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THE HAGIOLOGICAL ELEMENTS IN EÇA DE QUEIROZ

by

RENÉ CONCEPCIÓN

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June 20, 1978
date

Gregory Rabassa
Chairman of Examining Committee

August 9, 1978
date

Mary Ann Carr
Executive Officer

Professor Barton Sholod

Professor Irwin Stern

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I	HAGIOLOGY: ITS CHARACTERISTICS AND ITS NATURE	1
	A Survey of Hagiological Writings	
II	NEO-HAGIOLOGY IN THE 19TH CENTURY	17
	General Trends and Literary Movements Involving Religion A Panorama of Religious Writings Not Meant for Edification	
III	THEMES OF A RELIGIOUS NATURE IN EÇA DE QUEIROZ	41
	The Virgin Mary The Bible The Devil Other Religions The Church Jesus Christ	
IV	FRAGMENTARY HAGIOLOGY IN EÇA DE QUEIROZ: AN ANALYSIS OF THE USE AND REFERENCE TO SAINTS	135
	Fractional Mention of a Saint The Saint as Part of the Narrative	
V	STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE LENDAS DE SANTOS AND "FREI GENEBRO" : THEIR GENESIS AND THEIR NATURE	202
	Influence of Short Story Technique Influence of Hagiology Time Space: Theme and Topical Background Nature and The Supernatural The Saints: Sources A Study of Character Eça's Hagiological Style Ideological Content: Moral Creeds and Social Ideals	
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	283

The following abbreviations of the works of Eça de Queiroz will be used in the notes and body of the text:

CABr.	<u>O Conde de Abranhos</u>
CFB	<u>Cartas Familiares e Bilhetes de Paris</u>
CIFM	<u>Cartas Inéditas de Fradique Mendes</u>
CFM	<u>Correspondência de Fradique Mendes</u>
CI	<u>Cartas de Inglaterra</u>
Con.	<u>Contos</u>
Cor.	<u>Correspondência</u>
CPA	<u>O Crime do Padre Amaro</u>
CS	<u>A Cidade e as Serras</u>
DM	<u>Dicionário de Milagres</u>
Far.	<u>As Farpas</u>
ICR	<u>A Ilustre Casa de Ramires</u>
Man.	<u>O Mandarim</u>
NC	<u>Notas Contemporâneas</u>
Obras	<u>Obras de E.de Q., Edição do Centenário</u>
OM	<u>Os Maias</u>
PB	<u>Prosas Bárbaras</u>
PE	<u>Páginas Esquecidas</u>
Rel.	<u>A Relíquia</u>
UP	<u>Últimas Páginas</u>

CHAPTER I

A. Definition of Hagiology

Hagiology, also referred to as hagiography, is the study of the saints, their lives and legends, and the worship or cult accorded to them. The origin of devotion to the saints has been traced by Church historians to the cult of the martyrs, who by their death inspired praise and imitation in the early converts to Christianity. "The cultus of the saints is not an outcome of hero-worship, but of reverence paid to the martyrs; and the honours paid to the martyrs from the outset by the early Christians, men who had known the baptism of blood, are a direct consequence of the high dignity of those witnesses to Christ..."¹ As the number of martyrs increased, so did the cult and the early years of Christianity saw the growth of sanctity. The concept was extended to include all holy persons of merit. A martyred death, then, was no longer a prerequisite for devotion. A man who had led an exemplary life could also be the subject of praise for his virtues and could be invoked for his intercession.

B. A Survey of Hagiological Writings

Because of the need for information about the saints, there arose a vast literature devoted exclusively to the

saint, his life and works, virtues and death. Hagiographic literature may take several literary forms such as fables, romances, myths, tales and legends, but "in order to be strictly hagiographic, the document should be of a religious character and should aim at edification." ² At first, simple lists of martyrs appeared with the dates of their martyrdom. Later the lists were incorporated into calendars which reminded the faithful of the anniversary of the saint. These lists subsequently furnished the material used in the martyrologies or compilations of martyrs and saints which gave some detail of their lives and were arranged by the date of their anniversaries. "The earliest sources at the disposal of the hagiographer were the martyrologies of the ancient Christian Church. The word 'martyrology', as its roots imply, meant a list of those who had borne witness to the faith in their passion. From a very early date the Church was at pains to see that records were kept of the acts of the martyrs." ³ There were also in existence separate accounts of the martyrdom and biographies of the saints. These works were first composed as monographs containing a single life of a saint and later they were gathered into collections, the most ancient of which is the Acts of the Ancient Martyrs of Eusebius of Caesarea. Undoubtedly, the most famous of all was the Legenda Aurea (1264) of James of Voragine, a 13th century work which was read throughout Europe in transla-

tion and which still may be appreciated for its style and charming naiveté. In his work, Voragine chose to include hagiographic works of various types; some with literary, others with documentary value. This was contrary to the popular usage of the time, if we take into account the meaning of legenda, that is, things to be read, usually on the feast of the saint. The readings were usually limited to the "passion of the martyr or the eulogy of the confessor, without reference to its historical value."⁴ The term legend resulted from this interpretation and was applied to all hagiographic literature, whether or not it was popular or authenticated by history.

We must also mention I Fioretti di San Feancesco (1328), that famous and anonymous translation of the Actus Beati Francisoi et Sociorum Ejus (1325), by Fra Ugolino Bonisambini. The Fioretti enjoyed the same popularity in translation as the Legenda Aurea and became a classic of Italian literature. In the 15th century the lives of Brother Giles and Brother Juniper, two of St. Francis' companions, were added to the Fioretti. We shall have further recourse to the life of Brother Juniper, for it is one of the possible sources for Eça's short story, Frei Genebro.

Other important collections of the early Middle Ages were the Liber in Gloria Martyrum (c.587), and the Liber in Gloria Confessorum of Gregory of Tours, an author of the Merovingian period and a valuable source for the history of

the Gallic Church; the Dialogorum de Vita et Miraculis Patrum Italorum (593-594), of St. Gregory the Great, and the Memoriale Sanctorum Martyrum (c.848), of Eulogius of Córdoba. Needless to say, these works represent a mere mention when one considers the profusion of hagiological literature in Europe during the Middle Ages. Of particular interest are the works written for the martyrs and saints of France, Ireland, and England, which appeared both in Latin and in the vernacular. Unfortunately, most of hagiographical literature is characterized by ingenuousness rather than true and factual accounts based on research of the lives of saints. The lack of individuality in the many saints in the collections is a constant element in hagiological works. The author, anonymous in the majority of cases, was not interested in informing the reader. His intention was primarily to edify and therefore he created a stereotype saint around whom he amassed virtues and miracles. In his introduction to the French edition of the Legenda Aurea, the Rev. Père Hervé Savon wrote that "on est frappé moins encore par l'abondance du merveilleux que par la répétition des événements, la similitude des situations, la faible individualisation des différents personnages dont la vie nous est racontée. Les nombreux martyrs, en particulier, ne semblent que des répliques, assez superficiellement différenciées, d'un unique modèle, d'un archetype commun." 5

In regard to medieval hagiography in the Peninsula

the Jesuit Mário Martins does not readily admit to the existence of a distinct hagiographical literature, for it is found closely linked to the romances and other vernacular forms so prevalent then. He states "nem sempre enxergamos, claramente, os limites exactos que separam a hagiografia medieval do romance religioso. A história de alguns santos mergulha, por vezes, na noite lendária, avoluma-se com recitações fantásticas, deforma-se com apócrifos, interrompe-se, aqui e além, cortada por interpolações, afunda-se em vastas lacunas, para, enfim, surgir de novo. E tudo parece, então, duma inconsistência desesperada. É difícil, pois, marcar a fronteira exacta e inflexível que distingue a hagiografia autêntica da simples novela em torno dum santo." ⁶

Among the authentic hagiographical works we must mention the Crónica da Ordem dos Frades Menores (1209-1285), a source for the history of the Franciscan order and which contains the lives of Saint Anthony of Lisbon and Frei Genebro! ⁷ The fictional hagiographical works are exemplified in the História de Barlaão e Josafá, a truly spurious legend in which the author superimposed a Christian legend on an Oriental one, with St. Josafá replacing Buddah. From the original Greek manuscript the legend was translated into many European languages and became so popular and so widely accepted that it was included in the Legenda Aurea and later repeated in the many of the Flos Sanctorum of the 16th

century. Other legends of a hagiographic nature are the Visão de Túngulo, the Conto de Amaro, and the Viagem de S. Brandão. The legends are of celtic origin and are really novels of chivalry with the quest being a celestial one, as is the case with the Demanda do Santo Graal.

Church hagiology in the 16th and 17th centuries continued in the traditional vein with a myriad of saint's biographies and collections bearing the title Flos Sanctorum, which appeared in the Peninsula and enjoyed great popularity. Notable among the authors of the compilations are Pedro de Ribadaneira (1599), Fr. Diogo do Rosario (1612), Fr. Pedro de la Vega (1541), and Alonso de Villegas (1671). Other collections are: Jorge Cardoso, Agiológico lusitano dos santos e varões illustres em virtudes do Reino de Portugal, e suas conquistas (1652), Manuel Lima, Agiológico domínico (1710), and Baltazar Bosch, El triunfo de los santos (1694). It was in this same period that the lives of saints who had established monastic orders were published in great numbers, usually accompanied by a history of the order. We have the Historia General de S. Domingos (1584), by Hernando Castillo, the História de S. Domingos by Fr. Luiz de Sousa (1623), a work originally begun by Fr. Luís Cacegas, and the Crónica Seráfica (1682), a life of St. Francis of Assisi and his companions, by Fr. Damian Cornejo.

In the 17th century hagiography, considered until then a lesser form of literature, underwent a transformation and

took on a more serious form by the introduction of criticism into the study of the sources of the legends and into the text itself. The Jesuit Heribertus Rosweyde was the first to attempt criticism of a hagiographical text and he conceived the establishment of a journal in which to compile the legends of the saints.⁸ The first volume of the Acta Sanctorum appeared in 1643 at Antwerp under the direction of Joannes Bollandus. He and other Jesuits collaborated in the task and formed a group of scholars called the Bollandists.⁹

"The Jesuits arose in and with the Counter-Reformation and inherited from the Renaissance of the preceding century a love of and devotion to the ancient classical languages. The Bollandists were nursed in this tradition, and chose as the medium of their work not vulgar Latin but Latin of the high days of Vergil and Cicero. Their vehicle of expression is at once copious, chaste, elegant and dignified. They were masters of the use of this medium. As a linguistic achievement alone the editorial work of the Acta Sanctorum was one of vast proportions. But they were not only scholarly, but they were also essentially scientific and critical."¹⁰ The Bollandists were rigorous in their work and subjected the texts to a careful scrutiny. The principles of historical criticism and philology were applied.

In the 19th century hagiological research underwent an important change with the development of disciplines such as Archaeology, Paleography, and the general progress in Philo-

logy. As a result, the research took on a broader and more critical aspect, to such a degree that hagiography assumed its rightful place among the sacred social sciences. In 1882, the Bollandists instituted another journal in Brussels, the Analecta Bollandiana, devoted to hagiographical research of varied interests, published in the form of monographs. A notable Bollandist was Hippolyte Delehaye, who popularized the methods and principles of hagiology with the publication of his book, Les Légendes hagiographiques (1905). He left several essays which attest to his intellectual and critical brilliance.¹¹ But not all the hagiographical works published in the 19th century were of the same critical nature as described above. Lives of saints continued to appear in great profusion with the author's primary intent being a vague sort of piety and devotion above all, and barely alluding to a serious, critical approach. Examples of such works are: The Lives of the Primitive Fathers, Martyrs and other Principal Saints, by Reverend Alban Butler, originally published in 1798, it enjoyed many editions in the 1800's; Les Petits Bollandistes, Vies des Saints (1882), by Abbé Paul Guérin, a work which, despite its title, does not adhere to the critical principles of the Bollandists; the Dictionnaire Alphabetique et Chronologique des Saints et Saintes de L'Église Universelle (1818).

So far we have discussed hagiographical works which are of a religious nature and serve the needs of a faithful

public and the value of which, from a literary point of view, is questionable. But hagiology has its literary aspects as well, and although hagiological works with literary intent did not appear until the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance period, we can cite 13th and 14th century Spanish literature and the style of the mester de clerecía in which hagiological literature of merit was produced. The subject of sanctity was natural to the mester de clerecía, a type of poetry practiced by clergymen. "En cuanto al fondo, el mester de clerecía es un género de poesía didáctica, fruto de la erudición latino-eclesiástica. Para difundir entre el pueblo el conocimiento de la vida de los santos y otros temas sagrados, los clérigos versificaron en 'román paladino,--- en el cual suele el pueblo hablar a su vecino', es decir, en lengua vulgar." ¹² The Vida de Santa María Egipcíaca, dating from the beginning of the 13th century, and the Vida de San Ildefonso (c.1304), are examples of the highly sophisticated verse style of the mester de clerecía. The best of this period is found in the works of Gonzalo de Berceo, who wrote three lives of saints: La Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos, La Vida de San Millán de la Cogolla, and La Vida de Santa Oria, Virgen, and one devotional poem, El Martirio de San Lorenzo, all dating from the middle of the 13th century. Gonzalo de Berceo combined hagiology with characteristics taken from the epic poetry of his time. Both genres have much in common in that they have as their common

source legends that exist in the oral tradition of a people or that have been recorded. The legends may be of historical origin, which is often the case, and in which the facts have been amplified or altered by the people or perhaps an individual. The historical is mixed with the legendary and strict chronology of events is completely disregarded. The hagiographical legend, as with the epic legend, exalts the deeds of a man, a hero of his country or of the Church. In hagiography, the element of national propaganda ingherent in the epic is replaced by religious sentiment. The saint's deeds serve to edify the people and to increase devotion to the saint's cult and the Church as well. The saint is the hero, not of the nation as a whole, nor of the Church exclusively, but certainly of the people, just as the epic hero belonged to the common folk. He is the champion of religion, of Christianity. In Gonzalo de Berceo the hagiological tradition is intimately related to the literary traditions of the juglar, for, as Menéndez Pidal wrote "la poesía romance de los clérigos...nace inmediatamente de la poesía de los juglares, con una leve modificación de esta. Y es natural que así fuese; si la poesía juglaresca fue la primera que se lanzó a crear las literaturas romances, había de servir de modelo e iniciación a los clérigos que comenzaron a escribir en lengua vulgar."¹³ Gonzalo de Berceo wrote for an audience that was accustomed to the epic narrative of the juglares and he resorted to the stylistic and thematic ele-

ments of the epic poem, the only one at his disposal which would lend great interest and credibility to his text.

The literary tradition in hagiology continues after Gonzalo de Berceo in the works of Gil Vicente and his Auto de São Martinho (1504), a fragmentary work written in Spanish. Gil Vicente wrote only one auto on the life of a saint, although he has other plays with a religious theme. Two authors of the Escola Vicentina, who imitated Gil Vicente in his style and devoted themselves to the hagiographic genre and rather unsuccessfully, are Afonso Alvares and Baltazar Dias. Of the two, Afonso Alvares was the more prolific with his Auto do bem-aventurado senhor Santo Antonio (1531); the Auto de bem-aventurado senhor São Vicente (n.d.); the Auto de Santa Bárbara (1613); and the Auto de Santiago (1613). Baltazar Dias wrote the Auto de Santo Aleixo (1613) and the Auto de Santa Caterina (1613). Both authors are completely devoid of the charm and originality inherent in the works of their master. The reader is not inspired by their style or by the religious fervor which is totally absent. In referring to Afonso Alvares Teófilo Braga states "lendo-se o Auto de Santa Bárbara, pela sua estrutura e peripécias conhece-se que Afonso Alvares teve diante dos olhos a Legenda Aurea de Jacob de Voragine; não tendo originalidade na invenção, também não atinge essa expressão natural e sentida no lirismo de Gil Vicente."¹⁴ Braga makes the same statement about the other autos, that is, that they were taken from the Legenda Aurea and says of the Auto de Santiago that "não tendo

sido apontado pelo Index Expurgatório de 1624, o seu desaparecimento só poderá atribuir-se a falta de interesse dramático." ¹⁵

Of Baltazar Dias and his Auto de Santo Aleixo, Braga writes, "este tema lendário pertence a esse grupo de tradições novelescas que no século X penetraram na Europa e aqui receberam a forma de Vidas de Santos; ... Baltazar Dias... inspirou-se directamente do agiografo italiano de Giacomo de Voraggio (Voragine) na Legenda Aurea." ¹⁶

In Spain, the 16th century produced numerous anonymous plays about saints, among them the Auto de San Jorge quando mató la serpiente, Un Milagro de Santo Andrés, the Auto de quando Santa Elena halló la Cruz de Nuestro Señor, and the Auto de Santo Christeval. In the 17th century, the theater of the Siglo de Oro saw the continuation of the genre and many plays about saints appeared, called comedias de santos, written by the great dramatists of the period: Tirso de Molina wrote many religious plays as well as some comedias de santos. "The plays based on the lives of different saints may be called ecclesiastical dramas, for they seem evidently intended not merely for edification, but particularly for preserving and increasing the faith of believers in the ecclesiastical system and its dogmas. Saint Jane and the Lady of the Olive Grove display this type. The Heavenly Nymph is an example of the dramatized legend..." ¹⁷

Lope de Vega himself left a rather large selection of titles in the genre comedias de vidas de santos. Of singular interest to us is the play El truhán del cielo y loco santo, a play which was never published and of which Menéndez Pelayo says, "...aunque el taumaturgo portugués aparezca en esta obra, como aparece también San Francisco, el verdadero protagonista del ella, el que le da nombre, el truhán del cielo y loco santo, es Fr. Junípero, cuyas sublimes insensateces y santas simplezas se dramatizan aquí, siguiendo, aunque de lejos, el relato de los catorce capítulos que le dedican los Fioretti di S. Francesco, conocidos de Lope, ya directamente, ya por medio de las crónicas franciscanas."¹⁸ Lope de Vega also wrote a poem in 10 cantos about the life of S. Isidro, the patron saint of Madrid called La Vida del glorioso Isidro de Madrid (1599).

Another dramatist of the Siglo de Oro, Mira de Amescua, wrote four comedias de santos: El Santo sin nacer y mártir sin morir (before 1609), La mesonera del cielo (n.d.), Vida y muerte de la monja de Portugal (n.d.), and El esclavo del demonio (1612), a play which will be discussed later since it deals with the same saint as in one of Eça's legends, S. Frei Gil.

In the literature of the 18th century the hagiological genre continued to appear experiencing, all the while, a general degeneration by catering to a public ready to learn almost anything about saints. It was not until the latter

half of the 19th century that we saw a revival of interest in sanctity and the emergence of authors who took a serious interest in saints and whose attitudes were not blinded by faith. To this new breed of writers, whose intent was not to edify the faithful, the saint was just another character whose psyche and motivations they were going to expose.

We have seen, then, how hagiology progressed from simple listings of the names of martyrs to biographies of saints and then to more complex and serious compilations based on a thorough research of written sources, oral accounts and the iconography of the saint. This is the task of the true hagiographer and the tradition, begun in the 17th century, persists to this day.

NOTES

- 1 Hippolyte Delehaye, The Legends of the Saints, transl. V.M. Crawford (University of Notre Dame Press, 1961), p. 165.
- 2 Delehaye, The Legends, p. 2.
- 3 J.S. Cornett, "The Hagiography of the Bollandists." Queens Quarterly, 32, May 1925, 351.
- 4 Delehaye, p. 10.
- 5 Jacques de Voragine, La Légende Dorée, I, trad. de J.B.M. Roze, (Paris, Garnier-Flammarion, 1967), p. 8.
- 6 Mário Martins, S.J. Estudos de Literatura Medieval, (Braga, Livraria Cruz, 1956), p. 11
- 7 In the various codices of the Monastery in Alcobaça and in the archives of the Torre do Tombo are the Vida de Sancto Ale-xo, Vida de Eufrosina filha de Panuncio, Vida de Sancta Maria Egípcia; and in A. Herculano's volume, Scriptores of the Portu-galia Monumenta Historia, are included Vida de D. Telo, Vida de S. Teotónio, Vida de Sta. Senhorinha, all dating from the early Middle Ages.
- 8 Rosweyde is the author of a collection of the lives of the early Church Fathers, the Vitae Patrum (1615), a valuable source for the life of St. Onofre.
- 9 Other collaborators, all Jesuits, were Daniel Papebroch, Godefridus Henchenus, François Baertius, Conrad Jannig, and Solerio.
- 10 Cornett, "The Hagiography", p. 377.
- 11 Les Origines du culte des martyrs (1912), Les Passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires (1921), Sanctus: Essai sur le culte des saints dans l'antiquité (1927).
- 12 M. Romera-Navarro, Historia de la Literatura Española. (Boston, D.C. Heath, 1949) 2a. edición, p. 23.

- 13
Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Poesía Juglaresca y Juglares. 5a. ed., (Madrid, 1962), p. 194
- 14
Teófilo Braga, Escola de Gil Vicente e o Desenvolvimento do Teatro Nacional, (Porto, Livraria Chardron, 1898), p. 67-68.
- 15
Braga, Escola, p. 72.
- 16
Braga, p. 135.
- 17
Malbourne Watson Graham, "The Religious Dramas of Tirso de Molina", University of California Chronicle, Vol. XXX, January 1928, No. 1, p. 46-55.
- 18
M. Menéndez Pelayo, ed. Obras de Lope de Vega, Tomo V, Comedias de Vidas de Santos y Leyendas Piadosas (Conclusión), (Madrid, La Real Academia Española, 1895), p. lv.

CHAPTER II

A. General Trends and Literary Movements Involving Religion

Hagiology assumed a new direction and a greater scope from the infusion of 18th century thought and scientific progress. This trend continued in the 19th century, gathering even more strength. In the late 19th century there began to appear, alongside the biographies of saints, studies into the very nature of sanctity as a psychological and social phenomenon. The works of Hippolyte Delehaye, already cited, are an example as well as William James' The Varieties of Religious Experience, published in 1902, and still regarded as a monumental work in the study of religious phenomena. Another author, Paul Allard, continued in the same vein as E. Renan, and wrote various works on the history of the early Church, Le Christianisme et L'Empire Romain (1898), Les Dernières Persécutions du Troisième Siècle, (1898)¹ This compelling force and interest in religion caused many changes and generated a religious impetus which permeated society. We can call this impetus neo-hagiology, for it signifies a new trend in hagiology, where the writings were no longer intended for edification but for literary purposes. The reli-

gious aspect was not necessarily minimized but the brilliance of the text and the reader's attraction to it resulted more from the style and the aesthetics of it than from the faith in the supernatural. Nor were the authors necessarily believers, as was the case with the previous writers of literary hagiology. Theirs was a totally new breed of literati. To them all matters concerning religion were just more themes to be explored, to be developed stylistically.

This secular interest in religion came about partially as a result of the advancement made in the social sciences and in science. In Archaeology, anthropological archaeologists introduced a process of social revolution based on the ideas of the biological evolution of Charles Darwin. Archaeology was not longer to be limited to the Greco-Roman world but would include in its research any extinct society no matter how remote. Historiography also took on new directions with the advent of scientific research and the introduction of modern methods to insure accuracy of fact and interpretation. Charles Darwin's The Origin of Species (1859) revolutionized the world of all natural sciences and created a furor. This reaction was to have great repercussions in the religious thought of the time. In Philosophy Auguste Comte's Cours de Philophie Positive (1830-1842), and his later work, Système de Politique Positive (1851-1854), also contributed to a reaction in the form of religious revival because of the materialistic attitudes of his philosophy.

The positivist movement did not reject religion altogether. What it did was to relegate Christianity to just one more religion among many. The interest in spiritual matters never waned but it was expanded towards a more polytheistic view; witness the works of Renan and Gustave Flaubert in his Tentation de Saint Antoine, to be discussed later, a work that is, in essence, neither Catholic nor Christian. Comte attempted to divorce religion from its supernatural beginnings and replace the ideal of God by Man or Humanity. Instead of placing the Virgin Mother on an altar, Womanhood was placed on a pedestal, henceforth to be venerated. The followers of Comte, interestingly enough, misinterpreted his intentions and followed his ideas to the letter, erecting temples of positivism to serve as secular pantheons to humanity. This philosophy had a certain vogue when it was revealed, but by the 1889's Europe was experiencing a rejection Comte's ideas and his opposition to man's idealistic tendencies. The material progress which the 19th century expected was not forthcoming nor was science able to provide the panacea to cure the ills of man.

There were many currents of change being felt in the Church. Strong liberal tendencies were being manifested, as exemplified by the attitudes of the lower clergy. In order to stem the tide of change, Pope Pius IX proclaimed his famous Encyclical, commonly called the Syllabus of Errors (1864), in which he outlined all the pitfalls and

entrapments into which modern man could fall for his belief in the secular world and his ever increasing faith in science. Needless to say, the Syllabus was not well received and the Pope was severely criticized for his anti-liberal views.

Biblical exegesis was also a contributing factor. The 19th century saw a continuation and a strengthening of 18th century rationalistic approaches to Biblical criticism. Biblical scholars were no longer content to write commentaries based on revelation alone.² The New Testament suffered the same treatment from the scholars who sought to penetrate the supernatural elements of revelation to disclose what is real. The best known, perhaps, of all the New Testament scholars is D.F. Strauss whose Life of Christ (Das Leben Jesus kritisch bearbeitet) (1835-36), studied the figure of Christ and his Apostles and attributed a totally mythical origin to Him and His followers. Less sensational and more literary, but no less rational was Ernest Renan's La Vie de Jésus-Christ (1863), the first volume of his Histoire des Origines du Christianisme. In Christ appears as a historical person who was transformed completely out of proportion to the actual events of his life by his contemporaries, who embellished everything about Him with the miraculous and the supernatural.

The critical tendencies towards religion that we have seen in the course of the 19th century caused a great

impact in the minds of the public, particularly the sensational and highly rational ideas of Strauss and Renan. The firmly held beliefs that had been transmitted intact from the Middle Ages, had begun to waver during the Renaissance and then, in the 18th and 19th centuries, seemed to weaken and be ready to fall by the wayside, powerless against the severe criticism of the rationalists. The mood of the 19th century seemed ready for such a fall. Science was triumphant, machines prevailed, and Progress was king. And yet, we find that idealism had not yet expired, that the simple faith of yesteryear still existed, transformed of course, but still very much in evidence. The reaction to the faithless, anti-idealistic critics and philosophers took the form of a religious revival that had its repercussions in many aspects of society. The reaction was not limited to a purely conservative trend; it was not so much a call for the status quo ante and the simple faith, as it was an assertion and a plea for recognition of the divine spark in man-- call it the soul, the intellect, a gift which makes man aspire to lofty things, to create with his imagination, to build, to plan, and to assist his fellow man. This spiritual reaction was all pervasive and many movements resulted from it. Some were short-lived, others more enduring.

B. A Panorama of Religious Writings Not Mean for Edification.

The spiritual revival had its effects on the literary history of the period, particularly in the latter half of the

century. Paul Verlaine has characterized for all time the feelings, the attitudes, and the reactions which beset many of his contemporaries. In his poem, No. X of Sagesse, he speaks disparagingly of his century, yearning for another time:

Non. If fut gallican, ce siècle,
 et janseniste?
 C'est vers le Moyen âge, énorme
 et délicat,
 Qu'il faudrait que mon coeur en
 panne naviguât,
 Loin de nos jours d'esprit charnel
 et de chair triste.

Roi, politicien, moine, artisan,
 chimiste,
 Architexte, soldat, médecin, avo-
 cat,
 Quel temps! Oui, que mon coeur
 naufragé rembarquât
 Pour toute cette force ardente,
 souple, artiste!

Et là que j'eusse part--quelconque,
 chez les rois
 Ou bien ailleurs, n'importe,--
 à la chose vitale,
 Et que je fusse un saint, actes bons,
 penses droits,
 Haute théologie et dolide morale,
 Guidé par la folie unique de la Croix,
 Sur tes ailes de pierre ô folle Cathédrale! 3

The poet wishes to return to the Middle Ages where he will be far from the "esprit charnel" of his own time. The Middle Ages he envisions are no longer the Middle Ages that caught the imagination of the Romantics-- the Gothic Middle Ages, a period of wars and famines, and peasant revolts. The poet longs for a different time, an age that is "énorme et délicat", large in deeds and delicate in spirit, a time

of great kings and heroes, where he may do anything he wishes; perhaps to mingle with kings, or even become a saint and perform good works and have pure thoughts. This desire of Verlaine to return to another century and reject the values of his time was an attitude that prevailed in the latter half of the 19th century and may be found in many other authors. The feeling of being lost in one's own time often took the form of a spiritual journey, an introspective search of one's soul.

Honoré de Balzac manifested this tendency rather early in his career and left two novels with religious themes-- Louis Lambert (1832), and Séraphita (1835): Despite the strong mystical currents in the two novels, it has been said of them that "il ne s'agit ici de l'attitude personnelle de Balzac en face de la religion ni de l'utilisation qu'il a pu en faire dans le domaine politique et social, suivant l'un des grands mouvements de son temps, mais de son utilisation à des fins esthétiques..."⁴ The attraction which Balzac held for mysticism, Illuminism, and occult phenomena, passed from the realm of convictions, which no doubt were genuine, to the plane of art when he infused his beliefs into the characters in his novels. The artistic transformation results from the relegation of the religious belief to a secondary role in the novel. The character is guided by the author's beliefs but his importance and interest in the stems more from the fact that he is a creation of the author's

imagination and not just a vehicle for the author's philosophies. The novel, then, becomes a work of art and not just an apologetic work.

Louis Lambert is a novel of the spiritual struggles, of "l'aventure intérieure" of a young man who spends his brief life in search of the Absolute. His metaphysical quests drive him mad. In his madness, he begins to realize his dreams of writing a book, Traité de la Volonté, in which he will expound his philosophy. He dies at the age of twenty-seven before he can achieve his goal. Critics have drawn certain biographical parallels between Louis Lambert and Balzac, particularly as regards the character's interest in "magnétisme", or hypnotism, and Balzac's own interest, at the time of writing the novel, in the work of Mesmer, from whom he also took the idea of the "fluide animal."⁵

The second novel, Séraphita, delves deeper still into mysticism so as to create an utterly fantastic and didactic novel. "Such action as there is, placed in a Norwegian setting, centres around a person who, passing from love of Self to love of the World, thence to love of Heaven, through Hope, Charity, Faith and Prayer, has climbed rung by rung the mystic ladder of Existence and is ready to be received into the company of the angelic hosts."⁶ The character is a split personality, having both male and female characteristics. Séraphitus-Séraphita's interest is to capture the souls of mortals and lead them to heaven. For this purpose, Séraphi-

... ..

ta wins the love of Wilfrid and Séraphitus wins the love of Minna, convincing them to give up their earthly life and desires, to purify themselves and ascend to heaven. The two novels in question, so unique and so distinct from Balzac's later works in which he delved so successfully into terrestrial society, stands out as an attempt on the part of the author to formulate his religious principles. The novels represent an amalgam of many different philosophies, both contemporary and earlier ones. Louis Lambert and Séraphita have elements of Illuminism taken from 17th century Spanish mystics and are heavily infused with the philosophy of Swedenborg, as well as other philosophies of Balzac's time. ⁷

The overall effect rendered is one of confusion and trial, and the novels do not in any way represent a strict adherence to Catholic creed. If anything, Balzac is indicating certain agnostic tendencies. And searching beyond any apologetic intent, we find Balzac using Catholicism as a theme in a Romantic way, for aesthetic purposes-- finding the poetical beauty of Catholic ritual and creed and using it for literary effect. It is in this element that Balzac's genius is demonstrated and it is the aesthetic effect still attracts readers to these works.

We find this same interest in religion in Gustave Flaubert, who wrote two major works with a religious theme-- La Tentation de Saint Antoine and "La Légende de St. Julien L'Hospitalier." These two hagiological works, although based on

the historical lives of two saints, are not religious or pious works intended to inspire the reader to a great faith by the example of the saint. La Tentation, for example, was inspired by the famous Breughel painting of St. Anthony which Flaubert saw in Italy. It is a work which suffered a long gestation. Begun in 1849 it underwent several drafts before it was finally published in its present form in 1874. "Saint Anthony was an effort to create a precise ethical mood and to raise-- in terms of an unbalanced temperament-- specific fundamental questions." ⁸ The work has a structure borrowed from the theater, with the saint as the protagonist exchanging ideas with the other players through dialogues. There are stage directions to describe the scenery and Saint Anthony's movements, but there is little else that can be called dramatic in the work. The action is purely mental or intellectual, even when the Devil tempts Saint Anthony by taking him deep into the void of space. The work is, in effect, a presentation of the many religious beliefs that man has held throughout the ages; a study of comparative religion. Flaubert's own concepts are revealed in that he believed that "religion was a philosophy which had achieved the form of art." ⁹ It is in this respect that Saint Anthony is considered an important work in our study. For it is a predecessor of the great surge of interest in the aesthetics of religion that was to be felt in Europe some twenty years after the publication of Flaubert's Saint Anthony. In Flaubert, one feels

that his interest in hagiography was not exclusively intellectual. The attraction for the figure of the saint, the one person who most vividly manifests his beliefs, who suffers untold deprivation to achieve perfection, is an underlying element in Flaubert. It is this aspect of the work that still renders it interesting to the student of the works of Flaubert. Otherwise, Saint Anthony appears as an array of ideas with an accumulation of archaeological detail, a fact which attests to Flaubert's meticulous research, but which results in detracting the reader's interest in the work.

"La Légende de Saint Julien L'Hospitalier" had a similar source for Flaubert's inspiration. In this case, it was a dream of his about animals which prompted Flaubert to write the legend using the dream episode, a process which took him thirty years-- from the time of the dream to the actual writing. Once again, we have an instance of a work about a saint that is contrary to the principles of traditional hagiology. St. Julien appears as a man with his faults revealed and no predestined signs of what he will eventually become, except for the prophecy that the stag makes which predicts that Julien will one day commit patricide. It is not until the end of the story, when Julien goes to do penance for his crime, that the tale takes on the characteristics of traditional hagiology, showing the man in the process of achieving sanctity. The last scene is the most tender one, full of warmth

and religious fervor. St. Julien is living in a hut by the banks of a stream, helping passengers ford the waters. One stormy night he hears a voice calling. It is a tired, old man, a leper asking for shelter. Julien takes him into the cabin and gives him comfort. The leper is cold and asks Julien to let him sleep on the same mat so that he can receive the warmth from Julien's body. The leper is, of course, repulsive in appearance and in the ultimate test of Julien's charity, the leper asks Julien to embrace him. As he does so, the old man becomes Jesus and rewards Julien by taking him to heaven. St. Julien is essentially a psychological study, except for the last segment into which Flaubert injected a profound religious feeling. The vivid and dramatic portrayal of the character Julien is in sharp contrast to St. Anthony, who hardly seems real at all. In Julien we have a man, troubled, compassionate, and willing to sacrifice. Flaubert made several important changes and introduced several elements different from those in the original legend. Julien's love for hunting is amplified into a study of lust and sadism. The story, with its medieval setting, exploits all the extraneous details of castle life. It is replete with terminology taken from hunting, heraldry, and falconry. These elements do not detract but, rather, they complement the story. Flaubert, who had first conceived the story as "a storylet, poetico-religious and medieval rococo in tone..." successfully transformed his original views of the tale and "...gradually, however, the

deeper concerns...began to dominate; and Flaubert could tell George Sand that he was writing in all the sincerity of his heart." ⁹

The next author whom we meet presents a completely different approach to the religious theme. Joris-Karl Huysmans began his literary career rather insignificantly as a novelist who showed strict adherence to the Naturalist school of Émile Zola. ¹⁰ He soon abandoned this heavily trampled path in literature and forged ahead towards a new horizon. Huysmans created a new genre, one which he liked to call "spiritual naturalism" ¹¹ and which was later to be called Decadentism, one of the ramifications of Symbolism. ¹² Huysmans was essentially an innovator, although he owes a great debt to Zola and the Goncourt brothers. ¹³ He is most unique in his anti-positivist attitude, in his complete rejection of determinism, in his total immersion in the realm of art and music, and in his obsession with religion and ritual. Huysmans is the recorder of the exacerbated psyche, creating his characters in this light and infusing them with his own névrose. "The particular way in which he sees life is a matter of personal temperament and constitution, a matter of nerves." ¹⁴

The three novels which exemplify these characteristics are À Rebours (1884), Là-Bas (1891), and En Route (1895).

In À Rebours we have a portrait of Duc Jean des Esseintes, a man out of touch with the world, who could only feel contempt for humanity. As with the early monks who left the

cities of Egypt as if fleeing the plague to find spiritual comfort in the harsh Thebaid desert, des Esseintes "rêvait à une Thébaïde raffinée, à un désert confortable, à une arche immobile et tiède où il se réfugierait loin de l'incessant déluge de la sottise humaine." ¹⁵ In his library he had a vast collection of works in Latin representing Roman literature as well as early medieval works. Among them were religious writings by the Church Fathers and lives of saints. On occasion, des Esseintes "se bornait à feuilleter, dans ses moments d'ennui, l'oeuvre de ces hagiographes et à relire quelques extraits de la vie de sainte Rusticula et de sainte Radegonde, relatées, l'une par Defensorius, a Ligugé synodite, l'autre, par la modeste et la naïve Baudonima, religieuse de Poitiers." ¹⁶ His interest in these works, as is the case with the other volumes in his library, is a purely esoteric one. There is a need in des Esseintes to possess those works which are of great aesthetic value to him although, by his own admission, the Latin language had little attraction for him. He loved the remote quality that they had, the distant places which they depicted. His collection ended with the beginning of the 19th century, for he felt that "en effet, la curiosité, la naïveté compliquée du langage chrétien avaient, elles aussi, sombré." ¹⁷ For des Esseintes, the Catholic religion of his upbringing and his years at a Jesuit school had been left behind, rejected perhaps, to be supplanted by a vague attraction to the form if not to the actual

practices and beliefs of Catholicism. Des Esseintes attempts to find the source of his attraction and learns that his interest in Catholicism and the motivation for collecting medieval church writings was for the beauty that the Church has produced. "Il avait dû forcément se tourner du côté du sacerdoce." ¹⁸ He found that "il persistait à considérer la religion ainsi qu'une superbe légende, qu'une magnifique imposture..." ¹⁹ And yet, des Esseintes cannot totally deny the effect of his schooling with the Jesuits, the years when he belonged to them, "corps et âme, sans liens de famille." ²⁰ From them he developed a taste for the supernatural, "un certain goût du merveilleux..." ²¹ In fact, he traces all his predilection to the training the Jesuits have him. "Ainsi ses tendances vers l'artifice, ses besoins d'excentricité, n'étaient ils pas, en somme, des résultats d'études spécieuses, des raffinement extra-terrestres, des spéculations quasi théologiques; c'étaient, au fond, des transports, des élans vers un idéal, vers un univers inconnu, vers un béatitude lointaine, désirable comme celle que nous promette les Escritures." ²² For des Esseintes, as it was for Huysmans, the Christian religion was a source of intellectual gratification, a sensual rather than a spiritual quest.

In Huysmans' second novel, Là-Bas, we see a continuation of the protagonist's preoccupation with Catholicism and his strange, and perhaps, morbid delving into Satanism. The novel also serves as a testament to the Middle Ages. Durtal,

the main character, is writing a history of Gilles de Rais, the feudal lord and psychopath commonly known as Bluebeard. Durtal's reconstruction of a medieval topic represents a rejection of his society and a conscious desire to penetrate into another time. Des Hermies, his companion, tells him, "tu devais reprendre haleine et t'asseoir dans une autre époque, en attendant d'y découvrir un sujet à traiter qui te plût. Cela explique bien facilement ton déssarroi spirituel pendant des mois et cette santé qui t'est subitement revenue lorsque tu t'es emballé sur Gilles de Rais." ²³ Durtal realizes that des Hermies' observation of his recent behavior is correct: "Et c'était vrai, des Hermies avait vu juste. Le jour où Durtal s'était plongé dans l'effrayante et délicate fin du Moyen Age, il s'était senti renaître." ²⁴

A recurrent theme, coupled with the history of Gilles de Rais, is Satanism, in all its ramifications and culminating in Durtal's participation in a contemporary version of the Black Mass. The binary form of the novel, where the reader is projected into the Middle Ages through the author-character Durtal's reconstructions, causes the theme to weave about, becoming intertwined and creating a breakdown in the chronology of the text. This evokes a feeling of unreality on the part of the reader, for the Satanic practices of Gilles de Rais so vividly portrayed are contrasted with Durtal's own delving into Satanism in 19th century France.

In the novel we also find an explicit criticism of Positivism and Naturalism, two philosophies that Huysmans had renounced when he embarked on his Decadent phase. Towards the end of Là-Bas, Durtal says, "--Quelle bizarre époque... C'est juste au moment où le positivisme bat son plein, que le mysticisme s'éveille et que les folies de l'occulte commencent." His friend, des Hermies replies, "Mais il en a toujours été ainsi; les queues de siècle se ressemblent. Toutes vacillent et sont troublés. Alors que le matérialisme sévit, la magie se lève." ²⁵ And it is also in Là-Bas where Huysmans declares his "naturalisme spiritualiste". He states, "il faudrait, se disait il, garder la véracité du document, la précision du détail, la langue étoffée et nerveuse du réalisme, mais il faudrait aussi se faire puisatier d'âme et ne pas vouloir expliquer le mystère par les maladies des sens; ...Il faudrait, en un mot, suivre la grande voie si profondément creusée par Zola, mais il serait nécessaire aussi de tracer en l'air un chemin parallèle, une autre route, d'atteindre les en deçà et les après, de faire, en un mot, un naturalisme spiritualiste; ce serait autrement fier, autrement complet, autrement fort!" ²⁶ Huysmans, then, will henceforth abandon the detailed and sordid descriptions of his earlier novels, so characteristic of the adherent to the naturalistic school of literature and will set out on another path. His intention will be to paint the spiritual side of man, striving to obscure, but not completely, man's base and mate-

realistic nature. Huysmans conceived La-Bas as a novel with two narratives. The character Durtal is portrayed as a man lost in time, existing in parallel worlds. As he is writing the novel he becomes totally immersed in the medieval world and feels out of touch with the present. In Durtal's opinion, "ce fut une singulière époque que ce Moyen Ages... Pour les uns, il est entièrement blanc et pour les autres, absolument noir; aucune nuance intermédiaire; époque d'ignorance et de ténèbres, rabâchent les normaliens et les athées; époque douloureuse et exquise, attestent les savants religieux et les artistes." ²⁷ In speaking of the religious spirit of the age, he says, "...les saints foisonnent à travers ces âges, les miracles se multiplient, et, tout en restant omnipotente, l'Église est douce pour les humbles, elle console les affligés, défend les petits, s'égaie avec le menu peuple." ²⁸ In his relationship with Madame Chantelouve, Durtal comes upon a link between the Middle Ages and his world-- the persistence of Satanism in society throughout the centuries. It is here where the parallel exists and where it converges. Until his discovery of Satanism in his time, he was straddling two worlds; one unattainable, the other irreconcilable. Durtal, then, eagerly immerses himself in the contemporary aspects of satanism and in this way attempts to demonstrate that it is merely one more aspect of man's spiritual nature, a negative one perhaps, but tinged with the same fervor, naiveté and simplicity which also makes saints of men.

