hereafter cited as Andrade, *Vernei*; JACINTO DO PRADO COELHO, «Arcádia Lusitana», *Dicionário de Literatura*, I, 65-66.

⁶ Almeida's spirituality is also in his extensive sermons and exhortations; and although he was part of the new preaching style which developed during mid-eighteenth century Portugal, his devotional works best reveal the unfolding of his piety. Almeida's pulpit oratory deserves a chapter by itself.

guese Oratorians. In their eyes, the Portuguese were unfaithful to their Catholicism, and both set out to preach repentance through the fear of the Lord. Though their efforts were continued into the eighteenth century by the members of their respective communities, the piety of both the Varatojo Franciscans and the Oratorians became part of the subsequent Jacobeia movement⁷. In a sense, this development was not significant, since the three reform spiritualities were very similar. They all emphasized mental prayer, the sacrament of penance, and the austerity of life. The spirituality of António das Chagas has been described as «padecer e amar»⁸, but the same is true of the Oratorians and the Jacobeia. The transition, therefore, from one to the other, was achieved easily, and the swelling of the ranks of Jacobeia spirituality spoke well of the reforming zeal of the eighteenth-century Portuguese Church.

The spirituality of the Portuguese Oratorians was formed by Bartholomeu do Quental. Born on August 22, 1626, the son of a prominent family from the Island of São Miguel in the Azores, Quental attended the Universities of Évora and Coimbra. Ordained in 1652, he celebrated his first mass in the Lisbon Church of the Holy Spirit of the «Irmandade do Corpo Santo», a group of merchants⁹, who, in 1707, would give the church to the Oratorians. Quental, so quickly made a name for himself as a preacher, that, in 1654, he was appointed a court preacher and confessor¹⁰.

Quental's apostolic activity in the Royal Court convinced him that the needs of the time called for the combined energies of the other court preachers to organize pious exercises and spiritual conferences for a larger public. The result of his efforts was the formation of a loose association of priests attached to the Royal

⁷ For a detailed study of Jacobeia, see ANTÓNIO PEREIRA DA SILVA, *A questão do sigilismo em Portugal no século XVIII. História, religião e política nos reinados de D. João V e D. José I* (Braga: Editorial Franciscana, 1964).

⁸ «Vias-Sacras — dor e compunção. Oração Mental — amar a Deus com o coração e alma toda, com aspirações e suspiros. Vias-Sacras e Oração Mental reflectem a doutrina do 'padecer e amar' que é das Cartas.» MARIA DE LOURDES BELCHIOR PONTES, *Frei António das Chagas, um homem e um estilo do séc. XVII* (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Filológicos, 1953), p. 317.

⁹ VICENTE FERREIRA DE SOUSA BRANDÃO, *Recopilação historico-biographica do Veneravel Padre Bartholomeu do Quental Fundador da Congregação dos Padres Congregados do Oratorio e dos Irmãos Congregantes de N. Senhora das Saudades e S. Filipe Neri. Coordenada pelo Rev. do P.º Vicente Ferreira de Souza Brandão da dita congregação e actual Kalendarista do Patriarchado. Com um appendice sobre a origem, e actualidade dos Irmãos Congregantes que se dedicam à practica da Caridade no Hospital de S. José de Lisboa* (Lisboa: Typographia de José Baptista Morando, 1867, pp. 50-53. Hereafter cited as *Recopilação*.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

Court. This group was called the «Congregantes de Nossa Senhora das Saudades», and the Queen Regent, D. Luisa de Gusmão, placed it under her protection, by *alvará* of February 18, 1659, and granted it the privilege of using part of a house (the Thesouro Velho) for an Oratory¹¹. Some of the priests in this pioneer group became Oratorians, among them João Duarte do Sacramento, founder of the Oratorian House in Pernambuco, and Nicolau Monteiro, later Bishop of Porto¹².

The Congregantes enjoyed success, yet Quental believed that their work was too limited. It was not enough to hold spiritual exercises in their Oratory; it was also necessary to give missions in the country. Moreover, the Congregantes were not canonically stable; its court preachers could be transferred, or take other positions. To achieve a desirable stability, Quental established at Moscorinho das Fangas da Farinha a Lisbon Congregation of the Oratory in 1668, with the name of Our Lady of the Assumption. In 1670 the Congregation drew up statutes that it hoped to govern itself by, and which would allow it to become part of the Roman Institute of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri. These were not approved in Rome, apparently because they made no mention of a Provincial. The revised statutes were finally approved on August 24, 1672, by Pope Clement X, by means of which the Oratory of Our Lady of the Assumption of Lisbon came into canonical being¹³. Two years later, the Oratorians moved to the more spacious quarters of the new house of the Holy Spirit, adjacent to the church of the same name¹³. Before long, Oratorian houses were founded in Freixo de Espada à Cinta, Porto, Braga, Viseu, Estremôs, Pernambuco, and Goa¹⁵.

The Institutes reflected the major concern of Quental: the reform of Christian life. The document dwelt upon the reform of its own members, i.e., priests and brothers, the spiritual improvement of Christians in general, and the spiritual and temporal government of the Oratorian community. Quental stressed mental prayer, which was meant to be verbally unstructured and spontaneous,

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-6.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-53.

¹⁵ «Catalogo de todas as Congregações do Oratorio de N. Patriarca S. Filipe Nery», BNL, Mss. n.º 18.

over prayer that took the form of repeating, aloud or in secret, prepared words, such as those of the Our Father. A person prayed mentally when he made use of his interior faculties, i.e., imagination, memory, intellect, and will, to meditate affectively upon Holy Writ or devotional works. The Oratorian community normally assembled for mental prayer twice a day, an hour in the morning, in a non-public place, and a half hour in the afternoon, in the Oratory, where the public participated. At bedtime, the Oratorians were also obliged to make a fifteen minute examination of conscience. In addition to these exercises, Quental emphasized the sacrament of penance, recommending that it be received daily. Devotion to the Blessed Mother was important as a means of achieving sanctity, especially under her title of the Immaculate Conception. Corporal penance also had its place in Oratorian piety. Quental directed that the «discipline» (flagellation) be taken on Monday and Wednesday in private, and on Friday, after the afternoon meditation in the Oratory, at which time the public could also participate¹⁶.

Dramatic as the corporal penances in the Oratory may have been, the meditations conducted by the Oratorians for the public in the Oratory were the backbone of Quental's program to reform Christian life. Nor did the exhortations, also given by the Oratorians in the Oratory, fail to carry Quental's directives for reform. Evidently consumed by this deep desire, Quental wanted to send missions to the countryside to proclaim the message¹⁷. Clearly, the Oratorian spirituality was direct and practical. Nor should the idea of the practical be lost in the formation of the Oratorians themselves. They were basically a group of Christian men, the majority being priests, living together without the formal vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and sharing a common reform spirituality¹⁸.