In the novel En Route, as the title implies, we have a journey, a spiritual one, in which Huysmans shows us his path towards conversion. "This is the spiritual period, in which Huysmans is almost exclusively occupied with spiritual problems, as reflected in his numerous autobiographical writings on the faith and by his several studies in hagiography." ²⁹ Gone is the intellectual dilettantism so characteristic of the earlier novels. The existence of religion for Huysmans is no longer a source of pleasure. The outward forms and ceremonial manifestations of Christianity have been laid aside to be replaced by a genuine feeling for religion, or at least, the Catholic aspects of it. The attraction for the Middle Ages is still present but now transformed. The later Middle Ages are meaningful because it was the age of the great saints of Catholicism; the epoch of the Légende Dorée, of Voragine; the period in which the monastic orders flourished and monks were the bastions of Christendom and Western culture; and finally, because the Middle Ages were the age of Saint Francis of Assisi, an era that was much nearer to God. ³⁰ Writing of Saint Angela, Durtal states, "...depuis le moyen âge, chaque siècle nous éloigne de Lui davantage! elle vivait dans un temps plein de miracles et qui regorgeait de saints et, moi, je vis à Paris, à une époque où les miracles son rares, où les saints ne foisonnent guère." ³¹ In En Route Huysmans has modified some of his aestheticist posturings to emerge as a man in search of truth and striving to give meaning to his

conversion. The past is still attractive to him to be sure, but not for its vague evocations of beauty and form now corrupted. Durtal searches in the past for the simple faith which his intellect had rejected and which he hopes to recover. Durtal's confessor instructs him to consult the hagiographers and to take courage from the exemplary lives of the saints. He says, "vous n'ignorez pas, monsieur, que, de tout temps, des religieuses se sont offertes pour servir de victimes d'expiation au Ciel. Les vies des saints et des saintes qui convoitèrent ces sacrifices et réparèrent par des souffrances ardemment réclamées et patiemment subies les péchés des autres, abondent." ³² When the confessor asks Durtal if he has read the Fioretti, he says, "Oui, il est, après la légende dorée le livre où s'est le plus candidement empreinte l'âme du moyen âge." ³³ The soul of the Middle Ages is reflected in the saints, of course, and characterized by the virtue of simplicity. Brother Juniper, among others, is cited as having possessed this virtue, as well as being innocent, humble, and charitable. In the monastery where Durtal has gone on retreat there is a monk, Frère Siméon, of whom the confessor says, "vous pourrez attester, en rentrant à Paris, que vous avez vu un véritable saint, tel qu'il exista au onzième siècle; celui-là nous reporte au temps de saint François d'Assise." ³⁴ Durtal, after having met the monk, reflects on his life and is moved by the simple life the monk leads, by the total disregard with which he views the world. "Ah! ce père Siméon,

il est innocent; il ne sait rien de ce que nous connaissons et il sait ce que tout le monde ignore; son éducation est faite par le Seigneur même qui l'instruit de ses vérités incompréhensibles pour nous, qui lui modèle l'âme avec du ciel, qui s'indéfinit dans l'union de béatitude." ³⁵ Durtal is once again confirmed in his own dissatisfaction with his society and in his need to participate in another, more innocent age where faith was spontaneous and not a matter to be questioned. In his return to Catholicism, Durtal is not less critical of the contemporary Church than he is of society. His conversion is being effected in the spirit of another age. In Brother Siméon Durtal sees an example of a pure soul, almost angelic and mystical in nature, in constant communion with God even while performing the lowliest of tasks. This humble monk and his virtues, reflects Durtal, "nous met un peu loin des cagots et des dévotes, aussi loin, du reste, qu'est le catholicisme moderne de la mystique, car décidément cette religion est aussi terre à terre que la mystique est haute." ³⁶

NOTES

1

Other works which investigate religion historically and scientifically are: I.L. Gondal, Le Miracle, 2e. ed. (Paris, 1894); Henri Joly, La Psychologie des Saints, 9e. ed. (Paris, 1902); Théodore Ribot, Maladies de la volonté, (Paris, 1183),

2

Men such as G.E. Lessing (1729-1781), J.S. Semler (1725-1791), I. Kant (1724-1804), and G.W. Hegel (1770-1831), all studied the Bible and delved into its complexities, caring little for the religious truths contained therein. Lessing, for example, shied away from revealed religion toward a rational one to replace Judaism and Christianity. Semler broke away from orthodox theology evolving a strictly historical interpretation of Scripture. Kant viewed the Bible as a source of ethical behavior. Hegel wrote an essay on the life of Jesus in which he attempted to reinterpret the Gospels.

3

Paul Verlaine, Oeuvres Complètes de Paul Verlaine. Tome Premier. (Paris, Éditions Albert Messein, 1947), p. 199.

4

Pierre Laubriet, L'Intelligence de L'Art Chez Balzac, (Paris, Didier, 1961), p. 347.

5

Antoine Mesmer, De Planetarum Influxu, (Vienna, 1766); Mémoire sur la découverte du magnétisme animal, (Paris, 1779); Précis historique des faits relatifs au magnétisme animal, (London, 1781).

6

Herbert J. Hunt, Balzac's Comédie Humaine. (London, The Athlone Press, 1959), p. 52.

7

Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772), a theologian who believed that the true inner doctrines of the divine Word had been revealed to him alone. His followers founded a sect and a church based on his teachings.

8

Benjamin Bart, Flaubert. (Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1967), p. 791.

9

Bart, ibid., p. 583.

10

Bart, p. 677.

- 11 Arthur Symons, The Symbolist Movement in Literature.
(New York, 1919), p. 24.
- 12 Term applied to a group of late 19th century writers
and artists who expressed morbid and macabre elements in
human emotions.
- 13 Edmond and Jules de Goncourt. In À Rebours, des Essein-
tes derives many of his aestheticism from Edmond de Goncourt,
and Huysmans himself was influenced by E. Goncourt and his
novel, La Faustin.
- 14 Symons, p. 231.
- 15 Huysmans, À Rebours, p. 33.
- 16 À Rebours, p. 68-69.
- 17 À Rebours, p. 70.
- 18 À Rebours, p. 87.
- 19 À Rebours, p. 112.
- 20 À Rebours, p. 113.
- 21 À Rebours, *ibid*.
- 22 À Rebours, p. 114.
- 23 Là-Bas, p. 19.
- 24 *ibid*.
- 25 Là-Bas, p. 233.
- 26 Là-Bas, p. 8.

27

La-Bas, p. 111.

28

ibid.

29

George R. Ridge, Joris-Karl Huysmans, p. 81.

30

Huysmans also wrote La Cathédrale, L'Oblat, and a life of Saint Lydwine de Schiedam.

31

En Route, p. 226.

32

En Route, p. 49.

33

En Route, p. 276.

34

En Route, p. 275.

35

En Route, p. 283.

36

ibid.

CHAPTER III

RELIGIOUS IDEAS OF EÇA DE QUEIROZ

Eça de Queiroz (1845-1900), as a result of his temperament, class, and education, was a sophisticated man, receptive to the new ideas from abroad. But it was not only his university experience in Coimbra which was instrumental in shaping Eça as a man and as an artist. Although biographical reports tell us that his years in Coimbra were rather uneventful ones, nevertheless the persons whom he met in the university and the group they formed to discuss books, ideas and events in Europe, his keen curiosity which made him an avid reader, all these experiences are factors which contributed to his formation and which serve to explain Eça as a man alienated from his milieu.

We have seen how religion had a widespread influence in the nineteenth century and how deeply the revival of faith touched the literature of various periods. Eça de Queiroz was truly a man of his century as regards the religious question. By inclination and education he was a liberal and a positivist, at least in his earlier years, and in his writings he formed many opinions about religion-- all religions, not only Christianity. His works are intersperced with his views concerning religious beliefs and practices. To Eça, as a Por-

tuguese properly imbued with the traditions of his nation, religion meant the Catholic church. Although he was not known to follow the beliefs of the Church, he, no doubt, carried with him the indelible mark placed on him as a child, beginning with his baptism and continuing with the other sacraments. As a mature man, and even during his university years, he vividly portrayed his doubts and made known his criticism of the Church in his writings. But it was neither the teachings of Catholicism nor its structure or hierarchy which claimed his interest; rather it was the individual components of the Church, the very fabric of its existence--the clergy and the faithful to whom he turned his attention. From his first writings, those early attempts at literature, and throughout his great literary creations, Eça lashed out consistently at a clergy ill prepared to lead and instruct their congregations. He likewise singled out for criticism those who call themselves believers, but who, in effect, were motivated by superstition, hypocrisy, and sanctimonious attitudes, subverting the teachings and practicing their own brand of Christianity.

In order to better understand Eça's interest in religion a slight separation shall have to be made between those areas where the author is reporting in essay or crônica form on matters of faith, and in which he is merely giving his views, and those works where the ideas were fully developed into themes, exemplifying his ideas in a grander scale by means of

characters and the situations he creates for them. O Crime do Padre Amaro (1876), and A Relíquia (1887) show this latter development of the theme. Both novels are biting commentaries on the Catholic faith and the practices of some of its adherents, and are blatantly anti-clerical. But Eça's opinions were not always so critical, as we shall see. His liberal inclinations were, on occasion, much subdued and as a consequence he appears softer, more understanding and forgiving.

One religious tradition found in Eça is his reference to the Virgin Mary, alluding to her popularity among the people, her miracles, always with a respectful attitude. In this Eça is continuing a tradition in European letters of constant mention and praise for the Virgin Mary--in prayer, poetry, and song in the writings of the religious and of the laity alike. Notable among the devotees of the Virgin in the Iberian Peninsula is Alfonso X, king of Castile, who composed the Cantigas de Santa Maria, and Gonzalo de Berceo, a monk who wrote the Milagros de Nuestra Señora. The cult of the Virgin was particularly strong in the Middle Ages and the verses of king Alfonso and Berceo attest to the attraction and mystique which the Mother of Christ exerted on the faithful.

Eça, then, resorts to tradition in his references, but he transforms their intent so that the reader is aware that it was not devotion necessarily which prompted the author to remember Mary. Instead we find that Eça is using his subject to exemplify a point, incorporating it so that it assumes the

atmosphere and tone of his writings.

For example, in Correspondência de Fradique Mendes (1900), when Fradique is writings to his lover, Clara, begging her to grant him the favor of seeing her, he says: "decerto faria um acto de inefável misericórdia--como outrora a Virgem Maria quando animava os seus adoradores, ermitas e santos, descendo numa nuvem e concedendo-lhes um sorriso fugitivo, ou deixando-lhes cair entre as mãos erguidas uma rosa do Paraíso" (CFM, 170)

In the short story, "O defunto", a quite different sort of reference is found based on the popular devotion to the Virgin Mary, and in fact the whole story centers around the lore and traditions concerning her miracles. The setting of the tale is medieval and demonstrates the popular belief that the Virgin would intervene miraculously on behalf of sinners who appealed to her, and whose faith in her was unswerving. The protagonist, D. Rui, "tivera justamente por madrinha, ao nascer, Nossa Senhora do Pilar, de quem se conservou devoto e fiel servidor." (Con, 187) One day in church D. Rui sees and falls in love with the lady Leonor, who was already married to Lara. Eça describes the event in this manner: "Mas essa curta visita a Nossa Senhora do Pilar bastou para que D. Rui se enamorasse dela tresloucadamente na manhã de maio em que viu de joelhos ante o altar, aireolada pelos seus cabelos de ouro, com as compridas pestanas pendidas sobre o livro de Horas, o rosário caindo de entre os dedos finos, fina toda ela e macia, e branca de uma brancura de lírio aberto na sombra, mais branca entre

as rendas negras e os negros cetins que a volta do seu corpo cheio de graça se quebravam... Quando depois de um momento de enleio e de delicioso pasmo se ajoelhou, foi menos para a Virgem do Pilar, sua divina madrinha, do que para aquela aparição mortal, de quem não sabia o nome nem a vida, e só que por el daria vida e nome, se ela se rendesse por tão incerto preço." (Con,189) Eça's description clearly portrays D. Rui's sudden infatuation with D. Leonor and the confusion it causes in him, showing how D. Rui's vision shifts from the image of the Virgin to whom he had just been praying, to the person of D. Leonor, describing her as if she were the statue, very white and beautiful, her attitude frozen in stone. D. Rui says his prayers hurriedly and goes to the church steps to catch a glimpse of D. Leonor. She comes out followed by a servant, veiled and eyes downcast, hardly noticing her surroundings. D. Rui takes to following everywhere, incurring the jealousy and wrath of her husband. He has D. Leonor dictate a letter to D. Rui inviting him to visit her, indicating a day when her husband will be away. D. Leonor realizes that Lara is preparing an ambush, but in fear she does her husband's bidding. Knowing herself innocent and D. Rui guilty only of loving her, she makes a fervent prayer: "--Oh! Santa Virgem do Pilar, Senhora minha, vela por nós ambos, vela por todos nós!" (Con,202) D. Rui receives the letter and sets out on the road that will take him to D. Leonor's house. On the way D. Rui remembers that he had not attended the vesper

services to pray and asks the blessing of his patroness:

Com um salto, desceu logo do cavalo, porque justamente, rente ao velho arco, tremeluzia uma lâmpada alumando um retábulo. Era uma imagem da Virgem com o peito trespassado por sete espadas. D. Rui ahoeitou, pousou o sombreiro nas lajes e com as mãos erguidas, muito zelosamente, rezou uma Salve-Rainha. O clarão amarelo da luz envolvia o rosto da Senhora, que, sem sentir as dores dos sete ferros, ou como se eles só dessem inefáveis gozos, sorria com os lábios muito vermelhos. Enquanto ele rezava, no convento de São Domingos, ao lado, a sineta começou a tocar a agonia. De entre a sombra negro do arco, cessando a sanfona, o mendigo murmurou: ---'Lá está um frade a morrer!' D. Rui disse uma ave-Maria pelo frade que morria. A Virgem das sete espadas sorria docemente--o toque de agonia não era, pois, de mau presságio.'" (Con, 207)

With a light heart and full of expectations he continues on his journey. At a crossroads he is undecided as to which is the right fork, when suddenly an old woman appears and points the way. Along the road he must pass by the place where public hangings take place and as he does so, he hears a voice calling him. He realizes that it must be coming from one of the four hanged men that are there. The hanged man asks to be cut down, saying he must accompany D. Rui to Cabril where D. Leonor is waiting. He asks D. Rui not to deny him his request, for he will receive handsome payment in return for helping D. Rui. When they reach the garden of D. Leonor's house, the dead man takes D. Rui's hat and cape and proceeds to climb the steps leading to D. Leonor's bedroom. As D. Rui is watching from a distance, a figure suddenly appears and puts a knife through the chest of the hanged man. D. Rui realizes that the ambush had been meant for him. The hanged man re-

turns, advises D. Rui to run away, and asks to be returned to the hanging post. Once D. Rui had finished, the hanged man said: "---Senhor, muito vos rogo agora que, ao chegar a Segóvia, tudo conteis fielmente a Nossa Senhora do Pilar, vossa madrinha, que dela espero grande mercê para minha alma, por este serviço que, ao seu mandado, vos fez meu corpo!" (Con, 220)

In order to give thanks to the Virgin for her intervention, D. Rui returned to Segovia and "...ante o altar, narrou à sua Divina Madrinha a ruim tentação que o levava a Cabril, o socorro que do Céu recebera, e com quentes lágrimas de arrependimento e gratidão, lhe jurou que nunca mais poria desejo onde houvesse pecado, nem no seu coração daria entrada a pensamento que viesse do Mundo e do Mal." (Con, 221)

The devotion and love that D. Rui had for the Virgin Mary is rewarded when she interceded on his behalf, although he is a potential sinner. The Virgin demonstrated how she helps those who hold her in high esteem.

Another reference is found in Eça's preface to Azulejos, written by his friend the Conde de Arnoso in 1886, in he cites a case of divine intervention by the Virgin, this time to make a point as regards the effect of friendship and how the critics might misconstrue the meaning of the book, seeing how Arnoso asked Eça to write a preface for it. He tells us he read the tale in a seventeenth century manuscript, and it deals with a young man who, "resolvera por um desses

motivos de crença, de guerra ou de amor, que eram os únicos que então dirigiam as acções humanas, ir ofertar a sua grande espada a uma Nossa Senhora, cuja clara ermidinha, num penhor de serra, entre murmuroso arvoredos, era como uma fonte espiritual de onde perenemente corriam os misericordiosos milagres." (NC,138) This same young man had a friend who knew the road to the grotto and he asked him to accompany him on the trip. As they climbed up the mountain all his friend, an atheist, could think of was that a precious sword, forged by the best master in Toledo, should wind up rusting at the feet of a Lady, "...que era apenas um tosco pedaço de madeira, com dois olhos de vidro, e um pouco de cetim por cima, bordade de lentejoulas." (NC,138) As the devout young man went to place the sword at the feet of the statue, "...a imagem baixou severamente os olhos, e repeliu a espada com o pé justiceiro e doce que ao mesmo tempo esmaga a serpente e acaricia a Terra. A folha de aço estreme de mestre Francisco Roiz fez-se em pedaços negros, da cor de tição, que é a cor do Demónio: e sobre a selva, cheia de gorjeios e aromas, espalhou-se uma escuridão--como se a luz que a dourava se tivesse recolhido toda sob as pestanas cerradas da Senhora ofendida!" (NC,138) Eça clarifies the issue even further when he tells the reader that "a imagem era espanhola, portanto impressionável; e vendo o cavaleiro e a sua espada escoltados por um céptico, que orgulhosamente pensava que não haveria santos se não houvessem santeiros, logo inconsideradamente se regulou pelo adágio que é de Espanha e de outras terras--Dime con quien irás, te diré lo que pensarás!" (NC,138)

In the same Preface we find Eça expounding about art and its relationship to worship in world religions:

As religiões sô sobrevivem pela arte, sô ela torna os deuses verdadeiramente imortais--dando-lhes forma. A divindade sô fica absolutamente divina--quando um cinzel de gênio a fixa em mármore; ...o mais austero católico é ainda pagão, como se era em Citera, diante da Vénus de Milo. E a Nossa Senhora do Céu sô tem adorações unânimes e louvores sem contestação, quando é o pincel de Murillo que A ergue sobre o orbe, loura e toucada de estrelas. (NC,151)

In another essay, "A decadência do riso", Eça again relates religion and art and its influence on painting and statues: "O mesmo Cristo, a Virgem, os santos, perdem, sob o luminoso pincel dos Italianos, a sua magreza, a sua dor macilenta, ganham as cores da paz do bem-estar divino, são consoladores e são amáveis." (NC,221) These last three quotes are evidence of Eça's particular curiosity in regard to the depiction of religious personages and themes in the plastic arts. As a Portuguese he was exposed to and affected by the strong imagery ever present in the church and sanctuaries of his nation. He seems to have received a strong impression from the iconography of Catholicism. But although he is acutely aware of the portrayal in effigy of myriads of saints, of paintings depicting scenes from the life of Christ and from the Bible, of statues representing the different manifestations of the Virgin Mary, he does not relate his own recollections and images as would a faithful Catholic. Eça is always respectful, of course, but for the sake of his art

he transforms the image, he shifts the angle of vision to suit himself, causing a change that makes the reference appear as irreverent, if not blasphemous.

In A Relíquia, Raposo, still a child and on his way to D. Patrocínio's house, happens to see a beautiful and tall English woman in the hotel where he and his guardian are stopping for the night. In his room that evening he says his prayers:

No meu leito de ferro, desperto pelo barulho das segas, eu pensava nela, rezando ave-marias. Nunca roçara corpo tão belo, de um perfume tão penetrante; ela era cheia de graça, o Senhor estava com ela, e passava bendita entre as mulheres, com um rumor de sedas claras... (Rel,18)

Teodorico is allowing his prayers to the Virgin to become intertwined with his erotic thoughts in a hopeless mixture of religious devotion and his own sensuality. Later, when he goes to live with his aunt, he continues his devotion to the Virgin, this time for different reasons:

Sobre a cômoda ardia uma lamparina perenal, diante da litografia colorida de Nossa Senhora do Patrocínio; eu punha todos os dias rosas dentro de um copo, para lhe perfumar o ar em redor; e a titi, quando vinha remexer nas minhas gavetas, ficava a olhar a sua padroeira, desvanecida, sem saber se era a Virgem, ou se era ela, indirectamente, que eu dedicava aquele preito de luz e o louvor dos aromas. (Rel,56)

This precarious mingling of the sacred and the profane, serving, in this case, to demonstrate Raposo's hypocrisy and D. Patrocínio's vanity, is found once again when Teodorico prays to the Virgin imploring her to restore Adélia, his lost lover, to him:

Pus mais flores sobre a cômoda diante da Nossa Senhora do Patrocínio, contei-lhe as angústias do meu coração. Por trás do limpo vidro do seu caixilho, com os olhos baixos e magoados, ela foi a confidente do tormento da minha carne; e todas as noites em ceroulas, antes de me deitar, eu lhe segredava, em ardor: ---Ó minha querida Senhora do Patrocínio, faz que a Adelinha goste outra vez de mim! (Rel,68)

The most audacious, blatant, and detailed use of the Virgin Mary to portray the debased nature of a character, equating her person with sensuous and erotic qualities, is found in O Crime do Padre Amaro. It occurs when Amélia is beginning to feel guilty about her affair with Padre Amaro and interpreting Toto's rantings and accusations as retribution for her sins. She no longer feels that her prayers to the Virgin are being received nor does she experience the calm and peace she once had after her prayers. Amélia is resolved not to continue seeing Amaro in Toto's house. Amaro, in order to continue seeing her and to reassure her that he is still a priest and able to grant her absolution, invites her for visits to the sacristy, to familiarize herself with relics and objects that a regular parishioner would never have the opportunity to touch. One day Amaro shows her a richly ornamented cape that a rich lady had donated to be placed on the statue of Mary. At first Amelia didn't want to try it on, saying that it was a sinful thing to do:

Ele então zangou-se. Queria talvez saber melhor do que ele o que era pecado, não? Vinha agora a menina ensinar-lhe o respeito que se deve aos vestuários dos santos?

--Ora não seja tola. Deixe-ver. Pôs-lha nos ombros, apertou-lhe sobre o peito o fecho de prata lavrada. E afastou-se para a contemplar toda envolvida no manto, assustada e imóvel, com um sorriso cálido de gozo devoto.

--Oh filhinha, que linda que ficas!

.....
 Mirou-se um momento, naquela seda azul celes-
 te que a envolvia toda, picada de brilho agu-
 do das estrelas, com uma magnificência sideral.
 Sentia-lhe o peso rico. A santidade que o man-
 to adquirira no contacto com os ombros da ima-
 gem penetrava-a duma voluptuosidade beata.
 Um fluido mais doce que o ar da terra envolvia-
 a, fazia-lhe passar no corpo a carícia do éter
 do paraíso. Parecia-lhe ser uma santa no an-
 dor, ou mais alto, no Céu...

Amaro babava-se para ela: --Oh filhinha, es
 mais linda que Nossa Senhora!

Ela deu uma olhadela viva no espelho. Era,
 decerto, linda. Não tanto como Nossa Senho-
 ra... Mas com o seu rosto trigueiro de lábios
 negros, se estivesse sobre o altar, com can-
 tos ao órgão e um culto sussurrando em redor,
 faria palpar bem forte o coração dos fiéis...

(CPA, 424)

Amélia, despite her better judgment, has allowed Amaro to appeal to her sense of vanity and she tries on the cloak. Her whole being is sensually aroused with the thought of the cloak, its beauty, its richness, that, although it is meant for the statue of the Blessed Mother, she also looks good in it, worthy of veneration as is the Virgin on her pedestal. While she is still wearing it Amaro begins to make passionate love to her. But she suddenly realizes where she is, takes off the cape, feeling very sinful, and does not keep her date with Amaro for that afternoon.

Eça, no doubt, was imbued with the multiple feelings that Catholics have toward the mother of Jesus. All the symbolism,

all her manifestations, the legends and traditions were known to him. He does, occasionally, refer to her in an almost pious way. One instance is in the essay, "As rosas", when he is tracing the history of the flower and how it has come to be closely associated, first with Jesus, and then with Mary:

E todavia se a rosa é assim, ao princípio, a flor de Jesus--não tardará a pertencer de preferência (como no Olimpo) ao que o céu católico possui de mais delicado, de mais doce, de mais amante--à Virgem Maria. Assim outrora ela findara por ser a flor privativa de Vênus. Da Meia-Idade à Renascença, todos os místicos vão pouco a pouco separando a rosa de Jesus, para a consagrar toda a Maria. Desde o século XIV, a rosa é o apanágio essencial da rainha dos anjos. Maria não tem então companheira mais fiel, nem emblema mais radiante. Quando ela se mostra aos homens, as rosas nascem sob os seus pés. (NC, 312)

Here he is tender, almost loving in his mention of Mary. But for the most part Eça, whether it be in his stories or novels, uses the figure of the Virgin for his own artistic ends in a rather unique way. She serves to illustrate an issue, to clarify a point, as a foil against which he characterizes. In short, Mary represents to him just one more element in the narrative. The Venerable Mother does not appear as part of the theme but is incorporated into the plot, serving to exemplify a definite aspect, an incident in the tale. For some his use of Mary might be construed as disrespectful and even blasphemous, but his adept handling, as an artist, of one of Catholicism's most venerated saints is beyond question.

Another religious theme of great interest to Eça was the Bible. It is apparent from the references to it, which cover the Old and New Testaments, and are found in his novels and other texts, that he was knowledgeable of Biblical lore and the characters drawn from it. Of particular importance are his intimate and detailed accounts of the geography and place names of the Holy Land due, in part, as a result of his visit there on the occasion of the opening of the Suez Canal. We find passages in A Relíquia into which Eça injects his personal recollections, thereby lending great vividness to the text. But for the most part he does not generally resort to the Bible as a source for thematic material. He did take a theme from the Old Testament for his "Adão e Eva", as we shall see later. We find, on the contrary, that Eça's mention of the Bible and matter pertaining to it are passing references, merely allusions, without great depth or intention to them. One example of this is found in "O Milhafre", a work characteristic of his early period, full of Romantic sentimentality: "Um dia um homem entrou numa casa arruinada. No portal havia um nicho com um santo de pedra, que lia uma Bíblia, também de pedra." (PB,147) The place is abandoned and through it all, "o santo lia atentamente o seu livro de pedra"; the image is repeated with, "o santo, curvado, seguia o espírito de Deus por entre as letras do livro." (PB,147) And again, "o santo lia o seu livro profético." (PB,148) The saint and the Holy Book are symbolic of God's love, for chil-

dren and birds come to rest on the statue. They also indicate how faith or belief persist even under adverse conditions.

One day a traveller appears. He sees a cross with the figure of Christ on it, and wishing to wipe some cobwebs from it, he extends out his hand. As he is about to wipe the cross, he sees a large vulture, who begins to speak to him:

E a ave, então, com a antiga voz dos animais da Bíblia, do Apocalipse e dos livros profetas, disse surdamente: 'Homem, deixa a cruz sossegada!
Deixa as aranhas, o pó, a calíça, os bichos, a neve, a geada, o apodrecimento. ...Tudo o que ele criou, o ideal, o perdão, a fé, o pudor, a religião, Deus, todo aquele evangelho da vida nova anda pelo mundo, tão degradado, tão coberto de bichos, tão imundo como o seio desta imagem antiga. (PB,151)

The symbolic bird prevents the man from performing the service to the cross, lamenting the sins of the world.

In Correspondência de Fradique Mendes, Fradique writes a letter to a Mr. Bertrand B., a railroad engineer in Palestine, in which he accuses the engineer of trampling on holy and ancient soil upon which he was building the railroad, and withholds congratulations from him on such a wonder of progress and civilization. Fradique, as a means of creating an ironic contrast, resorts to the history and significance of the sites through which the railroad will pass:

Jeová só entre esses montes se mostrava, com terrífico esplendor, no tempo em que visitava os homens. Jesus desceu a esses vales pensativos para renovar o Mundo. Sempre a Palestina foi a residência preferida da Divindade. Nada de material devia, pois, desmanchar o seu recolhimento Espiritual.

Esse poder, essa influência espiritual da Palestina, de que provinha? De ela se ter conservado, através destes quatro mil anos, imutavelmente bíblica e evangélica...Decerto sobrevieram mudanças em Israel... (PB,183)

Fradique is so incensed at the idea of the train profaning the Holy Land that he conjures up a whole series of contemporary scenes reminiscent of Biblical times, he says, which will prove the folly of the railroad. His indignation is of an esthetic sort and not due to religious convictions:

Entrar na Palestina é penetrar numa Bíblia viva. As tendas de pele de cabra plantadas à sombra dos sicômoros; o pastor apoiado à sua alta lança, seguido do seu rebanho; as mulheres, veladas de amarelo ou branco, cantando, a caminho da fonte, com o seu cântaro no ombro; o montanhês atirando a funda às águias; os velhos sentados, pela frescura da tarde, à porta das vilas muradas; os claros terraços cheios de pombas; os escribas que passa, com o seu tinteiro dependurado da cinta; as servas moendo o grão; o homem de longos cabelos nazarenos que nos saúda com a palavra de paz, e que conversa connosco por parábulas; a hospedeira que nos acolhe, atirando, para passarmos, um tapete ante o limiar da sua morada; e ainda as procissões nupciais, e as danças lentas ao rufo-rufo das pandeiretas, e as carpideiras em torno aos sepulcros caiados,--tudo transporta o peregrino à velha Judeia das Escrituras, e de um modo tão presente e real, que a cada momento duvidamos se aquela ligeira e morena mulher, com largas argolas de ouro e um aroma de sândalo, que conduz um cordeiro preso pela ponta do manto, não será ainda Raquel, ou se, entre os homens sentados além, à sombra da figueira e da vinha, aquele de curta barba frisada, que ergue o braço, não será Jesus ensinando. (PB,184)

In O Crime do Padre Amaro, Amaro looks into the Bible, both the Old and New Testaments as a source of authority in order

to find excuses for his strong feelings of desire for Amelia:

Procurava então justificar o seu amor com exemplos dos livros divinos. A Bíblia está cheia de nupcias!

.....
 Jesus mesmo não vivera sempre na sua santidade inumana; era frio e abstracto nas ruas de Jersusalém, nos mercados do Bairro de David; mas lá tinha o seu lugar em Betânia, sob os sicômoros do Jardim de Lázaro...e pousa a mão sobre os cabelos louros de Marta, que ama e fia a seus pés.
 (CPA, 184)

In A Cidade e as Serras (1901), Jacinto also attempts to find justification or, at least, comfort in various readings which demonstrate his varied and ever changing states of mind. His philosophical posturings are as vast as his library, which contains many volumes representing far-reaching sources of learning. As if it were an illness that one contracts, Jacinto fell into Pessimism, as he had done earlier with Pre-Raphaelitism, Renanism, Cartesianism, and Tolstoism. Since Pessimism was now his current interest he began to read from the Bible and found that Ecclesiastes fitted his mood exactly:

Foi então que o meu Príncipe começou a ler apaixonadamente, desde o Ecclesiastes até Schopenhauer, todos os teóricos do Pessimismo. Nestas leituras encontrava a reconfortante comprovação de que seu mal não era mesquinamente 'Jacíntico'--mas grandiosamente resultante de uma Lei Universal. Já há quatro anos, na remota Jerusalém, a Vida, mesmo nas delícias mais triunfais, se resumia em Ilusão. Já o Rei incomparável, de sapiência divina, sumo Vencedor, sumo Edificador, se enfastiava, bocejava, entre os despojos das suas conquistas, e os mármorees novos dos seus Templos, e as suas três mil concubinas, e as Rainhas que subiam do fundo da Etiópia para que ele as fecundasse e no seu ventre

depusesse um Deus! Não há nada novo sob o Sol, e a eterna repetição das coisas e a eterna repetição dos males. Quanto mais se sabe mais se pena. E o justo como o perverso, nascidos do pó, em pó se tornem. Tudo tende ao pó efêmero, em Jerusalém e em Paris! E ele, obscuro no 202, padecia por ser homem e por viver--- como no seu trono de ouro, entre os seus quatro leões de ouro, o filho magnífico de David. (CS,124)

We see Jacinto as he finds comfort in the Bible, while comparing himself to king Solomon. The reference serves to characterize Jacinto, an intellectual dilettante, who in his modern palace on the Champs Elysées, suffered from a deep boredom with life, as king Solomon had in his old age. While Jacinto was in his pessimistic phase, "não se separava então do Ecclesiastes. E circulava por Paris trazendo dentro do cupé Salomão, como irmão de dor, com quem repetia o grito desolado que é a suma da verdade humana--Vanitas Vanitatum! Tudo é Vaidade!" (CS,125) He goes through so many philosophies, so many "isms" before he discovers that a natural, bucolic existence, is more meaningful to him. He then rejects his past life, his ennui, and embarks upon a new adventure as a country gentleman with the same verve that he had shown earlier for the ultra-civilized society of Paris. The philosophies which he had espoused are now cast aside and ridiculed. Among them, in the rubble lies king Solomon:

E o outro, o Israelita, o muito pedantesco rei de Jerusalém! Quando descobre esse sublime Retórico que o mundo é Ilusão e Vaidade. Aos setenta e cinco anos, quando o Poder lhe escapa das mãos trémulas, e o seu serralho de trezentas concubinas se lhe torna ridiculamente super-

fluo. Então rompem os pomposos queixumes! Tudo é vaidade e aflição de espírito! Nada existe estável sob o Sol! Com efeito, meu bom Salomão, tudo passa--principalmente o poder de usar trezentas concubinas! Mas que se restitua a esse velho sultão asiático, be-suntado de Literatura, a sua virilidade,--e onde se sumirá o lamento do Ecclesiastes? Então voltará, em segunda e triunfal edição, o êxtase do Livro dos Cantares!... (CS,199)

So far, then, we have seen how Eça employs Biblical material, themes, landscapes and personages, and incorporates them into his writings in order to give credence to his text, to characterize, and to cite commonplaces, making allusions readily understood by all. On only two occasions did Eça draw upon his knowledge of the Bible, developing a them fully. One is the tale, "Adão e Eva no Paraíso", taken from the Old Testament, but obviously infused with Darwinism. The other work in which we find a Biblical theme, this time from the New Testament is A Relíquia, in which Eça has his character, Raposo, be a witness to the Passion of Christ, making him a new disciple and creating a new Gospel of the experience.

But first let us see how the Bible appears as a direct influence on the story, "Adão e Eva no Paraíso", first published in 1896. The tale is Biblical in the source of its plot since it deals with the legend of man's creation as found in the book of Genesis. But there is a very striking difference. There are essentially two themes in the story, intertwined and delicately balanced--one ancient and familiar; the other modern and thoroughly scientific. Eça gave the tale of Adam and Eve a contemporary version, taking the Hebraic legend almost in-

tact, but with some minor variations, and mixed it with a good dose of evolutionary principles, no doubt relying heavily on the findings of Charles Darwin. This is a most audacious departure from the orthodox adherence to the spiritual interpretation of the origin of mankind. In his interpretation Eça retains the essential idea of the Garden of Eden, with God's direct intervention but not as an anthropomorphic deity creating man in his own image. The Adam Eça creates is an ape who climbs down from his ancestral perch and begins to walk erect:

Então numa floresta muito cerrada e muito tenebrosa, certo Ser, desprendendo lentamente a garra do galho da árvore onde se empoleirara toda essa manhã de longos séculos, escorregou pelo tronco comido de hera, pousou as duas patas no solo que o musgo afofava, sobre as duas patas se firmou com esforçada energia, e ficou erecto, e alargou os braços livres, e lançou um passo forte, e sentiu a sua dessemelhança da Animalidade, e concebeu o deslumbrado pensamento do que era, e verdadeiramente foi! Deus, que o amparara, nesse instante o criou. E vivo, da vida superior, descido da inconsciência da árvore, Adão caminhou para o Paraíso. (Con, 139)

Eça portrays Adam as a being who in essence is still an animal, a beast who has not escaped his origins as yet. Adam is not the perfect being endowed with qualities granted to him by God, thereby creating a kinship between them. Adam is presented as bestial, not fully formed:

A Bíblia com a sua exageração oriental, cândida e simplista, conta que Adão, logo na sua entrada pelo Eden, distribuiu nomes a todos os animais, e a todas as plantas,

muito definitivamente, muito eruditamente, como se compusesse o Lexicon da Criação, entre Buffon, já com os seus punhos, e Linneu, já com os seus óculos. Não! eram apenas grunhidos, roncões mais verdadeiramente augustos, porque todos eles se plantavam na sua consciência nascente como as toscas raízes dessa Palavra pela qual verdadeiramente, se humanou, e foi depois, sobre a Terra, tão sublime e tão burlesco. (Con,145)

Eça also differs on the subject of Eve, who origins are linked to Adam's in the evolutionary process, totally devoid of the miraculous:

--E, oh maravilha! Diante do Adão, e como despegado dele, estava outro Ser a ele semelhante, mas mais esbelto, suavemente coberto dum pelo mais sedoso, que o contemplava com largos olhos lustrosos, e líquidos.

.....
E roçando, num roçar lento, num roçar muito doce, os joelhos pelados, todo aquele sedoso e tenro Ser se ofertava com uma submissão pasmada e lasciva. Era Eva...Eras tu, Mãe Venerável!
(Con,157)

The two of them begin an existence which is neither idyllic nor paradisaical. For Eça's concept of Paradise is the forest primaeval of prehistoric epochs, of dense growth and populated with all the beasts now lost in geologic time:

O seu constante e desesperado esforço foi sobreviver--no meio duma Natureza que, sem cessar e furiosamente, tramava a sua destruição. E Adão e Eva passaram esses tempos, que os poemas Semíticos celebravam como Inefáveis--sempre a tremer, sempre a ganhar, sempre a fugir! A terra ainda não era uma obra perfeita. (Con,158)

Adam and Eve in Eça's version never found Paradise and therefore, never lost it, and neither was there any temptation or loss of God's favor. No serpent, no apple appears with which to tempt Eve. Eça comments on the symbolism of

the temptation:

E bem sabedores das Origens se mostraram os poetas Mesopotâmicos do Gênesis, nesses versículos subtis em que um animal, e o mais perigoso, a Serpente, leva Adão, por amor de Eva, a colher o fruto do Saber! Se não rugisse outrora o Leão das cavernas, não trabalhava hoje o Homem das cidades--pois que a Civilização nasceu do desesperado esforço defensivo contra o Inanimado e o Inconsciente. A sociedade é realmente a obra da fera.
(Con,165)

In his Genesis Eça presents the reader with a contemporary view of the story of Creation imbued with the theory of evolution in one hand, while on the other, accepting the symbolic intervention of God in man's first appearance. But his interpretation is not in keeping with the Judeo-Christian concept. Even the spiritual Adam and Eve are more bestial than they are human, still very close to their evolutionary origins. In providing a scientific explanation for the Creation Eça also questions the authority of divine revelation and shows himself to be versant with and a participant in the cultural revolution which was affecting all branches of learning in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The Bible in particular was being re-examine and investigated, and not just in the traditions of exegesis. Many scholars, among them historians, anthropologists, philologists, and archaeologists, were delving closely into the Bible in order to corroborate fact and separate fancy. In "Adão e Eva" Eça shows himself to have been much attuned to this new wave of scientific principles applied to spiritual, even metaphysical matters. The

influence of Auguste Comte, of J.P. Proudhon, of E. Renan is very much in evidence here. The triumph of the positivist philosophy over the spiritual.

And yet, the rational attitudes so strongly felt in "Adão e Eva" are almost, but not quite forgotten by Eça, when an analysis is made of his version of the Gospels, differing not too radically from the New Testament records. Perhaps the most daring departure is that in A Relíquia he has his character, Teodorico Raposo, a nineteenth century inhabitant of Lisbon, break the time barrier and find himself in Jerusalem at the time that Jesus of Nazareth would proceed to be judged and executed, thereby having the character become a witness to the death of Jesus, and even muse that on his return to Portugal, that he will be known as S. Teodorico, the Evangelist. The literary repercussions that this break with chronology implied, in what is essentially a novel of the Realist school, need not concern us here. What is of interest is Eça's employment of the New Testament Gospels for his own ends and how he treats their religious and spiritual nature.

Once again there is in the section of A Relíquia, where the aberration of time and the re-creation of the Passion of Christ is found, that there is a two-fold division that seems to stand out. As is the case with "Adão e Eva", Eça's plan is to tell the story, keeping to the events leading to the Crucifixion as found in the Gospels, but he also injects certain comments of his own, as well as drawing from critical studies of the

New Testament. One fact immediately apparent is how well he had studied the customs of the Jews and their religion, evidently drawing upon his personal experiences during his visit to Palestine and his readings into historical works on Palestine during the Roman occupation. The Gospels pointedly avoid the Jewishness of the rabbi Joshua, called Jesus, and of the setting in which his life unfolded. Eça, on the contrary, makes us very much aware, by very meticulous descriptions, that we have been transported to the historical time of Jesus, in the state of Judea. His narrative, as a result, has an evident atmosphere of Jewishness that lends authenticity to the text. For instance, as Raposo and Topsisius are approaching Jerusalem:

O sol banhava-a, sumptuosamente! Uma severa, altiva muralha, guarnecida de Torres novas, com portas onde as cantarias se estremeavam de labores de ouro, erguia-se sobre a ribanceira escarpada do Cédron, já seco pelos calores de Nizão, e ia correndo, cingindo Sião, para o lado do Hinon e até aos cerros de Gareb. E, dentro, em face aos cedros que nos assombrea-vam, o templo, sobre os seus alicerces eternos parecia dominar toda a Judeia, soberbo em esplendor, murado de granitos polidos, armado de bastiões de mármore, como a refulgente cidadela de um deus!... (Rel,164)

The Passover pilgrims, with whom Topsisius and Raposo are traveling cry out: "--Meus passos vão todos para ti, ó Jerusalém! Tu és perfeita! Quem te ama conhece a abundância!"(Rel,168)

The pilgrims proceed into the city:

Lenta e rumorosa a caravana passava. As mulheres dos levitas, em burros, veladas e rebuçadas, semelhavam grandes sacos moles: os mais pobres, a pé, traziam nas pontas dobradas

do manto frutas e o grão da aveia. Os previdentes, já com a sua oferenda ao Senhor, arrastavam preso do cinto um cordeiro branco; os mais fortes seguravam às costas, presos pelos braços, os doentes--cujos olhos dilatados, nas faces maceradas, procuravam ansiosamente as muralhas da Cidade Santa, onde todo o mal se cura. (Rel, 168)

When Topsius and Raposo visit the house of Gamaliel there is a discussion regarding the Law and the host says:

Só Jeová é grande! e em verdade te digo que, quando rabi Jeschoua, desprezando a Lei, dá a mulher adúltera um perdão que tanto cativa os simples, cede à frouxidão da sua moral e não à abundância da sua misericórdia! (Rel,181)

The fact that Jesus has no intention of fulfilling the Law that binds all Jews makes him an apostate and an abomination. Only a strict adherence to the Law of Moses and the interpretations of them can be considered valid. Once again Gamaliel appears, a learned man, defending the Law, and showing the Jewish point of view, explaining why Jesus could not be considered the Messiah among them:

--Que há de original e de individual em todas essas idéias, homem? Pensas que o rabi as tirou da abundância do seu coração? Está cheia delas a nossa doutrina! ... Queres ouvir falar de amor, de caridade, de igualdade? Lê o livro de Jesus, filho de Sidrah... Tudo isso o pregou Hillel, tudo isso o disse Schemaia! Coisas tão justas se encontram nos livros pagãos que são, ao pé dos nossos, como o lodo ao pé da água pura de Siloeh!... Vós mesmos, os Essênios, tendes preceitos melhores!... Os rabis da Babilônia, de Alexandria, ensinaram sempre as leis puras de justiça e de igualdade! (Rel,183)

Over all, in the descriptions which Eça gives of the trial and suffering of Jesus, he follows closely the structure of the Gospels. The material which relates directly to Christ

will be discussed later on in this chapter. For now, only one rather curious digression from the Gospels is worthy of note, since Eça deliberately includes it in his "new" Gospel, contradicting the original ones. It is the account he gives of Jesus as he is being tried by Pontius Pilate:

Não lhe ensanguentava a cabeça essa coroa inumana de espinhos, de que eu lera nos Evangelhos; tinha um turbante branco, feito de uma longa faixa de linho enrolado, cujas pontas lhe pendiam de cada lado sobre os ombros; um cordel amarrava-lho por baixo da barba encaracolada e aguda! (Rel,196)

Jesus is depicted as wearing a turban in the oriental manner and not the traditional crown of thorns. An interesting dilemma presents itself immediately, for the crown is a key element in the plot of the novel. Raposo has acquired a crown of thorns with the intention of giving it to his aunt as proof of his piety and devotion, and respect for her. It is also a relic and a remembrance of his visit to the Holy Land. The crown of thorns, missing from the head of Jesus, loses its significance as an object associated with Jesus for Raposo.

From Biblical references we pass on to another of Eça's literary preoccupations--the Devil, although his interest is of a lesser degree if one is to judge from the number of mentions and themes he devotes to that notorious figure. Conceived in antiquity and given many names; Lucifer, Beelzebub, Satan, Demon, Mephistopheles, this personification of evil has gained power and his force made manifest in the Judeo-

Christian world. The Devil has passed from the realm of religion into the secular, becoming a literary figure and taking on a myriad of disguises. From Biblical mention we know him to be the tempter. Under Christianity he is transformed into evil incarnate in direct opposition to Jesus and his teachings, constantly striving to gain converts to his way. In the Middle Ages he gains followers who distort the Catholic mass in order to do him homage, calling the new ritual the Black Mass. His presence in Europe has been manifested throughout the centuries since then, even in monasteries, convents, and other holy places, where cases of satanic possession have been investigated and documented by Church authorities. In literature he has been superbly represented by Lucifer of Milton's Paradise Lost and by Mephistopheles of Goethe's Faust. By the nineteenth century the Devil had achieved a more respectable demeanor and appearance, losing his horns, goatee, cloven hoofs, and tail. He now travels about quite openly, undistinguishable from any other gentleman seen along the avenues of Paris or London. This is the Devil found in Eça--a man like any other, rather commonplace and not in the least frightening, but still full of guile, ever intent on leading mankind to perdition.

In O Crime de Padre Amaro, Amaro explains to D. Josefa and to the other ladies present why is it that the Church maintains the tradition of blessing objects:

--Em todo o caso é incontestável, que há nessas invenções da ciência moderna muito

do demônio. E é por isso que a nossa santa Igreja as abençoa, primeiro com orações e depois com água benta. (CPA, 396)

The holy water serves to exorcize the demons and purify the objects, removing the taint of original sin which touches those things made by man. D. Maria da Assunção wants to know how the Devil can make use of a train:

O padre Amaro esclareceu-a com bondade. O Inimigo tinha muitas maneiras, mas a habitual era esta: fazia descarrilar um trem de modo que moressem passageiros, e como essas almas não estavam preparadas pela extrema unção, o demônio ali mesmo zás, apoderava-se delas! (CPA, 397)

Padre Amaro warns the ladies that all precaution must be taken in order to keep the Devil away. The explanation and admonition to these impressionable women serves to prepare the way for Amaro to gain a safe haven for himself and Amelia to meet with the pretext of giving religious instruction to a young girl in the parish, who is paralyzed and home-bound. While Amaro is gaining their admiration for his charitable devotion to a needy sould, he is in fact allowing the devil to work his way with him, leading Amelia deeper into the path of sin.

In A Relíquia there is another sinner, Raposo, who, after having had a most pleasurable encounter in Alexandria with a Yorkshire woman, whom he nicknamed Maricoquinas, has a rather meaningful dream in which his two loves, Adélia and Mary, and the Devil appear:

Depois, por trás de um penedo, surgiu-nos um homem nu, colossal, tismado, de cornos;

os seus olhos reluziam, vermelhos como vidros redondos de lanternas; e, com o rabo infundável, ia fazendo no chão o rumor de uma cobra irritada que roja por folhas secas. Sem nos cortejar, impudentemente, pôs-se a marchar ao nosso lado. Eu percebi bem que era o Diabo, mas não senti escrúpulo, nem terror. A insaciável Adélia atirava olhadelas oblíquas à potência dos seus músculos. Eu dizia-lhe indignado: 'Porca, até te serve o Diabo?' (Rel,103)

The Devil proceeds to show him a scene which depicts the Ascension of Jesus, heralding a new religion. He then gives Raposo a quick review of the religions of old, lamenting that this new belief has removed all the fun and beauty from religion:

Mas aparecera este carpinteiro de Galileia --e tudo acabara! A face humana tornava-se para sempre pálida, cheia de mortificação: uma cruz escura, esmagando a terra, secava o esplendor das rosas, tirava o sabor aos beijos:--e era grata ao deus novo a fealdade das formas. (Rel,106)

Raposo senses that the Devil is upset and wishing to console him, he says: "Deixe estar, ainda há-se de haver no mundo muito orgulho, muita prostituição, muito sangue, muito furor!" (Rel,106) The dream suddenly shifts and Raposo finds himself back in Lisbon facing his aunt, who sees him with the Devil:

Era a titi! A titi, lívida, terrível, erguendo, para me espancar, o seu livro de missa! Coberto de suor--acordei. (Rel,106)

Raposo awakens to find that he has reached the shores of Palestine. He then begins to ponder the meaning of his nightmare and wonders if it might not be prophetic:

Porque sonhara eu assim, ao avizinhar-me
de Jerusalém, com os deuses falsos, Jesus
seu vencedor, e o Demônio a todos rebelde?
Que suprema revelação me preparava o Senhor?...
(Rel,107)

The dream is, of course, prophetic indeed, giving an indication of the fact that Raposo will be a witness to Christ on the cross and that because of his deceitful nature he will lose favor with his "titi" and be disinherited. The Devil here is shown in the traditional manner--flaming red eyes, horns, and a tail, but causing no fear in Raposo or the others. Instead Adelia is sexually attracted to him and Raposo even seeks to give him comfort in his disappointment with humanity and their acceptance of this new God. The Devil listens to Raposo's assertion that he should not despair, for evil will always exist in the world. The Devil answers him, feeling rather smug in his own convictions: "Eu? Uns ou outros, que me importa, Raposo? Eles passam, eu fico." (Rel, 106)

In the essay "Mefistófeles" Eça gives his analysis of Gounod's Faust, in which he includes an enumeration of the Devil's deeds throughout history. In comparison, the events that are relevant to Faust and his quest for knowledge are insignificant. To the Devil Faust is one among many:

Na ópera, Fausto é simplesmente um daqueles ambiciosos grotescos, que contratavam por escrito com o velho Diabo, nos claustros malditos, e lhe compravam a realização de um desejo, por uma pequena coisa desprezível, menos valiosa que o dinheiro e que os estofos, uma coisa inútil e estéril, que se lhe atirava desabridamente---e que era simplesmente a alma! As legendas estão cheias destas negociações.
(PB,208)

In O Mandarim (1879), we find a version of one of these negotiations, where a man trades his soul not for knowledge, but for wealth. The method used to acquire the ill-gotten gains is ingenious but not original with Eça. In the novel the Devil appears and offers the protagonist, Teodoro, the wealth of a Mandarin, many thousands of miles away in China. Teodoro, a simple man, is tempted and succumbs easily. He tells us of himself:

Sou um positivo. Só aspirava ao racional, ao tangível, ao que já fora alcançado por outros no meu bairro, ao que é acessível ao bacharel... As felicidades haviam de vir; e para as apressar eu fazia tudo o que devia como português e como institucional: --pedia-as todas as noites a Nossa Senhora das Dores, e comprava décimos da lotaria. (Man,23)

Teodoro claims positivist and rational attitudes, and yet he prays to the Virgin and plays games of chance in fulfilling his patriotic duty, he claims. He had one vice which was to visit the flea market and locate old books with interesting title and bindings. One evening as he was perusing through a volume called Brecha das Almas, (A Rift in the Soul), he spotted a chapter that seemed to stand out from all the rest:

No fundo da China existe um Mandarim mais rico de que todos os reis de que a Fábula ou a História contam. Dele nada conheces, nem o nome, nem o semblante, nem a seda de que se veste. Para que tu herdés os seus cabedais infindáveis, basta que toques essa campainha, posta a teu lado, sobre um livro. Ele soltará apenas um suspiro, nesses confins da Mongólia. Será então um cadáver; e tu verás a teus pés mais ouro do que pode sonhar a ambição dum avaro. Tu, que me les e és homem mortal, tocarás tu a campainha? (Man,25)

Teodoro, totally mystified and intrigued by the proposal and the force of the suggestion, instinctively felt that there was something magical in the words:

Cada letra afectava a inquietadora configuração desses sinais da velha cabala, que encerram um atributo fatídico; as vírgulas tinham o retorcido petulante de rabos de diabinhos, entrevistados numa alvura de luar; no ponto de interrogação final eu via o pavoroso gancho com que o Tentador vai fisingando as almas que adormeceram sem se refugir na inviolável cidadela da Oração!...

Uma influência sobrenatural apoderando-se de mim, arrebatame devagar para fora da realidade, do raciocínio: e no meu espírito foram-se formando duas visões--dum lado um Mandarim decrepito, morrendo sem dor, longe, num quiosque chinês, a um telim-telim de campainha; do outro toda uma montanha de ouro cintilando aos meus pés! (Man,26)

Once these two visions begin to take hold of Teodoro's imagination, he has opened the rift in his sould through which the Devil may pass. As he daydreams he hears a voice urging him to be strong and to ring the bell. The Devil appears and Teodoro recognizes him but is not frightened:

E vi, muito pacificamente sentado, um individuo corpulento, todo vestido de preto, de chapéu alto, com as duas mãos calçadas de luvas negras gravemente apoiadas ao cabo de um guarda-chuva... Não tinha nada de fantástico. Parecia tão contemporâneo, tão regular, tão classe-média como se viesse da minha repartição... (Man,28)

The Devil makes his appearance in the garb of a gentleman, a man of business, giving no clue to his identity and creating neither surprise nor suspicion in Teodoro. In fact, he likens the Devil to someone who could be a companion at work, such is the Devil's common-place dress and comportment. Teodoro's

lack of faith in religion and supernatural matters prevents him from believing that the man before him is the Devil. He explains that be it God or the Devil, it is all the same to him. He has never believed in either one of them:

Mas que existam estes dois personagens, velhos como a substância, rivais bonacheirões, fazendo-se mutuamente pirraças amáveis---um de barbas nevadas e túnica azul, na toilette do antigo Jove, habitando os altos luminosos, entre a corte mais complicada que a de Luís XIV; e o outro enfarruscado e manhoso, ornado de cornos, vivendo nas chamas inferiores, numa imitação burguesa do pitoresco Plutão--não acredito. Não, não acredito! Céu e Inferno são concepções sociais para uso da plebe--e eu pertença à classe-média.
(Man,29)

He relates further, in order to explain his seeming inconsistency in praying to Our Lady of Sorrows, that he does so purely for selfish, practical and superstitious motives: "Com um compadre no bairro, e uma comadre mística nas alturas--o destino do bacharel está seguro." (Man,30) Even so he speaks to the Devil, who replies"

Aqui está o seu caso, estimável Teodoro. Vinte mil-réis mensais são uma vergonha social! Por outro lado, há sobre este globo coisas prodigiosas:..Só chamarei a sua atenção para este facto: existem seque se chamam Mulheres---diferentes daquelas que conhece, e que se denominam Fêmeas. Estes seres, Teodoro, no meu tempo, a página e da Bíblia, apenas usavam exteriormente uma folha de vinha. Hoje, Teodoro, é toda uma sinfonia, todo um engenhoso e delicado poema de rendas, baptistes, cetins, flores, jóias, casimiras, gases e veludos...Compreende a satisfação inenarrável que haverá, para os cinco dedos de um cristão, em percorrer, palpar estas maravilhas macias.
(Man,31)

The Devil goes on and on, heaping argument upon argument, using his wiles to reach Teodoro's weakness and awaken his

desires. Who would not succumb to such powerful and persuasive arguments:

Deixe-me resumir, Teodoro: a morte desse velho Mandarim idiota traz-lhe à algibeira alguns milhares de contos. Pode desde esse momento dar pontapés nos poderes públicos; medite na intensidade deste gozo! É desde logo citado nos jornais; reveja-se nesse máximo da glória humana! E agora note: é só agarrar a campanha, e fazer telim-telim.
(Man,35)

And just in case Teodoro is not convinced and won over by the promises of fame, wealth, and the fulfillment of his desires, the devil explains the ease and the totally impersonal manner with which the death of the Mandarim will be accomplished:

Eu não sou um bárbaro; compreendo a repugnância dum gentleman em assassinar um contemporâneo; o espirrar do sangue suja vergonhosamente os punhos, e é repulsivo o agonizar de um corpo humano. Mas aqui nenhum desses espectáculos torpes... É como quem chama um criado... (Man,35-36)

Teodoro has a few brief moments in which he thinks about his duties as a Christian in the face of temptation. He remembers how Jesus was tempted and how he repulsed the devil. But, for Teodore the situation is altogether different. He writes,

Eu conheço os meus autores. Mas eram cento e tanto mil contos, oferecidos à luz de uma vela de estearina, na Travessa da Conceição, por um sujeito de chapéu alto, apoiado a um guarda-chuva... Então não hesitei. E, de mão firme, repeniquei a campanha. (Man, 37)

A month later Teodoro learns that he has inherited a fortune. At first he accepts the riches but soon suffers

a crisis, attempts to find the Mandarin's family in China, and restore the legacy to them. He is unsuccessful and he returns to Portugal, bitter, disillusioned, and repentant. As he dies, he leaves his personal legacy to humanity:

Só sabe bem o pão que dia-a-dia ganham
 as nossas mãos: nunca mates o Mandarim!
 E todavia, ao expirar, consola-me prodigiosamente esta ideia, que no Norte ao Sul e do Oeste a Leste, desde a Grande Muralha da Tartária até às ondas do Mar Amarelo, em todo o vasto Império da China nenhum Mandarim ficaria vivo, se tu, tão facilmente como eu, o pudesses suprimir e herdar-lhe os milhões, ó leitor, criatura improvisada por Deus, obra má de má argila, meu semelhante e meu irmão! . Man, 162)

The devil makes his appearance once again in "O Senhor Diabo", included in Prosas Bárbaras. It is an appropriate story to include here at the end of this study of the devil, since in this piece Eça categorizes the devil, taking an inventory of his personality. He also tells a story in which the devil has come to the end of a long and fruitful life, with many accomplishments and disappointments. Once again we meet the devil on human terms, totally devoid of the magical or supernatural. This is a most singular interpretation of a personage who has inspired fear and dread for centuries. Eça deems to use the polite form of address, "O Senhor", with the devil, giving us his positive attributes with just a hint of sarcasm:

O Diabo é a figura mais dramática da História da Alma. A sua vida é a grande aventura do Mal. Foi ele que inventou os enfeites que enlanguescem a alma, e as armas que ensanguentam o corpo. E todavia, em certos

momentos da história, o Diabo é o representante imenso do direito humano. Quer a liberdade, a fecundidade, a força, a lei. É então uma espécie de Pã sinistro, onde rugem as fundas rebeliões da natureza. Combate o sacerdócio e a virgindade; aconselha a Cristo que viva, e aos místicos que entrem na humanidade. (PB,169)

The devil, however, is not without his negative points, as we have seen, and yet Eça views his story as "trágica, luminosa, celeste, grotesca e suave." (PB,169) He says further that "o Diabo ao mesmo tempo tem uma tristeza imensa e doce. Tem talvez a nostalgia do Céu!" (PB,170) The adjectives enumerated above and the comment that the devil may suffer from longing for heaven are calculated to inspire understanding on the part of the reader for the tender feelings of the devil. He was also, we learn, a great lover. "O Diabo amou muito. Foi namorado gentil, marido, pai de gerações sinistras." (PB,171)

After this introduction Eça sets the scene for the story of the devil's last adventure, in which he fell in love with a young German maiden, but found himself unable to carry out his nefarious plans for her.

The story is of two young lovers who love each other in the purest and most tender fashion.

Maria, clara e loura, fiava na varanda, cheia de vasos, de trepadeiras, de ramagens, de pombas e de sol. No fundo da varanda havia um Cristo de marfim. As plantas limpavam piedosamente, com as suas mãos de folhas, o sangue das chagas; as pombas, com o calor do seu colo, aqueciam os pés doloridos. (PB,172)

There Maria would at the feet of the statue spinning wool. Jusel, "um lindo moço, delicado, melodioso e tímido", (PB,173) would come by to catch a glimpse of her. One afternoon a man appeared:

Tinha os olhos negros como os dois sóis
legendários do país do Mal. Negros eram
os cabelos, poderosos e resplandecentes.
Tinha presa ao peito do corpete uma flor
vermelha de cacto. (PB,175)

The newcomer threatens Jusel and asks him what power protects him. Jusel points to the statue of Christ. The devil leaves with his page, saying, "Pois bem, Rabil, para a frente, através da noite! Cheira-me aqui às terras de Jerusalém!" (PB,177) Jusel and Maria decide to seal their love with a pact:

Casemo-nos no coração de Jesus! Dá-me
essa agulheta, que te prende o cabelo.
Será a nossa estola. (PB,180)

He takes the point and on the breast of the statue he carves their initials:

---É o nooso noivado---disse ele. ---
O céu atira-nos os astros, confeitos de
luz. Cristo não se esquecerá deste amor
que chora aos seus pés. As exalações di-
vinas que saírem do seu peito aparecerão,
lá em cima, com a forma das nossas letras.
Deus saberá este segredo.

.....
E ajoelhados, extáticos, calados, eles
sentiam misturar-se ao seu coração, às
suas confidências, aos seus desejos, toda
a vaga e imensa bondade da religião da graça. (PB,180)

Their love is pure and chaste, protected by their simple faith in Jesus. The goodness and innocence which emanates from their hearts covers them like the grace of God. Maria's father

and the devil suddenly appear. Her father is very angry in finding the lovers together and threatens Jusel with hanging. Maria attempts to explain that Jusel is her husband in spirit, for their souls are united as one:

Ali, no peito. Veja. Os nossos nomes enlaçados como escritura. Veja. É meu marido. Só me quer bem. Mas veja. Sobre o peito de Jesus, no lugar do coração. Mesmo sobre o coração! E ele, o doce Jesus, deixou que lhe fizessem mais esta ferida! (PB,180)

The devil tells the father to rub it out from the stone:

O velho foi para a imagem com a faca do cinturão. Tremia. Iam arrancar as raízes daquele amor, até ao peito imaculado de Jesus! E então a imagem sob o justo e incorruptível olhar da luz, desprezou uma das suas mãos feridas, e cobriu sobre o peito as letras desposadas. (PB,187)

The devil gives in an advices the father to give his blessing to the lovers. Once again the devil has been vanquished, but this time for the last time. Love, purity, and faith are powerful weapons and he feels his strength leaving him. He says:

Estou velho. Vai-se-me a vida. Sou o último dos que combateram nas estrelas. Os abutres já me apupam. É estranho e sinto nascer cá dentro, no peito, um rumor de perdão. Gostava daquela rapariga. Lindos cabelos ouros, quem nos dera no tempo do céu! Já não estou para aventuras de amor! (PB,183)

He says that this was his last adventure, that he will return to nature, to the sea and there he will die. As he goes he finds a stone cross along the road. He stops before it and says:

---Estás também deserto!...disse, olhando para a cruz. ---Os infames pregaram-te e voltaram-te as costas? Foste maior que eu! Sofreste calado. (PE,184)

Besides Christianity, Eça displays a marked interest in other religions, particularly that of the mythology of Greece, the gods of Rome, and the deities of the East. He also shows us elements within the scope of religious practices such as spiritualism and pantheism. As he states in his essay, "Positivismo e Idealismo", his age was disappointed with the material progress and inventions brought about by science. There was an element missing in the lives of the people that only a religious spirit can bring about. Some had returned to established religion or had experienced a conversion, while others experimented with other beliefs and forms of worship. Eça writes,

Tão tumultuosamente esta geração nova apetece o divino que, à falta dele, se contenta com o sobrenatural. Assim sucede que, enquanto alguns rondam já com os braços em cruz, em torno ao cristianismo, e outros mais ousados penetram na Índia a procurar o budismo--- há um número considerável que se senta em torno de uma mesa ou de um chapéu, e se instala confortavelmente no espiritismo. Em Paris, em todas as grandes cidades, onde o materialismo excessivo exasperou as imaginações, não se vêem senão homens inquietos batendo à porta dos mistérios. (NC,262)

The nineteenth century and, in particular, the latter half, saw the popularization of hypnotism, spiritualism, and all aspects of the occult. The European involvement in the Far East, India, China, Japan, concerning principally economic

interests, but the trade connections affected cultural exchange as well. "Chinoiserie" became a fashion and a rage. Eça reflects his society's preoccupation with the religions of those exotic worlds being made known at that time by including in his writings references to various beliefs, rituals, and philosophies, not all of them foreign by any means, but which were in vogue in his day.

One of these is pantheism and its prevailing attitudes to nature, endowing it with the spirity of humanity. We find that Eça, in creating an atmosphere and a tone in his works, resorts to a view of nature in which it is highly personified. In "Entre a Neve" Eça places a man in the midst of a forest and among the elements which are closely connected with his own existence. The man gains his livelihood collecting lumber from the forest, but he is not part of it:

E o lenhador, com o peito arqueado,
os cabelos desmanchados, vermelho,
feroz, com o machado erguido nas mãos,
com trágicos escarniçamentos, lutava
contra os troncos, contra os ramos, con-
tra as raízes, contra as duras cortiças
e os filamentos tenazes; e enchia o chão
de ramagens negras, de braços mortos de
árvores, caídas e inertes como armadu-
ras. (PE, 104)

But the struggle is not man's alone. The forest also reacts to man's presence:

Aquelas árvores, que tanto tempo levara-
ram a formar-se, e a enrijar, e a acos-
tumar-se aos ventos tumultuosos, e a sa-
ber agarrar as clinas da chuva, e a en-
laçar as moles nudezas das névoas e dos
vapores, aquelas árvores cheias das mor-
deduras de Novembro, cheias de legenda
e do cheiro das tormentas, encolhiam os
ramos num estremecimento medroso, quando

o machado reluzia lúgubrememente no ar. (PB,104)

In A Correspondência de Fradique Mendes, Fradique confesses to having a profound feeling of love for all the elements of nature. His description of his feelings are similar to the process of a religious conversion:

As ciências naturais eram-lhe queridas e familiares; e uma insaciável e religiosa curiosidade do Universo, impelira-o a estudar tudo o que divinamente o compõe, desde os insectos até os astros com o coração--- porque Fradique sentia pela Natureza, sobretudo pelo anima e pela planta, uma ternura e uma veneração genuinamente budistas. 'Amo a Natureza (escrevia-me ele em 1882) por si mesma, toda e individualmente, na graça e na fealdade de cada uma das formas inumeráveis, que a enchem; e amo-a ainda como manifestação tangível e múltipla da suprema Unidade, da Realidade intangível, a que cada Religião e cada Filosofia deram um nome diverso e a que eu presto culto sob o nome de Vida.' (CFM,71-72)

Fradique's religion encompasses all of nature, all that lives and not just what is beautiful in nature.

Although pantheism is not a religion in the sense that it represents an establishment with cult and creed, it is a belief, a doctrine that identifies God with nature and all the universe. For Fradique life is the true manifestation of God. Life is what gives him inspiration.

For Jacinto in A Cidade e As Serras nature is the highest, most sublime achievement of God. This discovery, after many unsuccessful attempts at revealing the truth, leads Jacinto into a peace and serenity that not even Paris with all its

conveniences could give him. Once again we encounter Eça describing a scene, a natural setting so moving and inspiring that the reader is as entranced as Jacinto himself, who is beginning to experience the powerful force of God's creation:

Com que brilho e inspiração copiosa a compusera o divino Artista que faz as serras, e que tanto as cuidou, e tão ricamente as dotou, neste seu Portugal bem-amado! A grandeza igualava a graça. Para as vales, poderosamente cavados, desciam bandos de arvoredos, tão copados e redondos, dum verde tão moço, que eram como um musgo macio onde apetecia cair e rolar. Dos pendires, sobranceiros ao carreiro fragoso, largas ramarias estendiam o seu toldo amável, a que o esvoaçar leve dos pássaros sacudia a fragância.

.....
 Por toda a parte a água sussurante, a água fecundante... Espertos regatinhos fugiam, rindo com os seicos, de entre as patas da água e do burro; grossos ri-beiros açodados saltavam com fragor de pedra em pedra, fios direitos e luzidios como cordas de prata vibravam e faisca-vam das alturas aos barrancos; e muita fonte, posta à beira de veredas, jorrava por uma bica, benêficamente, à espera dos homens e dos gados... (CS,164)

In this rustic setting Jacinto begins to experience life as he never had before. In Paris a sunset had not been a source of wonderment. In Tormes, his ancestral house and lands, he could sit by a window and marvel at the appearance of Venus, the eveningstar. After experimenting with so many philosophies, so many "-isms", playing the dilettante with life, he has finally encountered a power which holds him spellbound. With his friend, Zé Fernandes, Jacinto ponders the changes that nature has wrought in him:

Na Cidade (como notou Jacinto) nunca se olham, nem lembram os astros---por causa dos candeeiros de gás ou dos globos de electricidade que os fuscam. Por isso (como eu notei) nunca se entra nessa cocomunhão com o Universo que é a única glória e única consolação da Vida. (CS,175)

The two friends attempt to name the stars they see but are unable to do so. Zé Fernandes reflects that Jacinto has some three hundred volumes in his library in Paris on astronomy alone. But all this accumulated knowledge is of no avail to him.

From pantheism we pass on to Buddhism, a more exotic creed, for it is not native to Europe but had its origins in India. Fradique, in discussing Catholicism and its rituals, alludes to the fact that Buddhism is also full of ritualistic practices. When writing to Guerra Junqueiro he states:

...se tivéssemos tempo de ir à China ou a Ceilão, V. toparia com o mesmo fenómeno no Budismo. Dentro dessa Religião foi elaborada a mais alta das Metafísicas, a mais nobre das Morais; mas em todas as raças em que ele penetrou, nas bárbaras ou nas cultas, nas hordas do Nepal ou no mandarinato chinês, ele consistiu sempre para as multidões em ritos, cerimónias, prácticas--- a mais conhecida das quais é o moinho de rezar. V. nunca lidou com este moinho? É lamentavelmente parecido com o moinho de café; em todos os países budistas V. o verá colocado nas ruas das cidades, nas encruzilhadas do campo, para que o devoto ao passar, dando duas voltas à manivela, possa fazer chocalhar dentro as orações escritas e comunicar com o Buda, que por esse act de cortesia transcendente 'lhe ficará grato e lhe aumentará os seus bens.'

(CFM,138-139)

In another letter Fradique once again discusses Buddhism, this time comparing Jesus and Buddha, with Jesus losing in the comparison. He explains to his girlfriend Clara that:

é necessário desentulhar esse posbre Buda da densa aluvião de Lendas e Maravilhas que sonre ele tem acarretado, durante séculos, a imaginação da Ásia. Tal como ela foi, desprendida da sua mitologia, e na sua nudez nistórica,--- nunca alma melhor visitou a terra, e nada iguala, como virtude heróica, a Noite do Renunciamento. (CFM,221)

Fradique considers Buddha greater because, while Jesus came from humble origins and preached of another life, Buddha was a prince of immense wealth. Fradique believes that Buddha's teachings deserve greater merit because of the concept that each person directly affects the next one who will take his place. Being good and just in this life does not guarantee a reward in the hereafter, as in Christianity, but will benefit the next generation that will replace this one. This transmigration of souls benefits all mankind and is, therefore, more practical:

A justiça do justo, portanto, segundo Jesus, só aproveita egoitamente ao justo. E a justiça do justo, segundo o Buda aproveita ao ser que o substituir na existência, e depois ao outro que desse nascer, sempre durante a passagem na Terra, para lucro eterno da Terra. (CFM,222)

In 1871 Fradique met Eça in Egypt and discussed with him at great length his own peregrinations through the Orient and his encounter with a new religion. In reality it was a sect of Islam, founded in Persia but with rather unique origins. Fradique was attracted to the sect because it afforded him a view of a new religion as it was being created and divulged:

O Babismo(contou me ele seguindo por uma viela mais solitária e favorável às confidências), tivera por iniciador certo Mirza-Mohamed, um desses Messias que cada dia surgem na incessante fermentação religiosa do Oriente, onde a religião é a ocupação suprema e querida da Vida. Tendo conhecido os Evangelhos Cristãos por contacto com os Missionários, iniciado na pura tradição mesaísta pelos judeus do Hiraz; sabedor profundo do Guebrismo, a velha religião da Pérsia--- Murza-Mohamed amalgamara estas doutrinas com uma concepção mais abstracta e pura do Maometismo, e declarara-se Bab. Em persa Bab quer dizer Porta. Ele era, pois, a porta--- a única porta através da qual os homens poderiam jamais penetrar na absoluta Verdade.
(CFM,45)

Fradique is intrigued by the religion, not because he is attracted to its doctrine but because of the parallels he finds in Mirza-Muhamed with Jesus. Fradique plunged headlong into the religion, eager to help in the proselytizing efforts of its apostles. Fradique's motivation was due not to a conversion to Babism, but rather to curiosity in witnessing the phenomenon of the growth and development of a religion. Eça claims to have been moved by Fradique's experiences in Persia. He is awed by Fradique's intimate contact and direct participation in Babism and grants him the honor of considering him a leading founder of the religion, causing it to be made known in other lands, as St. Paul had done with the doctrines of Jesus. Fradique is the recipient of a singular honor but undeservedly. We can see a parallel here with Raposo in A Relíquia, who was a witness to the sufferings, trial, and ultimate death of Jesus, but who throughout his adult life conducted himself in a manner contrary to the Christian way, to say the

least. Fradique is by no means a reprobate as was Raposo, but he certainly cannot be considered a believer. On the contrary, in his letters we can discern a distinct streak of agnosticism if not atheism.

Another religious element in Eça is his constant reference to the gods of old and the different cults, rites, and festivals of antiquity, with emphasis on Egypt, Greece, and Rome. Eça seems to delight in speculating how the advent of Christianity affected the ancient religions and how Jesus caused their disappearance. In A Relíquia, during Raposo's dream, the devil tells him of how the world was when he was young:

Toda esta costa do Grande Verde, então, desde Biblos até Cartago, desde Elêusis até Mênfis, estava atulhada de deuses. Uns deslumbravam pela perfeição da sua beleza, outros pela complicação da sua ferocidade. Mas todos se misturavam à vida humana, divinizando-a: viajavam em carros triunfais, respiravam as flores, bebiam os vinhos, defloravam as virgens adoradas.
(A Rel, 104)

The devil, who appears in Raposo's dream, and is, therefore, endowed with the characteristics created by Raposo himself, focuses on the lascivious and the erotic. He describes a certain festival practiced in Babylon:

Ai todas as mulheres, matronas ou donzelas, se vinham um dia prostituir nos bosques sagrados, em honra da deusa Milita. As mais ricas chegavam em carros marchetados de prata, puxados a búfalos, e escoltadas de escravas; as mais pobres traziam uma corda ao pescoço. Umás, estendendo um tapete na erva, agachavam-se como reses pacientes; outras, erguidas, nuas, brancas, com a cabeça escondida num véu preto, eram como esplêndidos mármore entre os troncos dos ál-

mos. E todas assim esperavam que qualquer, atirando-lhe uma moeda de prata, lhes dissesse: 'Em nome de Vénus!' Seguiam-no então, fosse um príncipe vindo de Susa com tiara de pérolas, ou o mercador que desce o Eufrates no seu barco de couro: e toda a noite rugia, na escuridão das ramagens, o delírio da luxúria ritual. (A Rel,105)

And in Egypt he describes the Nile flood and the festival to Isis:

Quando a inundaçãõ chegava até Mênfis, as águas cobriam-se de barcas sagradas. Uma alegria heróica, subindo para o Sol, fazia os homens iguais aos deuses. Osíris, com os seus cornos de boi, montava Ísis; e entre o estridor das harpas de bronze, ouvia-se por todo o Nilo o rugir amoroso da vaca divina. (A Rel,105)

In Notas Contemporâneas Eça again touches upon the gods of antiquity in recalling the history of the rose and how the flower is associated with and became a favorite of the gods of Greece, and was later adopted by mankind as an offering in Greece and Rome as well. The rose was born with Venus and was originally white, but was made red with her blood. The gods followed Venus' example in her preference to the rose and created a garden on earth exclusively used by them for the cultivation of the rose:

Com tanto zelo o jardinavam os deuses, que Baco não confiava a ninguém o cuidado de regar o gloriozo vergel. E poetas privilegiados, como Anacreonte e Propércio, puderam ver muitas vezes pelas sestas de Maio o grande deus da uva, o conquistador das Índias, com um regador de ouro nas mãos possantes, dando de beber às rosas uma água de admirável pureza, que as náiades conduziam da fonte Castália. Neste jardim colhia Vénus as rosas que costumava mandar àqueles mortais

perfeitos, por quem bruscamente e doidamente se namorava, nos seus passeios pelas colinas pastoris da H elade. (NC,294)

The garden held such an enchantment that Jupiter himself would visit it, the weather there was always summer, and the shepherds that grazed their sheep nearby would stay young for a hundred years.

When Eça encountered Fradique in Egypt, at the hotel where they are staying they see a very imposing man, bearded, and with the bearing and strength of a Jupiter. When Eça inquired in the dining room he was told by one of the waiters that he was indeed a god. Eça then begins to ponder on the meaning of this statement:

Os deuses (cismava eu, colhendo garfadas lentas de salada de tomates) n o tinham morrido: e desde a chegada de S. Paulo   Gr cia, viviam refugiados num vale da L c nia, outra vez entregues, nos  cios que lhes impusera o Deus novo,  s suas ocupa es primordiais de lavradores e pastores. S mente, j  pelo h bito que os Deuses nunca perderam de imitar os homens, j  para escapar aos ultrajes duma Cristandade pudibunda, os ol mpicos abafavam, sob saias e jaquet es, o esplendor das nudezas que a Antiguedade adorara; e como tomavam outros costumes humanos, ora por necessidade (cada dia se torna mais dif cil ser Deus), ora por curiosidade (cada dia se torna mais divertido ser Homem), os Deuses iam lentamente consumando a sua humaniza o. (CFM,35-36)

This musing on the part of Eça is rather ludicrous, specially the image of the survival of the gods, joining humanity as tourists, as students, wandering about Europe and their former domains. The description Eça gives is one of forlorn

beings yearning for a lost time in which they were revered. The thought that the old gods may have survived as vestiges of past glories, makes it more plausible that the man with the divine presence may indeed be a god. Again Eça resorts to the lascivious in order to explain why this modern god finds himself in Cairo:

O que podia arrastar ao Cairo senão alguma saia, esse desejo esplêndidamente insaciável de deusas e de mulheres--- Agora, evidentemente, viera ao Cairo passar umas férias sentimentais, longe de Juni mole e conjugal, com aquela viçosa mulher, cujo busto irresistível prvinha das artes conjuntas de Praxíteles e de Madame Marcel. (CFM,37)

Another religion that Eça presents is Judaism. As we have already seen in A Relíquia, he draws from Jewish customs and history to lend a more authentic atmosphere to the episode in which the time lapse occurs. Eça also takes us into some of the rituals inside and outside the temple in Jerusalem. For example, he describes briefly the Passover meal:

Depois os servos precedidos pelo homem obeso de túnica amarela, que fazia ressoar sobre as lajes com pompa a sua vara de marfim, trouxeram a mais devota comida pascal--- as ervas amargas. Era uma travessa repleta de alface, agriões, chicória, macela, com vinagre e grossas pedras de sal. Gamaliel mastigava-as solenemente, como cumprindo um rito. Elas representavam as amarguras de Israel, no cativeiro do Egipto. E Eliézer chupando os dedos, declarou-as deliciosas, fortificadoras e repassadas de alta lição espiritual. (A Rel, 255)

Through the eyes of Raposo the temple and the inner courtyards of the temple are seen, where the sacrifices were held:

No afanoso, severo rumor do cerimonial sacrossanto, confundia-se o balar de cordeiros, o som argentino de pratos, o crepitar das lenhas, as pancadas surdas de malho, o cantar lento da água em bacias de mármore, e o estridor das buzinas. Apesar dos aromáticos que ardiam em caçoilas, das longas ventarolas de folhas de palmeiras com que os serventes agitavam o ar, eu pus o lenço na face, enjoado com esse cheiro mole de carne crua, de sangue, de gordura frita e de açafreão, que o Senhor reclamou a Moisés, como o dom melhor a receber da Terra... (A Rel., 235)

Raposo's modern sensibilities are aroused in the face of the animal sacrifice, as was practiced by the Jews at that time. The description is vivid and somewhat sensational in tone, evoking, as it does, the sights, sounds, and smells of the ritual.

One of the topics that strongly attracted Eça as an essayist and novelist was the Church, its history, its conditions, and its priesthood. Except for a few references to the primitive Church and the beginnings of Christianity, he focuses his total attention on the modern Church, and he makes some rather biting comments in this regard. We have only to read O Crime do Padre Amaro and A Relíquia to understand and appreciate how deep were his feelings and how contemporary were his attitudes toward the Church. At first glance, and in his early writings, he gives the appearance of being anti-clerical and even hostile to the Church. But, as it shall be demonstrated, Eça softens his harsh attitudes on occasion and gradually develops a softer, more understanding outlook. At least he seems to be searching, probing constantly for com-

prehension of what the Church signifies, of the place it has in society, and what it means to him.

The Church, as a living example, an embodiment, of the abstraction called Religion, held a great fascination for Eça, as it had for many others in his century and before. All aspects and manifestations of the Church are explored--- the dogma, the rituals, the priests, the faithful, the beliefs and superstitions, all that has evolved since Jesus lived and planted the seeds of his Church. All comes under Eça's scrutiny. His sharp eye for detail, particularly when the find lends itself to criticism and ridicule--this is where Eça is strongest and most convincing. As regards the Church we find that he is relentless in his quest, his ever present need to question and criticize, very often in a most sarcastic manner. Eça as a writer was preoccupied with the Church of his time and not that of the past. Whenever he departed from a contemporary view he usually alluded to Jesus having ousted the old gods, and to the fact that a new faith and a new era had begun. On occasion Eça also writes of the beginnings of Christianity. In Notas Contemporâneas he states that:

todas as religiões nascentes se alojam burguêsmente. Até o tempo de Trajano, as assembléias dos cristãos, as igrejas, eram em terceiros andares de prédios alugados, em cubículos tristes, mal alumia- dos por duas ou três lâmpadas de barro, que os diáconos traziam, escondidas sob os mantos. (NC, 280)

In another essay, "As rosas" , he again refers to Christianity's humble beginnings, existing as an impoverished sect, hunted by the authorities:

O cristianismo, a princípio, foi uma religião triste, indigente e nua. As suas assembleias eram de noite, em cavernas, nos cemitérios, em cubículos de ruas escuras; ---e os fiéis, recolhidos numa pobre túnica, com os cabelos em desalinho, sujos, por excesso de espiritualismo, vinham ali, menos para celebrarem as esperanças do Céu, do que para gemerem sobre as dores e a maldade da Terra. (NC,303)

And in a tone that is considerably less than triumphant and joyful, Eça recounts how Rome came to adopt Christianity, lamenting the downfall of the rose and of the pagan gods:

Mas eis que uma tarde, junto de Cremona, Constantino, marchando contra Maxêncio, vê de repente, por cima do Sol que declinava, a cruz, essa famosa cruz, toda de ouro, aureolada pela promessa divina em letras de ouro--- In hoc signo vinces! Tarde fatal para as rosas! Nela começou realmente a debandada dos deuses. Dentro de anos, já não haverá na Itália um templo livre e seguro, onde se possa ofertar uma pomba a Vénus. Jesús de Nazaré(ou antes o Jesus do Concílio de Niceia), até aí perseguido, errante pelas catacumbas e pela névoa dos cemitérios, está instalado na Domus Palatina, lança edictos de dentro do Senado--- e sobre o Capitólio negreja uma cruz nova e de ferro. (NC,304)

With undisguised sadness Eça tells of how Christinity spelled the death of the ancient ways, displacing the gods from their abodes on earth, in the heavens, and placing, in their stead, the virgins and martyrs of the new faith.

We see that Eça does not treat the topic of the ancient Church in any great length. There are two large segments, his re-creation of the Gospel according to the character Raposo, and the large theme in "Santo Onofre", both of which deal with the early Church, and which shall be discussed later. But apart from these, Eça's passing comments, allusions, and themes as regards the Church relate wholly to the modern Church and the conditions which he criticized. From the outset it seems an obsession with him, constantly probing and ultimately resulting in O Crime do Padre Amaro and A Relíquia. But it is not the structure and hierarchy of the Church that holds his attention. On the contrary, it is the lower clergy that he studies, the ignorant and superstitious faithful, the corrupt and complacent priests. On occasion Eça writes of the Church in general, as he does in "A Europa", when he analyzes conditions in England:

E depois a crise religiosa; a progressiva hostilidade contra a igreja oficial, levando as populações a armarem-se para não pagar o dízimo; o desdém cada vez mais acentuado das massas pelas seitas não conformistas, que até agora as mantinham numa salutar disciplina moral; a Bíblia, a grande lição e a grande consolação, caída em descrédito como voz divina, tornada mero livro de literatura, lirismo e crónica de um povo findo; e, enfim, pior que tudo, as almas procurando na religião menos uma regra do que uma excitação, fugindo do abstracto puritanismo para as flores e cantos dos templos ritualistas, ou para as bandeiras e pandeiretas da grosseira Salvation Army. (NC,195)

In "O Bock Ideal" Eça gives the ideas of Vogué in relation to the Catholic Church as a necessary entity in the social scheme, serving man and the state:

...há de ser necessária uma alta autoridade moral, um grande corpo social para fazer penetrar na democracia, nas vastas e rudes massas humanas, este espírito evangélico, e desenvolver nelas, constantemente, pelo raciocínio e pela emoção, pelo ensino e pelo exemplo, esta compreensão superior e prática da justiça e da caridade, que um dia regeneração e porão em ordem o mundo. Assim ele o confessa, o doce apóstolo! E quando se lhe pergunta qual será essa forte autoridade, esse corpo social, ele logo, resplandecendo, declara que só pode ser a Igreja-- a Igreja cristã, a igreja católica. (NC, 336)

Vogué goes on to say that the Church is democratic since it stems from the people, of the same humble origins, and exists for the humble and the poor. Vogué, while praising the Church, counsels that it may have to undergo certain changes, hardly noticeable but necessary for it to become truly representative of the people:

... que, em lugar de mandar às nações núncios, lhes mande apóstolos; que retomem a obra da primitiva Igreja, desentulhe o princípio cristão de todas as aluviões temporais que o sufocam, e de novo assumam o governo puro das almas, para as conduzir à justiça social!... E, na verdade vos digo, meus filhos, não há salvação para o mundo fora da Igreja. (NC, 337)

This idealistic view of the Church, which Eça labels "socialismo evangélico ou católico", is attractive, for it offers a return to spirituality and grants a refuge from the harsh materialism of our lives. But Eça differs with Vogué

in that he distrusts those who would administer the Church. He severely criticizes those who would corrupt the simple teachings of Jesus and would oppose a return to a more equitable Church, responsive to the people to whom it owes its existence.