The Institutes, as Almeida knew them, included meditations for the annual Oratorian nine day retreat, composed by Father Manuel Bernardes, a member of the Lisbon Oratory. Bernardes, with an assured place in Portuguese literature for the quality of his Baroque

¹⁶ JOSÉ SEBASTIÃO DA SILVA DIAS, *A Congregação do Oratorio de Lisboa, regulamentos primitivos* (Coimbra: Instituto de Estudos Filosóficos, 1966), pp. 5-10.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-19.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

writings, was born in Lisbon on August 20, 1644. He studied at the «Colégio de Santo Antão» in Lisbon and at the University of Coimbra. After pursuing courses in canon law and theology, he was ordained on July 14, 1674, and joined the Oratorians of Lisbon¹⁹.

Bernardes presented moral arguments for personal sanctification and structured them stylistically on figures of speech. He borrowed ideas from St. Ignatius of Loyola, St. Teresa of Avila, and the German Dominican Mystic, Johannes Tauler, and organized them around an Augustinian world view which stressed grace and predestination. Bernardes also made it clear that his spirituality should not be confused with the spirituality of Quietism of the seventeenth-century Spaniard Miguel de Molinos. Evidently, Molinos, who in 1687 was forced to retract his extreme notions of mental prayer, which led to a complete passivity of soul, even to a failure to resist temptations, had cast such a suspicion on all forms of mental prayer that church officials were still wary of its use, despite the popularity of such figures as Chagas and Quental, who both praised it so highly. The spirituality of Bernardes was eminently practical and his vision of the Christian life stern. Even his familiarity with the more optimistic works of St. Francis de Sales (1567-1622) failed to change this orientation, since the Oratorian's negative notion of eschatology made him look upon life as an uncertainty in insecurity, rather than a consolation through hope²⁰.

Despite the differences, which will soon be apparent, between Bernardes and Almeida, the earlier writer predisposed the latter to accept a rigorous spirituality laced with a pessimistic view of the human body, a bit of credulousness, and a strong fear of the Devil's snares in the path of personal sanctification. Bernardes believed that

O corpo é cousa tão vil e desprezável que os Santos parece que andavam buscando quantas coisas há torpes e baixas para o comparar

¹⁹ JOSÉ BARBOSA CANAIS DE FIGUEIREDO CASTELO-BRANCO, «Veneravel Manuel Bernardes». *Estudos Biographicos ou Noticia das pessoas retratadas nos quadros históricos pertencentes á Bibliotheca Nacional de Lisboa* (Lisboa; 1854), p. 252.

²⁰ EBION DE LIMA, *O Padre Manuel Bernardes, sua vida, obra e doutrina espiritual* (Lisboa: Moraes Editores, 1969), pp. 145-258. The fifth meditation during this retreat was on the priesthood and its treatment may have been included because of the influence of the French School of Spirituality which so emphasized this topic. See HENRI BREMOND, *La conquête mystique, l'école française*, Vol. III of *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France depuis la fin des Guerres de Religion jusqu'à nos jours* (6 vols.; Paris; 1967).

com elas. Santo Hesíquio, o presbítero, lhe chama escravo fujão e amigo de vinho, lódo pôdre e criado de baixa sorte. São Bernardo lhe chama sarça de espinhos em que a pobre alma continuamente se está ferindo e magoando...²¹

The Oratorian also gave too much weight to wishful piety and spurned a more critical approach to build his spirituality. Concerning apocryphal sources, Bernardes surprisingly held that

Êstes livros de São Clemente, não é certo serem apócrifos; mas ainda que o fôssem, não quer dizer êste nome que tudo o que nêles se se conta é falso, e inútil para nossa doutrina; antes, Belarmino diz que tem algumas mui proveitosas²².

And Bernardes never underestimated the role of the Devil, the source of innumerable difficulties for Christian life. «Deus Nosso Senhor e o diabo seu inimigo, na terra do coração humano ambos semeiam e ambos recolhem. O que Deus semeia é trigo bom de inspirações santas... o que recolhe são obras boas. O que o diabo semeia é cizânia de tentações... e o que recolhe são pecados²³». And the Devil «Tem por ofício próprio tentar; nêste continuamente se exercita²⁴».

Some of Almeida's earlier writings reflected the spirituality of Bernardes, which was basically that of the Portuguese «padecer e amar». Yet even before Almeida's French banishment, he mixed the «padecer e amar» with a great deal of intellectualism. Of course, it is difficult to cite sources, yet we suspect that this development can be traced to the spirituality of the French Oratorians.

Cardinal Pierre de Bérulle (1575-1629) founded the French Oratorians and structured their piety. Although his disciples did not always follow him, the tone of this spirituality was heavily Augustinian and Neoplatonic. The piety of the French Oratorians advocated a strong devotion to Christ, who illumined the soul of man, enabling him to regain his primal state in which the radical orientation of his love would carry him to God²⁵. Nicholas Male-

²¹ LIMA, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-126.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ ANTHONY LEVI, *French Moralists. The Theory of the Passions 1585 to 1649* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 137-138; see also Bremond, *loc. cit.* There is no doubt

branche (1638-1715), also a member of the French Oratorians, continued this spirituality but substituted Cartesianism for Neoplatonism²⁶. As a group, the French Oratorians «were uncompromising on all the actions and passions of unregenerate humanity²⁷», and though Almeida accepted this basic position, the tug of yet other sources, those of the Capuchin Ambroise de Lombez and the devout humanism of St. Francis de Sales, tempered his spirituality.

During his exile in Bayonne, Almeida chose Ambroise de Lombez (Jean de Lapeyrie, 1708-1778), in nearby Auch, as his spiritual director²⁸. Lombez, a gifted spiritual guide, was a minor figure in French spirituality. He promoted a piety based on interior resignation and confidence on God's grace²⁹ to which Almeida, because of his serious problems with melancholy, was greatly attracted. As a measure of his esteem for the piety of Lombez, the Oratorian translated the Frenchman's *Traité de la paix intérieure* into Portuguese and had planned to do the same with his *Traité de la joie de l'âme* but death prevented him³⁰.

La paix intérieure spoke of an assuring union of the Christian with God and explains why Almeida so appreciated the piety of Lombez.

Toda a nossa piedade se encaminha a nos unir com Deos por conhecimento, e por amor: a faze-lo reinar em nós por huma absoluta, e continua dependencia da sua vontade, e por huma correspondencia fiel ao seu chamamento interior, e a todos os seus movimentos; até que nos faça reinar comsigo na sua gloria³¹.

that Almeida had access to the works of all the major seventeenth and eighteenth-century figures at the Library of the Casa das Necessidades. See «Bibliothecae Congregationis Oratorii Olisiponensis apud Regiam Domum B. Mariae Virginis de Necessitatibus. Catalogus secundum Auctorum cognomina ordine alphabetico dispositus», 3 vols. BA, Mss 51-XII-(16-18).

²⁶ HENRI GOUGHIER, *La philosophie de Malebranche et son expérience religieuse*, Deuxième édition (Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1948), p. 12.

²⁷ LEVI, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

²⁸ «Vida», #95.

²⁹ G. JACQUEMENT, «Ambroise de Lombez», in *La spiritualité chrétienne*, ed. by P. POURRAT (4 vols.; Paris: J. GAILLARD ET FILS, Editeurs, 1926-1928), I, 417.

³⁰ «Vida», Indíce.

³¹ AMBROISE DE LOMBEZ, *Tratado da paz interior em quatro partes, pelo P. Ambrozio de Lombez, Capuchinho da Provincia de Guienna, traduzido do Francez* [pelo P.^o TEODORO DE ALMEIDA] (Lisboa: Na Offic. de ANTONIO RODRIGUES GALHARDO, Impressor da Real Meza Censoria, 1783), p. 1.

And very similar to Almeida's main character in *O feliz*, to be discussed below, was the description of a man possessing this interior peace.

Deixa esta paz a Deos toda a liberdade do obrar nas nossas almas, de as allumiar, de as accender no seu amor, de as encaminhar como he servido. Pelo contrario a perturbação fôrma como huma nuvem, que nos rouba parte da sua luz, e faz hum motim tal, que nos não deixa ouvir a sua voz. Por isso elle nos diz pelo seu Profeta, que nos ha de levar ao lugar ermo, para nos fallar ao coração (Oscas 2. v. 14). Esta solidão necessaria para o doce, e familiar trato com Deos, consiste mais no silencio da alma, que na separação dos homens, a qual só per si não basta para nos dar recolhimento³².

The Capuchin's other work, *La joie de l'âme*, focused on the objective of Almeida's entire spiritual endeavor: the Happy Christian.

Deos vos creou á sua imagem, e quer que a ella vos assemelheis em tudo quanto estiver da vossa parte. Com a tristeza desfigurariéis esta imagem divina; Deus he alegria, assim como he caridade: *Deus charitas est*. A suprema felicidade, que nos espera, consiste na inalteravel alegria do Senhor: *Intra in gaudium Domini tui*. A afflicção, e a tristeza nunca podem chegar ao seu throno³³.

Almeida strongly implied, and all but stated, that to enjoy such happiness as described by Lombez, the Christian had to approach the ideal man, Adam, and the Frenchman explains why

Deos tinha creado o homem perfeito: todas as suas obras o são no seu genero. Tinha-lhe dado força, saude do corpo, luzes do espirito, viveza de imaginação, solidez de character, paz, e alegria do coração, santidade da alma, e o complexo de todas as virtudes: todos os nossos cuidados presentemente devem ser o approximar-nos a este estado quanto nos for possivel. Os diferentes grãos de piedade só consistem no mais, ou menos que nos chegamos a esta perfeição primitiva³⁴.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

³³ AMBROISE DE LOMBEZ, *Tratado da alegria da alma christã pelo P. Ambrosio de Lombez, Capuchinho, author da Paz interior. Traduzido do Francez, e dedicado á Ill.ma e Exc.ma Senhora Viscondessa de Villa Nova da Cerveira pelo Beneficiado Bartholomeu da Silva Coelho* (Lisboa: Na Impressão Regia, anno 1820), p. 20.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

In addition to his interest in the works of Lombez, Almeida, in his association with the Religious of the Visitation in Bayonne, came to appreciate better the spirituality of St. Francis de Sales, which rested on an unique intellectual synthesis. Apparently, Almeida liked the spirituality of Sales in the *Traité de l'amour de Dieu* because of the Saint's treatment of the passions, of crucial importance in the Oratorian's program in becoming the ideal man.

St. Francis explained that the soul had a tiered structure in which reason and will shared the highpoint. Sales allowed grace to operate in the will and carry the soul to God, a typically Augustinian theology of love, while at the same time allowing the Stoic use of reason to determine moral activity, and so overcoming the passions and achieving the virtuous life. In so doing, Sales had solved some of the major difficulties caused by the endless arguments concerning the priority of the intellect, or will, in traditional faculty psychology³⁵.

Almeida's eclectic use of spiritual writers was more successful than his efforts with philosophical ones. He constructed what we have decided to call a spirituality of truth, in which arguments phrased in the geometric style aimed at convincing Christians to live the virtuous life, a style quite distinct from the affective thrusts of the «padecer e amar», or the figures of speech so dear to spiritual writers like Bernardes. And Almeida's spiritual works did for his spirituality what his scientific ones had done for the new sciences: made it a currency in eighteenth-century Portugal.

III

In 1758 Almeida published a eulogy for the Baroneza D. Anna Xavier de Assis Mascarenhas, who was under his spiritual direction, and who died on June 9, 1756, at the age of eighteen. During the final years of her short life, she chose Almeida for confessor, since her normal one was absent; and in this way, the Oratorian discovered her truly virtuous life³⁶. In the Prologue, Almeida gave

³⁵ LEVI, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-126.

³⁶ «Vida», # 37.

the reason for writing it; and since it was published before his major spiritual works, the eulogy offered a glimpse of things to come.

Pede a boa razão que a virtude seja louvada; e não o pode ser, sem que se publique, e seja conhecida. Por este motivo me determinei a formar o presente Elogio da Illustrissima Senhora Baroneza Condessa D. Anna Xavier de Assis Mascarenhas; porque conheci que as suas acçoens em toda a sua admiravel vida forão igualmente louvaveis, e escondidas ³⁷.

Although Almeida praised the austere private life of D. Anna, he was drawn more to her public one, which is his mind was an appropriate image of the Christian life.

Emfim soube esta Senhora dar á nossa Corte hum perfeito modélo da virtude, que não afugenta aos animos dos homens com aspecto melancolico, e caracter de tristeza; mas revestido de huns taes accidentes que por si se insinuão no coração humano. Já agora conheceremos todos, que não está a virtude sempre annexa a hum rosto pallido e macilento, a huma vida retirada, a hum silencio perpetuo, a hum semblante triste, e genio seco, a humas acçoens morosas, e palavras descarnadas de toda a galantaria: porquanto muito mais agradável, e não menos verdadeira, he a bella Imagem da virtude que em si mesma nos deixou esta Senhora, amada de Deos, e amada dos homens, cuja memoria será sempre acompanhada dos louvores de Deos, de huma eterna saudade ³⁸.