Most often Eça portrays the Church through its representatives, the clergy, and its faithful, particularly the women who are the bulwark of Catholicism in the south of Europe. In his descriptions, comments, and criticisms of these individuals, Eça is most virulent, sarcastic, and intransigent. He allows no charitable sentiments, no understanding to enter his heart. His anti-clerical feelings are very much felt and he displays a vehement dislike for any sanctimonious attitudes. In O Conde Abranhos there is a "beata", D. Laura Amado, who, as a character and her practices, remind us of those dear ladies who frequented São Joaneira's soirées in O Crime do Padre Amaro. These women transform the doctrines and the rituals of the Church into a private religion with practices that have very little relationship to the true semblance of the Church:

Era uma devota, duma pontualidade de máquina no cumprimento da sua devoção. Desde nova até ao dia em que a levou uma benemérita escarlatina, rezou, rezou imperturbavelmente, cronometricamente, com um tique-tique, de relógio. Era dotada duma língua feroz que lacerava todas aquelas-- porque raras vezes, decerto por pudor, se referia aos homens--- que não exerciam uma devoção tão complicada, ou tinham os gozos, os luxos, as paixões que lhe proibia o seu Deus,

um Deus especial, dela---um Deus terrível, que vivia na Igreja de S.Domingos, insaciável de louvores, pródigo de catástrofes, sempre pronto a despedir, como raios, doenças mortais ou desgostos com as criadas, e que era necessário abrandar constantemente com promessas, missas, ladainhas e ofertas, porque o seu divino temperamento, dum irritabilidade fora do vulgar, o mantinha no desejo frenético de fazer mal.
(CPA.,87)

A totally different picture is presented in the character of Teodoro in O Mandarin who, although an atheist, reverts to his former beliefs in order to assuage his guilt in having caused the death of the Mandarin. He offers prayers "à minha antiga divindade particular, ao meu dilecto ídolo, padroeira da minha família, Nossa Senhora das Dores". (Man,70) He also distributes money to various clergymen so that they may intercede for him. All to no avail, for he has no faith and therefore, cannot find solace in his deeds. His conflict is a deep one and he attempts once again to expiate his guilt with masses, simple and sung ones, finally concluding that his efforts were a "pueril desvario dum cérebro peninsular!" (Man,70) His ultimate attempt was to consult with highly placed prelates of the Church who advised him to give sumptuous presents to Our Lady:

...flores, brocados e jóias, como se quisesse alcançar os favores de Aspásia; e à maneira dum banqueiro obeso, que obtém as complacências dum dançarina dando-lhe uma 'cottage' entre árvores--- eu, por uma sugestão sacerdotal, tentei peitar a doce Mãe dos Homens, erguendo-lhe uma catedral toda

de mármore branco. (Man,71)

Teodoro quickly realizes that all these expenses were incurred in vain. As the first mass is being offered he noticed above the altar, not the Virgin, but the figure of the devil. He goes into a deep anguish, feeling guilt, and unable to reconcile his inherited traditions with his disbelief. Instead of finding guidance in the Church, he encounters only emptiness in himself and selfishness on the part of the priests. He feels deceived, embittered, abandoned, obtaining no solace from the rituals, the merely external proofs of faith.

The question of religion and Church as being composed necessarily, but not primarily, of rituals and ceremonies is one to which Eça resorts often, and is a theme which he developed in O Crime do Padre Amaro and A Relíquia. But first let us see Fradique's ideas on religion. In a letter to Guerra Junqueiro Fradique criticizes Junqueiro's vague and idealistic ideas on religion in which a Church could exist solely on its moral aspects. Fradique writes:

Meu bom amigo, uma Religião a que se elimine o Ritual desaparece---porque as Religiões para os homens (com excepção dos raros Metafísicos, Moralistas e Místicos) não passa dum conjunto de Ritos, através dos quais cada povo procura estabelecer uma comunicação íntima com o seu Deus e obter dele favores. Este, só este, tem sido o fim de todos os cultos, desde o mais primitivo, do culto de Indra, até ao culto recente do coração de Maria, que tanto o es-

candaliza na sua paróquia---oh incorrigível beato do idealismo! (CFM,132)

Fradique goes on to give more examples to reinforce his views, citing the practices of the Hindus, and Buddhists, who perform complicated rituals daily. And for what purpose did they observe those ceremonies? To placate the gods, to insure a favorable response to their prayers. The fulfillment of those rituals and prayers also serve to attract the attention of the gods, to persuade them to one's cause. But these traits are common to all religions, the Catholic Church as well. Notwithstanding the high degree of ethics and a complex theology which Catholicism has evolved for itself, a transformation has taken place which has effaced the essential structure. Fradique's theory is that the people can learn the concepts when reduced to a Catechism, for example, but upholding the principles and living by them is not sufficient. The people must feel that religion is more tangible. less abstract, much closer to home than a set of doctrines to follow. Therefore,

Para servir a Deus, que é o meio de agradar a Deus, o essencial foi sempre ouvir missa, esfiar o rosário, jejuar, comingar, fazer promessas, dar túnicas aos santos, etc. Só por estes ritos, e não pelo cumprimento moral da lei moral, se propicia a Deus---isto é, se alcançam dele os dons inestimáveis da saúde, da felicidade, da riqueza, da paz. O mesmo Céu e Inferno, sanção estraterrestre da lei, nunca na ideia do povo, se ganhava ou se entava pela pontual obediência à lei. (CFM,138)

Fradique continues with his opinions, stating that the people will not abandon the masses, fasts, penance, communion, the rosary, novenas, offerings, and promises. He challenges Guerra Junqueiro's idea that Catholicism can be changed:

E se V., para purificar este Catolicismo, eliminar o Padre, a estola, as galhetas e a água benta, todo o Rito e toda a Liturgia--- o católico imediatamente abandonará uma Religião que não tem Igreja visível, e que não lhe oferece os meios simples e tangíveis de comunicar com Deus, de obter dele os bens transcendentais para a alma e os bens sensíveis para o corpo. O Catolicismo nesse instante terá acabado, milhões de seres terão perdido a seu Deus. A Igreja é o vaso de que Deus é o perfume. Igreja partida---Deus volatilizado. (CFM,138)

Fradique concludes that for mankind the essence of religion and the churches erected have only one purpose, be it pagan or Christian, primitive or modern, and that is to gain divine favors and placate the anger of the deity. To carry out these purposes one needs a temple, priests, altars, rituals, vestments, and images:

Pergunte a qualquer mediano homem saído da turba, que não seja um filósofo, ou um moralista, ou um místico, o que é Religião. O inglês dirá: --- 'É ir ao serviço ao domingo, bem vestido, cantar hinos'. O hindu dirá:--- 'É fazer poojah todos os dias e dar tributo ao Mahadeo'. O africano dirá: --- 'É oferecer ao Mulungu a sua ração de farinha e óleo.' O minhoto dirá:---'É ouvir missa, rezar as contas, jejuar, à sexta-feira, comungar pela Páscoa'. E todos terão razão, grandemente! Porque o seu objecto, como seres religiosos, está todo em comunicar com Deus; e esses são os meios

de comunicação que os seus respectivos estados de civilização e as respectivas liturgias que deles saíram, lhes fornecem. (CFM,140-141)

Another religious topic developed by Eça is the story of Jesus--- his teachings and his Passion. There are numerous references dispersed throughout his works and there are three large Christological themes, beginning with "A Morte de Jesus" (1870), followed by the Gospel motif in A Relíquia, and ending with "O suave milagre"(1898). "A morte de Jesus" is a minor work that is a stylistic and thematic precursor to A Relíquia and not substantially different from the segment included in the novel. Since Eça incorporated the earlier work, enlarging it and making it a far better account of Christ's Passion, it shall not be discussed here. "O suave milagre", though, represents a departure, for it deals with one miracle of Jesus and exemplifies his divinity.

One of the first mentions of Jesus in Eça's writings is to be found in Prosas Esquecidas and in Prosas Bárbaras, two volumes that contain his early attempts at literature. We notice immediately his references to Jesus, mere allusions at first, but which begin to increase and take different turns as he matures as a writer. Christ was a constant interest of Eça's as he was for many intellectuals of the period. Batalha Reis informs us that Eça had read Renan's Life of Jesus (1863), and was no doubt, profoundly affected and influenced by the research and interpretations on Jesus the man.¹

In "O Milhafre" the bird sings the praises of Jesus, explaining why he will endure, while other gods have disappeared:

Este ficou, solitário, alumiando.
 Ele perdoou enquanto os outros lutaram,
 ele amou enquanto os outros choraram;
 por isso fica enquanto os outros passam.
 (PE,150)

The bird is very pessimistic, saying that the message Jesus brought to mankind has been forgotten and corrupted. The bird, a Romantic symbol of doom and evil, reminds the man, who had come upon Christ on the cross, that men were responsible for his death and for the present state of his teachings. Just like the house, the garden, and the crucifix, everything is rotten, in decay.

In another earlier work, "O Réu Tadeu" Stanislaw, one of the characters, "tinha um oculto amor por Jesus e pela legenda cristã; no entanto dava à alma toda a sorte de atitudes ímpias e escarnecedoras." ² He has a blasphemous philosophy of the flesh and a rather strange interpretation of the human nature of Jesus:

Respeita a natureza. Deus está encerrado e fechado na natureza como num vestido; quem o despedaça, fere-o. Aceita a carne. Jesus, que era todo alma, considerava-a tanto que a deu em troca do céu. A carne é alguma coisa tão magnífica que encobria Deus aos místicos. Jesus não se fez aceitar senão tomando-a para pretexto da sua alma. Ama o que ela desejar.
 (PE, I,53)

We find a more traditional view of Jesus in A Cidade e as Serras, when Jacinto and Zé Fernandes think of the city and

that only another mission from heaven can help mankind:

Para amolecer tão duro granito só uma doçura divina. Eis pois esperança da terra novamente posta num Messias!... Um decerto desceu outrora dos grandes Céus; e, para mostrar bem que mandado trazia, penetrou mansamente no mundo pela porta dum curral. Mas a sua passagem entre os homens foi tão curta. (CS,107)

Zé Fernandes believes that Jesus' deeds on earth were quickly forgotten that he was too eager to return to heaven. He criticizes the Church for becoming an ally of the very same forces against which Jesus had preached:

... e eis que por seu turno revestem a púrpura, e são Bispos, e são Papas, e se aliam à pressão, e reinam com ela, e edificam a duração do seu Reino sobre a miséria dos sem-pão e dos sem-lar! Assim tem de ser recomeçada a obra da Redenção. Jesus, ou Guatama, ou Crisna, ou outro desses filhos que Deus por vezes escolhe no sei duma Virgem, nos quietos vergéis da Ásia, deverá novamente descer à terra de servidão. (CS,107)

Zé Fernandes asks with a sarcastic tone whether or not another Redeemer has already been born.

One rather disconcerting comment on Jesus is found in CFM, when Fradique, in making a comparison of Jesus with Buddha and their respective teachings, concludes that Buddha is more deserving of merit:

Jesus foi um proletário, um mendigo sem vinha ou leira, sem amor nenhum terrestre, que errava pelos campos da Galileia, aconselhando aos homens a que abandonassem como ele os seus lares e bens, descessem à solidão e à mendicidade, para penetrarem um dia num Reino venturoso, abstracto, que está nos Céus. Nada sacrificava em si e instigava os outros ao sacrifício--chamando todas as grandezas ao nível da sua humildade. (CFM,221)

Jesus is severely criticized here and is reduced to a mere beggar with some crazy ideas about renouncing this life with the hope of a reward for the sacrifice in an alleged heaven. Buddha, on the contrary, abandoned his great wealth, home, a wife and child, to become a beggar urging others to follow his example. Fradique also contrasts their teachings. Jesus said:

'Eu sou filho de Deus, e insto com cada de um de vós, homens mortais, em que pratiqueis o bem durante os poucos anos que passais na Terra, para que eu depois, em prêmio, vos dê a cada um, individualmente, uma existência superior, infinita em anos e infinita em delícias, num palácio que está para além das nuvens e que é de meu Pai.' (CFM, 222)

Buddha preached against sin and for love, for perfection through charity. But, in sharp contrast to Jesus, he preached for the salvation of this world with no reward in this life or the next. There is no individual, egotistical gain for being good and just. The benefits received belong to the whole society and are shared by generations. This concept of reincarnation eradicates the individual and the selfishness present in the Christian promise of a just reward for good deeds to be granted in heaven for eternity. In Buddhism each person aids the next and is responsible to all those who follow him in succession. Eça, speaking through his alter-ego Fradique, seems to prefer Buddha to Jesus and puts the teachings of Jesus to an unjust contrast.

The tale, "O suave milagre", is a most singular one among Eça's writings on Jesus because it is an original contribution to the body of Christological lore. It also exemplifies the love that Jesus felt for the poor and downtrodden in a miraculous setting that is not verified in the Gospels.

When Jesus was in Galilee and work was beginning to spread in Judea about him and his miracles, the people wondered if this were the true Messiah. The reports were unconfirmed:

Mas uma esperança, deliciosa como o orvalho nos meses em que canta a cigarra, refrescou as almas simples: logo, por toda a campina que verdeja até Áscalon, o arado pareceu mais brando de enterrar, mais leve de mover a pedra de lagar. (Con,288)

In the town of Enganim there lived Obed, a rich old man, a keeper of the Law, very proud, who had suffered many losses on his farm:

E Obed, agachado à soleira da sua porta, com a ponta do manto sobre a face, palpava a poeira, lamentava a velhice, ruminava queixumes contra Deus cruel. (Con,289)

Obed, upon hearing of this Rabbi who was working miracles, thought that this Jesus might be a sorcerer:

Jesus da Galileia, mais novo, com magias mais viçosas decerto, se ele largamente o pagasse, sustaria a mortandade dos seus gados, reverdeceria aos seus os seus vinhedos. Então Obed ordenou aos seus servos que partissem, procurassem por toda a Galileia o Rabi novo, e com a promessa de dinheiros ou alfaias o trouxessem a Enganim, no país de Assacar. (Con,289)

Obed's servants pursue Jesus throughout the land but after each clue to his whereabouts they find that he has gone somewhere else. One day the servants encounter a Pharisee, of whom they inquire about the new prophet, born in Galilee. The Pharisee answered them:

---Oh escravos pagãos" Oh blasfemos!
 Onde ouvistes que existissem profetas
 ou milagres fora de Jerusalém? Só Jeová
 tem força no seu Templo. De Galileia
 surgem os nécios e os impostores... (Con,291)

After this scolding, tired and worn, they return and tell Obed of their failure in locating Jesus, on whom Obed had placed all his hopes.

Another man, a Roman centurion called Públio Sétimo, who had made himself wealthy and powerful in Palestine, had only one distressing factor in his life. His only daughter was dying slowly from an unknown disease. All efforts at effecting a cure had proved unsuccessful. Sétimo, hearing of Jesus and his miracles, decided to send his soldiers in search of him. The Romans searched everywhere but could not find him. Thinking that the Jews might be hiding him, protecting him from Roman justice, the angry soldiers resorted to brute force in order to get information. One day the soldiers met an old man in the forest, in front of a temple. When they asked him about the new prophet "que surgira na Galileia, e tão destro em milagres que ressuscitava os mortos e mudava a água em vinho", he responded vehemently with:

Como pode um bárbaro alterar a Ordem instituída por Zeus?... Mágicos e felicitadores são vendilhões, que murmuram palavras ocultas, para arrebatam a espórtula dos simples... Sem a permissão dos Imortais nem um galho seco pode tombar na árvore, nem seca folha pode ser sacudida na árvore. Não há profetas, não há milagres... Só Apolo Delfico conhece o segredo das coisas! (Con,295)

Just as the Pharisee had done, the old man scolds the Romans for being unbelievers. The soldiers return dejectedly to the fortress at Caesarea, causing great despair in Públio Sétimo. And reports of Jesus' great deeds continue to grow.

Between Enganim and Caesarea there lived a widow, "mais desgraçada mulher que todas as mulheres de Israel." (Con,295) She had a child who was a cripple and they lived in a hut in utter misery. One day a beggar wandered by and told her of Jesus:

...esse Rabi que aparecera na Galileia, e de um pão no mesmo cesto fazia sete, e amava todas as criancinhas, e enxugava todos os prantos, e prometia aos pobres um grande e luminoso Reino, de abundância maior que a Corte de Salomão. (Con,296)

He told her of Obed and Públio Sétimo who, though powerful men and in need of Jesus' help, were unable to locate him. The boy, hearing of such wonders, asked his mother to bring him that Rabbi, "que amava as criancinhas ainda as mais pobres, sarava os males ainda os mais antigos." (Con,297) The widow, despaired, for how to locate him where rich and powerful men had failed. And how could she leave her son, crippled as he was:

---Oh meu filho, como te posso deixar? Longas são as entradas da Galileia, e curta a piedade dos homens. Tão rota, tão trôpega, tão triste, até os cães me ladrariam da porta dos casais, Ninguém atenderia o meu recado, e me apontaria a morada do doce Rabi. (Con,298)

The crippled boy does not lose hope and he whispers:

---Mãe, eu queria ver Jesus...
E logo, abrindo devagar a porta e sorrindo, Jesus disse à criança: --- Aqui estou. (Con,298)

The son and his widowed mother were impoverished, without influence and means. And yet they succeeded where rich men had failed. They were also in need of Jesus' powers for healing their sick children. But they lacked humility, thinking that they could buy Jesus and his favors, or coerce him into helping. Jesus eluded them at every turn, making a miraculous appearance and visiting a sick child who believed in him and asked nothing of him except to see him.

In A Relíquia the references to Jesus are numerous, beginning with Raposo's initial encounter with a statue of Jesus in Titi's private oratory. His first impression, as a child, was not a pious one, but one of awe, for he repeats on several occasions that "Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo era todo de ouro, e reluzia." (Rel,22) The same statue serves Raposo, now a man, as a means of conjuring erotic visions of Adélia, his lover:

À noite, depois do chá, refugiava-me no oratório como numa fortaleza de santidade, embebia os meus olhos no corpo de ouro de Jesus, pregado na sua linda cruz de pau-preto. Mas então o brilho fulvo do metal precioso ia, pouco a

pouco, embaciando, tomava uma alva cor de carne, quente e tenra; a magreza de Messias triste, mostrando os ossos, arredondava-se em formas civinamente cheias e belas; por entre a coroa de espinhos, desenrolavam-se lascivos anéis de cabelos crespos e negros; no peito, sobre as duas chagas, levantavam-se rijos, direitos, dois esplêndidos seios de mulher, com um botãozinho de rosa na ponta;--- e era ela, a minha Adélia, que assim estava no alto da cruz, nua, soberba, risonha, vitoriosa, profanando o altar, com os braços abertos para mim. (Rel,67)

The association of decadence and opulence with Christ on the cross is found again in Raposo's critical description of his visit to Christ's tomb on Calvary:

Em borno a capela que a abriga, resplandecia com um luxo sensual e pagão. No tecto azul-ferrete brilhavam sóis de prata, signos do zodíaco, estrelas, asas de anjo, flores de púrpura; e, de entre este fausto sideral pendiam de correntes de pérolas os velhos símbolos da fecundidade, os ovos de avestruz, ovos sacros de Cistarte e de Baco de ouro. Sobre o altar elevava-se uma cruz vermelha com um Cristo tosco pintado a ouro--- que parecia vibrar, viver através do fulgor difuso dos molhos de lumes, da faiscação das alfaias, do fum dos aromáticos ardendo em taças de bronze. (Rel,123)

Raposo is not devout but he could not prevent his sensibilities from being affected by the travesty of religious devotion he experienced inside the tomb. He is shocked further when he learns that the Turks were forced to post guards inside the tomb to act as intermediaries and prevent rival Christian sects from murdering each other, all in the name

of Jesus.

When Raposo begins his journey into time and finds himself inexplicably in Israel , at the time of Jesus' trial, we find some rather revealing insights into the reactions and opinions of the contemporary inhabitants of Jerusalem. The man whom all Christendom reveres as God incarnate was, after all, only a man, and it is this fact which is made salient in this disturbing section of A Relíquia. The reader feels equally as upset as Raposo when Jesus is discussed as a charlatan, a man who can cause evil, and as an unchaste man, who entices women to follow him and treats all equally, whether she be pagan, adulteress, prostitute, or even a Samaritan. To us, these qualities are virtuous but to his contemporaries they were most assuredly revolutionary and reprehensible. Even the miracles attributed to Jesus lose their divine nature when one of the Sadducees informs a group that the miracles of Jesus are surpassed daily in Alexandria and that for one dracma any pagan wizard can perform one.³ One of the Essenes, a follower of Jesus, countered by saying:

... quando ele falava era como se es-
coresse uma fonte de leite em terra de
fome e secura; até a luz parecia um bem
maior! As águas, no lago de Tiberíade,
amansavam para o escutar; e aos olhos
das crianças que o rodeavam, subia a
gravidade de uma fé madura... Ele fa-
lava; e como pombas que desdobram as
asas e voam da porta de um santuário,
nos víamos desprender-se dos seus lá-
bios, irem voar por sobre as nações

do mundo, toda sorte de coisas nobres
e santas, a caridade, a fraternidade,
a justiça, a misericórdia, e as formas
novas, belas, divinamente belas, de
amor! (Rel,182)

This prophetic and obviously biased description of Jesus preaching to the multitudes, anticipating the universality which his teachings were to assume in Europe, is immediately denied by one of the men learned in Hebraic law. Once again we are forced to confront the essential humanity of Jesus, seeing him stripped of divine inspiration and being reduced to just another rabbi amongst so many others. And what is more, he is labeled a false prophet, a blasphemer, and a traitor to Israel, for he does not speak out against Rome.

Another interesting fact in Eça's presentation of Raposo as a contemporary of Jesus is that when Raposo realizes that there exists the possibility of his seeing Jesus in person, the rabbi who is called "Jeschoua bar Joseph", his instinctive faith is revealed. He texts his conscience and feels unworthy of even looking upon Jesus, displaying an anachronistic adoration as he says:

E os meus joelhos católicos quase bateram
as lajes, num impulso de ficar ali caído,
enrodilhado no meu pavor, rezando desespe-
radamente e para sempre... Oh mesquinha e
amarga deficiência da minha devoção! Eu
não beijara jamais, com suficiente amor,
o seu pé dorido e roxo na sua igreja da
Graça! (Rel,189)

Raposo's dilemma stems from the implicit contradiction in being confronted with a man about to receive the penal-

ties of both Roman and Hebraic law, but whom he has only seen in the form of a statue totally devoid of humanity. He curses himself for not having adored that statue more as he is about to face the man whom he and all Christians accept as God. This thought frightens him and fills him with awe, for he is to meet a divine person, perhaps to be judged:

Mas ver Jesus! Ver como eram os seus cabelos, que pregas fazia a sua túnica, e o que acontecia na terra quando os seus lábios se abriam!... eu poderia ver, presente e corpóreo, o meu Senhor Jesus tão realmente e tão bem como o viram S. João e S. Mateus. Seguiria a sua sacra sombra no muro branco---onde cairia também a minha sombra... E abafando com ambas as mãos o barulho do meu coração---eu poderia compreender, saída da sua boca inefável, um ai, um soluço, um queixume, uma promessa! Eu saberia então uma palavra nova do Cristo, não escrita no Evangelho; ---e só teria o direito pontifical de a repetir às multidões prostradas. A minha autoridade surgia, na Igreja, como a de um Testamento novíssimo. Eu era uma testemunha inédita da Paixão. Tornava-me S. Teodorico Evangelista! (Rel,190)

Raposo's status as eyewitness to Jesus quickly supercedes any humility he may have felt and he becomes boastful, thinking of himself as a new evangelist, already basking in the admiration. But then, when he actually sees Jesus, Raposo is suddenly transformed into a contemporary and Jesus is no longer the Christ, the Messiah:

Era como se de repente me tivessem fugido da memória longos, laboriosos séculos de história e de religião. Nem pensei que aquele homem seco e moreno fosse o remidor da humanidade... Achei-me inexplicavelmente anterior nos tempos.

Eu já não era Teodorico Raposo, cristão e bacharel. ...Era Teodoricus, um lusitano. ... E aquele homem não era Jesus, nem Cristo, nem Messias---mas apenas um moço de Galileia que, cheio de um grande sonho, desce da sua verde aldeia para transfigurar todo um mundo e renovar todo um céu... (Rel,195)

Jesus is described in his frailty and vulnerability as a man, possessed of an ideal, but who is caught by circumstance and is powerless to escape the society who wished to suppress him, condemning him in a public trial, alongside two common criminals. Raposo is witness to the trial and describes the scene vividly, making us spectators as well:

Jesus estava de pé, com as mãos cruzadas e frouxamente ligadas por uma corda que rojava no chão. Um largo albornoz de lã grossa, em riscas pardas, orlado de franjas azuis, cobria-o até aos pés, calçados de sandálias já gastas pelos caminos do deserto e atadas com correias. (Rel, 196)

Raposo is obsessed with the physical descriptions of Jesus, as if thereby dispelling all notion of the divine in Jesus. He continues and points out an interesting discrepancy between his own account and that which is found in the Gospels:

Não lhe ensanguentava a cabeça essa coroa inumana de espinhos, de que eu lera nos Evangelhos; tinha um turbante branco, feito de uma longa faixa de linho enrolado...

.....
 Não se movia, forte e sereno diante do pretor. Só algum estremecimento das mãos presas, traía o tumulto do seu coração; e às vezes respirava longa-

mente, como se o seu peito, acostumado aos livres e claros ares dos montes e dos lagos de Galileia, sufocasse entre aqueles mármore, sob o pesado velário romano, na estreiteza formalist da Lei.

.....
E foi assim que eu vi Jesus de Galileia preso, diante do pretor de Roma... (Rel,196)

The trial continues, witnesses are heard, people are moving in and out of the courtyard in front of the temple, when Raposo happens to meet an old man, a vendor of figs, who tells him an interesting story about Jesus. It seems that one day, as he was busy selling his stone tablets with holy names carved on them, the rabbi Jesus appeared:

Mas eis que há dias esse rabi de Galileia aparece no templo, cheio de palavras--- de cólera, ergue o bastão e aremessa-se sobre nós, bradando que aquela 'era a casa de seu pai, e que nós a poluíamos! ... E dispersou todas as minhas pedras, que nunca mais vi, que eram o meu pão! (Rel,)

The banishment of the merchants from the temple indirectly affects a poor vendor, who loses his means of livelihood and cannot feed his family. The point being made here is a radical one, diverging strongly from the Gospels, which present Jesus only in his positive characteristics. The moral motivation for such an act is cancelled by the harm done to the poor merchants and the alleged partiality shown by Jesus to those merchants who had paid for their places in the temple and who, therefore, did not incur the anger of Jesus. The very idea that Jesus's actions could cause harm goes against

all interpretations and Raposo is disturbed by it:

Bati no peito, desesperado. E a minha angústia toda era por Jesus ignorar esta desgraça, que, na violência do seu espiritualismo, suas mãos misericordiosas tinham involuntariamente criado, como a chuva benéfica por vezes, fazendo nascer a sementeira, quebra e mata uma flor isolada. (Rel,215)

Raposo cannot tolerate that any imperfection should touch Jesus, nor that any claims be made against him; so he gives the wronged man many valuable coins, thereby paying the debt incurred by Jesus. Raposo does not witness any further proceedings of the trial, neither Jesus carrying the cross nor the crucifixion itself. But he know that it will take place and when Topsisius invites him to Calvary, he reflects on the punishment:

...sobre uma colina de morte, destinada aos escravos, o homem de Galileia, incomparável amigos dos homens, arrefecia na sua cruz, e para sempre se apagava aquela pura voz de amor e de espiritualidade. (Rel,237)

On the road they meet Gad, a friend of Joseph of Arametia, who gives them news and mentions that Jesus at first refused the narcotic drink which was traditionally given to the condemned to relieve the suffering, but later took it when reminded of promises made in Bethany. Raposo and Topsisius then to to Calvary to see for themselves and once again we are confronted with the image of Jesus, the man:

Então ansioso, ergui os olhos... Ergui os olhos para a cruz mais alta, cravada com cunhas numa fenda de rocha. O rabi

agonizava. E aquele corpo que não era de marfim nem de prata, e que arquejava, vivo, quente, atado e pregado a um madeiro, com um pano velho na cinta, um travesão passado entre as pernas--- encheu-me de terror e espanto... (Rel, 242)

Raposo's only concept of Jesus had been formulated through statues and other facets of his iconographic representations, but the essential aspects of the humanity of Jesus had never been fully understood. No wonder then that Raposo, while being moved by the suffering of Christ, also reacts to the man himself, to the physical presence of an actual person, one whom he had only associated with a statue made of ivory or silver.

Raposo meets Eliézer, a physician to the Sanedrim, who had never heard of Jesus. The doctor discounts the fact that Jesus is the Messiah, citing the events that will precede his coming and arguing that Jesus met none of the requirements. Raposo then becomes a defender, a disciple of Jesus, and counters the doctor's objections:

Então fui eu, Teodorico, ibero, de um remoto município romano, que contei a um físico de Jerusalém, criado entre as mármores do templo, a vida do Senhor! Disse as coisas doces e as coisas fortes; as três claras estrelas sobre o seu berço; a sua palavra amansando as águas de Galileia, o coração dos simples palpitando por ele; o reino do Céu que prometia; e a sua face augusta brilhando diante do pretor de Roma. (Rel, 258)

In the meantime Joseph of Arimatia reclaims the body of Jesus. Gad tells Raposo that in front of witnesses from the

temple Jesus was placed in a tomb, with the slab covering it partially opened, according to custom. Eça then makes another departure from tradition by suggesting that Jesus was still alive when buried. Gad, an Essene, is telling Raposo the events following the burial:

Cada um recolheu à sua morada... Eu entrei pela porta de Nenath, nada mais vi. Mas, apenas anoitecesse, Jose e o outro, fiel inteiramente, deviam ir buscar o corpo de Jesus, e com as receitas que vem no livro de Salomão, fazê-lo reviver do desmaio em que o deixou o vinho narcotizado e o sofrimento. (Rel, 262)

This revolutionary intrigue is expanded further. When the conspirators went to remove the body it was still warm. At Joseph's house they had all the potions but, as they were to begin reviving him, Jesus died. Therefore, Jesus was buried secretly leaving the other grave open and empty. Upon hearing this Topsisius proclaims: "a lenda incial do Cristianismo está feita, vai findar o mundo antigo!" (Rel,266) Topsisius, using his knowledge of the events, completes the tale:

Depois de amanhã, quando acabar o Sabat, as mulheres de Galileia voltarão ao sepulcro de Jose de Ramata, onde deixaram Jesus sepultado... E encontram-no aberto, encontram-no vazio"... 'Desapareceu, não está aqui!...' Então, Maria de Magdala, crente e apaixonada, irá gritar por Jerusalém --- ressucitou, ressucitou! E assim o amor de uma mulher muda a face do mundo, e dá uma religião mais à humanidade! (Rel,266)

So we learn that it was not the words of Jesus, nor his

teachings that created the new religion, but his miraculous resurrection, planned in advance and prematurely executed by his accidental death. Ironically, then, the religion allegedly founded on the basis of his divine birth and death was, in effect, started by a misinterpretation regarding the fact of the death of Jesus. This is a radical departure indeed from the Gospel tradition.

The ideas expounded by Fradique Mendes earlier in his letter to Guerra Junqueiro, that religion is essentially a set of rituals reduced to automatic and repetitious compliance, devoid of ethics and morality, is nowhere better illustrated in Eça's works than in O Crime do Padre Amaro and A Relíquia. In these two novels Eça developed into full realization the concept that the faithful are concerned only with the external aspects with which to deal with God. Eça demonstrated, with a group of Catholics in the town of Leiria, that their understanding of the ethical teachings are rudimentary, if at all, that their faith is rather shallow, and that the priests are equally as ignorant, unable to lead and instruct the faithful. Superstition, immorality, and sanctimoniousness run rampant in the town. CPA, states Norman Araujo, "shows the general corruption of Portuguese priesthood in the second half of the nineteenth century in a society where material values have substantially undermined spiritual ones and where the appearance of religion, the rituals of religious observance, have come to mean more than the in-

trinsic, immaterial dedication to the faith." ⁴

To demonstrate how far-reaching was the collaboration between the priests and parishioners, one has only to study the workings of the society founded by D. Josefa Dias, sister to Cônego Dias, and S. Joaneira. The society was called the "Associação das Servas da Senhora da Piedade" and had its center in S. Joaneira's house, which quickly became an ecclesiastical meeting place. It was said by the less pious in the town that the Church administration was now located in S. Joaneira's house. Even the maids had to pass doctrinal muster before being allowed to work in the house. Some of the priests and the choirmaster would meet there regularly on Friday evenings. So powerful did this group become that:

...se se dizia de um homem---não é temente a Deus, havia o dever de o desacreditar santamente. As nomeações de sineiros, cozeiros, serventes de sacristia arranjavam-se ali por intrigas subtis e palaveas piedosas. Tinham tomado um certo vestuário entre o preto e o roxo; toda a casa cheirava a cera e a incenso; e a S. Joaneira, mesmo, monopolizara o comércio das hóstias.
(CPA,100)

It is no wonder that Amélia, growing up among priests, should have an exaggerated idea of religion. When she was a little girl she used to read her prayer book and go to mass every day, and would take communion every week. As she grew her attitude changed:

...o que amava agora na religião e na igreja era o aparato, a festa--as belas missas cantadas ao órgão, as capas

recamadas de ouro, reluzindo entre os
tocheiros, o altar-mor na glória das
flores cheirosas, o roçar das correntes
dos incensadores de prata, os uníssonos
que rompem briosamente no coro das ale-
luias. Tomava a Sé como a sua ópera:
Deus era o seu luxo. (CPA,101)

Amaro had a similar upbringing, having lived as an orphan and serving as acolyte in a private chapel, surrounded by religious objects, eventually to be induced into entering a seminary without displaying a serious vocation. As a seminarian he received good grades but he was neither ambitious nor overtly devout. As a youth constantly among women, he had developed an unnatural attraction for them. While studying for the priesthood, he would often confuse his sensuality with his devotion. In his cell there was a picture of the Virgin, to whom he would pray:

...mas ficando a contemplar a litografia,
esquecia a santidade da Virgem, via apenas
diante de si uma linda moça loura; amava-a;
suspirava; despindo-se olhava-a de revés
lúbricamente; e mesmo a sua curiosidade
ousava erguer as pregas castas da túnica
azul da imagem e supor formas, redondezas,
uma carne branca... Julgava então ver os
olhos do Tentador luzir na escuridão do
quarto; aspergia a cama de água benta; mas
não se atrevia a revelar estes delírios, no
confessionário, ao domingo. (CPA,43)

When he became a priest and had secured his position in Leiria, he entered upon his new life with the same characteristic passivity he had always showed. When he said mass the ritual had lost its mystique for him, and it became a perfunctory even in his day:

Amaro já não celebrava a missa como nos primeiros tempos, com uma devoção enternecida. 'Estava agora habituado', dizia. E como não ceava, àquela hora, em jejum, com a frescura cortante do ar, já sentia apetite, engrolava depressa, monotonamente, as santas leituras da Epístola e dos Evangelhos. (CPA,108)

As a priest Amaro was a failure, a hypocrite, and a reprobate. Once he had seduced Amelia, his passion and desires became even more entangled with his religious feelings. On the pretext of giving religious instruction to a crippled and demented girl, he took advantage of the opportunity to meet Amelia there. When Amelia showed some scruples and was bothered by the presence of the girl in the house while they made love, he invited her to visit him in the sacristy:

...e mesmo com o fim de a distrair, aproveitando a solidão da sacristia, mostrava-lhe às vezes os paramentos, os cálices, as vestimentas, procurando interessá-la por um frontal novo ou por uma antiga renda de sobrepeliz, provando-lhe, pela familiaridade com que tocava nas relíquias, que era ainda o senhor pároco e não perdera o seu crédito no Céu. (CPA,423).

One day Amaro showed Amelia a cape that had been donated to the church to adorn the statue of the Virgin Mary. Amaro wanted Amelia to try it on. She at first refused, sensing the blasphemy in the suggestion, but she finally accepts the cape:

Mirou-se um momento, naquela seda azul-celeste que a envolvia toda, picada do brilho aguda das estrelas, com uma magnificência sideral. Sentia-lhe o peso rico. A santidade que o manto adquiria

no contacto com os ombros da imagem penetrava-a duma voluptuosidade beata. Um fluido mais doce que o ar da terra envolvia-a, fazia-lhe passar no corpo a carícia do éter do paraíso. Parecia-lhe ser uma santa no andar, ou mais alto, no Céu. Amaro babava-se para ela: --Oh filhinha, és mais linda que Nossa Senhora. (CPA,425)

The transformation is now complete. Her religious feelings are hopelessly confused with her sexual desires. Amaro's sensual thoughts as a seminarian are realized. The image on the lithograph unto which he used to project his fantasies has turned into a real woman before his eyes.

The priests have their own reunions apart, where they relax, speak freely and are themselves. One notable gathering was the dinner given by the abbot of Cortegaça, the best cook in the diocese. The dinner was attended by Amaro, Dias, Natario, Brito and Libaninho, an effeminate admirer, who frequents the company of priests. During and after the meal they discuss various topics that touch upon their roles as priests. While they are dining a poor man comes to the door begging for food. He is given some bread and goes away. His presence sparks a discussion on poverty. Natario admits that there are many poor in the parish, but insists that there is much laziness and immorality among them. The host makes an attempt at charity, reminding his colleagues that their poverty is very real, with large families having nothing to eat at times except some greens. Dias replies:

...Então que diabo querias tu que eles comessem, ---exclamou o cônego Dias lam-

bendo os dedos depois de ter esburgado a
 asa do capão. ---Querias que comessem peru,
 Cada um como quem é! (CPA,132)

The subject of elections comes up during the discussion and only Amaro, who lacks experience, does not know how to rig an election. Natari tells them how once he was able to get voters to vote his way by arranging a miracle:

Tinha-se entendido com um missionário, e na véspera da eleição receberam-se na freguesia cartas vindas do Céu e assinadas pela Virgem Maria, pedindo, com promessas de salvação e ameaças do Inferno, votos para o candidato do Governo. De chupeta, hem? (CPA,134)

All the priests are united in their admiration for Natario's ingenuity.

Another area where the clergy holds power over the parishioners, the women in particular, is in the act of confession. Amaro, still an idealist, reminds them that confession is a serious act and should not be used lightly, certainly not for control over elections. Natario counters with:

---Escutem, criaturas de Deus! Eu não quero dizer que a confissão seja uma brincadeira! Irra! Eu não sou pedreiro-livre! O que eu quero dizer é que é um meio de persuasão, de saber o que se passa, dirigir o rebanho para aqui ou para ali... E quando é para o serviço de Deus, é uma arma. Ai está o que é---a absolvição é uma arma! (CPA,135)

For once the other priests react to this blasphemy. Natario becomes rather angry and questions their authority as confessors in granting absolution to sinners. Do they really believe, he asks, that by being made priests that they now have

the divine power to forgive sins, that they can play God? The priests are completely taken aback by his argument and call Natario a heretic. The argument is quickly resolved when Gertrudes, the abbot's housekeeper, enters with a platter of rice pudding.

In the town there are a few dissenters who can see the crass materialism and the lack of spirituality in the clergy of Leiria. There are those who resent the subversion of the principles of love and charity that are the essence of Christianity. They see the words of Jesus corrupted and changed beyond recognition. The conduct of the clergy has caused them to become vehemently anti-clerical. One of them is Eduardo, who has several reasons for hating priests:

Sempre fora inimigo dos padres! Achava-os um 'perigo para a civilização e para a liberdade': supunha-os intrigantes, com hábitos de luxúria, e conspirando sempre para restabelecer 'as trevas da meia-idade'; odiava a confissão que julgava uma arma terrível contra a paz do lar; e tinha uma religião vaga--hostil ao culto, às rezas, aos jejuns, cheia de admiração pelo Jesus poético, revolucionário, amigo dos pobres, e 'pelo sublime espírito de Deus que enche todo o Universo'!
(CPA, 186)

Furthermore, Amaro had displaced him in Amelia's sympathy. He instinctively sensed her attraction to Amaro and resented his influence on Amelia. As an act of desperation brought on by jealousy, he decided to write an article entitled, Os modernos fariseus, in which he took vengeance on Dias, Brito, Amaro, and Natario. Eduardo's intention was to publish the

article as an editorial but the publisher, Godinho, refused, explaining that it was too volatile, but that he could print it as a letter from a reader. Eduardo signed the article simply, "Um liberal", with the closing words, "Cuidado, sotainas negras!" (CPA,198) Eduardo included a comment on each one of the priests, describing each detail of their most vulnerable characteristics in the strongest of terms. In reference to Amaro he wrote:

...Mas o perigo são certos padres novos e ajanotados, párocos por influências de condes da capital, vivendo na intimidade das famílias de bem onde há donzelas inexperientes, e aproveitando-se da influência do seu sagrado mistério para lançar na alma da inocente a semente de chamas criminosas! (CPA,206)

As a result of the article, Amaro moved out of S. Joaneira's house, and Amelia decided to accept Eduardo's offer of marriage. Unfortunately, Natario persisted until he discovered the author of the article. Eduardo lost Amelia, his job, and had to leave Leiria, giving up all hope of securing a civil service position. Before leaving, Eduardo went to speak to Godinho, to seek his help. Godinho explained that he could not help him since Eduardo had incurred the wrath of the Church, which is supported by the State, and it mattered little whether his intentions were just or not:

--Meu rapaz, tu podes ter socialmente todas as virtudes; mas, segundo a religião de nossos pais, todas as virtudes que não são católicas são inúteis e perniciosas. Ser trabalhador, casto, honrado, justo, verdadeiro, são grandes

virtudes; mas para os padres e para a Igreja não contam. Se tu fores um modelo de bondade mas não fores à missa, não jejuares, não te confessares, não te desbarratares para o senhor cura--- és simplesmente um maroto.

.....
Isto prova que a moral católica é diferente da moral natural e da moral social.
(CPA, 306)

And so Eduardo has to resign himself to having been defeated by a force much greater than he.

In the novel there is one character, Abade Ferrão, who is not presented as a worldly, conniving clergyman, but rather as a simple priest, unassuming in his ways, humble and kind. It is he who comforts Amelia and who gives her spiritual strength. He is the only person who does not condemn her, but instead extends to her the true Christian spirit of charity. He serves, as a character, to offset the harsh, anti-clerical attitudes that Eça imparts to the reader through the words and deeds of the other priests. Eça described Abade Ferrão in this manner:

E ali ficara, entre gente pobre, numa aldeia de terra escassa, vivendo de dois pedaços de pão e uma chávena de leite, com uma batina limpa onde os remendos faziam um mapa, precipitando-se a uma meia légua por um temporal desfeito se um paroquiano tinha uma dor de dentes, passando uma hora a consolar uma velha a quem tinha morrido uma cabra...E sempre de bom humor, sempre com um cruzado no fundo do bolso dos calções para uma necessidade do seu vizinho...
(CPA, 504)

CPA is a microcosm of Eça's religious ideas, a forum where he presents his views on a Church whose faith, ethics,

and morality have been corrupted by its clergy and the faithful. The dogma and doctrines remain sound, full of truth and beauty. Eça does not do battle against the Church but he opposes the clergy who have become parasites of the system, and who by their own corruption, have corrupted their congregations. CPA, writes Araujo, "remains anti-clerical rather than anti-religious. Eça is not here concerned with testing the validity of religion. His concern with the maladministration of Christianity, with the progressive materialism of Catholic devotion particularly, does not question the basic tenets of Catholicism in any philosophical manner." 5

A Relíquia, as a novel with a religious theme, is an atypical work, a hybrid among Eça's other works. It is similar to CPA in that it is a roman-a-clef with religious criticism and anti-clerical overtones, but there are no characters taken from the clergy that stand out clearly as Amaro or Dias. Instead, the plot revolves around two central characters, both of whom have their personal and divergent views on God, the Church, its rituals, and practices. One is D. Patrocínio who, in similar manner as D. Maria da Assunção in CPA, possessed an arsenal of religious brinc-à-brac to protect her. She frequents the company of priests and has her own private oratory. The other is her nephew, Teodorico Raposo, an orphan, who was raised by his titi from the age of seven. Raposo is a character drawn from the picaresque novel, a sly

fox as his name indicates, who from the beginning of his life with D. Patrocínio, resists her efforts to convert him to her idea of faith and its practices. Outwardly he complies and succeeds in ingratiating himself with her. Privately he mocks her and generally behaves as a true hypocrite and in ways which she would find shocking. His motivation in continuing his dual existence is that one day he hopes to inherit a considerable portion of her wealth.

The novel thus described sounds like a standard work of the realist school, naturalist and determinist, taken from life and from Eça's prodigious powers of observation. But there is a striking departure from the norm. A Relíquia does not adhere strictly to that which is observed in nature or society. Eça chose to include an episode which happens during Raposo's trip to the Holy Land, in which time is suspended and Raposo and the learned German scholar, Topsius, travel backward to the time of Jesus. Raposo becomes an eyewitness to the Passion of Christ. Was this a dream, a hallucination on the part of Raposo? And why should an impious, hypocritical character as he be privileged to have such an experience? Literary men of the period immediately criticized Eça for such an inconsistency in chronology and in character portrayal. Of this aspect of Rel João Alves da Costa wrote, "não seria, porém, o caminhar do escritor para uma nova fase literária e de homem também? Não seria uma nova mística que se aproximava, como afirma Gaspar Simões? A dúvida persiste e mais aguça a curio-

side." 6

A Relíquia, then, is a study of religion from the point of view of two characters, D. Patrocínio and Teodoro Raposo, with Raposo assuming the role of protagonist, for it is he about whom the plot evolves. D. Patrocínio is the catalyst, the prime mover for Raposo. She is a beata, one more example of those women whose Catholic upbringing has become an obsession, characterized by its external practices and devoid of moderation and faith. For D. Patrocínio religion is the accumulation of objects that represent holiness and serve to explain concretely the ineffable. In her house she has an oratory, her own private chamber of prayer and a rather impressive one:

Era todo revestido de seda roxa, com painéis enternecedores em caixilhos floridos, contando os trabalhos do Senhor; as rendas da toalha do altar roçavam o chão tapetado; os santos de marfim e de madeira, com auríolas lustrosas, viviam num bosque de violetas e de camélias vermelhas. A luz das velas de cera fazia brilhar duas salvas enormes de prata, enconstadas à parede, em repouso, como broquéis de santidade; e erguido em sua cruz de pau-preto, sob um dossel, Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo era todo de ouro, e reluzia. (Rel,22)

Raposo soon learns that his aunt is intransigent when it comes to dealing with impurity and immorality. She warns him to have nothing to do with women, with the threat of being evicted from her home and disinherited. One day when he arrived late for tea, D. Patrocínio was incensed. Raposo lied and told her that he had been detained by a friend whom he

had met on the steps of a convent. Raposo reported that his friend had wanted to tell him of his sister's impending marriage. D. Patrocínio reacted violently, her modesty disturbed:

Olha que conversa! Que porcaria de conversa! Que indecente conversa para o pátio de uma casa de religião! Cala-te, alma perdida, que até devias ter vergonha!... E fique entendendo! Para outra vez que venha a estas horas, não me entra em casa. Fica na rua, como um cão... (Rel,39)

Her only wish is that he fear God and comply with her devotions and practices. When Raposo goes out she usually gives him some pious errands to do for her, which he dutifully performs, not wishing to incur her anger and displeasure.

After Raposo received his degree he was mostly idle and one day he ran into a friend who had just returned from Paris. Raposo said that he would like to visit that great metropolis, especially for its night life. Raposo knew that his aunt considered Paris a sinful city, but one evening, at dinner among D. Patrocínio's priestly friends, Raposo was asked if he held one secret ambition. He said immediately that he would like to visit Paris and see the churches, of course:

---Não é necessário ir tão longe para ver bonitas igrejas---replicou ela, ríspidamente. ---E lá em festas com órgão e um Santíssimo armado com luxo, e uma rica procissão na rua, e boas vozes, e respeito, imagens de dar gosto, ninguém bate cá os nossos portugueses!... (Rel,73)

Raposo is crushed and his hopes shattered of ever seeing Paris. Instead, after consulting with Father Casimiro, she decided to

send Raposo to the Holy Land on a pilgrimage, from which she hopes to benefit, although she cannot make the journey. She expects to gain certain indulgences through her nephew. And furthermore, she expects him to bring back a relic, a miraculous one which will guarantee her health:

---Se entendes que mereço alguma coisa, pelo que tenho feito por ti, desde que morreu tua mãe, já educando-te, já vestindo-te, já dando-te água para passeares, já cuidando da tua alma, então traz-me desses santos lugares uma santa relíquia, uma relíquia milagrosa que eu guarde, com que me fique sempre apegando nas minhas aflições e que cure as minhas doenças.
(Rel,83)

When Raposo returned from Palestine she regarded him as holy, as one endowed with the same attributes as the sacred places he visited. With great fervor and trembling she placed her hands on the box which contained the relics. In the oratory, "quando se rojou sobre o tapete(deixando-me a almofada de velude verde, foi tanto para o seu Salvador como para o seu sobrinho, que levantou as mãos adorabundas." (Rel,297)

And what of Raposo? How have all the years he has lived with his sanctimonious aunt affected him? From the very day of his arrival in her home, Raposo's behavior was characterized by hypocrisy and irreverence to all things religious. He is hypocritical in his feigned, pious attitudes which are nothing more than posturings for the benefit of his aunt, whom he hates and finds repulsive. He is irreverent and impious in thought, word, and deed in his treatment of even the most sacred objects. Everything D. Patrocínio represents is odious

to him and he, therefore, rejects and derides religion, the area where she is not domineering and where she exerts power over him,

While away at school Raposo would write a letter to his aunt in which he exaggerated his observances, whereas in reality he was leading a life full of adventures away from the prying eyes of D. Patrocínio:

Todos os quinze dias, porém, escrevia à titi, na minha boa letra, uma carta humilde e piedosa, onde lhe contava a severidade dos meus estudos, o recato dos meus hábitos, as copiosas rezas e os rígidos jejuns, os sermões de que me nutria, os doces desagravos ao Coração de Jesus à tarde, na Sé, e as novenas com que consolava a minha alma em San Cruz no remanso dos dias feriados...

(Rel,28)

Raposo is constantly having to make excuses for his infractions against his aunt's mandates and exaggerating his religious behavior in order to please her:

Por isso, mais tarde, quando penetrou no oratório para cumprir o terço, já eu lá estava, de rojos, gemendo, martelando o peito, e suplicando ao Cristo de ouro que me perdoasse ter ofendido a titi. (Rel,38)

Raposo does not feel humiliated by what he does. He is quite brazen in his lies and he know the measure of titi's gullibility. One evening, on his return from the opera, he commented on the dress of a woman he saw there:

...Como um moralista magoado, queixei-me do nédio decote de uma senhora imodesta, nua dos braços, nua no peito, mostrando toda essa carne, esplêndida e irreligiosa, que é a desolação do justo e a angústia da Igreja. ---Jesus, Senhor, que vexame!

Acredite a titi, estava com nojo. A titi
gostou deste nojo. (Rel,44)

With such behavior and manners Raposo slowly gains the confidence of D. Patrocínio but he realizes that he must redouble his efforts in order to convince her once and for all that he is pious and God-fearing:

Sim! eu devia identificar-me tanto com as coisas eclesiásticas e submergir-me nelas de tal sorte, que a titi, pouco a pouco, não pudesse distinguir-me claramente desse conjunto rançoso, opas, tochas, bentinhos, palmitos, andores, que era para ela a Religião e o Céu; e tomasse a minha voz pelo santo ciciar dos latins de missa; e a minha sobre casaca de estrelas, e diáfana como túnica de bem aventurança. Então, evidentemente, ela testaria em meu favor---certa que testava em favor de Cristo e da sua doce Madre Igreja! (Rel,54)

Raposo's religious fervor is a sham, of course, and his only motivation is greed for the inheritance. When titi offers him the trip to the Holy Land he sees the opportunity to ingratiate himself while enjoying the pleasures of the flesh equal to those he could have experienced in Paris. The dualism by which he lives leads Raposo into an unexpected downfall. He confuses the package with the negligée that Mary, his English girlfriend, had given him in Egypt, with the bundle that contained the crown of thorns that he had found in the desert and was to present to D. Patrocínio as the one and true crown that Jesus had worn. When titi sees the undergarment she realizes that Raposo is an impostor and not worthy of her confidence. He is immediately evicted and

disinherited. He suffers the ultimate degradation, becoming a salesman, peddling the relics he had brought with him from Palestine. His contempt for religion and society is so great that he cannot admit to his misdeeds. His last comments are full of cynicism"

Sim! quando em vez de uma coroa de martírio aparecera, sobre o altar da titi, uma camisa de pecado--eu deveria ter gritado, com segurança: 'Eis aí a relíquia!' Quis fazer a surpresa... Não é a coroa de espinhos. É melhor! É a camisa de Santa Maria Madalena!... Deu-ma no deserto... (Rel,347)

NOTES

- ¹ "Lia também a Vida de Jesus, o São Paulo, de Ernesto Reman, e as Memórias de Judas, de Petrucelli della Gattina." as quoted in Eça de Queiroz, Prosas Bárbaras. (Porto, Lello & Irmão, s.d.) p. 50.
- ² Eça de Queiroz, Prosas Esquecidas (Ficção 1866-72), I, ed. Alberto Machado da Rosa. (Lisboa, Editorial Presença, 1965), p. 54.
- ³ Rel, 183
- ⁴ Norman Araujo: "The Practice and Pretense of Religion in Eça de Queiroz's 'O Crime do Padre Amaro'". Aquila, Chestnut Hill Studies in Modern Languages and Literatures. Volume I. Boston College, Chestnut Hill, 1968, p. 1
- ⁵ Araujo, p. 6
- ⁶ João Alves da Costa "O Problema Religioso em Eça de Queiroz." Encontro, No. 70, Janeiro de 1968, Lisboa, p. 10.

CHAPTER IV

FRAGMENTARY HAGIOLOGY IN EÇA DE QUEIROZ

Eça de Queiroz, from his earliest works as an essayist and throughout his career as a novelist, was characterized by a profound interest in saints--their lives, their legends, and their attributes. His use of the saints is not, in the majority of cases, to be interpreted as an expression of the author's adherence to Catholicism, but rather as indicative of Eça's novelistic technique in which the saints form an integral part of the text and are thereby transformed into one more device to be employed to the fullest extent. And he does indeed use the saints to great advantage. The vast number of saints whom he mentions and the Dicionário de Milagres show that Eça had read widely in the field of hagiology. Although there is reason to believe that the research for the Dicionário de Milagres and the compilation of it was not done by him, it is safe to assume that he had recourse to the material subsequently included in the Dicionário or, at the very least, was well acquainted with many of the individual lives of saints and the Flos Sanctorum of Peninsular hagiology.

Eça's long standing obsession with hagiology culminating in the writing of the three lives of saints; S. Cristóvão,

S. Onofre, and S. Frei Gil, places him in a unique position in the history of 19th century Portuguese literature, for he is one of the few authors to use hagiology, a subject matter that is essentially religious and very often found in the popular tradition, but rarely employed as a topic for a more serious, literary intent. With the posthumous appearance of the Lendas de Santos, a whole new phase of Eça's literary creativity was revealed--one which linked him directly to the literary movements of the last decade of the 19th century and which indicated a constant theme and motif in his writings. Seen in this light the Lendas de Santos no longer appear as an aberration, as a deviation from Eça's earlier inclination to realism. In order to better understand this continuity we may begin by first examining his works and illustrating what we might call his fragmentary use and mention of saints, with particular emphasis on the works, essays, and novels, preceding the writing of the Lendas de Santos.

If we begin by examining the vaguely romantic tales of the period before the publication of O Crime do Padre Amaro in its first version (1875), and posthumously collected in Prosas Bárbaras (1903), in Prosas Esquecidas, and Uma Campanha (1892), we find very few references to the saints.² These works belong to a phase in Eça's career when his literary output was essentially of a journalistic nature and those to which can be ascribed a literary pretension are still rather tentative. But there are some references, inci-

dental ones, in "O Senhor Diabo" (PB) where we see the devil performing picaresque pranks on the religious community: "escarnecia S. Macário, cantava salmos na igreja de Alexandria, oferecia ramos de cravos a Santa Pelágia, roubava as galinhas do abade de Cluny, espiçava os olhos a S. Sulpício.." (PB,170) This reference serves to augment the characterization of the Devil somewhat in that we see him in his traditional role as tormentor.

In CPA we find an abrupt change in comparison to the early works. Although the casual reader may not discern it, there is a concentration of hagiology in the novel, an abundance of saints in the text that perform various functions. Taken individually the references can be classified as incidental, but when they are studied as a whole the effect rendered is of monumental importance and cannot be disregarded if we wish to comprehend the novel fully. CPA is a satirical novel in which the author mocks particular segments of his society--namely the clergy and the faithful to whom they administer. The setting is a provincial city where the inhabitants suffer from excesses of faith and much superstition. Hagiology assumes prime importance in the novel because it is one of the elements by which the author conveys his satirical vein. The saints, then, were chosen not to represent traditional faith, although the townspeople believe in them, but to satirize and even create a burlesque atmosphere. Hagiology is deeply rooted in the popular tradition and those of simple

and humble faith have favorite saints, their "santos padroeiros" whom they invoke in time of need. But Eça was portraying neither simple nor humble folk. The people portrayed have displaced their faith and are given to sanctimoniousness and uncharitable acts, practicing their religion in the manner of the Pharisees because it is expected or fashionable, and with grand gestures for all to witness in wonderment. The clergy is represented as generally ignorant and lacking in faith, unfit to lead. They encourage their followers in their religious excesses and being corrupt themselves, they help in the total corruption of those over whom they exert an influence. There is only one exception, only one priest that was spared Eça's anti-clericalism and that is the abade Ferrão, the gentle country priest who assists Amelia in her last days and who is representative of the truly Christian in spirit, who practice a simple faith and perform charitable deeds without show or hope for reward.

In our analysis of the references to saints in CPA and elsewhere we shall use the following classifications: incidental, functional, and central. By incidental we mean those references that are not an integral part of the text, such as citing dates by using the feast of a popular saint; alluding to the confessed sins of a saint, or his virtues, or the temptations he suffered; referring to the universally recognized iconographic tradition of any given saint; citing prayers associated with certain saints that are efficacious

in cases of sickness, times of plagues, and tempests; and lastly, we find numerous quotes, direct and indirect, from the writings of the best known Church Fathers.

The functional classification constitutes those references that have been incorporated into the actual text and are part of the narrative. This use of saints is essentially an irreverent and totally non-religious one in that the mention serves no purpose other than an aesthetic one. The various saints culled from traditional sources, calendars, martyrologies, and flos sanctorum, are employed for characterization by use of comparison, contrast, and caricature; they create a comical effect when droll sounding names of obscure saints are mentioned; facetiousness and sarcasm are also conveyed through the mention of saints; and a poetical effect is also found in the use of simile and metaphor.

The central element consists of the mention that has been developed into a larger segment, a motif or an anecdote with substance. It is, in effect, a sustained vignette about a saint in which he appears in his own right as a character and no longer as an appendage to another character. For this classification we must go beyond the novels and delve into the essays, particularly in Notas Contemporâneas, where Eça chose to give some saints special mention.

In CPA, then, we find the first significant incorporation of hagiology into the text. At a dinner given by the abade Cortegaça where Amaro first meets the other priests, Eça turns

his eye away from the description of the dinner and the guests to show us around the room:

Sobre a cômoda, entre in-fólios, na sua peanha, um Cristo perfilava tristemente contra a parede o seu corpo amarelo, coberto de chagas escarlates; e, aos lados, simpáticos santos sob redomas de vidro, lembravam legendas mais doces de religião amável; o bom gigante S. Cristóvão atravessando o rio com o divino pequerrucho que sorri, e faz saltar o mundo sobre a sua mãozinha como uma péla; o doce pastor S. Joãozinho coberto com uma pele de ovelha, e guardando os seus rebanhos, não com um cajado, mas com uma cruz; o bom porteiro S. Pedro, tendo na sua mão de barro as duas santas chaves que servem nas fechaduras do Céu! Nas paredes, em litografias de coloridos cruéis, o patriarca S. José apoiava-se ao seu cajado onde florescem lírios brancos; o cavalo empinado do bravo S. Jorge pisava o ventre dum dragão surpreendido; e o bom Santo Antônio, à beira dum regato, sorria, falando a um tubarão. (CPA,130)

This iconographic scene serves to contrast the sumptuous dinner of which the priests are partaking with another time, a simpler one where the religious displayed less ostentation. The "religião amável" evoked by the pictures of the saints displayed in the room has disappeared, replaced by callousness and indifference to the suffering of man. As they are eating, a poor man comes begging to the door. When he leaves with half a loaf of corn bread in his sack, the host says: "--Muita pobreza por aqui, muita pobreza!" And in the same breath, says " "--Ô Dias, mais este bocadinho da asa!" (CPA,131)

Another pictorial mention is found in Amaro's dream when the devil catches up with him and Amelia:

--Aqui estão os dois sujeitos! Dizia-lhe o diabo retorcendo a cauda. E por trás Amaro via aglomerarem-se legiões de santos e santas. Reconheceu S. Sebastião com as suas setas cravadas; Santa Cecília trazendo na mão o seu órgão; por entre eles sentia balarem os rebanhos de S. João; e no meio erguia-se o bom gigante S. Cristóvão apoiado ao seu pinheiro..

.....
Santos vetustos alçaram-se sôfregamente em bicos de pés, estendendo os pescoços onde se viam cicatrizes de martírios; e as onze mil virgens bateram o voo como pombas esparvidas!
(CPA, 256)

The special psychological function of the dream sequence to convey the guilt that Amaro is feeling is further enhanced by the presence of the saints who stand silently, disapprovingly, while Amaro flees with Amelia. Amaro, the priests, is now a sinner and he knows they are witnesses to his perfidy and sacrilege. But it was not always so. During the time he spent at the seminary Amaro thought of the saints in a vague, poetic way, idealizing their way of life and finding it easy to emulate: "Não há seminarista que não tenha, durante um instante, aspirado com ternura à caverna no deserto em que S. Jerônimo, olhando o céu estrelado, sentia descer-lhe sobre o peito a Graça como um abundante rio de leite." (CPA, 165)

We also find a saint's legend in the making in the person of the "Santa da Arregaça", an invalid who has been confined for some twenty years. S. Joaneira's group tells Amaro her story, speaking about her in reverent tones as if she had already attained sanctity and had the power to perform miracles:

...está sempre de cama, sabe rezas para tudo; pessoa por quem ela peça tem a graça do Senhor; é a gente apagar-se com ela e cura-se toda a moléstia. E depois, quando comunga, começa a erguer-se, e fica com o corpo todo no ar, com os olhos erguidos para o Céu, que até chega a fazer terror. (CPA,373)

References to saints in CPA also recurs when the type of education prevalent at the time is mentioned. The saints and the stories of their lives were used to educate in the religion and to inspire faith by example. When Padre Amaro and Amelia are contriving their rendezvous, they hit upon the idea of using as a meeting place the house of an invalid teenager, who is also mentally retarded. They must find a way to alleviate her suffering and an excuse to go there together. During the discussion, D. Joaquina Gansoso makes a suggestion:

--O senhor padre Amaro, se lhe mandasse aquele livro com pinturas de vidas de santos? Eram pinturas que edificam. A mim tocavam-me a alma... (CPA,400)

Padre Amaro was the one who finally suggested that Amelia be the one to teach her:

Foi então, enquanto a Ruça, não trazia o chá, que se decidiu que Amélia, todas as semanas uma ou duas vezes segundo fosse a sua devoção, iria em segredo, para que a acção fosse mais valiosa aos olhos de Deus, passar uma hora à cabeceira da paralítica, ler-lhe a Vida dos Santos, ensinar-lhe rezas e insuflar-lhe a virtude. (CPA,402)

Amelia would go first to see Totó, the invalid, spend some time with her, and then proceed to her meeting with Amaro:

Enfim Amaro, impaciente, fazia um sinal a Amélia; ela punha logo dinante da Totó o livro com estampas da Vida dos Santos. ---Vá, ficas agora a ver

as figuras... Olha, este é S. Mateus, esta Santa Virgínia... Adeus, eu vou lá acima com o senhor pároco rezarmos para que Deus te dê saúde e te deixe passear... Não estragues o livro que é pecado. (CPA,406)

The most important aspect of Eça's use of saints in CPA is to characterize. It is in this area where we find the author at his best, where he is most adept. Eça, already accepted in his own time as a master of description of types, particularly those types who could be created quickly by a few characterizing details, found himself in home ground with saints. He discovered in them ample material for complementing his creations, those characters whom he conjured in bold and masterful strokes. For example, when João Eduardo's revenge against Amaro and the other priests had been discovered, Amaro is the only one not to condemn him and even counsels charity for him now that he's shunned by all. The reader knows, of course, that Amaro harbors great hatred for João Eduardo but the ladies marvel at his great virtue: "Tanta santidade fanatizou as velhas. Que anjo! Olharam-no, babosas, com as mãos vagamente postas. A sua presença, como a dum S. Vicente de Paula, exalando caridade, dava à sala uma suavidade de capela; e a sra. D. Maria da Assunção suspirou de gozo devoto." (CPA,348) Earlier Padre Amaro had been described in this manner: "Mas o Padre Amaro, esse, era admirado com um santo. Que piedade! que mansidão!" (CPA,345) The comparison with the great and truly charitable Saint Vincent is such an exercise in sarcasm and exaggeration that the

effect is not lost on the reader, who feels even more revulsion for the perfidious priest. In our next example Amaro tries to convince Amelia that he, as a priest, is all powerful and above all law and cites the saints to prove his point:

Onde havia uma autoridade igual à sua,
Nem mesmo na corte do Céu.

.....
Então deslumbrava-a com citações venerandas: S. Clemente, que chamou ao padre 'o Deus da Terra'; o eloquente S. Crisóstomo, que disse 'que o padre é o embaixador que vem dar as ordens de Deus'. E Santo Ambrósio que escreveu: 'entre a dignidade do rei e a dignidade do padre há maior diferença que a que existe entre chumbo e o ouro'. (CPA, 416)

Amaro's attitude is the utmost in conceit for he feels superior to the traditions that bind him to his station in life. He cites the venerable Fathers for his own selfish motives, impressing the vulnerable Amelia and demeaning the true intentions of the works quoted and demeaning himself as well.

Another example of characterization is the episode when D. Josefa, who has already been described as a nervous creature, irritable, and given to gossip and intrigues, is further defined by a vision she confesses to Father Ferrão:

...o grave era, que na noite atecedente estava toda sossegada, toda em virtude, a rezar a S. Francisco Xavier--e de repente, nem ela soube como, põe-se a pensar como seria S. Francisco Xavier nu em pêlo! (CPA, 508)

But her imagination does not stop at that image of the saint:

..a visão singular que tivera de S. Francisco Xavier nu, repetia-se agora com insistência pavorosa a respeito de todos os santos: era toda uma corte do Céu, arrojando túnicas e hábitos, e bailando-lhe

na imaginação sarabandas em pelo:
a velha estava morrendo da perse-
guição destes espectáculos dispos-
tos pelo demônio. (CPA, 546)

What is particularly interesting in this mention is that it is all done exclusively through the use of hagiology and that it creates an antithesis where the religious is juxtaposed with the erotic and sensual. This rather strange, erotic preoccupation of D. Josefa serves to illustrate her exacerbated psychological state. By it she is characterized once and for all as an aberrant personality.

D. Maria de Assunção is also characterized by the use of saints, but it is done indirectly. Her living room in effect an extension of her person, is described in every detail, revealing all sorts of statues and sundry relics:

A sala com efeito era toda ela uma imensa armazenagem de santaria e de bric-à-brac devoto: sobre as duas cômodas de pau-preto com fechaduras de cobre apinhavam-se, sobre redomas, em peanhas, as Nossas Senhoras vestidas de seda azul, os Meninos Jesus frisados com o ventrezinho gordo e a mão abençoadora, os Santos Antónios no seu burel, os S. Sebastões bem frechados, os S. Josés barbudos. Havia santos exóticos, que eram o seu orgulho, que fabricavam em Alcobaga--S. Pascoal Bailão, S. Didácio, S. Crisolo, S. Gorislano...³ (CPA, 361)

This reference is both sarcastic and irreverent. The use of the plural in the saints' name indicates that D. Maria de Assunção had a proliferation of statues of the same saint. The use of the adjective with the name is also sarcastic in that the mention is obvious, particularly in the case of St. Sebastian, who is represented "bem frechado", alluding to his

rather spectacular martyrdom at the hands of Roman archers. The adverb "bem" is also significant in that it tells us that the statue spares no detail--every arrow piercing the body of the saint stands out in living color. There is irreverence in the mention of exotic saints, the little known saints who have no following with the general populace and who have strange, droll names. D. Maria keeps this saintly collection not only for her private worship and devotion, but also because they are her protection from various illnesses or, at the very least, efficacious in the case she should fall ill. To D. Maria, the statues are real, living persons and she tends to them accordingly in her very own fashion:

Ela mesma, só ela, arrumava, espanejava, lustrava toda aquela santa população celeste, aquele arsenal beato,

.....
 O seu grande cuidado era a colocação dos santos; alterava-a constantemente, porque às vezes, por exemplo, sentia que santo Eleutério não gostava de estar ao pé de S. Justino, e ia então pendurá-lo a distância, numa companhia mais simpática ao santo. E distinguia-os (segundo os preceitos do ritual que o confessor lhe explicava), dando-lhes uma devoção graduada, e não tendo por S. José de segunda classe o respeito que sentia por S. José de primeira classe. Aquela riqueza era a inveja das amigas, a edificação dos curiosos, e fazia sempre dizer ao Libaninho, quando a vinha visitar, abrangendo a sala num olhar langoroso: --Ai, filha, é o reininho dos Céus! (CPA, 362)

Furthermore, D. Maria has relics of the cross, a piece of the crown of thorns, and a piece of cloth from the diaper of the infant Jesus. By these facts, we see not only D. Maria, but

the whole group, her circle of friends, as gullible and superstitious practitioners of their religion, who fall prey to the type of priest or salesman who would sell them such spurious relics. They are surrounded by priests who, in the words of the abade Ferrão:

...trazem assim voluntariamente o rebanho naquelas trevas de alma, mantendo o mundo dos fiéis num terror abjecto do Céu, representando Deus e os seus santos como uma corte que não é menos corrompida, nem melhor, que a de Calígula e dos seus libertos.
(CPA, 508)

We have seen how Eça uses the saints in CPA primarily to characterize, usually creating a contrast and thereby pointing out the actual situation in which the character finds himself with an ever present touch of sarcasm accompanying the mention.

After the proliferation of hagiological entries in CPA, a novel which lends itself well to the topic due to its religious theme and which was subtitled Cenas da Vida Devota, we suddenly find ourselves with several novels that contain few references to the saints: O Primo Basílio, A Capital, and O Conde de Abranhos.⁴ The only mention worthy of note in these works is in O Primo Basílio, where we find St. Sebastian in his usual position according to popular iconography:

e numa saleta escura, sobre uma cómoda de fecharias de metal amarelo, conservava-se, havia anos, o padroeiro da casa, S. Sebastião--que se torcia, cravado de setas, nas cordas que o atavam ao tronco, à luz duma lâmpada muito cuidada pela tia Joana, sob

os ruídos subtis dos ratos pelo ferro.
(OPB,137)

This description is impressionistic in that the saint appears to move and to squirm caused by the flickering and wavering of the candle light. There is an element of sarcasm here in the noise the mice make as they scurry just above the statue.

In A Capital what mentions there are are all incidental. Artur, who aspires to be an author, begins to read voraciously and finds St. Augustine. He becomes impassioned with different historical epochs;

E tinha outros entusiasmos vagos por paisagens, heroísmos, teorias e atitudes--os rios sagrados da Índia, os corsários patriotas do Arquipelago grego, a regeneração das prostitutas, S. Bernardo em Clairvaux e Danton na Convenção. (A Capit.,31)

Do we see perhaps a glint of irony here in the contrast between the saint and the prostitutes?

In Conde de Abranhos, Alípio is trying to win over the family of D. Virginia. He does it by extreme religious posturings in church and at her house, showing his knowledge of religious events and the lives of saints:

Foi uma soirée íntima, grave, um pouco silenciosa, edificante. Alípio falou da sua excelente tia, da sua caridade--e da caridade dos Noronhas. Contou a maravilha dum velho, ao pé de Penafiel, que vivia havia vinte anos em estado de graça; narrou anedotas piedosas de S. Bartolomeu dos Mártires... (CAbr.,118)

We also find sarcastic overtones in a comparison between the king of Portugal, D. Luís, and St. Louis, the saint king

of France:

S.M. concedeu-a --o que produziu aquele artigo célebre do Estandarte, jornal do Governo dos Bexigosos, que ameaçava S.M. com a sorte de Luís XVI ou de Carlos I-- exatamente oito dias depois do artigo em que o mesmo jornal comparava S.M. pelas virtudes a Tito, pela justiça a S. Luís.. A resposta do Globo, jornal do Dr. Cardoso Torres, foi enérgica: dizia que só se podia responder com um chicote a um jornalista que ameaçava com o dadafalso S.M., que, pelas virtudes, estava muito acima de S. Luís... (CAbr.,130)

Another comparison praises Victor Hugo by granting him the virtues of the great St. Paul:

E no entanto, dum rochedo do mar da Mancha, um personagem lendário, um S. Paulo romântico da Santa Democracia, tão extraordinário de génio e tão alucinado de orgulho que se confunde a si mesmo com Deus e se crê no segredo da Natureza... (CAbr, 128)

The next novel, A Relíquia continues the trend set in CPA and once again the saints abound in the text. There are some perceptible changes, however. The incidental mentions are greater in number, particularly in the use of dates, iconography, and prayers, and there is an outstanding number of references to S. José, a saint for whom D. Patrocínio had a strong devotion. The use of saints for dates is rather commonplace, limited to mentioning the saint's day or the eve of the saint's day for the calendar date itself. But there are a few interesting ones:

Foi isto pelas alegres vésperas de Santo António, ao aparecerem os primeiros manjeirões, no quinto mês da minha devoção perfeita. (Rel,58)

avoção p
(Rel,58)

This example is somewhat different in that it is embellished with the saint, the time of year, and information about the character. We must point out that the reference above is chronological. Raposo tells us how he progressed in winning titi's favor half-heartedly in October and then truly in earnest a few months later, in February, when he realized that she planned to leave her fortune to the Church. But this is an exceptional case since most dates are, in effect, decorative. Eça rarely maintains a strict adherence to the internal chronology of the narrative. For example:

Cedo, na manhã de domingo, 6 de setembro e dia de Santa Libânia, fui bater devagar, ao quarto da titi, ainda adormecida no seu luto castíssimo. (Rel,83)

And, "era a devota sexta-feira em que a cristandade comemora, enternecida, os SS.Mártires de Évora." This last reference is an exaggeration and a slight sarcastic tinge in the use of the adjectives devota and enternecida, for the importance of these martyrs for the Christian world at large is minimal and only Portugal would be interested in remembering them.

The iconographic entries are frequently of S. José:

..e toda a manhã eu ficava folheando volumes do Panorama Universal, na saleta dela, onde havia um sofá de riscadinho, um armário rico de pau-preto, e litografias coloridas, com ternas passagens da vida puríssima do seu favorito santo, o patriarca S. José. (Rel,24)

And, "na saleta votada às glórias de S. José..." (Rel,76)

One interesting factor in the study concerning St. Joseph

is Eça's predilection for the superlative when referring to this saint. We find the expression "vida puríssima" in the reference above. There are also: "o amorosíssimo e perdoador S. José" (Rel,68), "súplicas aos patriarcas castísimos" (Rel,68), "o amatíssimo patriarca" (Rel,92), and "o bondosíssimo santo". (Rel,92) Professor Ernesto Guerra da Cal has studied this phenomenon in Eça. He states,

no hallamos en toda su obra un solo superlativo que no esté empleado irónica e burlescamente, aplicado al destaque de lo risible... En Rel, estos superlativos bullen por todas las páginas. Y no se trata allí solamente de una ironización del vocabulario romántico, sino, más directamente, de una sátira del estilo religioso de oraciones, novenarios y sermones, en los que por su tono de exaltación mística, la superlación es frecuente. En boca del hipócrita y cínico Raposo, ese inflamado lenguaje invocatorio es, resorte seguro de humorización del estilo.

Prayers to various saints appear in the text, instigated by D. Patrocínio to inculcate religious feeling in Raposo:

A titi deu-me num papel a oração que eu diãramente devia rezar a S. Luís Gonzaga, padroeiro da mocidade estudiosa, para que ele conservasse em meu corpo a frescura da castidade, e na minha alma o medo do Senhor. (Rel,27)

D. Patrocínio's devotion to St. Joseph is extreme and, one day, when Raposo comes home full of religious fervor so as to better impress his aunt, she happily leads him into the small chapel and "chegou mais para a borda uma imagem de S. José, favorito de sua alma, para que fosse ele o primeiro a receber a ardente rajada de rajada de preces que ia escapar-me em tumulto, do meu coração cheio e ansioso." (Rel,56)

The functional mentions are many and they usually limited to characterization, referring mostly to Raposo. One of the references is included in a facetious way and it is also irreverent, for it lists saints with strange, funny names:

Nas paredes dependurei as imagens dos santos mais escelsos, como galeria de antepassados espirituais, de quem tirava o constante exemplo nas difíceis virtudes; mas não houve de resto no Céu santo, por mais obscuro, a quem eu não ofertasse um cheiroso ramalhete de padre-nossos em flor. Fui eu que fiz conhecer à Titi S. Telesforo, Santa Secundina, o beato António Estroncônio, Santa Restituta, Santa Umbelina, irmã do grão S. Bernardo, e a nossa dilecta e suavíssima patriarca Santa Basilissa, que é solenizada juntamente com S. Hipácio, nesse festivo dia de Agosto em que embarcam os sírios para a Atalaia. (Rel,57) ⁷

This entry is full of sarcasm and wry humor in the choice of obscure saints, including a Portuguese one, and in the inclusion of a totally insignificant event to designate the feast day of an equally unimportant saint, St. Basilissa.

The characterizations through hagiology are myriad and make Raposo stand out vividly in all his deceit, selfishness, and hypocrisy. Raposo's name is Teodorico and when he begins to feign a religious vocation, he equates himself with his namesake, S. Teodorico. ⁸ The very mention of Raposo's self-declared beatification is totally blasphemous since it takes place in the arms of Adelia, his mistress:

...o cheiro dos pós de arroz excedia em doçura o olor dos junquinhos místicos; eu estava no Céu, eu era S. Teodorico; e sobre os ombros nus da minha amada, desenrolavam-se as madeixas do seu cabelo negro, forte e duro como a cauda de um corcel de guerra. (Rel,48)

After having returned from Palestine Raposo reports to D. Patrocínio all the virtues received while in the Holy Land and that in observance of the sacredness of the place and in imitation of the saints he had practiced all sort of rigorous, ascetic exercises:

Ela pendia a cabeça, esmagada, ante estes privilégios prodigiosos, só comparáveis aos de Santo Antão ou de S. Brás. Depois enumerava as minhas tremendas rezas, os meus terríficos jejuns. Em Nazaré, ao pé da fonte onde Nossa Senhora enchia o cântaro, rezara mil ave-marias, de joelhos, à chuva... No deserto, onde vivera S. João, sustentara-me como ele de gafanhotos... E a titi, com baba no queixo: --Ai que ternura, ai que ternura, os gafanhotos!... E que gosto para o nosso rico S. João! ... Como ele havia de ficar! E olha, filho, não te fizeram mal?
(Rel,299)

The reader is not deceived, for Raposo's character had already been revealed earlier and confirmed by his own thoughts as he sits, smoking in the garden of Gethsemane, meditating on his own course of action after the death of his titi:

Que faria eu, na minha casa em Sant'ana, apenas levassem a fétida velha, amortalhada num hábito de Nossa Senhora? Uma alta justiça: correr ao oratório, apagar as luzes, desfolhar os ramos, abandonar os santos à escuridão e ao bolor! Sim, todo eu, Raposo e liberal, necessitava a desforra de me ter prostrado diante das suas figuras pintadas como um sórdido sacristã, de me ter recomendado à sua influência de calendário, como um escravo crédulo! Eu servira os santos para servir a titi.

.....
Os contos de G. Godinho eram meus; e libertado da ascorosa senhora, eu já não devia aos seus santos nem rezas, nem rosas! Depois, cumprida esta obra de justiça filosófica, corria a Paris, às mulherinhas!
(Rel,280)

There is an element of irony in Raposo's irreligious thoughts of revenge on the saints while in the peaceful atmosphere in the garden where Jesus spent his last night. His violent thoughts are shocking in a way, but they are in keeping with the rest of the sordidness that Raposo witnessed while in Palestine, where the sellers of relics attack the pilgrims with their wares and Turkish soldiers guard the tomb of Christ with drawn rifles so as to prevent the rival sects, all followers of the same Christ, from destroying each other in their religious zeal.

In Contos, a collection published in 1902, but representing Eça's full range of literary activity dating approximately from 1874 to 1897, there are few hagiological references. It does contain, of course, the hagiological tale, "Frei Genebro", which will be treated at length in a later chapter. The mentions that do appear, though, are all incidental in nature, dealing mostly with feast days as dates: "Pois, numa doce noite de S. João.." (Con,82); "A derradeira vez que por lá andara, fora em dia do apóstolo S. Matias..." (Con,205); "Na véspera, de tarde, indo o corregedor visitar o cerro das forcas, pois se acercava a festa dos Santos Apóstolos.." (Con, 225); and "...até que na madrugada de S. João..." (Con,226). This last entry dealing with St. John is unusual in that it harbors the death of "o senhor de Lara" and may be placed in contrast with the first mention of St. John above where Eça gives the date its usual connotation of happiness by the adjective "doce".

In the novel Os Maias there are a few more references, most of them incidental. St. John, a favorite with Eça it seems, makes his appearance once again, this time alluding to the Portuguese traditions associated with his feast day:

aquele catolicismo sem romarias, sem fogueiras pelo S. João, sem imagens do Senhor dos Passos, sem frades nas ruas--- não lhe parecia a religião. (OM, I, 21)

The next mention is a particularly interesting one, for it is both facetious and sarcastic by creating a ridiculous contrast between the action of the characters, who are discussing a business transaction regarding horses, and the subject matter of the painting of St. Magdalen:

Mas antes de entrar na sala, o marquês soltou o braço de Steinbroken, fez um sinal ao Silveirinha para o fundo do corredor--e aí, sob um sombrio painel de Santa Madalena no Deserto penitenciando-se e mostrando nudezas ricas de ninfa lúbrica, interpelou-o quase com aspereza: --Vamos nós a saber. Então, decide-se ou não? (OM, I, 153)

At the same time the discussion is an appropriate to have in front of a painting of St. Magdalen, since she was a courtesan before she became a saint. The placing of the saint's picture right in the narrative, evoking an element of sensuality, makes the saint stand out and relegates the prosaic topic being discussed to a secondary plane.

Another reference, this time to the works of a saint is also facetious in that it is equivocal since the character speaking, the poet Alencar, is confused as to the source of the quotation:

...o Evangelho lá o diz bem claro...
 Ou é a Bíblia que a diz...? Não, é
 S. Paulo...S. Paulo ou S. Agostinho.
 ...Enfim a autoridade não faz ao caso.
 Num desses livros se afirma que este
 mundo é um vale de lágrimas. (OM,I,104)

St. John is mentioned again, but this time in a more somber mood. Maria Eduarda and Carlos are looking through Craft's house where they will spend some time together. The house is very ornately furnished, for Craft is a collector, and when she goes to examine their bedroom she finds a picture of St. John the Baptist:

Depois impressionou-se, ao reparar num painel antigo, defumado, ressaltando em negro do fundo de todo aquele ouro--onde apenas se distinguia uma cabeça degolada, lívida, gelada no seu sangue, dentro dum prato de cobre. E para maior excentricidade, a um canto, de cima de uma coluna de carvalho, uma enorme coruja empalhada fixava no leito de amor, com um ar de meditação sinistra, os seus dois olhos redondos e agourentos... Maria Eduarda achava impossível ter ali sonhos suaves.

.....
 --Reparando bem--disse Carlos--creio que
 é o nosso velho amigo S. João Baptista.
 (OM,II,117)

Maria Eduarda cannot erase the terror that the scene causes in her. The painting of St. John, depicting his beheading in somber tones with the ominous owl, is contrasted with the brighter colors of the bed-chamber, and here serves as a portent of doom, alluding to the tragedy that will strike Carlos and Maria Eduarda:

Penetraram na alcova quente e cor de ouro:
 Carlos, ao passar, desprende as cortinas
 do arco de capela, feitas de uma seda leve
 que coava para dentro uma claridade loura:

e um instante ficaram imóveis, sós
enfim, desatado o braço, sem se to-
carem, como suspensos e sufocados
pela abundância da sua felicidade.
--Aquela horrível cabeça!-- murmu-
rou ela.