Despite the association of the Portuguese Oratorians with the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, which followed a gentle and joyful piety, the image of the «Happy Christian» was difficult to harmonize with Quental's piety ³⁹. Only in 1758, when the Portuguese Oratorians were already eighty-six years old, was Almeida integrating a theme well known to Neri in the sixteenth century. And paradoxically, when Almeida further developed the image of the «Happy Christian», it had somber characteristics.

The *Estimulos do amor da V. Maria Mãi de Deos* published in 1759, together with the *Elogio de D. Anna*, made up the first phase of Almeida's devotional writing. His biographer informs us that,

³⁷ TEODORO DE ALMEIDA, *Elogio da Illustrissima, e excellentissima Senhora D. Anna Xavier de Assis Mascarenhas, Baroneza de Alvito, e Condessa de Oriola. Offerecido a sua Irmã a illustrissima, e excellent. Senhora D. Maria Mascarenhas. Por Dorotheo de Almeida* (Lisboa: Na Officina de MIGUEL RODRIGUES, Impressor do Eminent. S. Card. Patriarca, 1758), Prologo.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

³⁹ CARLO GASBARRI, «Filippo Neri, santo», *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, V, 773.

prior to his banishment to Porto in 1760, Almeida was the conscientious instructor of science and devoted preacher in and around Lisbon⁴⁰. Despite the terrible earthquake of 1755, the *Estimulos* reflected a calm exuberance that much of his later devotional writing lacked.

Almeida, according to his biographer, wrote the «*Estimulos*» in thanksgiving for the protection of the Blessed Mother against the machinations of the Devil⁴¹. The «*Vida*» told of several instances, one in which an uncontrollable horse nearly injured him in his youth⁴², and another when he was holding a science class at the «*Casa das Necessidades*», an airpump gun accidentally discharged, its pellet singing his beard⁴³. Almeida attributed his good fortune in these and other instances to the vigilance of the Blessed Mother. In this sense, the Dedicatory of the *Estimulos* explained his obligations to Her.

Os beneficios que de vosa liberal mão tenho recebido são tantos, e cada um deles em si tão grande, que o meo animo umildemente prostrado diante de vós, geme oprimido da vosa mesma beneficencia. Eu não poso corresponder ao muito que me tendes favorecido, e vejo-me quazi obrigado a ser-vos ingrato, não podendo nem excuzar, nem compensar as mercês que me fazeis. Devo-vos um amor intensissimo, e com um amor imenso ainda vos não pagava: Carregado pois com esta importante divida, e vendo-me na ultima penuria de cabedaes, quero sair pelo mundo a pedir esmola de Amor para vos pagar o que devo⁴⁴.

Almeida liked to argue from necessity, either natural or moral, so he described the love of man for the Blessed Mother in terms of magnetism⁴⁵. Yet he also softened this analogy and spoke of human love for Mary as a reasonable response⁴⁶. Correlative to this reasoned love, was the love which the Blessed Virgin had for man. For Almeida, it was inconceivable how man could refuse to love such a lovable person, who loved him.

⁴⁰ «*Vida*», # # 32-39.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, # 25.

⁴² *Ibid.*, # 5.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, # 22.

⁴⁴ TEODORO DE ALMEIDA, *Estimulos do amor da V. Maria Mãe de Deos, oferecidos á mesma Senhora. Pelo P.^e Teodoro de Almeida da Congregação do Oratorio de Lisboa* (Lisboa: Na Ofic. de MIGUEL RODRIGUES, Impressor do Em. S. Card. Patr., 1759), pp. i-iii.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-5.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 241-242.

Será logo mais que duro o noso corasão, se sendo a Senhora tão amavel em si mesma, e propendendo para o seo amor o noso corasão, amando-nos alem diso a Senhora estremezamente, nós ainda assim a não amarmos com toda a nosa alma. Não amar a Senhora amando-nos ela, não é simplesmente não a amar, é fazer-lhe uma enorme injuria, e o mais sensível desprezo: é não aceitar o amor que ela nos tem; é dar-nos o seo corasão a nós, e nós rejeita-lo; pode aver ingratidão mais feia? ⁴⁷

He listed other «estimulos» to love the Blessed Virgin; how she had made God more human and approachable by being the Mother of Jesus ⁴⁸, her title of Mother of Grace ⁴⁹, and how man could please God by loving Her ⁵⁰. There were several others which continued to appear in his later works: one, that while Jesus was the Sun, Mary was the Aurora which indicated His coming ⁵¹; the other, that those devoted to Mary were morally certain of being predestined for salvation ⁵². And Almeida closed the *Estimulos* with a letter to the Blessed Mother, requesting to become her spiritual slave. In the context of the *Estimulos*, this request was not strange since its theme centered on returning services for Mary's love and protection ⁵³.

The *Estimulos* and the *Elogio de D. Anna* already had the inclinations for a more rational spirituality, and the French experience only allowed it to grow. This later development, however, lessened the affectivity of the «padecer e amar» spirituality, and the Blessed Mother was replaced by the morally rational figure of Christ, and the «estimulos» by reason. Almeida never had a more affective spirituality than he had in this early stage, nor did he speak of love in such a completely human manner again. In subsequent works, his spirituality gradually became intellectualized and the life of Christ became the middle term in proving the goodness of God's Providence.

During his life of banishment in Porto, Almeida vented his preoccupations in the composition of the *Gemidos da Mãe de Deos*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

⁴⁸ *Iid.*, pp. 107-108.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 178-179.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 239-240.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-5.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 193-195.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 259-280. This could also be simply another instance of the influence of Bernardes. See LIMA, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

*afflicta; ou estímulos de compaixão das suas dores*⁵⁴. Published in 1763, this work was a companion piece to the *Tezoiro de Paciencia* written a few years later, not only because the theme of resignation joined the two, but also because Almeida remained in the same frame of mind.

The key idea of the *Gemidos*, which followed, at least thematically, the traditional spirituality of «padecer e amar», was «compassion». Almeida demanded that the Christian sympathize with the sorrowful Mother of the Lord.