Carlos arrancou a coberta do leito,
escondeu a tela sinistra. E então
todo o rumor se extinguiu, a soli-
tária casa ficou adormecida entre
as árvores, numa demorada sesta,
sob a calma de Julho... (OM, II,122)

In Eça's last works, Correspondência de Fradique Mendes, Ilustre Casa de Ramires, Cidade e as Serras, and Correspon-
pondência Inédita de Fradique Mendes, he continues in the sa-
me manner applying hagiology to the narrative. ¹⁰ CFM and CS
offer the larger number of hagiological mentions, with empha-
sis on the functional usage for characterization and sar-
casm. These two works, which have an aura of the intellec-
tual and philosophical about them, lend themselves well to the
use of hagiology for multiple literary purposes. In CFM, Fra-
dique is revealed as something of a dilettante in literature,
comparative religion, and in all sorts of political, social,
and intellectual movements. This is how Eça himself descri-
bes Fradique:

Ora Fradique Mendes pertencia evidente-
mente aos poetas novos que, seguindo o
Mestre sem igual da Légende des Siècles,
iam, numa universal simpatia, buscar mo-
tivos emocionais fora das limitadas pal-
pitações do coração--à História, à Lenda,
aos Costumes, às Religiões, a tudo que a-
través das idades, diversamente e unamen-
te, revela e define o Homem. (CFM,6)

We are not surprised, then, to find Fradique very knowled-
geable about the saints, referring often to their lives,

virtues, and deeds. Similarly, Jacinto in CS, also has a commando of hagiology. José, his friend and companion, complements his familiarity with the saints. We sense that the characters are a microcosm in themselves. They are symbolic beings who embody all the ideas of Europe in the 19th century. They are special characters for whom life has become tedious and boring. Although for Fradique there is no escape from the ennui of his existence, Jacinto, at José's insistence, finds salvation by rejecting the super-civilized milieu of Paris and returning to the simple and idyllic pastoral world, perhaps an unconscious imitation of the saints who flee from civilization so as not to be corrupted. In contrast, ICR, contains few hagiological mentions. This novel, a rather ironic work with parallel structure, is essentially an exposé of mediocrity in the person of Gonçalo Ramires, with a secondary theme of historical reconstruction of the medieval past of the Ramires family. Because of its theme, similar in nature to O Conde Abranhos, the novel seems less suited to the use of hagiology.

To return, then, to a closer look at the mentions in CFM, CIFM, ICR, and CS, we find the expected incidental references dealing with dates:

E eis que numa manhã de grande sol, em dia de S. João, surgem ante a armada ex-tática os esplendores da Florida! 'Gracias te sean, mi S. Juan bendito, que he mirado algo nuevo!' (CFM,9)

Estivera lá desde o dia de Santo António... (CFM, 17)

No sábado, dia S. Bernardo, sob um azul que S. Bernardo tornara especialmente vistoso e macio!!! (CFM,188)

In this last quote Eça expands the usual passing references to the feast day of the saint by attributing extraordinary powers to the saint himself in having created a beautiful day on his own feast day. This is an interesting deviation from Eça's mention of saints to cite a date since it is the first time that the saint is animated and becomes a participant in the mention and does not merely lend his name to the date. This familiarity with which Eça manipulates the saints of the Roman calendar can be explained in two ways. One is the Catholic tradition in the Iberian Peninsula and Catholic Europe in general, where people are very much aware of the religious calendar or, at least, of the feast days of the more important saints. Secondly, in employing the saints to cite dates, a minor but constant characteristic in the narrative, Eça is showing us that to him the saints are not to be held in fascination, as beings divorced from their original humanity. On the contrary, he treats them as commonplace things and refers to their virtues, feasts, their idiosyncracies and their misdeeds with equal fervor. Taking his use of saints to an extreme we might say that it indicates a total lack of a feeling of devotion on Eça's part. Perhaps. But there is one thing that is certain. Eça uses the saints in a very captivating, original manner. Fradique best explains Eça's attitude when he explains his own reasons for loving the Portuguese people:

Por isso Fradique em Portugal amava sobretudo o povo--o povo que não mudou, como não muda a Natureza que o envolve e lhe comunica os seus caracteres graves e doces. Amava-o pelas suas qualidades, e também pelos seus defeitos:--pela sua morosa paciência de boi manso; pela alegria idílica que lhe poetiza o trabalho; pela calma aquiescência à vassalagem com que depois do Senhor Rei venera o Senhor Governo; pela sua doçura amaviosa e naturalista; pelo seu catolicismo pagão, e carinho fiel aos Deuses latinos, tornados santos calendares; pelos seus trajas, pelos seus cantos...
(CFM,84)

In CFM, Fradique is horrified to learn that his friend, an engineer is involved in building a railroad in the Holy Land:

... a tua primeira estação com os alpendres, e a carvoeira, e as balanças, e a sineta, e o chefe de boné agalado, se ergue entre esses laranjais, gabados pelo Evangleho, onde S. Pedro, correndo aos brados das mulheres, resuscitou Dorcas, a boa tecedeira, e a ajudou a sair do seu sepulcro. (CFM,181)

There is a tinge of irony and even sacrilege in the project that will desecrate holy sites:

Another iconographic mention is found in ICR when Gonçalo compares himself, rather absurdly, to St. Michael the Archangel:

E depois que grotesca atitude a sua, hirto diante do portão do palacete, como um Arcanjo S. Miguel, be bengala na mão, para sustar a intrusão de Satanás, chefe do Distrito! (ICR,212)

The virtues and deeds of saints are also used by Eça. In CFM, Fradique writes to Madame de Jouarre, telling her

of his visit to a friend's estate, which formerly had been a monastery. While poetically describing the opulence of the place he alludes to and even quotes from St. Bernard, one of the great leaders of monasticism;

Não se procure, pois, nesta morada de monges, o precioso sabor das tristezas monásticas; nem as quebradas da serra e vale, cheias de ermo e mudez, tão docempara nelas se curtirem deliciosamente as saudades do Céu; nem as espessuras de bosque, onde S. Bernardo se embrenhava, por nelas encontrar, melhor que na sua cela, a fecunda solidão. (CFM, 190)

The grounds, the house, the fields are so rich, so ostentatious and comfortable that "S. Francisco de Assis e S. Bruno abominariam este retiro de frades e fugiriam dele, escandalizados, como de um pecador vivo." (CFM,191)

In another letter Fradique is chastising the government for its plans to found a newspaper. He accuses the administration of causing "Juízos ligeiros, Vaidade, Intolerância-- eis três negros pecados que, moralmente, matam uma Sociedade." (CFM,209) Fradique uses a saint to prove his argument while at the same time, rendering an implicit criticism of the saint, who was a great orator: "Não penses que, moralista amargo, exagero como qualquer S. João Crisóstomo!" (CFM,209)

The intolerance created would grow to such extremes that anyone who does not adhere would be considered evil:

Nos homens que vagam para além do teu muro, tu só verás pecadores; e quando entre eles reconhecesses S. Francisco de Assis distribuindo aos pobres os derradeiros ceitis da Porciúncula,

taparias a face para que tanta santi-
dade te não amolecasse, e gritarias
mais sanhudamente: 'Lá anda aquele ma-
landro a esbanjar com os vadios o di-
nheiro que roubou! (CFM,217)

In CS, Zé Fernandes derides Jacinto for accepting the city as the zenith of progress and civilization, a world in which Jacinto is totally and almost inextricably immersed. Zé Fernandes attempts to show him those things which are missing in city life and in passing alludes to a saintly virtue:

A sua tranquilidade(bem tão alto que
Deus com ele recompensa os Santos)
onde está, meu Jacinto? Sumida para
sempre, nessa batalha desesperada pe-
lo pão, ou pela fama, ou pelo poder,
ou pelo gozo, ou pela fugida rodela
de ouro! (CS,102)

Once he is installed in his villa in Portugal, in Tormes, Jacinto goes to the other extreme, finding peace of mind and harmony with nature so gratifying that, in effect, he alienates himself from his surroundings. Zé Fernandes, always the gentle persuader, says, "Talvez. Mas é necessário viver num mosteiro, com o temperamento de S. Bruno, ou ter cento e quarenta contos de renda e o desplante de certos Jacintos." (CS, 197) Only someone as rich as Jacinto or a St. Bruno, an ascetic who founded the Carthusian order, could live in the world and yet be so totally out of touch with it.

We find Eça alluding to a generally acceptable virtuous feat of a saint which he does not find laudable in any way:

Todo o culto sincero, porém, tem uma beleza essencial, independente dos merecimentos do Deus para quem se evola. Duas mãos postas com legítima fé serão sempre tocantes--mesmo quando se erguem para um santo tão afectado e postico como S. Simeão Estilita. (CFM,9)

The penance which this saint chose to perform was to live atop a pole for many years. To Eça, who believed in the Franciscan virtue of acting and doing and who had a natural aversion to asceticism and the monastic life, St. Simon Stylite would be considered afectado and postico for having wasted his life in inactivity.

The functional application of hagiology is limited, as we have said, to CFM and CS, and intended primarily for characterizations, sarcasm, and facetiousness. There is one mention, though, that can be termed poetic as it alludes to the tribulations of a saint:

Esses poematos das Lapidárias desenrolavam, com efeito, temas magnificamente novos. Aí um Santo alegórico, um Solitário do século VI, morria uma tarde sobre as neves de Silésia, assaltado e domado por uma tão inesperada e bestial rebelião da Carne, que, à beira da Bem-aventurança, súbitamente o perdia, e com ela o fruto divino e custoso de cinquenta anos de penitência e de ermo. (CFM,6)

The reference to the unnamed hermit is reminiscent of the Thais legend, where Paphnutius succeeds in converting the courtesan, but loses his own soul for succumbing to the temptations of her beauty.

One manner by which Eça created was to be facetious.

In CS we find a mention that is frivolous because of the equivocal situation in which it is found. Eça is intentionally being humorous with the saint:

--Sabes o que eu estava pensando, Jacinto?... Que te acontece aquela lenda de Santo Ambrósio...Não, não era Santo Ambrósio..Nem me lembra o santo...Nem era ainda santo...apenas um cavaleiro pecador, que se enamora duma mulher... (CS,238)

In CFM, we find the following humorous references when Eça is telling us about Fradique:

Então alegremente, recordando Coimbra, Fradique perguntou-me pelo Pedro Pênedo, pelo Pais, por outros lentes ainda, do antigo tipo fradesco e bruto; depois pelas tias Camelas, essas encantadoras velhas, que escrupulosamente, através de lascivas gerações de estudantes, tinham permanecido virgens, para poderem no Céu, ao lado de Santa Cecília, passar toda uma eternidade a tocar harpa. (CFM,26)

The most important functional aspect of hagiology in Eça is its application to characterization for both major and minor characters or merely to categorize a person named in the text. One such case where a person named is not a character is in a comparison made between Victor Hugo and St. John: "Vitor Hugo(todos ainda se lembram)desterrado então em Guernesey, tinha para nós, idealistas e democratas de 1867, as proporções sublimes e lendárias dum S. João em Patmos." This comparison of Victor Hugo with a saint was made earlier in CABr, 128. In ICB a characterization is made through an allusion to the asceticism of St. Bruno:

---Eu creio que Corinde, agora só me encantava com grandes cerros escaldados, grandes rochedos agrestes..às vezes, cá dentro da alma, necessito o ermo de S. Bruno...
 Gonçalo sorria daquele apetite ascético, murmurando com preciosidade, através da bigodeira torcida a ferro, resplandecente de brilhantina. E no terraço, junto à balaustrada de pedra enramada de hera, galhofou, louvando o areado alinhado, o reluzente viço do jardim:
 ---Com efeito, para um discípulo de S. Bruno que escândalo, todo esse asseio! Mas para um pecador como eu, que delícia! (ICR,223)

Here the actual life of the character, that of a sinner is sharply contrasted with the ascetic life of the saint. There is a touch of sarcasm also, for André, who yearns for the ermo de S. Bruno, and whose apetite ascético is only a vaguely defined poetic and spiritual feeling, could do well to change his temperament and practice the rigid discipline of the saint.

In CS the country and the city are characterized by the use of hagiology. In the beginning of the novel Jacinto tells us his feelings about the country, alluding to the intervention of God in bringing about St. Francis' miracle with the wolf:

De que servia, entre plantas e bichos ser um Génio ou ser um Santo? As searas não compreendem as Geórgicas; e fora necessário o socorro ansioso de Deus, e a inversão de todas as leis naturais, e um violento milagre para que o lobo de Agubio não devorasse S. Francisco de Assis, que lhe sorria e lhe estendia os braços e lhe chamava 'meu irmão lobo'!

Toda a intelectualidade, nos campos,
se esteriliza, e só resta a bestialidade.
(CS,17)

In the same tone as Jacinto, Zé Fernandes tells us about Paris and how the city brutalizes man:

Ali, à porta do café, entre a indiferença e a pressa da Cidade, também eu senti, como ele no Campo, a vaga tristeza da minha fragilidade e da minha solidão. Bem certamente estava ali como perdido num mundo, que me não era fraternal.

.....
De que serviriam também as excelências da alma, que só na alma florescem? Se eu fosse um Santo, aquela turba não se importaria com a minha santidade; e se abrisse os braços e gritasse ali no Boulevard-- 'ó homens, meus irmãos!' os homens, mais ferozes que o lobo ante o Pobrezinho de Assis, ririam e passariam indifirentes. (CS,293)

The contrast between town and country are made that much more salient because the same criticism formerly made for one is later applied to the other using the same image of St. Francis and the symbolic wolf. Eça shows us the wolf in his natural state miraculously tamed by St. Francis. But when he goes into the city the wolf finds that men are the animals, more ferocious than the wild beasts of the forest.

In Rel Teodorico refers to himself as S. Teodorico. In CS Zé Fernandes compares his friend to his saintly namesake:

Através das flores e das luzes, no entanto, eu seguia as ondas arfantes do vasto peito de Madame Verghane, que via como um bacante. E nem me apiedava de Jacinto que, com a doçura de S. Jacinto sobre o cepo, esperava o fim do seu martírio e da sua festa.
(CS,80)

Zé Fernandes is also characterized by use of hagiology. In the following example we have a biographical detail of the life of a saint which is being compared to an event in the life of the character:

Amei aquela criatura com Amor, com todos os Amores que estão no Amor, o Amor divino, o Amor humano, o Amor bestial, como Santo Antonino amava a Virgem, como Romeu amava Julieta, como um bode ama uma cabra.
(CS,89)

The reference is antithetical in that it places the carnal and sensual aspects of love against the spiritual qualities of the saint, whose mystical love for the Virgin was pure. There is the possibility, of course, that Eça might have been alluding to the fact that S. Antoninu's divine love may have some element of sensuality in the same manner as San Juan de la Cruz, for example, whose symbolic poetry contains much vocabulary that is sensual. Eça seems to have been intrigued with the love that this saint felt for his fellow man, for there is another mention in which he attempts to render a sensual aspect to a love that was no doubt a pure one:

Quando chegamos a Nazaré, que aparece na desolação da Palestina como um ramallete pousado na pedra de uma sepultura --nem me interessaram as lindas judias, por quem se banhou de ternura o coração de Santo Antonino. (Rel,271)

Another interesting characterization is Fradique's description of Padre Salgueiro. This priest is first described by Fradique to Madame de Jouarre, who collects types, as an

unspiritual person who equates his status in society as that of just another civil servant. Pe. Salgueiro believes that the care of souls is not his province:

Esse santo empreendimento pertence aos santos. E os santos, na opinião de Padre Salgueiro, formam uma casta, uma Aristocracia espiritual, com obrigações sobre naturais que lhes são delegadas e pagas pelo Céu. (CFM,205)

Fradique continues to give us more information about the priest, emphasizing the characterization as he goes and revealing Padre Salgueiro for the mediocre priest that he is. When called upon to deliver a sermon on the feast of St. Venantius, an obscure martyr under the emperor Decius and about whom little is actually known, Padre Salgueiro proceeds in the best traditions of a government official:

Não falei da sua inteligência! É prática e metódica--como verifiquei, assistindo a um sermão que ele pregou pela festa de S. Venâncio. Por esse sermão suculento, documentado, encerrando tudo o que convinha à glorificação de S. Venâncio. Estabeleceu a filiação do Santo; desenrolou todos os seus milagres (que são poucos) com exactidão, exarando as datas, citando as autoridades; narrou com rigor agiológico o seu martírio; enumerou as igrejas que lhe são consagradas, com as épocas da fundação. Enxertou destramente louvores ao Ministro dos Negócios Eclesiásticos! Não esqueceu a Família Real, quem rendeu preito constitucional. Foi, em suma, um excelente relatório sobre S. Venâncio. (CFM,207)

When Fradique went to congratulate him on the sermon, the priest answered: "S. Venâncio infelizmente não se presta. Não foi bispo, nunca exerceu cargo público! ... (CFM,207)

Fradique has a mistress, Clara, to whom he wrote several passionate letters and in which he compares her to a saint:

Possuo uma velha gravura que é um Satanás; ainda em toda a refulgência da beleza arcangélica, arrastando nos braços para o Abismo uma freira, uma Santa, cujos derradeiros véus de penitência se vão esgaçando pelas pontas das rochas negras. E na face da Santa, através do horror, brilha, irreprimida e mais forte que o horror, uma tal alegria e paixão, tão intensas--que eu as apeteceria para ti, oh minha Santa roubada!
(CFM,199)

In another letter, in answer to one in which Clara reproaches Fradique for having allowed five days to pass without writing, Fradique, in half serious, half jesting tone, mentions her vanity and cites St. Clare, as an example she would do well to follow:

Sabes que és Deus, e reclamas incessantemente o incenso e o cântico do teu devoto. Mas Santa Clara, tua padroeira, era uma grande santa, de alta linhagem, de triunfal beleza, amiga de S. Francisco de Assis, confidente de Gregório IX, fundadora de mosteiros, suave fonte de piedade e milagres --e todavia só é festejada uma vez, cada ano, a 27 de Agosto! Sabes bem que estou gracejando, Santa Clara da minha fé!
(CFM,219)

Our next study takes us to the works which are not fictional, such as Notas Contemporâneas, Cartas de Inglaterra, Ecos de Paris, Cartas Familiares e Bilhetes de Paris, but which, because of their literary character, deserve a closer examination. There works are volumes of essays and letters,

essentially journalistic in nature dating from the 1870's and extending to Eça's last days in Paris. As such they represent a cross-section of his mature literary production in the same way that the novels do. And, as is the case with the novels, Eça continues to show the same preoccupation with the saints. But there is one difference--the interest seems to have been expanded in these works from the incidental and functional mentions to a motif where the reference assumes a greater relevance and the saint looms closer into view. NC is by far the most important, not only because it contains the greater number of hagiological mentions, but because it is the work in which we find three essays dealing with saints. These essays shall be discussed in greater detail later. For now we shall limit ourselves to examining the incidental and functional mentions in the works listed above.

We find various iconographic mentions in NC. In the essay, "A Decadência do Riso" Eça explains the changes that the Renaissance introduced:

O mesmo Cristo, A Virgem, os santos, perdem, sob o luminoso pincel dos Italianos, a sua magreza, a sua dor macilenta, ganham as cores da paz do bem-estar divino, são consoladores e são amáveis. Na face do Padre Eterno aparecem, enfim, por sob as rugas do fero déspota, os sorrisos do doce Pai. (NC,221)

In the essay, "Uma coleção de Arte" Eça portrays an art collector, whose period of interest was the Renaissance. In his collection he has arms of the period. One of them is a

broadsword:

O cabo de um desses montantes, de madeira rara, esplêndidamente esculpida, representa um presépio! Todo um presépio--a creche, Jesus entre as palhas, a procissão dos reis Magos, S. José que sorri enternecido--adoráveis figurinhas, de uma graça piedosa, que duros guantes de ferro empolgavam com fervor. (NC,271)

The virtues of a saint are mentioned often. In Cartas Familiares, when Eça is discussing the Latin American predilection for publicity and personal recognition, he makes a comparison with a saint:

Se ele alcança a glória superior do telegrama, então a sua felicidade só poderá ser comparada à de um santo, que, ao fim de penosos anos de penitência e de ermo, veja escancaradas diante dos seus passos as portas refulgentes da Bem-Aventurança... (Obras, 2, 1296)

The saint's true happiness in achieving salvation is compared sarcastically to a selfish attitude where there is no virtue whatsoever. A more traditional allusion to a saint's virtue is found in the essay "O inverno em Paris". In speaking of the social inequities he found, Eça says:

E assim existem já hoje ricos que consideram quase injusto o excesso da sua riqueza. Ainda decerto não atingiriam (nem atingirão talvez jamais) aquela perfeita elevação evangélica que levava os santos a partilhar com os famintos, com osregelados a metade do seu pão e da sua capa. (Obras, 2, p. 1317)

In speaking of the queen of Portugal, D. Amelia, wife of Charles I, Eça alludes to her role as mother in caring for her two sons, princes of Portugal, and compares her to another

queen charged with a saintly task and endowed with saintly virtues:

Branca de Castela quase ficou santa de calendário, por ter guiado, para a santidade, S. Luís, rei de França. A sua glória reluz também, na história, por ter feito de Luís, não o doce santo, mas o nobre rei. Todavia, mais a eleva entre as mulheres, e lhe rende os corações, o ter formado, em Luís, aquele perfeito espelho de doçura, clemência, renunciamiento, misericórdia, e quase divina amizade peļos homens.
(NC, 483)

In the various references to the dates and feasts there are a few mentions pertaining to the traditions associated with them. In the essay "O Natal" Eça explains how the lack of snow spoils Christmas for the English:

...um Natal sem neve, um Natal sem casacos de peles, parece tão insípido e tão desconsolado como seria em Portugal a noite de S. João, noite de fogueiras e descantes, se houvesse no chão três palmos de neve e caísse por cima o granizo até de madrugada! (Cartas Fam., Obras, 2, 519)

In Ecos de Paris, in the essay "O 14 de Julho-Festas Officiais", Eça gives us his opinions on holidays, saying that the public celebrations of historical events will never really be popular. The people like holidays that celebrate individuals. He says:

...por isso, as únicas festas que profundamente animam o povo, são as religiosas, as dos santos. Para o povo, os santos, os santos populares e democratas, como S. João, S. Pedro, Santo António, são indivíduos que ele conhece, com quem conversa nas orações, com quem convive, que tem dentro de casa sobre o altarinho doméstico e de quem recebe constatemente

serviços e patrocínio. (Obras, 2,1143)

The people feel a great love and familiarity with the saints:

A vida desses santos, as suas façanhas, a sua face barbada ou rapada, as suas vestes, os seus atributos, tudo lhe é familiar--e eles são como verdadeiras pessoas de família... (Obras, 2, 1143)

The feast day of the saint is celebrated with merriment and traditional dishes and everyone participates in the festivities, even the saint:

Quando chega o dia da sua festa, os 'seus anos', é com genuíno fervor que se arranjam ramos de flores, e se cozinha um prato de doce, e se acendem à noite luminárias, e se dança no terreiro, e se atiram alegres foguetes. A fogaça de cada lar faz o festival de toda a cidade; --e é o doce amigo, o padroeiro que está no Céu, que se celebra com carinho, na certeza que ele vê a festa, e se mistura a ela do alto das nuvens, e sorri de reconhecimento e ternura aos seus amigos da Terra.
(Obras, 2, 1143)

The deep, traditional ties with the religion and the devotion of the people to the saint are hard to supplant. And what is more, the customs, the romarias, the fun, the carnival atmosphere associated with a patron saint are difficult to replace. That is why the state finds it almost impossible to present a likely candidate from the ranks of statesmen who could be unanimously liked by all and around whom all the people could rally. Eça ends with an eternal truth, in a mock paraphrase of the Biblical pronouncement: "Em verdade vos digo, só o Céu nos envolve a todos, e só S. João pode ser festejado sem descontentar a ninguém!" (Obras, 2, 1143)

In Bilhetes de Paris Eça makes a contrast between the way Paris celebrates its king and how the people of the Iberian Peninsula or Italy celebrate a fest day:

Qualquer vila da Itália, da Espanha ou de Portugal desenvolve realmente mais cor e brilho, no adorno das suas ruas, para solenizar o santo seu padroeiro (com quem todavia é familiar, e de quem já nada espera nem mesmo chuva em tempo de seca) do que este rico e genial Paris, para festejar o grande soberano que lhe trazia a segurança e a paz. (Obras, 2, 1328)

In Portugal all citizens celebrate the feast of St. Anthony:

E em Lisboa, mesmo os ímpios, pelo ar de festa que tomam, concorrem, no devoto 13 de junho, a festejar Santo António. As almas dos homens, andando hoje tão dispersas, necessitam fundir, ao menos uma vez por ano num sentimento comum.

(Obras, 2, 1214)

In NC there are numerous quotes from the writings of the saints which Eça cites as authorities or to complement the text. In the early days of Christianity, at the banquets where religion was discussed,

a melancolia alternava com a violência, e o pão, o peixe frito, acepipe da plebe em todas as cidades mediterrâneas, era engolido, se acreditarmos as narrações de S. Paulino e de S. Cipriano, entre queixumes e desalentos, ou entre furiosas brigas teológicas. (NC,303)

In the essay "As Rosas" Eça demonstrates how the rose was concerted into a Christian symbol:

Mesmo a religião nova reclama para si, em oposição à religião antiga, o privilégio honroso de ter dado à rosa o que ela tem de mais belo, o seu aroma e a sua cor. E é de Santo Ambrósio, o grande Santo Ambrósio, no seu Comentário aos Salmos,

que assegura ser a rosa vermelha de cor,
por ter caído sobre ela o próprio sangue
do Senhor!" (NC,312)

He goes on to quote directly from another authoritative source:

S. Bernardo, porém, é ainda mais afirmativo, mais decisivo. O sublime monge de Claraval sustenta (e ninguém mais profundamente do que ele penetrou nos segredos do Céu) que as rosas são chagas de Jesus. 'Contemplai, exclama ele numa das suas Homílias sobre o Evangelho, esse brilho e cor de púrpura das rosas! A que pode ser devido senão a ter caído sobre elas o sangue do Salvador?' (NC,312)

In his essay on Eduardo Prado Eça refers to his writings and makes allusion to the writings of the Church fathers, thereby establishing a similarity in attitude between Eduardo Prado and the venerable fathers:

...À maneira de S. Gregório, ele pede certamente a Deus a salvação da alma de Virgílio (que decerto está salva); mas sobretudo lamenta, como Santo Agostinho, que Deus o não destinasse a assistir, misturado entre os senadores, ou mesmo suando com a plebe nalguma esquina do Velabro, ao esplendor de um triunfo humano. (NC,493)

In defense of Eduardo Prado's writings, particularly his use of pamphlets for disseminating ideas, he states:

È pertencem, portanto, a um 'gênero' superiormente nobre, porque dele se serviram, para grandes feitos, Proudhon, Pascal, Cícero, S. Basílio, Tertuliano, S. Paulo, e até Isaias e Ezequiel. (NC,503)

Eça is not being sarcastic when he places his friend in such exalted company; nor is he characterizing him through a comparison with the saints. Eça is genuinely impressed with Eduardo Prado and is demonstrating how he has followed

the principles of the Church fathers in his effective use of pamphlets.

The functional mentions in the works in question do not appear as isolated instances as in the novels discussed. The characterizing aspects, the sarcasm and irreverence so prevalent earlier, have been expanded, in NC primarily, to become a larger motif. But first there are two isolated mentions worth noting. In his preface to Azulejos Eça includes some obscure saints in a sarcastic way. The mention is irreverent also since the choice of similar names is meant to be amusing:

Mas abes como ele ama as praxes graciosas que enobreciam a vida antes da tomada da Bastilha; e nem por um lugar no Ceu, entre Santo Hilário e Santo Hilarião, tu o querias ofender, irrompendo bruscamente e democráticamente na sua atenção preciosa.
(NC,136)

Eça tells his friend, the Conde de Arnoso, that he understands why he would not be tempted, even by the opportunity to join the company of members of the heavenly court, to offend his readers. The other sarcastic mention is also irreverent, specially since it concerns the patron saint of Paris, St. Genevieve:

Quando Vítor Hugo morreu e a França o deificou, foi necessário, naturalmente, procurar um templo para alojar o deus novo. A escolha recaiu sobre a Igreja de Santa Geneveva, que de resto, durante alguns anos da primeira República, já constituiria uma panteão, votado (segundo a inscrição que a orna), aos grandes homens pela pátria reconhecida. Eu, que sou um hugólatra impenitente, não me queixo de que assim se despojasse Santa

Genoveva. A igreja não guardava o corpo da santa--tinha apenas o seu nome. A gloriosa padroeira de Paris já gozou longos séculos de adoração-- e a sua santidade, perfeitamente estabelecida nas almas, não necessita a comparação material de um altar.

(NC,278)

This is the culmination of Eça's long standing affection for Victor Hugo. We have also seen Eça compare him to various saints, equating his virtues to them.

The next segment of Eça's application of hagiology to literary purposes that will occupy our attention is the extension of the functional mention into a larger one. The mention is no longer a passing reference or an allusion, but has become an anecdote, a vignette, which is incorporated into the text, or else it is a motif, a complete unit in itself.

In Uma Campanha Alegre we find a short essay of an anti-clerical nature. It raises the question of the mundane practices which pervade the clergy contrasted against the humility and the strict morality of the saints. It seems that at a party held at the Royal Palace several clergymen were present amidst the "luzes, aromas, orquestras, mulheres decotadas, flores e danças." (Obras, III, 1184) Eça questions the propriety of having priests witness such events and cites the saints to sanction the clergy:

Da tradição dos Padres e dos Santos não consta que as piedosas e místicas figuras, desses homens do Espírito, fossem vistas jamais por entre o rumor lânguido dos violoncelos e o palpitante amoroso dos leques... (Obras, III,1184)

Eça cites St. Bernard, St. Francis, and St. Dominick as examples of saints who renounced ostentation and luxury:

Dê S. Domingos sabemos, que descalço e esfarrapado, na santa ferocidade da sua fé, pregava e impelia uma cruzada contra os hereges do Linguadoque; que vendia os seus livros para comprar lenha aos mendigos; e que um dia, para socorrer uma mulher pobre, como já não tinha dinheiro--se quis vender a si como escravo. (Obras, 3, 1184)

The contrast is further enhanced by Eça's comment that the legend of the saints is:

cheia renunciamentos místicos e duam intratável hostilidade aos regalos. E de nenhum se conta--que fosse es- pairecer do serviço de Deus para um bufete resplandecente de baixelas, entre champanhe e perdizes trufadas. (Obras, 3, 1185)

In Rel we find a brief account of St. John the Baptist as told by Topsisus, the German scholar who is writing A História dos Herodes. One day, when Raposo, Topsisus, and Pote, the guide, went on a journey to the Jordan Valley, they came upon the ruins of the fortress where Herod had lived and where St. John, called Iokanan, was beheaded. The story as told by Topsisus is full of anecdotes and personal commentary which the text vivacity and veracity:

Depois, mais fundo ainda, num cárcere, jazia Iokanan--que a Igreja chama o Baptista. --Mas então, esclarecido amigo, como foi essa desgraça? -- Pois foi assim, D. Raposo...
.....
Mas desgraçadamente, D. Raposo, o Baptista não tinha originalidade, Santo respeitável, sim; mas nenhuma originalidade... O Baptista imi-

tava em tudo servilmente o grande profeta Elias; vivia num buraco como Elias; cobria-se de peles de feras como Elias; nutria-se de gafanhotos como Elias; repetia as imprecações clássicas de Elias; --e como Elias clamara contra o incesto de Acab, logo o Baptista trovejou contra o incesto de Herodíade. Por imitação, D. Raposo! (Rel,138)

The very personal interpretation of this well-known New Testament event seems to prepare the reader's credibility for the time warp which is to occur subsequently in the novel and which will cause Raposo and Topsisius to be actual eyewitnesses to the Passion of Christ. Topsisius continues with the story, telling of the capture of St. John and his beheading, and ends it by an ironic allusion to the traditional manner in which his feast day is celebrated: "E assim acabou S. João, por quem se canta e se queimam fogueiras numa doce noite de Junho..." (Rel,140) This last comment reveals Eça's mastery of contrast where the herald of the coming of Christ is today remembered by a pre-Christian feast, with singing and dancing at parties, and the lighting of bonfires.

In "Um Santo Moderno" Eça studies the process of sanctity and reveals to us the hagiographical legend coming into being. Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster, and titular head of Catholics in England, had just died. Eça admired him and considered him a saint. All his good qualities are enumerated: "Como santo, a sua vida íntima todavia não se afasta muito da vida dos outros santos do hagiológico" But this saint differs from other saints in the manner in

which he manifests his sanctity. As a 19th century man, he could not be like St. Antony, living the life of a hermit in the desert ; nor could he lead the revolutionary life of St. Francis. As a product of his time, born after the Encyclopedists, educated in Oxford, and living in the Victorian era, "...a sua santidade tomou natural a forma social, única que poderia ser compreendida nos nossos tempos, e produzir neles um bem visível." (NC,238) All his deeds, Eça tells us, "podiam formar uma vida devota nos bolandistas. Não houve milagres--mas por culpa de Voltaire, de Darwin e dos tempos modernos." (NC,239) To the public in general he was a great administrator, a charitable man, who took an interest in the poor. It was they, the poor, who began to think of him as a person who should be revered, as one whose deeds have set an example and opened a moral pathway in society for the good of all men. The poor people of London went to the Cardinal's funeral by the hundreds to pay their respects to someone who held their welfare as his own. Eça concludes that "hoje já não é o Papa mas o povo que canoniza. E neste momento, em pleo século XIX, a Inglaterra, que foi outrora a terra dos santos, e onde tão intensa e pura se conserva a emoção religiosa--está criando e consagrando um santo." (NC,243)

In the Introduction that Eça wrote for the first volume of the Almanaque Enciclopédico (1896), entitled "Almanaques", and included in NC, he gives us another satirical account involving a number of saints. After enumerating for us all the values and traditions associated with the almanac, Eça tells

us that "o almanaque, além da sua imensa importância civil, tem uma profunda importância religiosa--porque, a cada dia do ano, a Igreja, adjudicou a festa e a adoração de um santo." (NC,516) For the 365 days of the year, the Church selected 400 saints from the many thousands to commemorate, some days having two or three saints. Eça then informs us that the almanac is not only important to those who consult it but that the saints themselves take an interest in it:

...pois que cada dia um podia aí encontrar o seu nome com gosto, na aureolada lista da nobreza divina, e verificar risonhamente o dia em que, por escolha da Igreja, os homens lhes deviam incenso, sermões, fogueiras, cantos e ramalhetes. (NC,517)

The almanac was so popular with the saints, at least with those who were lucky enough to have been included in it, that "na biblioteca do Paraíso não havia livro mais pedido, nem mais folheado." (NC,517)

Eça writes that it is pleasant to imagine the saints in heaven as they leisurely peruse through the almanac,

já luminoso de ter sido tão manejado por luminosas mãos, e seguem, com olhares múmidos de gosto e riso, as linhas do calendário... Então S. João Nepomuceno exclama com encantada surpresa: ---Começa amanhã a minha novena! --E S. Camilo de Lelis, cofiando a barba perfumada, calcula e murmura deleitado: ---Faltam três dias para a minha festa, com música na Madalena! ... (NC,517)

The almanac is an indispensable guide to the Christians, for it not only announces the day of the saint, but it brings about a familiarity and even conviviality between saint and

sinner, In ancient times the gods lived on the Earth, but "o Cristianismo, esse, arremessou os santos tutelares para alturas abstractas..." (NC,536) Man was left alone, abandoned on Earth, but the almanac "chega, corrige o Concílio de Trento, e sem alarde, muito comezinhamente, mistura a Terra e o Céu." (NC,537)

In the essay "Joana d'Arc", included in the collection Cartas Familiares e Bilhetes de Paris Eça appears once more in his sarcastic vein, with a touch of anti-clericalism thrown in for good measure. It is a contemporary essay, written from his vantage point in Neuilly. The essay is not a pious work on St. Joan, but rather a bitter commentary on the process of her canonization by Pope Leo XIII. She was beatified in 1909 and canonized in 1920.

Eça's thesis is that her recognition by the Church as the national patroness of France was detrimental to the real life person of Joan:

Aconteceu uma desgraça a Joana d'Arc.
A donzela de Ofleães, a boa e forte
lorena, salvadora do Rei de França,
foi beatificada pela Igreja de Roma.
E (sem malícia voltaireana o digo)
com a sua entrada no Céu ela está
perdendo o prestígio que tinha na
Terra, e a sua santidade já irre-
mediavelmente estragou a sua popula-
ridade. (Obras, 2, 1237)

Her popularity, begun in her lifetime, lasted until the Renaissance, where she was deformed by the "Naturalismo pagão" of the period:

Já não é doce, a cândida virgem cristã,

iluminada por Deus para tirar da sua dor o pobre reino de França--mas uma valente amazona, amando o sangue, a guerra, e correndo a ela pelo mero e brutal desejo de destruir, de retalhar!
(Obras, 2, 1239)

Eça attributes the resurgence of her popularity to his own century, "nosso século romântico e romanesco, sensível e simpático a todos os complicados e exaltados de alma, cheio de uma piedade filial pelo nosso passado e sofrimento de espiritualidade..." (Obras, 2, 1240) In literature, he cites Chateaubriand and, more importantly, the historian Michelet, as having been instrumental in reviving the legendary Joan. Eça criticizes Michelet, as did so many other contemporaries, for idealizing Joan and divesting her of her humanity. He cites her medieval contemporaries and refutes Michelet, stating that:

...a virgem lorena...era uma vigorosa e corpulenta moça, alegre, quase folgazã, sem timidez, de uma grande audácia de palavra e de acção, cheia de confiança em si e na sua missão e não desistindo por vezes de uma boa e dura briga.
(Obras, 2, 1240)

The factor which caused her ultimate revival was the Franco-Prussian War. The people of France found in Joan a symbol for their patriotism, a civic patroness around whom all Frenchmen could rally. Very quickly Joan of Arc became an element of contention between Catholics and the Liberals or Republicans who were in power. Before the process of canonization was recognized by Pope Leo XIII, she was a national heroine, an example of patriotic spirit. After she was de-

clared holy and venerable, St. Joan could no longer be revered as a civic heroine by the anti-clerical state:

Foi como se a guerreira, que era amada pelo povo, porque no meio dele vivia, se retirasse bruscamente do mundo e renegasse, para se esconder na sombra devota duma sacristia. (Obras, 2, 1247)

Therefore, she was slowly being forgotten by the majority of Frenchmen, becoming the sole property of the Church. "Joana nostra est", cried the Archbishop of Aix, whereas formerly she belonged to the people of France. The Church, by insisting on removing St. Joan from the public square to a pedestal inside the temple, caused the decline in her popularity and, according to Eça, practically declared the demise of her cult:

E como hoje já se não escrevem hagiologios, a sua lenda, que já esconde a sua história, caíra no esquecimento. A Igreja tem tantas santas, e todas elas com direitos tão iguais ao mesmo culto, que não p~~o~~de realmente dedicar todo o seu fervor e todo o seu cerimonial a uma única posta num altar mais alto, por uma liturgia privilegiada. (Obras, 2, 1249)

The honor that the people spontaneously rendered to Joan because of her deeds was intentionally taken from them when the Church declared her a saint, making her less human than the poor peasantry from whom she came:

... os heróis que não foram canonizados, que ficaram entre os homens, na sua simples glória humana, conservarão as suas estátuas, bem limpas, bem visitadas, sempre contempladas, com uma ou outra flor no pedestal--e serão ainda heróis. (Obras, 2, 1249)

In NC we find the essay "Encíclica Poética". This essay deals primarily with Eça's social attitudes and views on religion; Our intention here is to focus on how Eça draws from his knowledge of the saints. Many saints appear, some to be humiliated, others to be derided, but the majority of them appear to set an example by their virtues, whether they be in practice or through the authority of their writings. The essay as a whole is another fine example of Eça's masterful use of sarcasm and irony, this time directed at Pope Leo XIII.⁹ This Pope had written an epistle in Latin dedicated to an old Roman citizen, a pagan, in which he discussed gastronomy:

E com tão sábia minuciosidade tratou, nestes hexâmetros copiosos, dos aprestos da mesa, e da escolha atenta dos vinhos, na adega, e da excelência da galinha e do anho, e da preparação prudente dos ovos, e dos legumes onde deve sobressair a 'couve saboroso', e da sobremesa onde cumpre que resplandeça a 'maçã rubicunda' --que essa dissertação ainda que sob a forma de epístola, é dedicada a um certo Fabrício Rufo, patricio romano, constitui realmente, para todos os católicos uma Encíclica Poética sobre a Alimentação Cristã. Decerto ela não foi metrificada em concílio ecuménico, sob o bafo e a inspiração do Espírito Santo, e não reveste, portanto, o selo sagrado da Infabilidade papal. (NC,441)

Eça then proceeds to analyze the "epístola" contrasting the Pope's opinions on food with the true Christian practices as found in the saints, always quoting them as ultimate authorities of the topic in question. He begins by agreeing

with the Pope that "a limpeza, apesar de esquecida no catolicismo, é na realidade a quarta virtude teologal" and cites several saints to prove this point:

Santo Agostinho, na sua casa de Hipona, mantinha um asseio estremado--e, sob os olhos consentidores da sua mãe, Santa Mónica, comia com colheres de prata... S. Tomás de Villeneuve, porém, rígido santo esse, limpo de toda a poeira pagã, possuía um salairo de prata! O ardente S. Remígio era também proprietário tímido de uma colher de prata--única, lisa sem labores, mas de prata, e com que ele comia as suas ervas nos grandes dias, como quando converteu Clovis, rei dos Francos. (NC,443)

Eça then begins to attack the Pope for his recommendations that wine is pleasant with meals:

Não, Santíssimo Padre, toda a rotina lante legião dos santos, bispos nas cidades ou eremitas no deserto, protesta, mostrando os Acta Sanctorum, contra o vosso preceito horaciano, S. Pedro-Damião, que purificou a Cristandade, S. Leão que, com o seu cajado, repeliu das portas de Roma as hordas de Átila, tantos ainda, inumeráveis como as estrelas, e como elas rebrilhantes de claridade imminente, nunca beberam vinho!

.....
Mas Santo Iago nunca percebeu sequer que verdejassem vinhas sobre a Terra! E S. Romualdo colocava diante da sua gruta um jarro de vinho velho de Quio, para o escarnecer, como licor grotesco que leva aos esgares, aos passos cambaleantes, aos dizeres asininos e babados... (NC,444)

Most saints drank water instead of wine, but some were not satisfied to drink fresh water:

S. Porfírio expunha a sua bilha ao sol, à poeira dos caminhos, à babuge dos bichos para que ela se corrompesse, e, assim impura, ficasse própria da sua impureza. Santa Caterina de Génova entornava no seu púcaro vinagre e sal--para não beber menos amargamente do que Jesus bebera no Calvário. (NC, 444)

Some saints shunned water altogether:

Durante os oito derradeiros anos da sua espantosa vida, S. Lupicino não bebeu; S. Lupicino não bebeu durante oito anos--mas Santo Alberto não bebeu durante vinte, e a sua cabana dominava um vale todo cortado de frios regatos, saltando de rochas claras. (NC, 445)

Eça continues the attack by reminding the Pope that actual Christian practices tended more to asceticism than to sumptuous displays. Deprivation and abstinence was a way of life for many who were striving to achieve perfection. The Pope recommends "a vaca, a galinha e a vitela" for the table. To this Eça replies:

Mas os mais resolutos e diligentes santos nunca provaram desses pratos, que lhes pareciam de culpada, escandalosa gula! Os solitários só comiam pão.. S. João Capistrano, Santo Ambrósio de Sena, S. Carlos Borromeu, S. Macário, S. Basílio, viveram de ervas, de côdeas secas, que alguns salpicavam de cinza, e outros, como S. Lourenço, arcebispo de Dublin, mergulhavam para mais funda humildade na água suja dos porcos. (NC, 446)

Abstinence from nourishing food did not cause a general debilitation of the body, as one might expect. On the contrary, they were more robust and energetic than ever:

Pois para viverem assim, tão sobrenaturalmente fortes, não se nutriam desses ovos, e mel de Himeto, e galinha, e vitela, e couve saborosa, e pêssego rubicundo, e quentes vinhos..