O Santo Job cercado de dores, e de afflicções, deixava sahir do íntimo de seu peito estas sentidas vozes: Compadecei-vos de mim, compadecei-vos de mim, ao menos vós os meus amigos [...] e estas mesma se me representa que são as vozes da Senhora, quando a considero traspasada de afflicções na sua Alma bemdita: *Compadecei-vos de mim, ao menos vós que me amais*. Por tanto, todos aquelles, que se prézão de amar a Mãe de Deos, acudão a estes gemidos da Senhora, que em summa afflicção lhes pede, que della se compadeção⁵⁵.

In order to assuage her interior suffering, which Almeida considered to be as cruel as the visible ones of Jesus during his passion⁵⁶, the Christian was asked to sympathize with Mary. This compassion, however, was not like the instinctive reponse of a child for his natural mother but rather that of an adopted child for his foster mother. This child, according to Almeida, knew that this woman loved him, not with a blind maternal instinct, but by an enlightened and rational choice.

Accresce, que este parentesco estreitissimo que temos com a Mãe de Deos, não he pela geração do corpo, mas por adopção voluntaria e amorosa, que he hum certo parentesco totalmente originado do coração⁵⁷.

Almeida here reveals the method of his spirituality of truth. Seemingly oblivious of the larger human reality that is man, Almeida

⁵⁴ «Vida», # 48.

⁵⁵ TEODORO DE ALMEIDA, *Gemidos da Mãe de Deos, afflicta, ou estímulos de compaixão das suas dores, pelo P. Theodoro de Almeida, da Congregação do Oratorio de Lisboa, &c.* (Lisboa: Na Offic. de ANTONIO RODRIGUES GALHARDO, Impressor da Real Meza Censoria, 1785), pp. 1-2.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

places all human affectivity in reason. He was interested in the soul of man. For the Oratorian, the real man, the literary device to make the soul the source of all human affectivity, was the term «coração». But «coração», in Almeida's mind, was not a symbol of the affective life of man, body and soul; on the contrary, it meant reason. Almeida's intellectualization of spirituality was concerned with the soul of man, so that the terms: soul, reason, and «coração», were interchangeable.

Since Almeida wanted his readers to sympathize with the Blessed Mother, he tried to make them present, devotionally, at the passion and death of Christ. In this way, he could not only show that their sins increased the suffering of Jesus and His Mother⁵⁸, but also more easily encourage Christians to reform their lives. He believed that if Mary suffered as much as she did throughout the redemptive agonies of her Son, Christians would indeed be derelict if they did not use one of the principle fruits of redemption, the sacrament of penance⁵⁹.

The «Gemidos» also contained fanciful stories of the origin of the devotion of Seven Sorrows as well as how this devotion helped its adherents to gain salvation⁶⁰. These stories, however, indicate that Almeida, like Bernardes, was credulous enough to encourage Christian piety with such material. This work also began to reveal a rigorous tone in Almeida's piety. He believed that few souls went directly to heaven after death without passing through purgatory⁶¹, and was of the opinion that most went to hell⁶². In a more favorable image, Almeida called this rigorism «God's justice». Yet such an attitude clashed with his rational sentimentality; and although we do not deny this rigid side of his spirituality, we suspect that his banishment had much to do with its development.

The «Vida» informs us that the *Tezoiro de paciencia* was a prophetic work, in that Almeida seemed to furnish the motives necessary to endure great hardships, hardships which he in fact suffered in his flight from Porto to Spain in 1768, and eventually to Bayonne in 1769. In this work the figure of the Crucified Christ symbolized both

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-62.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 124-139.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 163-164.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 158.

the source of God's mercy for man, and man's source of patience for Christian living⁶³; and Almeida was principally concerned with the latter idea. Published in 1765, it was a very popular work, and had numerous Portuguese editions, four Spanish ones, and one Brazilian.

The *Tezoiro* was divided into two sections. The first contained meditations on the passion and death of Jesus, which was organized into seven steps, while the second had a number of soliloquies concerning the matter in the first part. Almeida explained the method:

Depois de darmos a conhecer o Tezoiro de Paciencia, ás Almas que vivem em penuria desta virtude; pareceo-nos que seria conveniente mostrar-lhes praticamente as riquizas que se pôdem tirar deste grande Tezoiro: e para iso damos em varios soliloquios Imagens de diversos afetos, em que a alma pôde dezabafar diante de seu Deos o seu corasão oprimido. Cada qual se acharà retratado, ou mais nesta ou mais naquela Imagem; e conhecendo-se pelos movimentos do seu corasão que dentro no peito sente, e ali vê copiados, deve aproveitar-se do caminho que ali se lhe mostra para se elevar ao seu Deos, e fazer frutuoza a sua disgrasa, e meritorio o seu trabalho⁶⁴.

The riches found in this treasure proved to be decisive, as Soliloquio VIII indicates

Venci, grasas sejam dadas a Deos, que me deu na minha Crus o instrumento de tantas victorias: Dà louvores a Deos alma minha; mas olha de vagar, vê o que tenho vencido por meio da minha Crus. Com ela venci a carne, zombei do mundo, e triunfei do demonio. Com ela me fis Senhor do meu genio, pus freio aos meus appetites, e me senhoricei das minhas paixoens. Com a minha Crus recobrei a antiga liberdade de filho de Deos, quebrei as cadeias que me arrastarão para a perdisão, e fiquei livre do infame cativo do pecado. Ó, que á minha Crus devo a reforma dos costumes, a lus que acho no meu entendimento, e a ordem e moderação nos actos da minha vontade: a ela devo o apagar-se-me um fogo escuro, que me tirava a prudencia nos repentes, o dom de conselho nas duvidas, e me embarasava nas rezoluções ter juizo maduro: á minha Crus devo conhecer milhor o mundo, conhecer-me milhor a mim, conhecer milhor a Deos, e faser outro conceito mui diverso da alma, da vida, e da eternidade⁶⁵.

⁶³ DOROTEO DE ALMEIDA, *Tezoiro de paciencia nas chagas de Jezu Cristo ou consolação da alma atribulada na meditação das penas do Salvador. Oferecido a Jezu Crucificado por Doroteo de Almeida* (Porto: Na Officina de FRANCISCO MENDES LIMA, anno de 1765), Dedicatória, pp. i-iv.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 107-108.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 179-180.

The *Tezoiro* marked a turning point in Almeida's spirituality because in its composition, and subsequently, in the works that followed it, religion became a source of knowledge for living. Perhaps not by accident, the *Tezoiro* was published only several years before his *Lógica*, which contained the mechanics for the understanding to know truths. The reflective method constituted the central part of the *Lógica*⁶⁶. Could it be that Almeida anticipated its use in the *Tezoiro*?

The «venci» of the *Tezoiro* was quite different from the «compassion» of the *Gemidos*. Almeida conquered the forces of evil through knowledge gained through a devotion to the Crucified Christ. And Almeida's next work will be *O feliz*, a complete formulation of his piety. Significantly, Almeida dedicated it to the Crucified Christ.

IV

If judged by inherent literary value, Almeida was a minor figure in the second half of eighteenth-century Portugal; but, if his popularity and ability to capture the contemporary spirit be taken as a norm, he had importance. Always able to pick up the newer trends, Almeida was clearly influenced by literary currents in the mid-century. The ideas of the Oratorian, Francisco José Freire, better known as «Candido Lusitano», are ample evidence. Before Freire entered the Oratorians in 1751, he had already written his *Arte poetica*, in 1748. For Freire

a intenção e fim da Poesia foy desde aqueles primeiros tempos e ainda actualmente he, de cantar os louvores da virtude e dos virtuosos ou o vituperio dos vicios e dos viciosos (...) e por consequência, saibamos que a poesia não é outra cousa mais que huma filha de Filosofia Moral, ou para melhor dizer, he a Poesia e a Filosofia huma mesma cousa, ainda que expressada com dous differentes nomes⁶⁷.

⁶⁶ ALMEIDA equated truth and existence. In his mind, truth was an entity intuited by the mind which was completely passive. With some modifications, we believe Malebranche's, influence is enormous in Almeida's epistemology. Almeida's use of eclectic philosophy deserves a chapter of its own.

⁶⁷ ANDRADE, *Vernei*, p. 271.

Lusitano's notions could not better describe Almeida's literary efforts, and Freire's membership in the «Arcádia Lusitana», a literary academy which stressed realism, points to other writers who possibly may have also affected Almeida. Domingos dos Reis Quinta, with his pastoral themes, also a member of the «Arcádia», might have been one of them. And the whole tone of the Academy's stress on the utility of poetry meshed well with Almeida's practical and common sense orientation⁶⁸.

Yet Almeida, in addition to Lusitano's influence, shared the concern about melancholy Pre-Romantics, like Leonor de Almeida de Portugal, or Manuel Maria de Barbosa du Bocage⁶⁹. But the Oratorian's reliance on the knowledge gained from philosophy (reason) and religion generate an optimism which allowed him to overcome this brooding side of existence.

The novel, *O feliz*, was not the only strictly literary work to come from Almeida's pen⁷⁰, but it was the best program, stylistically arranged to enable Christians to live happily in this world. *O feliz* was the summit of Almeida's spiritual development and best reveals his spirituality of truth, which could also be described as a reasoned religious sentiment.

Clothed in a fantastic literary style, *O feliz independente do mundo e da fortuna, ou arte de viver contente em quaesquer trabalhos da vida*, told the story of the heroic life of virtue⁷¹. Almeida based it on the life of a thirteenth century Polish Prince, Vladaslaus, but followed the literary example of *les Aventures de Télémaque* of Fénelon. The most succinct explanation of Almeida's objective was expressed in a letter to another exiled Portuguese, Ribeiro Sanches, in 1774. He wanted to write a work to show with the demonstrative force of geometry and with poetic grace, the means to be happy in this world⁷². Another more lengthly one

⁶⁸ JACINTO DO PRADO COELHO, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁹ JACINTO DO PRADO COELHO, *Poetas pré-românticos* (Coimbra: Atlântida, 1961), pp. 63-69.

⁷⁰ ALMEIDA also published the poem, *Lisboa destruída*, and left numerous manuscripts now in the ANTT, Mss da Livraria, 1675.

⁷¹ JACINTO DO PRADO COELHO, «Almeida, P.^o Teodoro de», *Dicionário de Literatura*, I, 42. PRADO COELHO indicates that there were some pre-romantic traits in the main character of the *O feliz*, yet not enough for it to be classified in this category. We decided to call it fantastic, playing on the word fantasy which we believe best describes the imagery that runs throughout the novel.

⁷² Carta de TEODORO DE ALMEIDA a RIBEIRO SANCHES, 9 de Agosto de 1774. Cited from MARIA LEOPOLDINA AZEVEDO, «P.^o TEODORO DE ALMEIDA, subsídios para o estudo da

was provided in the Dedicatória and Prologo to the book itself⁷³. In both, however, the main concern was happiness. From hindsight, in 1792, Almeida called his *O feliz*, a work that extended over an eleven year period⁷⁴, «humana Ethica completa, com todos os ditames disfarçadamente practicados no enredo desse Poema»⁷⁵.

The main figures in the novel were Misseno, a recluse in the Salizean hills, but in reality Prince Vladisous, son of the Polish King Mieceslaus, and the Count of Moravia, a man beset by a persistent melancholy caused by his turbulent passions. Their first meeting was indicative of later happenings in the work. The count, together with his half sister, Princess Sofia, were along the banks of the river Neister when they saw an old man leaving his cabin, higher up on the slopes. He was singing a little ditty which caught their ear: «Dentro em mim tenho a fonte d'alegria; Sim a tinha, mas eu não sabia⁷⁶». The rest of *O feliz* told how Misseno, who was the old man, gave his knowledge of happiness to others, while the Count, at first captivated by Misseno, later fell victim to incurable melancholy.

The shape of *O feliz* reflected Almeida's own psychological life of the battle between the passions and reason. He has dramatized reason, Misseno, and the passions, the Count of Moravia. Melancholy, of course, continually a problem in Almeida's life, disorientated the passions. Almeida must have shared the preoccupa-

sua vida e obra» (Dissertação de Licenciatura em Ciências Histórico-Filosóficas, apresentada à Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 1959), p. 330.

⁷³ TEODORO DE ALMEIDA, *O feliz independente do mundo e da fortuna, ou arte de viver contente em quaesquer trabalhos da vida. Dedicado a Jesu Crucificado*. (3 vols.; Lisboa: Na Officina Typografica, 1779), I, i-xxvii. Hereafter cited as *O feliz*.

⁷⁴ «Vida», # 88.