.....
 Ao contrário, por lhes faltarem os gordos capões, e as vitelas tenras, e os cálidos falernos que, engordando a carne, pesam na alma, a oprimem, a amolentam, a retardam, a escurecem--é que a alma deles reinou sobre o mundo tão riça, liberta, rápida, clara e triunfadora.

(NC, 449)

Not only were the saints healthy in their ascetic life, but many of them lived to an advanced age:

Outros tantos viveram que transpuseram o período consciente da santidade, e recaíram no pecado pelas fraquezas e birras da decrepitude. Assim aquele extraordinário Santo Áspar, que se não movia, todo encarquilhadinho, todo mirradinho, e que, quando, com os seus olhitos sempre curiosos e rebrilhantes, avistava as filas de peregrinhos que avançavam para o admirar, lhe fazia horrendas caratonhas e lhes atirava pedras, assanhando e a baba a escorrer...

(NC,450)

The Pope recommended doffee, forgetting that "o café foi logo, desde a sua aparição, a bebida dilecta quase oficial do racionalismo! Estimulando a imaginação e a razão indagadora--ele implicitamente dissolve o respeito pela regra e pelo dogma imutável." (NC,451) Eça ends the essay by admonishing the Pope for his extravagances in view of the meager table that the poor face daily:

Na verdade, na verdade! Grande é a certeza do Papa e larga a sua ternura! Mas não penso que, diante desta afamada e rota plebe, nem S. Bento, nem o pobre-zinho de Assis, nem o bom senhor S. Vi-

cente de Paula, nem esse tresloucado
 S. João de Deus, nem o nosso velho
 Santo António, nem S. Gregório ou
 Pio V, que eram também papas devotos
 das letras antigas, se entregassem
 ao regalo de compor, sobre a arte de
 bem comer, uma honesta epístola ho-
 raciana, de elegante latinidade.
 (NC,452)

The essay "Antero de Quental, written in memory of this great author and personal friend of Eça, recalls their first meeting when the two of them were students in Coimbra; Antero was an upper classman and held in awe for his wit, rhetorical ability, and revolutionary ways. Eça traces the different places and events that touched them both--the Conferências do Casino, the Cenáculo, the countless meetings and discussions, the collaborations in each other's pursuits. Many years passed since their life in Coimbra and all the while they maintained a strong bond of friendship, even while separated--Eça in his various diplomatic posts with occasional visits to Portugal and Antero in his sudden retreats away from all friends and activity. Although Eça recounts personal events, the essay does not pretend to be a biography of Antero. It is rather a moral sketch of the man in which his thoughts, feelings, and philosophy are presented in the foreground and the author reveals his deep emotional involvement with his subject.

Antero de Quental was often referred to as "santo Antero" by his friends. By this epithet they made allusion, perhaps jestingly, but in a non-pejorative way, to the eremitic characteristics in Antero's life style, and to the

metaphysical and mystical aspects of his poetry and philosophy. Antero was a great man, but a troubled one, who was capable of inspiring others but was unable to lead them:

Antero nascera pastor de almas
 --mas um pastor que, infeliz-
 mente, não tolerava a grosseria
 e a materialidade do rebanho. (NC,373)

He finally succumbed and committed suicide during one of his self-imposed exiles. What is important for us in our study of hagiology is how Eça portrayed his enigmatic friend in this reminiscence. He chose to do it by creating an aura of sanctity about Antero and by enumerating his virtues, always couching them in the language that one usually expects and finds in a hagiographer.

Antero, then, appears as a man who has been predestined to lead a life of high morality and who has the ability to inspire others to follow him down the path that brings salvation. For example, Eça attributes a semblance of the miraculous to Antero's birth, thereby setting him apart from other men: "De nascença a sua alma viera toda limpa e branca, e quando Deus a recebeu, encontrou-a decerto tão limpa e branca como lha entregara." (NC,353) The desire to trace a divine presence from birth in a person who during his life conducted himself in an exemplary way and is subsequently deemed saintly is one of the essential elements of the work of a hagiographer and here Eça attempts to do so from the onset of Antero's life. Once it had been

established that the subject was born in the grace of God, the hagiographer proceeds to enumerate the virtues of the saintly person, demonstrating an unswerving path of ever increasing path of ever increasing perfection towards salvation and ultimate sainthood. Eça assumes the task of the hagiographer in the portrayal of Antero assiduously and, although he shows us some deviations from the path in Antero's life, the virtues he chooses to attribute to him lead us to the inevitable conclusion that Antero is indeed an admirable man, worthy of our devotion.

Eça tells us that "Antero foi um carácter heròicamente íntegro" and that his "lealdade magnífica resplandecia todas nos seus olhos claros, como uma luz santa às portas de um sacrário." (NC,353) He goes on to say that Antero's benevolence was directed to all men and that he abounded in magnanimity and optimism. He was charitable when it was not yet fashionable to be so, when other men had not yet been made aware of the misery in the world. Antero's charity:

foi natural e simples, não como a da mocidade neo-evangélica(que agora, por Paris e Londres, lânguidamente ensina o Bem), sugada, ou antes decorada, na Vida de S. Francisco de Assis. (NC,354)

Eça places Antero in a superior place, above those whose charitable deeds were inspired by St. Francis and who copied him blindly, showing no originality whatsoever. Antero's charity was innate and not influenced by the works of others, not even by the great St. Francis. But Antero was also capa-

ble of vacillating in his faith; his resolute character set in a robus physique was capable of being overcome by doubts and fears, undermining all his accomplishments:

Já então o ditoso Antero, tão pròdigamente dotado por Deus, se considera um filho abandonado de Deus: já o mundo lhe parece perder a cor, e ele próprio a perde também, devendo para sempre ficar pálido e triste; e a beleza que então lhe parece não a goza plenamente, porque ela lhe lembra outra, transcendente e de mais puros gozos. (NC,356)

He suffers metaphysical anguish while deliberating on death, the futility of the present, and the uncertainty of the future. Antero falls into pessimism and inactivity. Why continue the fight when all effort is for naught, when the world brings only disillusion and everything turns to dust before one's eyes:

Das ~~essas~~ indiferenças, desprendimentos, bruscas desistências da energia, que, da parte de Antero, surpreendiam e contristavam os seus amigos. (NC,358)

But suddenly he would react, conquering his pessimism and would return to battle once more. Just as a saint may go abroad preaching the word of God and converting souls, so did Antero, "como um apóstolo do socialismo, a trazer a palavra aos gentílicos, em breve nos converteu a uma vida mais alta e fecunda." (NC,361) Antero converted the Cénaculo group by introducing them to Socialism and the Christian socialist ideas of Proudhon. ¹⁰ The Cénaculo, a group which existed for an enjoyable but totally fruitless endeavor, quickly disbanded and from its ashes ashes "nasceram, mi-

rabile dictu, as Conferências do Casino, aurora de um mundo novo, mundo puro e novo que depois, ó dor! creio que envelheceu e apodreceu..." (NC,362) Antero returns to his retreat and many years pass before Eça sees him again. His reappearance, Eça tells us "era sobretudo uma ressurreição moral, à velha maneira de Lázaro, uma miraculosa saída do túmulo pessimista e das sombras de negação. Findara a luta impacável: o seu grande coração, enfim, descansava em paz!" (NC,368) Antero emerges triumphant, having conquered his doubts, and fortified with a philosophy. Antero:

chegara a descobrir, a compreender bem o fim último e verdadeiro de tudo, não só do homem moral, mas de toda a natureza, mesmo na sua modalidade física. E essa descoberta é de inefável beleza e contentamento--pois que o fim de tudo é o Bem! O universo tem por fim o supremo Bem: o Bem é o momento final e augusto de toda a evolução do Universo. (NC,368)

Antero preaches the mystical principles of rejecting the "egoismo, paixões, vaidades, ambições, contingências, materialidades do mundo--e em procurar a união do espírito, assim libertado e limpo de todo o pesado lodo terreno, com o seu tipo de perfeição que usualmente se chama 'Deus'." (NC,369) Antero believes that all men should follow his philosophy, for it brings the ultimate in happiness. He says,

a lei moral do homem é o constante aperfeiçoamento e a progressiva santidade. (NC,369)

Antero then begins to apply his philosophy to his own life,

attempting to find peace in his Vila do Conde. There, Eça tells us, his life "era verdadeiramente edificante--e constitua, sem doutrina, um forte ensino moral." (NC,369) Eça makes a comparison between Antero's seclusion and that of the great hermit, St. Antony of the Desert, whose very name evokes the rigors of monasticism and physical deprivation. Eça states:

O velho Santo Antão no monte Colzim não vivia um viver mais puro, mais entregue ao ideal, à perfeição, à 'Vida Eterna', do que Antero naquela casa de Vila do Conde, simplificada até ao cenobitismo, e onde por único adorno, além de livros numa estante de pinho, havia flores das sebes em púcaros de barro. (NC,370)

Antero's style of living may attempt to approximate that of the eremites of the Thebaïd desert in Egypt from which the great ascetics originated and through which monasticism was introduced into Europe, but the fact that Antero has flowers to feast his eyes and the company of his two nieces with him proves to us that, after all, it is not a saint who is being portrayed. Eça reinforces this fact when he states that Antero was preoccupied with the "aperfeiçoamento da sua alma, ou, como diria um católico, com a sua 'salvação'". (NC,370) The choice of the word "aperfeiçoamento" over "salvação" is meaningful in that the former presents a moral and ethical problem while the latter has a strictly theological connotation. Eça states further that Antero was not motivated by a "salvação individual e egoísta, como a dos santos--mas salvação de todos, salvação para

todos, penetração lenta no Bem próprio para dele fazer um instrumento do Bem universal." (NC,370) Once again Eça separates Antero from the candidate for sanctity and shows us Antero the saintly man, living a moral existence while striving to bring goodness to others. The implicit criticism of the saints, who are accused of personal motivations in achieving salvation, is not an idle remark on Eça's part. The Church, the saints, and the clergy all have felt his biting sarcasm in his works. As always, it was not the institution he was attacking, but the irresponsible persons within the structure. In the case of the saints, Eça singles out for comment those whose sanctity was achieved by selfish motives of personal salvation. Eça also is critical of saints whose lives were holy and exemplary in every way, but who practice inaction and separated themselves from the rest of humanity, shunning their neighbors as if personal contact were threatening and odious. We have seen Eça's dislike for St. Symon Stylite and his various negative references to rich monasteries and abbeys full of complacent monks, tilling their lands and reaping plenty from the earth while ignoring the poverty and squalor outside the very walls which enclose them. Antero, then, despite his retreat to the Vila do Conde was not totally isolated from his fellow man. Jestingly, he longed to have disciples whom he could instruct in his Gospel, "e que, depois de o compreenderem finalmente, escrevessem por ele as Epístolas aos Galácios e aos Coríntios." (NC,373) Eça offered to be his St. Paul and go

preach to the Gentiles but Antero refused him saying that as an artist Eça would convert his ideas into images: "imagens floridas, cinzeladas, pitorescas, e arrepiadoras portanto para quem como ele abominava o pitoresco." (NC,373) Antero had found peace in his philosophy and in his solitary life, but on his occasional outings he would have visions and, at such times, he would discern misery and hopelessness in the country and in the people. Eça attributes this exacerbation to the ascetic life and gives an example from the of the Desert Fathers:

Assim S. Pacómio, descendo da alta Tebaida a Alexandria soltava gritos pelas ruas, porque sob as túnicas moles e bordadas daqueles alexandrinos votados à sensualidade e à falsa dialéctica, ele via claramente o pé de bode que revela os demónios. (NC,376)

Antero's soul was innocent and since he retained, even into his mature years, a child-like candor, he had power over children and they, in turn, were attracted to him. Eça ends his essay by accumulating more saintly virtues for Antero. But he does not let the reader lose sight of the fact that Antero, although having truly earned the title of "Santo Antero", is not a saint but an artist, an intellectual, who influenced the ideas of his society and his century, and who, in his turn, was affected by them. Towards the end of his life, in one of the last discussions he had with his friends, Antero revealed an ideal he held in his earlier years--to found a society that would be instrumental in starting a spiritual revival and counteract the materialism of his century. This

society, the "~~Ordem~~ dos Mateiros", would flee from the cities and establish themselves in primitive societies. The significant aspect of the order is that its spiritual revival would not be necessarily Christian: "Antero tendia para uma mistura do platonismo e do budismo." (NC,385) The society was never organized, of course, for it was conceived as an ideal, discussed in jest, and forgotten just as quickly. But it is interesting in the sharp contrast that it offers between Antero, the man, who displays all the traditional saintly virtues as enumerated by the hagiographers, but who is not a saint and therefore lacks the lasting faith and zeal of a true saint. He is a natural mystic, a Solitary, displaying all the proper ascetic tendencies, and yet incapable of belonging to any established order. Antero is also the man of the world, who was active despite his distrust of men, a trait that was in conflict with his socialist principles and one which induced him into his frequent retreats from society. But the true character of the man is revealed and Antero stands out as having been motivated by love, compassion, and genuine goodness towards humanity. In his troubled, erratic way he attempted to carry out his ideas, thereby enriching his society, culturally, socially, and politically. For Eça, Antero's accomplishments were worthy of the high praise and compliments he renders to him, regarding him as did others, as a saint, a 19th century "social" saint, just as Cardinal Manning was deemed a saint, sanctified by popular acclamation from all the people whom he helped and who

felt a strong devotion for him.

In our study we have seen how Eça uses hagiology in his works and how the saints appear in practically every one of his works. We might say that the saints are a constant theme in Eça but there is evidence of a pattern of evolution in his works. He begins using the saints slowly, making sporadic mentions to them in his early works--in the fiction of 1866, 1867, "Faras" and "O rei Tadeu", in Campanha Alegre, and in Prosas Bárbaras. In his first attempts at CPA there appear various references to saints but of relatively little importance when compared to the great number of saints Eça utilizes for pictorial representation, and characterization in the final version, creating caricatures and burlesque types by comparison and contrast with saints. In O Primo Basílio and O Mandarim, which chronologically come between the first edition of CPA and the final version, we find no mentions of saints. The high level of usage seen in CPA is not to be found again until A Relíquia, where Eça surpasses himself in applying hagiology to the narrative, primarily for purposes of characterization. The novels CPA and Rel together may be construed as a measure of Eça's literary use of the saints and we find they represent a plateau where Eça achieves great effects in his hagiological technique. The effect is maintained and fostered but not necessarily improved in CFM, ICR, and CS. The only works that surpass CPA and Rel are those essays, which we have just studied, in which the fragmentary mention is

is developed into a vignette, a motif and we find Eça at his best, manipulating the saints and the characters, shaping them to his will, and emerging as the true master of his subject.

In reviewing the hagiological mentions we also see Eça, not as a religious or devout man, not even as a believer, but always as the artist, the aesthete, searching for material in the lives, legends, attributes, works, virtues, and iconography of the saints that he can utilize and adapt for his own purposes. He does not cite the saints to exemplify them but employs them as mirrors that reflect the idiosyncracies of his own characters, sometimes enhancing the character in such a way as to convert him into a caricature. Eça always kept in mind the comical side of the saints, their basically human side which renders them vulnerable to his sarcasm. But just as often as it appears, the sarcasm may sometimes be biting but never bitter; it is usually irreverent but rarely critical. And some saints are even spared the sarcasm, demonstrating a certain preference for them on Eça's part. The saints to whom Eça refers most frequently in mentions usually devoid of any irreverence are St. Antony of the Desert, sometimes called S. Antão or S. António, and St. Francis of Assisi. The allusions to St. Antony have to do with the most salient aspect of his life which is his asceticism and suffering. St Antony spent many years in the Lybian desert leading a life of extreme hardship. He is also credited with the introduction of monasticism into

the western world. Eça refers to him not necessarily in admiration but in awe of the great endurance and perseverance of the saint. In the case of St. Francis we have a saint whom Eça greatly admired. The life, teachings, and practices of the saint permeate Eça's works. It is not accidental that he based his story, Frei Genebro, on one of St. Francis' disciples. The story, which shall be discussed at length in a later chapter, is indicative of the interest Eça had in St. Francis. He seems to have been deeply moved by the saint's charity and his total self-efacement in the light of the suffering of others. Eça, as well as many other European intellectuals, was attracted to the teachings of the saint. His order, the Frades Menores, quickly took root in Portugal and the Portuguese devoutly venerate one of its members, St. Anthony of Lisbon and of Padua. The interest that Eça and other writers display in St. Francis represents a general artistic trend and not a religious one. St. Francis captured the imagination of intellectuals everywhere, but particularly in France. In him they saw all the folly, exuberance, a simple, unquestioning religious fervor, and the poetry of the Middle Ages.

1

Eça de Queiroz, Dicionário de Milagres (Coordenação Inédita por Concluir) Outros Escritos Dispersos. (Lisboa, Parceria A.M. Pereira, Livraria-Editora, 1900). This work was a project conceived towards the end of Eça's life, the publication of which was negotiated in his lifetime, but did not appear in print until after his death. It was to an alphabetical listing of miracles collected from extensive European sources but unfortunately, it did not go beyond the letter B.

2

Eça de Queiroz. Prosas Esquecidas, Vol. I, II, III, IV, ed. Alberto Machado da Rosa. (Lisboa, Editorial Presença, 1965). These volumes contain works not included in the PB, dating from 1866-1867.

3

The English version of these obscure saints is St. Paschal Baylon, (Spanish, 1540-1592), St. Didacus, (Spanish Capuchin, 1743-1801), St. Chrysolius, Bishop, 4th century.

4

O Mandarin has been omitted, for there are no mention of saints. A Capital and O Conde Abranhos date from the late 1870's, possibly from the early 1880's, although they were not published until 1925.

5

Ernesto Guerra da Cal. Lengua y Estilo de Eça de Queiroz, I, Elementos Básicos. (Coimbra, Acta Universitatis Conimbricensis, 1954), p. 149.

6

The saints were all real persons: St. Telephorus, Pope and Martyr; St. Secundina, Roman Maiden and Martyr; St. Anthony Stroncone, Bishop; St. Restituta, Virgin and Martyr; St. Umbelina; St. Basilissa, Virgin; and St. Hypatius, Martyr.

7

St. Theodoric, Bishop and Martyr, d. 880.

8

Alves & Cia. has been omitted since it offers no hagiological material for study.

9

Pope Leo XIII, his coronation took place on March 3, 1878; died on July 20, 1908.

10

Pierre Joseph Proudhon, 1809-1865, French social theorist; in his pamphlet, What is Property? (1840), he presented his ideas on private property, condemning its abuses.

CHAPTER V

Stylistic Analysis of Lendas de Santos and "Frei Genebro"

It can be deduced from the preceding study that Eça manifested an interest in religion that spanned all his years as a literary man. He began with a vague, romantic attitude, full of emotion and sentimentality in PB, and progressed to the anti-clerical themes in CPA and Rel, with its anomalous episode. Another enigmatic segment of Eça's works is the collection of legends based on the lives of three saints, the Lendas de Santos, published posthumously in the volume Últimas Páginas.¹ The other work to be considered is "Frei Genebro," which deals with an episode in the life of Brother Juniper, one of the followers of St. Francis. It was included in the Contos, and although not strictly a hagiographical theme, it has the characteristics of hagiology.

Since their publication, the Lendas have presented a problem to critics who were accustomed to judging Eça as a realist in the best French tradition. They could not see beyond Eça's earlier adherence to realism and failed to understand that Eça's last phase represented a new beginning. Fidelino de Figueiredo stated that in writing the Lendas, "Eça abandonava as suas duas supremas regras: 'realidade bem observada' e 'observação bem exprimida'. Perdeu-se o lastro de realidade ou de pensamento; sucedeu-lhe a filigrana vazia, ainda que de precioso lavor."² In this chapter it shall be demonstrated that the Lendas were not mere decoration, as Figueiredo claimed. The form was surely of value to Eça, a master of style that he

was. But equally as important was the content.

The origin of the Lendas is obscure and, if it were not for passing references to them in Eça's letters, there would not even be any information with which to pinpoint the dates when he was working on them. That Eça was well versant with the lives of saints, partially due to having been brought up a Catholic, but also because of research into the subject, has already been made evident. In a letter to Oliveira Martins, dated May 10, 1884, he writes, "por proibidade de artista eu tenho uma idea de me limitar a escrever contos para crianças e vidas de grandes Santos." ³ In the same letter he mentions that he was already in the process of writing Os Maias. Therefore, it seems likely that he was not actually engaged in the Lendas as yet. Some ten years later, 1893, he wrote to Oliveira Martins, informing him that he is writing on another saint, referring to a new venture and having abandoned an earlier one:

...interrompi o S. Frei Gil, para me dedicar a Santo Onofre. Não creio que conheças este ilustre solitário--- porque não há bem certeza de que ele jamais existisse. Não da sua vida, que a não tem. mas dos agiologios, consegui extrair umas cem páginas, uma pequena plaquette, para ir acostumando o público a este neo-flos-sanctorismo." ⁴

By this time Eça had done some research. He is aware that Santo Onofre, or St. Humphrey, may be a spurious saint, for there is no biography in existence. But he is included in the hagiologies of the Middle Ages and of the sixteenth century, from which Eça obtained some facts. He is also aware, by his own words, that he is participating in something new, a

neo-hagiology, a literary one, to be introduced to the people. And in May 29, 1897 he wrote to Silva Pinto, who had stopped work on a book on S. Frei Gil, to tell him that,

... há dois anos que no capítulo 3^o ou 4^o, o moço D. Gil, indo a caminho de Toledo, ficou parado, estendido na relva, entre grandes árvores, à beira de um rio claro, a conversar com o senhor de Astorga, que (aqui entre nós) é o diabo... E dois anos vão passados, e ainda o iludido cavaleiro se não levantou da relva. Continuará ele jamais a sua jornada para Toledo? Não sei. Outros estudos, outros livros me têm chamado--- e até outros santos, que me retêm pela sua santidade mais doce e mais simples. 5

Apparently Eça was already working on St. Christopher or had already completed it. The adjectives "doce" and "simples" are those he applied consistently to S. Cristóvão. Otherwise, nowhere does Eça mention writing on St. Christopher. Jaime Batalha Reis reports that by 1891 Eça had already begun S. Frei Gil. He recorded a conversation he had with Eça in Paris in the summer of that year, in which Eça said:

Saberás, porventura com satisfação, que estou seguindo o teu antigo conselho: Enevoei-me outra vez, totalmente, no fantástico da 'Gazeta de Portugal', feito agora com menos 'abutres' e em 'prosa talvez menos bárbara' que a desses longínquos tempos. Estou escrevendo a vida diabólica e milagrosa de São Frei Gil; ---e por sinal, a dir-to-ei agora aqui quando justamente nos achamos sob arvoredos,---que a nossa riquíssima língua portuguesa me parece deficiente em cores com se pintem selvas; --- e também te confiarei que, tendo metido, por minhas próprias mãos, o santo bruxo numa floresta, não sei como o hei-de-tirar de lá. 6

Upon reading the Lendas de Santos a problem of classification immediately arises. Are they short stories, long short stories, or short novels? "Frei Genebro" presents no doubt as to its classification as a short story. It meets all the generally acceptable descriptions of a short story. Brother Juniper is the main and preeminent character, who is involved in a singular incident. The story has organization, much imagination and, as with good tales, it is compressed in its plot, so as to produce the most impression on the reader. The Lendas do not possess these qualities. "S. Frei Gil" was left unfinished but, from what Eça himself stated, he had conceived a long narrative for it, as he had already done for St. Christopher and St. Humphrey. The answer as to their classification can be found not in purely literary fiction, but must be drawn from the body of hagiological literature itself. In their structure the three tales meet the requirements of a true saint's legend, with the expected tri-partite structure, in which the saint's life is evenly divided into three parts: the Birth, with its accompanying portentous signs of the saint to be; the Mature Years, with all the holy deeds carefully catalogued; and the eventual Death, in which the saint assumes his predetermined place in heaven. Eça had read the collections of the lives of saints, and was well acquainted with the nature, content, and form of the hagiological legend. Ramalho Ortigão confirms this fact when he writes, "...quem primeiro nos anunciou que o naturalismo morrera para a arte foi o mesmo autor

do Primo Basílio, indo buscar ao Flos Sanctorum e aos Bo-landistas, ao simbolismo das lendas cristãs, ao maravilhoso dos agiologos, ao iluminismo dos Fra-Angélicos e dos Memlings a inspiração de seu novo livro sobre a vida de S. Cristóvão." ⁷

One of the most common characteristics of hagiographic narrative is their total lack of regard for chronology, historical sequence, and geography. The general populace to whom they were intended were totally unsophisticated in these matters. Eça, on the other hand, as a modern literary hagiographer was very much concerned with maintaining a strict order of time and seasonal indications, historical time, and the places in which the saints lived and worked. "S. Frei Gil", "Frei Genebro", and "S. Cristóvão" are set in the medieval period with feudalism the prevailing social order. "Frei Genebro" is even more precise in its historical placement in the time of St. Francis of Assisi. There is one contradictory note in Eça's chronology regarding St. Christopher's biography. The saint, as listed in the Roman Martyrology, was a martyr in Lycia, a country in Asia Minor and a Roman province, in the 3rd century A.D., under the emperor Decius (250-253). Eça intentionally created an anachronism by making him a European and medieval saint. There are several justifications in this obvious distortion. As we have stated, hagiographers had no compunction about re-arranging history to suit their needs. And, what is more important, there were very few facts on re-

cord concerning St. Christopher beyond his name and his martyrdom. Also the saint's popularity and cult was greatest in the Middle Ages, most of the iconography dating from this period. Eça's interest in European history and society is given full rein in "S. Cristóvão", considered by most critics to be the more developed of the Lendas, the most meaningful, and best written.

"S. Onofre" has its setting in Upper Egypt, in the Thebaid desert, circa 400 A.D. Eça's version of St. Onuphrius' biography is a re-creation of the period of the great desert hermits and the early experiments in monasticism. Therefore, except for St. Christopher's displacement, Eça maintains a verifiable chronology and setting in his hagiological tales.

The literary time, an internal factor of the narrative, is another matter. Although the character be a real, historical person with many facts known of his life within a specific segment of time, the ultimate reality of his presence is the scope of the author. It is at the discretion of the literary creator that we see the character move in time at a pace and extent that is predetermined by him. Eça's usage of time and seasonal indications serve various purposes. The common ones introduce an episode and divide one episode from another. He also indicates the general passage of time, the years, and seasons, by references to the flowering of shrubs and trees, harvests, and other natural phenomena. Eça indicates the specific

passage of time, mentioning twelve hour segments and twenty-four hour periods. We also know of the general time during which something happens, the pre-dawn hours, dawn, morning, afternoon, evening, and the night. The weather also serves to support and illustrate the event at the time it happened. Let us look at a few examples of this time scheme.

In "S. Frei Gil" the period immediately preceding his birth was one of peace and plenty. Eça describes the scene with:

os seus dias corriam retirados e doces (UP,283)
 assim a existência corria, igual e serena (UP,285)
 assim os anos tinham corrido, no solar de
 Gonfálim (UP,286)

The very words and their repetitive use suggest calm, a slow pace. Finally, the long awaited birth of an heir takes place:

e um mês passara (UP,291)
 pelo baptizado foram celebrados grandes
 festas (UP,291)
 ele, com efeito, cada hora crescia em
 força e beleza (UP,293)
 no Inverno (UP,294)
 durante todo o Inverno (UP,295)
 no dia em que o menino fez um ano (UP,295)

With just a few suggestions of time and a few pages Eça covers the first year of Gil's life.

In "S. Onofre", in order to convey the feeling of the

saint's long and fruitless struggle with his temptations, Eça compounds the years of combat in the desert:

muito tempo, então, chorou amargamente...
 em tantos anos de penitência e ermo...
 decerto mil noites de dura peleja...
 trinta anos se flagelara...
 trinta anos se esfomeara...
 velara meses... (UP,232)

In "S. Cristóvão" Eça keeps a careful record of the seasons as the saint grows to giant proportions:

era o tempo das vindimas (UP,20)
 quando o Inverno começou (UP,23)
 como era o calor de Maio (UP,31)
 era então o fim de Outono (UP,38)
 a cerejeira na horta estava coberta
 de cerejas (UP,40)
 quando os frios vieram (UP,41)

To give the idea of the length of time but without specifying the number of days it took, Eça begins various chapters with:

Longos dias são passados (UP,73)
 Longos dias caminhou (UP,83)
 Longos dias Cristóvão errou pelos
 caminhos (UP,92)

Towards the end of the legend, when St.Christopher is getting old Eça repeats the same expressions with variations to suggest

how the years have taken their toll on the saint,

assim os anos passavam (UP,136)

os anos tinham passado, e Cristóvão era
mais velho que os mais velhos carvalhos (UP,173)

assim envelhecia aquele bom gigante (UP,176)

assim vivia desde longos anos (UP,179)

In "Frei Genebro" the time indications are more restricted since the narrative is limited to one particular incident, Juniper's sacrifice of the pig for his friend, the dying monk. However, since the story is so compressed, Eça indicates the passing of the years by a few, well placed comments:

desde esse dia (Con,130)

durante as invernias e a neve (Con,130)

longos anos errou entre os homens (Con,131)

enfim, uma tarde, em véspera de Páscoa (Con,131)

The next morning, "de madrugada", Brother Juniper died.

There is another larger chronology which Eça employs for the three saints. This broader time sequence concerns the life of the saint himself. He envisioned a traditional hagiological time structure in which to relate the biographies of the saints. Except for "S. Onofre" and "Frei Genebro" Eça had planned a complete biography from birth to death. He accomplished this end for St. Christopher and had the same intention for Frei Gil, according to the Plano da obra, published with the manuscript of the Lendas de Santos. The narrative ends when Gil had attained young manhood and had

set out to Paris in order to study medicine.

"S. Onofre" begins in medias res when Onofre had already been in the desert since he was twenty years old. At the age of fifty he abandons his life as a hermit and spends the next twenty years, until his death, in the service of the needy. In order to fill in the gaps in Onofre's past, Eça resorts to flashbacks when Onofre returns to the time of his boyhood in his father's tavern. Otherwise, there is nothing else known of his youth.

"S. Cristóvão" is the legend that Eça worked on to the fullest, successfully completing the large chronological pattern of the saint's life from birth and development, to maturity and deeds, and finally to old age and death. At the beginning of the narrative the pace is rather slow in order to set the scene. After his birth St. Christopher grows quickly into monstrous proportions. The telling of it is deliberately hurried so as to create the greatest possible effect. The passing of time can be traced very carefully by the references to the seasons or the months. Cristóvão was born in midwinter, "o Inverno no entanto viera" (UP,25); to indicate that he was now six months old, "como era no calor de Maio" (UP,31); at less than one year old, "muito antes do Natal" (UP,33). And a few lines later we find, "aos dois anos" (UP,33). The accelerated passing of time keeps up with Christopher's phenomenal growth.

The hagiographer had no need to document his text with

with great detail concerning the physical surroundings of the saint. A reference to his birthplace, to the town or country where he performed his deeds, and a mention of his place of death or martyrdom sufficed. There was no great need, given the oral nature of the legend, to verify the fact for a largely illiterate audience. Eça was more specific in his place names. This is due to the fact that he chose to situate his saints in places with which he was more intimately acquainted. There are references to Europe, Portugal, France, and Spain, in "S. Frei Gil", France in "S. Cristóvão", Italy in "Frei Genebro", and Egypt in "S. Onofre". The places represent a real world, embellished with much local color. At the same time the characters move about in a fictional space of the author's creation. This fact is true for the whole of the legend of St. Christopher. The setting is definitely in Europe. But besides this knowledge, there is very little information given as to specific places. In "Frei Genebro", "S. Onofre", and "S. Frei Gil", Eça was more precise and factual as regards the saints' biography and the places associated with them than a traditional hagiographer would have been. But he ultimately had to resort to his own ideas and choices for the setting in which to place the saints.

Another important element within the scope of setting is distance. To Eça distances were important but not the actual, measurable distances. Usually Eça refers to topography in his narrative and uses verbs suggesting motion to indicate

that the character is traveling. Most saints, as all legendary heroes, were travelers and wanderers and Eça's saints are no different in this regard. The only exception is "Frei Genebro", where there is little wandering due to the nature of the incident Eça relates. The compression inherent in the short story restricts the space. There are, though, a few references to Umbria, Rome, and it is on a journey, "de Espoleto para Terni", when Brother Juniper visits his friend for whom he killed the pig.

In "S. Frei Gil", since the manuscript was left incomplete, there is a minimum of traveling. Eça, in the plan that he had outlined for the work, he would have taken Gil on a lengthy, circuitous journey. From his home in Portugal he would have gone to Toledo instead of to Paris.⁸ From Spain Gil would have finally arrived in Paris, would have experienced a fantastic trip to the stars with the devil. Then he would have returned to Portugal to fulfill his destiny and die a saint.

Onofre and Cristóvão are true wanderers. Each one experiences a peregrination, both real and symbolic, in search of God. Theirs is a quest, full of adventure while they attempt to find a purpose for and give meaning to their lives. Onofre began his journey quite accidentally when his father sent him as his representative to contract for supply of provisions to some monks. He travels with two monks, who along the way begin instructing him in the Christian faith. Onofre states:

Ó incomparável jornada, em que cada passo, mais gostoso que o de um triunfo, o avizinhava do Céu! (UP,202)

Onofre accepts the teachings of Jesus, is apprenticed to a monk, and when the monk died, he established his own solitary camp in the desert. He lived as a hermit for many years until he decided to rejoin mankind:

Depois subiu às rochas---envolveu num longo olhar o deserto, a horta nunca acabada, que cultivara, as palmeiras benéficas que o tinham alimentado, o arbusto, que flor a flor lhe marcara os anos de penitência, o regato que fora a frescura do seu Deserto. E com um longo suspiro, tomando pelo rumo das estrelas o caminho do sul e do Grande Mar, Onofre voltou para entre os homens. (UP,235)

At this point Onofre begins his journey. He settled down in a village and began a life of service to his fellow men. He experienced such great happiness that he decided he lacked true humility and returned to the desert. He is once again beset by demons and horrendous visions, finding no peace in his solitary life. Old and sickly he decided to await death, constantly moving, dragging his body on the sand:

E não cessava de avançar, nem de gemer. Sempre para diante, pousando na areia as mãos roídas e gastas, arrastando na areia os ossos descarnados dos joelhos-- e chorando, e gritando: 'Senhor, tem piedade! Senhor, tem piedade!' (UP,262)

But his wanderings are not yet over. He is rescued by merchants from a caravan and is given refuge in their village.

The people treat him as a holy man, a miracle worker and Onofre leaves the, fearing that in attempting to grant them spiritual help, he might lose his humility:

Mas Onofre via o Inferno---e fugiu,
fugiu soluçando, arrepelando as bar-
bas, num desespero infinito... Fugiu
do casebre, fugiu da aldeia. (UP,269)

As much as he might Onofre cannot escape his fate. Again he is challenged to render the ultimate service--- to perform a miracle. Only when he forgets his own salvation, overwhelmed by his feelings of love and pity for a sick and dying child, and implores God to grant him a miracle to cure and save the child, only then does Onofre come to the end of his search.

Cristóvão's wanderings take him far and wide in his search for the love of God among men and in his wish to emulate Jesus. According to the manuscripts relating to "S. Cristóvão" published by Eça's daughter, Maria d'Eça de Queiroz, Eça had made an outline and a drawing tracing Cristóvão's footsteps through a typically medieval and feudal setting.⁹ He called this plan "Acompanhando os Passos do Santo", in which Cristóvão would undergo various experiences and adventures demonstrating his simplicity and goodness. There is one episode in the narrative that stands out for the profusion and repetition of verbs that describe Cristóvão's indefatigable motion. It occurs when Cristóvão, having experienced disillusionment with the life among the hermits on the mountain, leaves them for other places where his services might be put to greater ad-

vantage:

Cristóvão tomou o caminho do lado oposto aos povoados--- e começou a caminhar, ao acaso, pela longa ravina que contornava a serra. Era como o leito de uma antiga corrente, que seguia funda entre rochas, seca e triste infinitamente. Toda a noite caminhou à luz de uma grande Lua cheia.
(UP,106)

And the verbs continue to accumulate, indicative of Cristóvão's need to flee the sterile atmosphere of the hermits:

Todo o dia marchando sempre...
De manhã, dirigiu os passos...
Durante dois dias mais caminhou
Retomava a marcha, e marchando sempre...
Mas uma tarde que caminhava... Cristóvão
mergulhou na espessura (UP,107)

Against the setting of Europe and Egypt Eça develops certain themes and creates a topical background that lends credence to the setting. The themes also contribute to the tone and set the atmosphere for the legends. For "S. Onofre" there are several objectives. One is to evoke the Egypt with the Greco-Roman culture predominating in the towns, existing side by side with the expansion of Christianity. The other is to portray the desert and the life of the hermits, who fled from the immoral conditions in a pagan society.

"S. Onofre" opens with, "Onofre, desde os vinte anos, vivia no deserto da Tebaida." (UP,187) The reader is immediately projected into the physical surroundings of the hermit, a harsh

and forbidding place. Onofre lives in a cave formerly occupied by Saracen robbers, with the entrance to it partially fortified. In the valley, where he found some water, Onofre "criara um horto de ervas silvestres, tamarqueiras, terebintos, três altas palmeiras, e mesmo uma mimosa." (UP,187)

Before his conversion to Christianity Onofre had lived at home, where his father was a tavern keeper in the Greek quarter of the town. Near the tavern, on the edge of town, there was a small woods and in it a shrine to Aesculapius, the god of medicine and healing:

Por aquele lindo bosque acompanhava ele sua mãe---que era grega, das ilhas Egeias --- quando ela, já pálida, consumida pelos ardores do Egipto, ia suplicar a saúde ao deus helénico, o claro ídolo de barbas douradas, e derramar sobre a sua ara o puro azeite da Ática, que ele levava na mão numa infusa pintada. Era sempre de madrugada, nos vérgéis do Santuário, cantavam os galos votados a Esculápio. (UP,192)

This pleasant scene is contrasted to the severe landscape of the desert, where Onofre tries to eradicate the cares of the world:

Imóvel, à beira do seu mirado, considerava longamente as formas e as semelhanças das rochas--- umas escarpadas, lisas, como muros de cidadela, outras agudas, avançando na sombra crepuscular como proas de galeras encahadas, outras redondas, em montão, de um alvor fúnebre, como crânios que restassem de uma antiga, esquecida matança. Meditava as serras que se estendem para o Sul, a sua aspereza e nudez, os antros que decerto as escavavam, e os fundos barrancos, mudos, abafados em treva. (UP,209)

Such was the place that Onofre chose in which to practice the ways of an eremite. Originally he had chosen a monastic group, attracted by their common life of penitence and prayer. Onofre though, "oh, a regra é dura---mas como ela da contentamento e paz infinita a todas aquelas almas, por santirem tão certo e vizinho o Paraíso!" (UP,203) But, on advice of the abbot, he went into the desert to care for an aging hermit because, "só almas experimentadas em maior aspereza e solidão podiam recolher, nas doçuras espirituais daquele mosteiro illustre, o preço da sua fortaleza." (UP,203) Onofre cared for the hermit until he died and then, instead of returning to the monastery, he decided to stay and become a solitary, experiencing deprivation, temptations, and many horrendous visions.

"Frei Genebro", "S. Frei Gil", and "S. Cristóvão" take place in medieval, feudal Europe, with a detailed background that completes and enhances the setting. The themes which Eça chose to include in his tales are historically correct and represent political and social realities for that time. His research into the history of Portugal, and of Europe in general, can be seen in the legends, for Eça captured the atmosphere of the epoch. He had already employed a similar theme in A Ilustre Casa de Ramires (1897), a novel in which Gonçalo Mendes Ramires is writing an episode on the history of a famous ancestor. The novel in progress within the novel is a reconstruction of the medieval period and exists in jux-

taposition with the contemporary Ramires.

For "S. Cristóvão" Eça had indicated, in outline form, those elements of the Middle Ages which he would incorporate into the narrative of the saint:

Aspectos da Meia-Idade

Cidade. Aldeia. Castelo, Mosteiro.
Ermida. Floresta. Acampamento.
Estalagem.

Tipos da Meia-Idade

O barão. O cavaleiro andante.
O eremita. O peregrino. O feiticeiro.
O menestrel. O astrólogo. O estudante.
O mercador ambulante.

Episódios da Meia-Idade

A vida feudal. A vida monacal
A vida eremita. A peste. A guerra
dos Jacques. A guerra dos barões.
O torneio. As jornadas dos mercadores.
As forcas. As flagelações. Os bruxedos.
A adoração das relíquias. As peregrina-
ções. As festas populares.¹⁰

The list of aspects, types, and topics attest to Eça's intent of reconstructing a period in a manner that would be both diversified and accurate. The list above is not limited to "S. Cristóvão" exclusively. "S. Frei Gil" also contains, with some minor variations, the same types and episodes of the Middle Ages as in "S. Cristóvão".

In the legends we find described the various places around which the life of the Middle Ages revolved--- the villages, and towns, the church and monastery, the hermitage, and, of course, the castle. "S. Cristóvão" has a typical village of serfs:

...uma aldeia de casebres em colmo juntos
em torno de uma igreja, cuja torre estava

em obras.

.....
 As primeiras casas, junto de um pali-
 çado de estacas, estavam desertas, nuas
 por dentro, como saqueadas. Nem um rês
 de gado se via nos aidos. (UP,109)

In "S. Onofre" Eça describes a city in Egypt:

A dois estádios, porém, da aldeia,
 havia a velha cidade de Bubastes, entre
 as águas Pelusíacas e o canal de Nécio,
 onde cada ano vinha de todo o Egipto a
 festiva peregrinação ao velho templo de
 Ftás, então dedicado a Ártemis Grega.
 Bubastes era rica em obeliscos e termas.
 As suas muralhas formidáveis estavam co-
 bertas de estátuas. E nas longas aveni-
 das, ao comprido das águas, sob os sicô-
 moros e as palmeiras, todo o dia as ta-
 bernas e as casas esguias das cortesãs
 ressoavam dos cantos e dos folgares pa-
 gãos. (UP,236)

This description of a city rich in the classical tradi-
 tions contrasts sharply with the impoverished villages and
 towns of feudal Europe.

When Cristóvão was ten years old his father began taking
 him to the village church. He did not like the high walls
 of the church, built like a fortress:

... sempre aquela casa de Deus Nosso Senhor
 deixara, na sua alma simples, o terror de
 um lugar muito rico, muito triste, e todo
 cheio de mistério. Uma grande sombra fria
 caía das abóbadas escuras. Todas as ima-
 gens, sobre os altares, lívidas, emaciadas,
 pareciam sofrer. (UP, 45)

After having lived in the hills for a few years Cris-
 tóvão decided to return among men and went to work in a mo-
 nastery. Cristóvão became the work horse of the place and

there he began his formal, religious instruction. But the monks do not reach him with their complicated dogma. It is from one of the students at the monastery school, Alfredo and his friend Etelvina, that Cristóvão learns about the life of Jesus.