⁷⁵ TEODORO DE ALMEIDA, *Recreação filosofica, ou dilalogo sobre a metafysica para instrução de pessoas curiosas, que não frequentarão as aulas*, Tomo VIII (Lisboa: Na Regia Officina Typografica, 1792), p. 255. Although ALMEIDA did not refer to it, earlier in 1734, the Oratorian MATHIAS DE ANDRADE published a book in dialogue form on the problems of a young man disturbed by melancholy who met a recluse living by the river Douro. In the ensuing discussion, the recluse taught the young man how to gain interior peace. Many of Almeida's themes were present, but the accent was different, especially in regards to the creatures of the universe. See MATHIAS DE ANDRADE, *Paz interior triduo ditoso dilalogo entre hum velho solitario, e hum mancebo estudante. Dedicado ao excellentissimo senhor Bernardo Felipe Neri Antonio João Evangelista de Tavora Conde de Alvor, do Concelho de Sua Magestade, Mestre de Campo General de Seos Exercitos, Comendador das Comendas de Santa Maria de Duas Igrejas, de Santo Andre das Feixedas, e do Porto Santo na Ordem de Christo, Alcaide Mor de Marialva Senhor da Villa da Mouta, e Governador das armas da Provincia de Tras os Montes &c.* (Lisboa Occidental: Na Officina da Congregação do Oratorio, 1734), pp. 278-290.

⁷⁶ *O feliz*, I, 6.

tions of his time, because *O feliz* was one of his most popular works⁷⁷.

Misseno, using examples of nature laced with theological arguments, freely shared his secret of happiness with others. In his presentation, man was bound for happiness, like the compass needle tenaciously seeking north⁷⁸; and it would have been strange that the soul, the most important part of man, should not have its proper happiness when nature has provided so many charming things for the delight of the senses⁷⁹. Although Misseno spoke eloquently of God's creation, it lacked its own beauty. Only in the sunlight did the world and all its creatures reflect any beauty. Significantly, beauty resided not in creatures, but rather in the source of light, the sun⁸⁰.

The sun, being the origin of beauty, provided Misseno with an image of God. As the reverlet shimmered in the rays of the sun it reflected a beauty not its own, so too, the virtuous man reflected the beauty of God. The source was decisive because the heart, Almeida's alternate term for reason, being captivated by God's beauty, focused its attention on the source of its attraction, like the sunflower constantly facing the sun⁸¹. These theological examples enabled Misseno to show how the faculties of the soul, intellect and will, transcended the material world. The intellect sought infinite truth, while the will pursued infinite good. Although the world could not fulfill these innate longings of the soul, it still provided a field in which their operations were essential to achieve the happy life⁸².

Misseno joined these arguments with his preference in describing the world as a machine with all of its deterministic connotations. If one part of the machine was studied without reference to the rest, a distorted understanding would have emerged as to its real purpose⁸³. In the world machine, men were the cogs, each with his proper function; and if individuals tried to alter their functions, all would be chaos and disorder⁸⁴. The passions of man,

⁷⁷ ROBERT RICARD, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁸ *O feliz*, I, 26-27.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 20-21.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-22 & 229-230.

⁸² *Ibid.*, I, 122-123.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, I, 218-219.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 273-274.

moreover, constituted the mainspring of this world machine, and its smooth functioning was left to the control of reason⁸⁵. Conversely, uncontrolled passions subverted the good of order, the true object envisaged by the smooth repetitive movements of the world machine. The passions also resembled the wind when, if gentle, delighted the soul, but if violent, so agitated the soul that it became confused and made erroneous and bad decisions⁸⁶. This, however, was only the beginning, for the uncontrolled passions spawned a series of other undesirable consequences, which only terminated with sadness and melancholy taking possession of the soul⁸⁷. This picture of a world governed by turbulent passions became even worse when contrasted with Misseno's dream of the land of reason, where perfect harmony, reflecting the beauty of God's reason, reigned supreme⁸⁸.

Misseno, of course, had conquered his passions, which responded to his command like well trained horses under the reins of an expert coachman. Almeida left no doubt; this achievement made Misseno a hero⁸⁹. In addition, the hero was independent and sagacious, like the rustic living in the hills, combining his wits with nature, to live happily⁹⁰. He chose only to do good despite what problems Providence may bring, and this insured him of the happy life⁹¹.

Such confidence came from the hero's understanding that God only desired his well-being, and all events, therefore, were accepted within this viewpoint. This understanding also tempered what could otherwise have been a severely stoic approach to life. Basically, Almeida has telescoped the hero's knowledge of his entire life, for only at the end would he know the reasons for the contours of events that shaped it. Such knowledge, of course, was Almeida's understanding of Providence, as a plan put into execution by God; however, Almeida's theory of knowledge implied that what God knew had to be involved in a very deterministic world view; yet, if man knew the plan, he would know what God knew. Since this was impossible, the next best thing was to have confidence in

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 277-278.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 98-100.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 92-93.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 194-195 & 205.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 54 & 173.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 157-159.

God, and it was precisely this that constituted the hero's knowledge, and encouraged him to overcome life's difficulties, and to continue the virtuous life⁹². For Almeida, God certainly would reward the hero in this venture, as He would the others, who were His instruments in fulfilling the Divine Plan⁹³. The hero, therefore, secured in this knowledge and doing good, could not but be happy⁹³.

Misseno explained the root cause of the disordered passions in a traditional account of original sin, stressing Adam's misuse of liberty. Although liberty enabled Adam to be master of his decisions, he erred in failing to recognize his creaturehood, and it led to his downfall. Unfortunately, subsequent generations have inherited the sad results of this misuse, the battle between the passions and reason. Misseno, in a more homely example, spoke of the exquisitely handmade gold watch, which clumsily has been allowed to fall on the floor. Its mainspring distorted, it had difficulty keeping time. Nevertheless, it maintained the traits of its maker and the clear indication of its purpose, to tell time elegantly⁹⁵.

God, however, did not leave man helpless in his attempt to control the passions. In explaining his philosophy to the Empress of Nicéa, Misseno revealed the source of his knowledge⁹⁶. Follow the voice of God, he said. God's voice was both that of reason, man's by nature, and the voice of revealed religion which helped the voice of reason, weakened by original sin. With this help, man truly knew the road to happiness⁹⁷.

The disorder created by the passions, though troublesome for man, did not prevent his use of freedom. Misseno used the example of compunction to prove the effective use of man's free will. Without liberty, he told the Epicurian philosopher, Ibrahim, man could regret some of his past actions⁹⁸. In addition, man could actually remedy some of the evil which he caused. According to Misseno, this constituted the greatest achievement of his philosophy⁹⁹.

⁹² *Ibid.*, I, 271-273.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 218-219.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 134-143.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 76.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 161-164.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 162-163.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 186-187.

Despite the fantastic trappings of Misseno, he abounded in Christian characteristics. When the count had decided on a military adventure to the Holy Land, Misseno explained to Sofia, who intended to accompany the count, and regreted to say goodbye to Misseno, that happiness was neither tied to the Salizean hills nor to his rustic way of life. Happiness, ultimately, was in the heart of man, who, by the use of sound philosophy in controlling his passions, could let it grow¹⁰⁰. Misseno, however, seeing that the count needed his personal help to control his passion, decided to accompany him to the Holy Land. He explained his turnabout decision to Sofia, that there was nothing so Godlike or so pleasing in God's eyes, than to work for the happiness of another person¹⁰¹.

In the subsequent trip to the Holy Land, Misseno, with his heroic virtue, overcame all obstacles. However, the count, victimized by his ever-present melancholy, allowed the forces of evil to govern his life. And the count became even more despondent when he compared his evil life with the virtuous one of Misseno¹⁰². Nevertheless, Misseno continually advised the count; and, since he was both his brother in nature and in Christ, it would have been cowardly to have done otherwise¹⁰³. Despite this aid, the count, overwhelmed by the pressures of melancholy, committed suicide¹⁰⁴. This tragic event showed, according to Misseno, the limitations of the help of a friend. In the final analysis, each has to triumph over the forces of evil, others can only encourage¹⁰⁵.

O *feliz* closed with Misseno refusing to accept the offer of the Palantine of Hungary, who greatly admired Misseno and his sound philosophy, to live the secluded life of the philosopher in his kingdom. This decision was somewhat difficult for Misseno, and he asked the Palatine's permission to reflect on it before making a final response. That night, in another dream, his deceased Uncle Boleslaus told Misseno in plain language that he was needed in Poland, and not to keep the riches of his philosophy to himself.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 221-222.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 225-226.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, III, 151-153.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 302-303.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 302-303.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 208-210.

Convinced, Misseno, on the following day, explained to the Palantine that, since in this world men depended on each other, to be concerned only with one's own happiness, as the Palantine had earlier suggested, was wrong¹⁰⁶. Misseno then left for Poland to lead a retired but not secluded life, one in which he was accessible to all, but a burden to no one¹⁰⁷.

V

The spirituality of truth developed by Almeida was his best answer to the cultural crisis of the time. The Enlightenment eulogized the happy life, and since Almeida thought of moral values as logical truths, he equated happiness with true living. The object of Almeida's piety was to live like the ideal man, Adam, before original sin. In this attempt, the life and death of Christ was simply a means to achieve it. Such a spirituality fitted well with the rational tendencies of the time. The real moral world, the one that should be, was without sin. The actual moral world was, therefore, not real; it was irrational because of the effects of sin. Almeida's «Christian» was a soul in a sinful human nature struggling to be free from sin and live the true existence. Despite the severity of the endeavor, the Christian, guided by grace, as embodied in the Providence of God, could attain it.

O *feliz*, the most thorough of Almeida's literary works, explained the Providence of God operating in a mechanistic world view, and the Christian, in order to be happy, had to confront it with virtuous living, because that was the correct way; actually, the Christian's only option. Otherwise, melancholy and error would make the Christian unhappy; for Almeida, a negation of the Christian life.

In our view, the most serious flaw in Almeida's piety was his failure to integrate suffering in a Christian perspective. He equated suffering with the results of sin, and as such, could not be sanctifying or redemptive. In a sense, suffering had to be endured

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 304-310.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 313-314.

stoically. This oversight tended to make his piety, despite its affective overtones, a fierce one. Nevertheless, his contemporaries obviously did not see his use of suffering in these terms, but rather accepted his piety warmly.

Although it is difficult to assess accurately Almeida's influence in spirituality in eighteenth-century Portugal, we suspect that the popularity he enjoyed came from the fact that he tried to keep the deeper aspirations of the Portuguese Christian heritage alive. Confronted by the new conditions for truth, couched in the rigorous norms of geometric logic, Almeida developed a spirituality that met these demands. It was cerebral, perhaps even a type of gnosis, yet his reasoned affectivity kept it from becoming an esoteric spirituality. Since Almeida read the times so well, his piety not only informs us of his own difficulties and his solutions for them, but also about the difficulties of the Portuguese Christians at large, since they accepted so readily these same solutions, embodied in the Oratorian's spirituality of truth.

P. FERNANDO AZEVEDO, S. J.

Résumé

Dans cette étude, l'A. nous présente un savant du 18^e siècle portugais, Teodoro de Almeida, prêtre de l'Oratoire (1722-1804), auteur de nombreux livres de spiritualité.

Teodoro de Almeida a, d'après l'A., structuré une spiritualité éclectique comme sa philosophie. Il a voulu harmoniser christianisme et philosophie des lumières.

Il a subi tout d'abord l'influence des fondateurs de l'Oratoire portugais, notamment de Bartholomeu de Quental, préoccupé de réformer la vie chrétienne; celle encore du plus célèbre Manuel Bernardes; aussi bien ses premiers écrits ont-ils reflété leur «aimer et souffrir», «padecer e amar». L'A. suspecte aussi l'influence de l'Oratoire français, notamment du cardinal de Bérulle; celle du capucin Ambroise de Lombez est plus certaine, puisqu'il fut le directeur spirituel de Almeida pendant son exil en France, sous le régime Pombal, et puisque T. de Almeida a traduit en portugais deux livres de lui, notamment un sur la joie.

Puis l'auteur nous présente successivement l'éloge laissé par Almeida d'une jeune fille, sa dirigée, morte en 1756 à l'âge de 18 ans, Anna de Mascarenhas; et deux livres sur Marie: *Estímulos de Amor* et *Gemidos da Mãe de Deus afflicta*. Tous deux insistent sur la compassion envers Marie au pied de la Croix.

D'après l'A., Almeida, dans ces deux livres, développerait une spiritualité de la vérité, soucieuse de l'âme de l'homme; son insistance sur le cœur ne viserait pas réellement l'affectivité humaine, mais la raison. Ces deux livres furent publiés en 1759 et 1763. En 1765, il publiait un «*Tezoiro de paciencia*», oeuvre en quelque manière prophétique, précédant de peu son exil. La religion y devient une source de connaissance pour les vivants. Peu après son retour d'exil, il livrait son roman spirituel *O feliz* (1779), dédié au Christ crucifié; cet ouvrage est une formulation complète de sa piété, tout comme une description de la vie héroïque demandée par la vertu, inspirée de l'exemple de Fénelon dans ses *Aventures de Télémaque*. Ce roman constitue la mieux construite des oeuvres littéraires de Almeida.

Pour l'A., la principale limite de la spiritualité d'Almeida a été de ne pas savoir dépasser dans une perspective chrétienne de rédemption l'aspect expiateur de la souffrance. Elle est trop austère. Cependant Almeida a relevé le défi culturel de son temps par une affectivité raisonnée qui nous manifeste les aspirations de ses contemporains, leur soif d'une spiritualité de la vérité.

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