Eça does not describe the medieval monastery with great admiration. On two occasions he pictures similar monasteries, rich and imposing, belonging to the Dominican Order. The first one is in "S. Cristóvão":

Para além, na outra margem, era uma longa colina suave, onde se erguia, acompanhado de árvores e cercado de muralhas como uma cidadela, um mosteiro rico de Domínicos. (UP, 13)

The other in "S. Frei Gil":

... um mosteiro rico de Domínicos ocupava toda a colina fronteira a Gonfálim, com a sua vasta, frondosa cerca. (UP, 282)

The villages and monasteries are always located within a short distance from the castle and its lord, from whom they receive support and protection. The villagers are serfs on the land owned by the lord. The castle is a fortress, usually located on a hill, protected by high walls, with^a moat and a draw bridge. Eça left a drawing depicting the castle he imagined for "S. Cristóvão".¹¹ Cristóvão himself was born in the shadow of such a castle where his father was employed as a woodcutter:

E sobre um forte outeiro, logo o Castelo apareceu, negro, formidável, com

altas muralhas, os grandes cata-ventos em forma de dragões e de aves heráldicas no cimo de cada torre, e, na mais alta, a chama clara do seu farol. Uma calçada de grossas lajes, orlada de faias, conduzia ao terreiro, para onde abria, sob a torre de menagem, a estreita porta chapeada de ferro e a ponte levadiça, que sempre descida, naqueles doces anos de paz, tinha as cadeias de ferro enrujadas. (UP,14)

This same image of peace and tranquility is repeated in "S. Frei Gil", where the castle-fortress is at peace.

The interiors and furnishings of the castle are also depicted. The manor house is comfortable, and richly furnished, with many servants to attend the lord. In "S. Cristóvão" we have a description of a dining hall:

a vasta mesa tapeada de ervas frescas;
as duas lanças transversais por cima,
suspensas do tecto por correntes de ferro,
carregadas de grossos pães de sênea;
a alta cadeira de espaldar, no topo,
encimada por um alto brasão, tendo ao lado
um poleiro onde dormiam dois falcões;
a imensa chaminé de pedra, ao fundo, com
figuras em relevo que agitavam armas.
(UP,16)

Another aspect of the medieval period that Eça relates in his Lendas is the superstitious practices that the serfs and lords alike held. For example, when D. Tareja, Gil's mother was attempting to conceive she, "fizera promessas, invocara todos os padroeiros da fecundidade, acendêra durante trinta dias trinta velas a Santa Margarida, bebera água de sagna-canina, trouxera muito tempo sobre a cinta uma pele de coelha." (UP,286) When she finally conceived, "D. Tareja,

ao fim do primeiro mês, fora comungar ao mosteiro, para que a Hóstia divina fosse o primeiro alimento do menino bem-desejado." (UP,287) During the time before his birth every precaution was taken that Gil be born healthy. When a jackdaw, a black bird of the crow family and considered an evil omen, landed on his window-sill, D. Rui took sick for a week with worry that his child would be born with a stutter. The doctor who came to examine D. Tareja advised her never to drink cold liquids. After checking the insides of her eyelids and some freckles on her forehead, he sadly informed her that he couldn't say that the child would be a boy.

In "S. Cristóvão" there are similar customs and superstitions regarding a birth, but on a more modest scale. Cristóvão's mother, when she was certain that she was with child, "fora ao Mosteiro comungar, para que a Santa Hóstia fosse o primeiro alimento que a criancinha que em si trazia, e que assim recebia logo o corpo e o sangue de Jesus." (UP,21) When her time came she also prayed to St. Margaret. The woodcutter ran to get the miller's wife, the local midwife. As he was returning to his hut he saw a pair of white doves in flight, a sight which he interpreted as a good omen. Before he let the midwife into the hut he drew a sign of the cross on the ground with his foot, while invoking the name of St. Margaret. As a further precaution he was instructed to take one of his wife's belts to the chapel, tie it to the bell ropes, and with it in hand, to ring the bells nine times, saying

nine Hail Marys. "Para maior segurança acendeu ainda, num altar, duas velas a Santa Margarida. Depois, confiado na misericórdia do Céu, recolheu à sua cabana." (UP,29) Earlier he had painted a white cross on his door to ward off evil spirits. When Cristóvão's mother took sick the miller's wife prepared a remedy for her; "ela acedeu a atar ao pescoço um saco onde estava metida uma rã e a comer um caldo de margaridas apanhadas à Lua cheia." (UP,37)

In "S. Frei Gil" there are references to the feast days and the activities related to them. Religious and secular feasts assumed a great importance in the drab, every day life of the people:

Pelo Natal havia um presépio na capela, com missa cantada pelos frades do convento e uma ceia em que se comia o porco novo. Nos anos de D. Rui, arrombava-se uma pipa de vinho, no campo de tavolagem, e os moços de Gonfalim faziam grandes jogos de bola, e lutas. E não havia naquelles arredores mais alegre fogueira, do que a que se acendia, entre danças e cantos, no terreiro, em frente da ponta levadiça, por noite de S. João. (UP,286)

Among the populace, a much preferred activity was a pilgrimage to a holy place. When Cristóvão was living with the hermits, the villagers would come to the mountain to gain favors from them. The monks would take the opportunity to preach to the people. The romaria was not all serious and religious in nature, of course. The villagers would bring food and wine and have a picnic on the mountainside.

A universally popular recreation was the town fair.

In one of his adventures Cristóvão serves a crippled actor turned mountebank at a fair:

A feira era enorme, num vasto prado
que defrontava com os muros da cidade.
As barracas de lona, de madeira, de ta-
petes, de ramagens, alinhavam-se em gran-
des ruas. No topo dos mastros flutuavam-
bandeirolas. E homens enfiados como
orientais, mulheres com plumas na cabeça,
outras com trajes de nações estranhas...
(UP,170)

Among the several categories that Eça listed in the scenario for "S. Cristóvão", and which obviously judged to be illustrative of medieval society, are the types of the period. Here again there are clear indications of Eça's serious concern for accuracy. The types he mentions throughout "S. Frei Gil" and "S. Cristóvão" represent a vast array of period characters that far exceed the few he listed in the outline for "S. Cristóvão" alone. For instance, in the first fifty-one pages of "S. Cristóvão" there are thirty different types mentioned, who exemplify the various occupations associated with the running of a castle and its lands. ¹²

In "S. Frei Gil", since the first part of the legend describes Gil's birth and boyhood, the types mentioned are those of the household staff. ¹³

The background characters in "S. Onofre" are of a different sort, of course, since the legend takes place in Roman occupied Egypt among the desert hermits. The types mentioned, then, portray the church and the Greco-Roman culture which prevailed at the time of St. Onuphrius. ¹⁴

One theme, which is partially derived from hagiographical tradition and medieval literature, is nature. Eça's narrative abounds in descriptions of the natural setting, the landscape, and the general topography. The inclusion of the natural element in the Lendas transcends the facile explanation that it was used merely to characterize the setting. The descriptions serve another purpose as well. Some of them are lengthy and lyrical, full of pastoral imagery. At other times they are sentimental, almost romantic, of the kind found in A Cidade e as Serras. The spirit which Eça injects into nature is essentially an idyllic one, a praise for the simple life, a negation of the sordid aspects of the world. Some of the allusions to animals and flowers in the narrative are associated with the hagiographical legend, in which nature complements the virtues of the saint. Another possible source for Eça's apparent love of nature is a conscious emulation of the Franciscan ideal which called for an acceptance of the presence of God in all living things.

In "S. Frei Gil" the doves would visit Gil's cradle and some of them the whitest and purest, would fly directly into his room. Many rare butterflies of beautiful colors, would come to the windows. During Gil's first winter, in January, a nightingale came to sing and took refuge in an almond tree which had grown rapidly and flowered, to everyone's amazement. "Mas a surpresa maior foi que no canto do pátio lajeado, onde se despejara a água em que D. Gil tomara banho, começaram a

crescer por entre as lajes umas florinhas azuis, brancas e cor de ouro, que nenhum jardineiro jamais vira, e que perfumavam todo o ar. " (UP,295)

In "S. Cristóvão" there is a peaceful scene, full of the Franciscan feeling for nature:

Um confuso, obscuro amor por todos estos seres, crescia no seu coração simples. Passava horas encantadas, estirado nas ervas à beira de uma poça clara, admirando os insectos de grandes patas que riscam a água lisa; chamava com as mãos, sorrindo, todos os veados que, à orla das clareiras, súbitamente mostravam a face majestosa e séria, entre os troncos dos castanheiros; e parava nos carreiros verdes de humildade e musgo para acariciar o dorso dos sapos. (UP,48)

Another theme, this time taken directly from hagiology, is the supernatural. "The supernatural is only impressive when it is combined with the marvellous. Hence it is that popular legends overflow with marvels. Visions, prophecies, and miracles play a necessary part in the lives of saints." ¹⁵

Genebro experiences various visions. One occurs just before his death, which he correctly interprets as a message from God:

Enfim, uma tarde, em véspera de Pascoa, estando a descansar nos degraus de Santa Maria dos Anjos, avistou de repente, no ar liso e branco, uma vasta mão luminosa que sobre ele se abria e faiscava. (UP,131)

This wondrous sight turns into a supernatural scene when Juniper dies:

Logo que ele cerrou os olhos carnaís, um Grande Anjo penetrou diáfaneamente no curral e tomou, nos braços, a alma de Frei

Genebro.

(Con,133)

After the battle with the knights along side the Jacques, Cristóvão lay wounded on the ground:

E então apareceu a Cristóvão que via um moço de longos cabelos louros, com uma túnica branca, onde se cruzavam as pregas de um manto branco, surgir entre as ramas dos pinheiros, ao longe, vir para ele encostado a uma vara branca. Os seus passos eram tão leves, tão leve decerto o linho do seu vestido, que as papoilas não se dobravam, quando ele sobre elas passava, ligeiro e branco. (UP,164)

This same guardian angel had earlier appeared to Cristóvão's father and announced the saint's birth:

Estugou o passo e, súbitamente, da sombra de um chorão debruçado à beira do caminho, surgiu um moço, de olhos brilhantes como lumes, coberto com uma túnica branca, encostado a uma vara branca, que parou diante dele, e disse sorrindo:

--- Entra contente na tua morada, que teu filho há-de-ser um grande santo! (UP,18)

He watches over Cristóvão and it is he who miraculously cures his wounds. The angel passed his fingers lightly over the wounds and Cristóvão felt the pain leaving him:

Então Cristóvão moveu os braços--depois ergeu o seu imenso corpo. Todas as feridas estavam fechadas. E sentindo uma força nova, aquele bom gigante cortou através do pinheiral, e recomeçou a correr mundo. (UP, 164)

Of the miracles associated with the saints, Delehayé informs us that "even before his birth his greatness is foreshadowed, and his cradle is enveloped in visible signs of

divine protection. Angels guard his footsteps, nature obeys him, wild beasts recognize his authority."¹⁶ When Gil was born the king's bailiff sent him salt, which simbolizes perspicacity, and an egg, which represents long life. Gil reached out for these items. "Os velhos, muito graves, reconheceram que o menino era um eleito de Deus..." (UP,293) His body emitted a special enchantment so that his nurse maids did not want to leave him. There was not need to heat or air his room, "porque havia ali sempre um ar igual, doce, tépido, fresco, e que cheirava bem..." (UP,294) On several occasions, when the maids turned off the lamp in Gil's room, "o quarto continuara alumado, de uma luz translúcida, vaga, láctea, que era mais ténue junto dos altos muros, mais viva, e como irradiada, em torno do berço." (UP,294) When he was one year old Gil took his first step, "...sem tropeçar, atento e direito a uma réstia de sol que entrava pela janela--- com a mãozinha aberta e erguida, como amparada por outra mão que se não via, e que docemente o levava." (UP, 296) As Gil grows so do his virtues, accumulating sign upon sign that in all portend to his future sanctity.

One of the medieval aspects that Eça chose for his Len-
das and "Frei Genebro" is the life of hermits and solitaries. This theme appears in all three legends, and "Frei Genebro", although it was never developed in "S. Frei Gil". Gil eventually would have entered the Dominican Order. What Eça portrays in his tales are the early experiments in monasticism

of the Middle Ages and the first centuries of Christianity. What we find in common with all the hermits is their individualistic approach to religion. Although Cristóvão served two monastic communities, one in an actual monastery and the second, a loose band of cenobites inhabiting a mountain camp, the latter is the one that deserves greater attention. The eremites in "S. Cristóvão" exist without a highly organized structure, such as an order. Originally St. Francis of Assisi did not plan a monastic order and he resisted becoming a priest. There is an echo of this attitude here. In "S. Onofre" we have no organization, no direction except that of the individual hermit himself, who has taken no vows. This attitude of Eça towards monasticism shall be studied later in a section outlining the ideology in the hagiological tales.

When Cristóvão first met the hermits he found them very strange:

Quase todos tinham longas barbas, grisalhas e incultas, as túnicas esfarrapadas, e o lodo dos caminhos seco em crosta nas pernas. Com um gesto lento coçavam pelo corpo a vérmia que os cobria; e, se as pernas ou os braços se lhes tinham chagado, erguiam as túnicas como tirando contentamento daquelas misérias da carne. (UP,93)

A characteristic of all solitaries is that they are beset by all kinds of temptations and visions during their privation. The resulting manifestations are related to the lack of stimuli and therefore, the hermit may imagine himself among those he left behind, at a banquet table, or with a volup-

tuous woman, who beckons to him. The visions usually occur at night when the hermit is at rest and the mind more open to suggestion. The hermits on the mountain had devised a method of informing each other of the devil's onslaught. To maintain voice silence they would sound a horn:

Decerto, longe algum irmão estava sofrendo uma tentação do Inimigo, e já no meio vencido, soprava a buzina avisando todos os ermitas para que o ajudassem com as suas orações a rechaçar Beizebu. (UP,96)

And what was the temptation that afflicted him:

O que ele agora via eram montões de dinheiro, ducados de ouro, montes de rubis escarlates. que se esboroavam, uma infinita rutilação de tesouros. Estava baixar a mão, e teria tesouros para comprar uma condado, erguer catedrais, assaliar mercenários, comprar jóias às rainhas, ter todas as satisfações do poder, e do amor, e do orgulho eclesiástico. (UP,97)

The hermits practice ascetic mortification and torment in the form of flagellation. About asceticism and its practices, William has written that, "the self surrender may become so passionate as to turn into self-immolation. It may then so overrule the ordinary inhibitions of the flesh that the saint finds positive pleasure in sacrifice and asceticism, measuring and expressing as they do they degree of his loyalty to the higher power." ¹⁷ One hermit to free himself of the temptation of the vision of a woman, "de esplêndida brancura e toda nua, que ele encontrara deitada de costas sobre o seu catre de folhas, com braços abertos que o esperavam e o chamavam", begins to expiate the sin by tormenting the flesh. (UP,98)

As duras correias de couro de boi, armadas de unhas de ferro, cingiam-lhe a cinta, rasgavam-lhe a pele do dorso. A cada golpe, dava um gemido rouco; mas pouco e pouco, de duros e aflitos os gemidos tornaram-se lentos e lânguidos... (UP,98)

This eremite, by an excess of religious fervor, has transformed his ascetic mortification into a pleasurable, masochistic act. But not all the visions were of sensual or erotic nature. At times the demons which plagued those unfortunate hermits turned away from seduction and practiced terror on them:

Então eram serpentes pavorosas, surgindo de entre as rochas; vastas asas molles e fétidas que, com um golpe, derubavam; figuras colossais, listradas de branco e negro, que brandiam forquilhas, vertendo uma baba de fogo. (UP,101)

Onofre's temptations and visions follow a similar progression. In his leisure hours he has melancholic thoughts and experiences vivid recollections of his past life before he became a Christian. He particularly remembers Glicéria, a neighbor whom he liked. One night, in his solitude, she appears to him but not in his cave. Onofre finds himself transported to the grove, at the shrine to Aesculapius:

... e Glicéria, sem véus, estendia os braços! Mas era para ele, não para o Deus, que estendia os braços suplicantes e nus. Sob a túnica, mal franzida, o seu seio arfava, como num desejo que anseia e se retém. Toda ela sorria, com as pálpebras pesadas. E o calor do seu corpo radiava através dos tecidos leves. (UP, 197)

Onofre has visions of monsters. There is one in particular, a rather horrendous one, of whom Onofre thinks that he has come to devour him and end his troubles. Instead the ugly apparition remains with him constantly, compounding his afflictions. The description of Onofre's feelings parallels his torment. The effect produced is one of desperation and heaviness, due to the unenumeration of verbs and adjectives:

Gritou, com um grande gesto de excomunhão, o nome de Jesus Cristo:--- e apenas o som da Invocação santa morreu no ar mudo, a avantesma lá estava, maciça, crassa, gordurosa, soturna, olhando o Solitário com a sua tristeza estúpida. E assim foi durante intermináveis, angustiosas noites. Ou Onofre orasse, ou corresse aflito pela esplanada, ou se encolhesse a um canto da caverna com a face nas mãos--- o monstro lá estava, na sua pavorosa imobilidade, tão lúgubre, tão estúpido, tão gorduroso, que parecia comunicar às rochas em redor, aos montes, aos céus, às nuvens, a sua gordura, a sua estupidez, a sua imensa tristeza. Onofre passava as noites chorando, gritando, de fastio e de horror. (UP,215)

The episode studied are representative of medieval life and of the religious attitudes of the time. The Middle Ages was a propitious age for religion. "All life was saturated with religion to such an extent that the people were in constant danger of losing sight of the distinctions between things spiritual and things temporal." ¹⁸ To the medieval mind the realm of spirits was closer and much more real to them than it is for us today. The influence exerted upon the populace by preachers, and their sermons, the cult of relics, the power of exorcism, all these elements created an all pervasive at-

mosphere conducive to religion and to the popularity of saints. In his episodes and themes Eça portrays that cultural phenomenon known as the Middle Ages in which the concept of a saintly life was so prevalent.

And what of the saints themselves? In the letters quoted Eça mentioned having consulted the flos-sanctorum, but does not quote any specific title. It seems reasonable to assume that Eça, as any Catholic, would know of St. Christopher and his attributes. Until his removal from the ranks of saints by order of the Vatican for reasons of the spurious nature of his existence, he was, and in many ways, still is a popular saint. The same cannot be said for St. Onuphrius, St. Giles, or even Brother Juniper, who have never attained the popularity and veneration of a St. Anthony, St. Francis, St. Catherine, and so many other saints who are present daily in the prayers of the Catholic faithful. Eça even states that he was working on the "vidas dos grandes santos".¹⁹ Only St. Christopher would qualify as a great saint, well-known and loved. For the others Eça had to have done research on them and considered them great for reasons other than their popularity.

For "Frei Genebro" one of the most authoritative sources is by Fr. Damian Cornejo, the Chronica Seraphica.²⁰ Cornejo's book, written in four parts over a period of years, is a history of the Franciscan order. In Portuguese there exists an even older text, the Crónica da Ordem dos Grades Menores, dating from the 13th century.²¹ Frei Genebro also appears in Franciscan writings. "The Life of Brother Juniper here and there has some humorous whimsical pages, but more often than not its piety is a caricature of the spirit of Francis."²²

The sources and inspiration for "S. Frei Gil" are somewhat less

complex since Gil was born in Portugal, in Beira Alta, born in 1165 or 1190, and would have made a fine subject for Eça's artistic imagination. In this last phase Eça showed a marked interest in history, particularly Portuguese. His close friend, Oliveira Martins, had written various books on Portuguese history and great figures of the medieval period which Eça found most illuminating.²³ "O espirito do romancista, um pouco sob a influencia de Oliveira Martins, da um fraternal acolhimento as imagens do passado."²⁴ Since Gil had entered the Dominican Order, there exist two histories of the Order which contain a biography of Gil; Fr. Hernando de Castillo, Historia General de Sancto Domingo y de su Orden de Predicadores;²⁵ and Manuel de Lima, Agiológico Domínico, Vidas dos Santos, Martires, e Outras Pessoas Veneráveis da Ordem dos Predicadores.²⁶

In literature, there are several works devoted to Frei Gil. Fidelino de Figueiredo writes, "A primeira obra de arte sobre esse tema elaborada, foi a Egídia, poema anonimo, que se costuma attribuir a Frei José do Espirito Santo do Monte,"²⁷ Figueiredo goes on to mention other versions in literature of Gil's life. Almeida Garrett created a character based on Gil in Dona Branca(1826), and he also treats the legend of Frei Gil in his Viagens na Minha Terra (1845). Gil also figures as a character in a short work by Rebelo da Silva, entitled Raússo por Homizio(1842).²⁹

For St. Onuphrius, the work, Vitae Patrum, a life of the Desert fathers, is an important source, characterized by the serious scholarship of the Bollandists.³⁰

Another source for St. Onuphrius and many other saints, of course, is the Golden Legend of Voragine. And, although, not as authoritative as the name implies, a collection called Les Petits Bollandistes had

great vogue in the nineteenth century. It was published for the general public since many of the original biographies were written in Latin or Greek.³¹

For St. Christopher the sources are myriad. His legend was one of the most popular and every hagiological collection contains a version of it. The one found in Les Petits Bollandistes, for example, repeats Voragine's version. As with S. Frei Gil Eça had very early in his career displayed an interest in St. Christopher in two references to the saint. One is found in O Crime do Padre Amaro, a mere iconographic mention. It occurs when the devil appeared to Amaro in his dream and takes him before God for judgment. Amaro recognized several saints, " e no meio erguia-se o bom gigante S. Cristóvão apoiado ao seu pinheiro." (CPA,256) The other mention is longer and appears in O Conde D'Abranhos, a novel published posthumously but dating from 1879. It occurs when the narrator Z. Zagalo, describes, in an exaggerated and sarcastic manner, Dr. Vaz Correia and his goodness towards the Count Abranhos:

O que menos se conhecia era a sua grande bondade, que me faria dizer--- se eu não odiasse as preciosidades de linguagem--- que naquele Pegas havia um S. Cristóvão! E digo S. Cristóvão, porque, entre toda a população santificada do Reino des' Céus este bom gigante, com a sua bonomia, a sua paciência, o seu ar paterno, me parece um modelo amável de bondade terrestre.
(Cabr., 81)

Despite all the hagiological sources and Eça's own admission that he was delving into the lives of saints, his

intention was surely not the same as that which originally inspired a hagiographer to commemorate a saint. His career as a novelist and essayist belies the judgment that suddenly, in his mature years, he had experienced a conversion and would now embark on a new endeavor--- a writer of pious and simple stories destined to edify, instruct the faithful, and aid them in their religious devotion. If this was not his purpose, why then did he write the Lendas de Santos? Feliciano Ramos provides a clue with which to answer the question. He writes only of "S. Cristóvão", but his statement is also applicable to the other legends,

'A Vida de São Cristóvão', embora inspirada no 'Flos-Sanctorum', não se regula inteiramente pelos dados biográficos da tradição cristã. É uma obra de fantasia e imaginação, onde se reflectem como num espelho as idéias e inclinação artística do romancista, a sua bondade, o amor da natureza, a serenidade e o horror à tristeza.³²

First and foremost Eça was a literary man. It is clear from the comments he made in the essays, "Positivismo e Idealismo", and "O Fock Ideal" that he was very much in accord with the intellectual, philosophical, and literary currents of his time. His presence as Consul in Paris gave him an advantage that few other Portuguese literary men of his time had. He was situated in the very heart of a cultural revolution. Symbolism, Decadentism, Idealism, and all the social ideas of the period exerted a powerful influence on Eça. The themes in the Lendas are new and different from his earlier ones, but the message is the same, as it was in O Crime do Padre Amaro, his first novel.

Two essays written in 1892 and 1896 respectively, in the midst of Eça's work on the legends, may serve to illustrate some of his purposes in writing about saints. The first one is called "O Santo Moderno" and it deals with the Primate of the Catholic Church in England, Cardinal Manning, who had just died.³³ Eça hails him as a saint, who in his qualities is equal to the holy men of old, but whose sanctity is totally modern, meeting the requirements of the contemporary scene. The deeds performed by saints such as St. Anthony of the Desert, "coberto de chagas de penitência, comendo raízes numa toca", or St. Francis of Assisi, "roubando o pai para edificar capelas, abraçando as árvores a chorar a abundância do seu amor e pregando ardentemente às aves e aos gados no meio dos campos" (NC,237), would be misinterpreted by modern society and the saints might even be judged insane. Cardinal Manning's sanctity had to be of a different nature:

Mas nasceu depois da Enciclopédia, foi educado na Universidade de Oxónia, viveu na era vitoriana--- e a sua santidade tomou naturalmente a forma social, única que poderia ser compreendida nos nos tempos e produzir neles um bem visível. (NC,238)

Taking the role of a true hagiographer, Eça informs us in a brief sketch that as a holy man Cardinal Manning's life was similar to other saints:

Começou, como tantos, desde Santo Agostinho, por viver no erro--- ou naquela fé que ele depois descobriu ser o erro. Sofreu as paixões da carne--- e delas só conservou a tristeza e a amargura. Fez

penitência--- e, como outros tantos,
conheceu enfim o Senhor. (NC, 238)

Eça proceeds to catalog his virtues, comparing his piety to "Santo Antônio", and his charity to "S. Juan de Dios". A rich man, he distributed all his wealth to the poor. Even though he attained high rank in the Church, he lived a simple life with the minimum of comforts. Eça declares that:

Todas estas feições podiam formar uma
vida devota nos bolandistas. Não houve
 nela milagres--- mas por culpa de Vol-
 taire, de Darwin e dos tempos modernos.
 (NC, 239)

If modern men, Eça laments, had the imagination and the vision of men from the twelfth century, those who attended to the Cardinal in his death, would have seen angels in white come to claim the soul of the saint and return to heaven, singing with joy. There is an element of wry humor in the image he creates of angels descending and in his comment that there are no miracles on which to report for Cardinal Manning. What then are the virtues for which Eça admired the Cardinal? He was pious and charitable but in him these were not token virtues. He interpreted his pastoral mission as an active one. He became a reformer, a champion of the poor, going out among them, taking up their struggle as his own, with great passion and sometimes violently. Eça writes, "dentro das limitações do tempo e da doutrina--- foi um S. Paulo e um Carlos Marx." (NC, 240) Cardinal Manning believed that the work of the Church as the nineteenth century ended, would be to liberate the workers,

true and modern slaves of the Industrial Revolution. His enthusiasm, intelligence, sensitivity, made him a great persuader, a seducer of the minds and souls of men. His earnest and persistent humanitarianism, evidenced by his passion for the poor and humble, won many converts to his cause. When he died in London the populace flocked to his bier. It was the people who instinctively venerated him, began to sing his praises. The process of creating a legend had begun:

Hoje não é o Papa, mas o povo que cano-
niza. É neste momento, em pleno século
XIX, a Inglaterra, que foi outrora a ter-
ra dos santos, e onde tão intensa e pura
se conserva a emoção religiosa-- está
criando e consagrando um santo. (NC,243)

The second essay is devoted to Antero de Quental, in which Eça recalls his years of friendship with Antero, from their days as students in Coimbra, to the last days they spent together before Antero's return to Vila do Conde and his subsequent suicide. The essay is not a lamentation, but rather a justification, a vindication for Antero's troubled life. Eça's conclusion is that Antero was a saint because of his exemplary virtues and his philosophical ideas, which he attempted to put into practice.

Eça informs us that Antero was a very moral man, sincere, and correct always, born with an unblemished soul, "e quando Deus a recebeu, encontrou-a decerto tão limpa e branca como lha entregara." (NC,353) He was loyal, totally commit-

ted, and his goodness was boundless. He believed in an active, purposeful life, and after he had espoused socialism he attempted to give his ideas a reality:

Simultâneamente propagava a união ibérica, fundava sociedades operárias, instalava a Associação Internacional, lançava panfletos, conspirava, apostolava...
(NC,363)

These and another socialist attempt, the Liga Patriótica do Norte, formed to initiate party reform, failed and Antero, feeling out of touch with the workers, took refuge in his metaphysical ideas. He entered a period of deep pessimism but he emerged, Eça states, morally resurrected. He began to preach a new philosophy to his friends:

É a lei moral dessa filosofia (de que ele deu na Revista de Portugal um esboço eloquente e poético) consistia em renunciar a tudo quanto limita e escraviza o espírito---egoísmo, paixões, vaidades, ambições, contingências, materialidades do mundo--- e em procurar a união do espírito, assim libertado e limpo de todo o pesado lodo terreno, com o seu tipo de perfeição que usualmente se chama 'Deus'

.....
Em resumo, a lei moral do homem é o constante aperfeiçoamento e a progressiva santidade. (NC,369)

The attainment of moral and spiritual perfection will result in salvation; but the goal is not egotistical with a view to individual salvation, as is the case with the saints, writes Eça. Antero's ideas were to be universally applied for the good of all.

Eça gives us a glimpse here of his own views and ideas which he had applied to his three saints. His concept of sanctity was not a strict theological one. He admired Cardinal Manning and Antero de Quental because they were men of action who followed the dictates of their beliefs, not for some impractical, utopian ends, but for a direct, practical application which would benefit all men. These two essays serve to illustrate Eça's changed state of mind during 1890 to 1899 which led him away from his former literary adherence to the Realist school. He began already demonstrating a tendency to socialism, idealism, and religious sentimentality in Prosas Bárbaras. He seems to have forgotten it for more critical and sarcastic studies of religion and human nature in his realist period. It is apparent that he never lost his idealism, his strong attraction for the teachings of Jesus, unadulterated and free of the interpretations of the Church. Towards the end his ideas finally bore fruit in the Lendas de Santos and "Frei Genebro".

In order to understand the Lendas and their characteristics they must be studied and contrasted to the hagiological legends on which they are based. There are areas of similarity and of great difference. It is at the point where the pious hagiological legends diverges and is transformed by Eça's descriptive power that we find the most originality and interest. Even in "S. Onofre", completed but having several variants, and the unfinished "S. Frei Gil" the stamp of Eça's style is clearly

evident.

A quick study of the "plano da obra" for "S. Frei Gil" shows that Eça intended to render Gil's biography essentially as found in the hagiographical sources to which he had access. In the section of Gil's life that was actually completed, the part that covers his birth up to his departure for **Paris**, and his meeting with the devil, bears no resemblance to the original in substance. Most of the facts are correct but Eça's form and structure are far superior. Gil's biography, as listed in Les Petits Lollandistes, gives just the bare facts of his early life.³⁴ We learn that at the end of the twelfth century, during the reign of Sancho I, that Gil's father was one of the king's ministers. Gil was the third son, and was named Egidius, destined, as was the custom of the period, to a career in the church. Gil was sent to the University of Coimbra, where he distinguished himself by his talents and his interest in the sciences. Once Gil had taken his Orders and was installed in a rich abbey, he took advantage of his free time, not to delve into holy books, but to penetrate deeper into profane knowledge. When the monks were in the choir singing, Gil would surreptitiously go to the library. Arriving at the conclusion that in Portugal he could not study the natural sciences as his ambition dictated, he decided to go to Paris to study medicine. Breaking the trust of his king, who had favored him, and with the wishes of his parents, Gil left the abbey and took

the road to Paris. While on the road Gil meets a sinister man, who entices him away from his purpose, and promises to teach him alchemy and other forbidden things.

At this point Eça's manuscript ends. We can notice immediately from this brief synopsis of the hagiological biography, that it is plain and artless, with poor inventive qualities, as are most true hagiographical legends. Eça was no hagiographer. He took Gil's life and amplified it, and embellished it in such a way as to create a work of art. The simplicity is still present, but the ideas and the beauty shine through. The description of Gil's birth, his childhood, the miracles, and the general atmosphere of the medieval period, serve to enhance the story and create a believable character. Of this aspect of Eça's Lendas, Oliveira writes, "os seus santos, São Cristóvão, São Frei Gil e Santo Onofre, não são estatuas toscas ou mortas de pau ou de pedra, mas seres humanos de que se vê o movimento, se ouve a fala, se compreendem e resentem contagiosamente as alegrias e as dores." ³⁵ Traditionally, in hagiography, there was very little character development of the saint, no individuality was displayed. The lack of inventiveness extended to the sameness of virtues for most saints. The tendency was to grant the saints epic hero proportions, creating legends in which the hagiographer catalogs the deeds and feats of his subject, with the intention of impressing his audience. Eça avoids this tendency. Gil, Onofre, and Cristóvão are in-

dividuals, carefully developed so as to present Eça's ideas. This they have in common. As characters they exemplify Eça's social philosophy, as we shall see.

For "S. Onofre" Eça also departed from the official biography, which had St. Paphnutius be the narrator to whom Onuphrius originally told his experiences in the desert. The story is compressed into a few days while Paphnutius remains in Onuphrius' cave. The legend is totally devoid of interest. There are no flashbacks, no background to the life Onuphrius led before becoming a hermit. There are no descriptions of the setting, nor are there those strange and fascinating visions to delight the reader. Eça intentionally distorted the legend as told by Paphnutius and took Onofre out of the desert, placing him back among society after his long ascetic experience. He created a beautifully moving picture of Onofre's temptations and sufferings while in the desert. But ultimately and inevitably Eça conducts the hermit back among his kind, for their sake. Onofre does not find peace in his solitary communion with God. Only by helping, by feeling compassion for others would he find peace. Even then, Eça continues to have Onofre doubt and refuse to perform miracles; not ostentatious ones, as the devil offers, but simple, evangelical miracles of curing, of restoring man's faith; miracles of compassion for the sufferings of others, as Jesus had performed.

For "S. Cristóvão" Eça rejected all facts of the saint's

popular traditions, except the symbolic ones, for there is little scientific hagiological research on St. Christopher on which to base his life. The Catholic Church no longer includes him among the saints, declaring his existence doubtful and his legend spurious. The cause for the iconographic representation of St. Christopher as a large man, carrying the child Jesus on his shoulders, while crossing a river with a live tree in his hand for support is lost in antiquity. In the Lendas Eça includes this scene, when Cristóvão, on learning of the story of Jesus, thinks he would have liked to protect him:

Tomaria sobre o seu ombro o Mestre adorável. Fugiria com ele para a paz dos campos; e como um cão fiel, junto aos seus passos, defenderia dos soldados, dos padres, aquele corpo que era de Deus, e espalhava Deus entre os homens.
(UF,72)

In Les Petits Hollandistes we have an explanation of the symbolic elements associated with St. Christopher:

Mais le symbole est qu'il avait une âme grande, généreuse et invincible, que les travaux ne l'étonnaient point, et qu'il a marché à pas de géant, non seulement dans l'exercice de la vertu, mais aussi dans celui de la prédication de l'Evangile; qu'il a porté Jesus-Christ dans les pays infidèles dont l'abord était très difficile à cause des tempêtes et des orages que les empereurs et les magistrats y excitaient de toutes côtés; qu'il a traversé des flueuves d'afflictions et de souffrances, sans pouvoir y être submergé, à cause de son courage, qui le mettaient au-dessus de toutes les persécutions des hommes; enfin que sa constance et sa fermeté, représantées

par son bâton, ont toujours été florissantes et n'ont jamais perdu leur vigueur. ³⁶

In Eça's version the symbolic attains human proportions. "O símbolo de Cristóvão acho-o mais humano, mais resumo de nós próprios, mais síntese da dor universal, do que se Cristóvão fôsse apenas um símbolo religioso, um pouco mártir S. Sebastião, menos gigante e mais belo, menos resignado e mais surpreendente. " ³⁷

As a character Cristóvão stands out because of his innocence and his simplicity. Although a giant, a monster to some, his greatness is not in his size, nor in heroic deeds, but in his goodness. Cristóvão is presented, not as an individual being good, but as doing good. His only wish is to serve, to help without regard to danger to himself. In only two instances does he discontinue serving others. On both occasions he leaves members of the clergy because he came to the conclusion that they do not really need his help. Cristóvão did not agree with the type of life the monks and the hermits were leading. He is happiest when he can be useful to those who are in real need of him. In one of his adventures he serves as a playmate to a little boy, who dreams of the giant that aided Roland in Roncesvalles:

... Cristóvão sentiu uma grande paz, e como um calor que o envolvia, vindo menos da palha fresca em que jazia do que do sentimento vago de que alguém e estimava, o queria, necessitava dele. Era aquela criança tão linda, tão nobre, com os seus longos cabelos de outro. (UP,128)

Cristóvão is not motivated exclusively by the compulsion to serve. He must also feel the human contact, the warmth that comes of being needed. It is in this very human quality that Cristóvão transcends the limitations of a virtuous hero on the road to sanctity, and becomes a multi-dimensional being capable of affecting us and appealing to our humanity.

Gil is introduced as a baby who, by all omens, was destined to be great and was favored by God. We see him grow, demonstrating a keen interest in learning, and becoming a handsome, intelligent, and compassionate young man. He receives the education suitable to his noble birth, in writing mathematics, riding, hunting, and the use of weapons. Gil enjoys books and has a vast curiosity, but he is very gentle in his way. He is considerate to all, even to animals, refusing to continue hunting them after his first experience at killing. He dreams of the great Paladins and of performing great feats of chivalry. When Solena, a shepherdess he met is abducted, his first reaction is to gather his father's retinue and attempt a rescue. One night, in a dream, she comes to him:

Se não pudeste socorrer-me, a mim, pobre
pastora, que só te tinha a ti no mundo,
dedica-te, por amor e lembrança de mim,
a socorrer todas as fraquezas, amparar
todos os desamparos. (UP, 319)

But Gil soon abandons his boyhood dreams and thinks of devoting himself to some useful preoccupation. He decides to study medicine under the tutelage of his father's doctor, Mestre Porcalho, who informs Gil that:

...só havia três ciências de curar. Uma, a dos monges, por meio de peregrinações, milagres, e contactos de relíquias, e era esta falsa, porque o ilustre físico árabe Rhazel provará que Deus não se intromete com a saúde das criaturas. A outra, a do Povo, feita toda de feitiços, esconjuros e sortilégios, era ilusória porque vem do Diabo, e o Espírito do Mal não pode promover o bem humano. E a terceira, a verdadeira, a eficaz, essa ainda não chegara a este reinos de Portugal, e estava toda em França, terra de grandes escolas. (UP,324)

Gil decides to go to Paris and seek the true science of healing, but on the road, as we have seen, he meets the devil, who appeals to his curiosity and convinces him that the Black Arts are all encompassing and more useful. As a character Gil was on the way to becoming a Portuguese Faust.³⁸ He would eventually make a pact with the devil to gain the knowledge offered. He would return to Portugal and to the monastery, and with the intervention of the Virgin Mary, Gil would break the pact and devote himself to a life of service.

The stamp of hagiological legends is unmistakably visible on Eça's Lendas. But at the same time we see him take the sources and make the material his own. Eça achieves this by adaptations, amplifications, and divergences from the original text. The narrative of the Lendas is characterized by elaboration, by the inclusion of details which enrich the text. The effect produced is a great departure from the original intention and impression inherent

in hagiographical literature, which was lacking in the picturesque and in the **symbolic** elements. The result of these alterations is a text of apparent simplicity, but a simplicity composed of very intricately balanced material. In "S. Frei Gil" and "S. Cristóvão" the motif is medieval and Eça borrowed the primitive, naïve charm so characteristic of the literature of that period. "Frei Genebro" and the story "O Defunto" are imbued with the same style.

The amplifications and alterations which Eça included in his three legends have to do with the innovations necessary to affect the tone, atmosphere, and narrative setting of the text. Eça is most original in his natural descriptions, which appear as an almost mystical experience. "S. Cristóvão" is particularly rich in natural detail. The saints are enhanced as characters by the use of psychological revelation through dreams, as in "S. Cristóvão" and "S. Frei Gil", through visions and temptations, and flashback, in "S. Onofre". Very often Cristóvão, Onofre, and Gil are depicted in iconographic scenes, in tableaux, which leave the impression of an illumination in a manuscript, so vivid are the colors and the details. In "S. Cristóvão" there is a fine example of one of these scenes. Cristóvão is in the service of a lord, who has a young son. Cristóvão likes children and serves the boy, complying with his whims. The boy likes to ride on Cristóvão's shoulders, thereby creating an image which alludes to the symbolic meaning of Cristóvão's name, the Bearer of Christ. The

tableau vivant occurs in the description of an evening when Cristóvão was invited to dinner in the dining hall:

... então dois pajens abriam mais largo os grandes reposteiros de tapeçaria para que Cristóvão penetrasse na vasta sala, onde o tecto era pintado de azul, e salpicado de flores que brilhavam como recortadas em ouro. Imóvel a um canto, ele contemplava o menino, que se sentava ao lado da avó, numa cadeira de alto espaldar como a dela. Por trás, o seu aio tomava os pratos da mão do escudeiro. Sobre a mesa, coberta de linho fino, retiniam os copos de prata. Os bufetes vergavam ao peso das baixelas. Uma grande fogueira bailava na chaminé, onde estava representado o cerco de Antioquia: ---e sobre os poleiros, de ferro polido, os falcões afiavam o bico. (UP,133)

The attention to color, material, and movement lends interest and beauty to the text.

Eça's language is structured so as to appeal to the senses by the employment of sounds, and scents:

No arvoredado em torno cantavam as aves; um aroma de verduras, de pinheiros, de madressilvas, flutuava no ar; e por vezes os passos de uma corça roçavam por entre a espessura das faias tenras. E Cristóvão, apoiado a um forte cajado, lançava os olhos em redor, pelo vale. (UP,65)

The use of color imagery is prevalent throughout the narrative. In "S. Onofre", to bring out the setting in the desert, Eça resorts to images which suggest brightness and heat:

...ao fundo dos areais já rosados o Sol surgia no céu sem nuvens, já ardente, todo de brasa e de ouro. (UP,188)

To indicate that the evening approaches:

Lentamente, monte e rochas se tingiam
de uma cor rosada, semelhante a um
rubor humano: as alturas eram de âmbar
fino. (UP,189)

In "S. Frei Gil", the legend/^{In} which the medieval and feudal elements, dress, arms, armaments, architecture, and literature, appear in great profusion, there is a constant use of the epithet. Eça seems to be imitating the style of the hagiographer who, influenced by the epic poems of the time, also employed the epithet to the saints. Eça applies the epithet to all characters. Always, when referring to Gil's father, he writes:

o bom Senhor,
o velho D. Rui.

The doctor, Mestre Porcalho, is:

o bom físico,
o velho físico,
o douto homem,
o douto velho
o bom Porcalho
o bom sabedor.

The devil, "o Senhor de Astorga", travels with a servant, to whom the following adjectives are applied:

o ondeante Harbrico
o agil Harbrico
o estranho Harbrico
o destro Harbrico.

Gil himself is called:

- o moço gentil
- o bom caçador
- o bom cavaleiro
- o casto moço.

The examples above serve only to illustrate the richness, variety, and aesthetic qualities present in Eça's neo-hagiological compositions. His literary power has been superbly analyzed by Professor Ernesto Guerra da Cal, in a work which covers all of Eça's writings, including the Lendas de Santos.³⁹ Of Eça's style, Castelo Branco Chaves wrote:

Eça sentiu não só a necessidade de criar um estilo próprio--- o que era mera solicitação espontânea--- mas de transformar a sua própria língua de maneira a torná-la suficientemente plástica e colorida, apta a dar a sensação da vida, a sugestão do movimento e da cor sem o que o romance moderno não podia ter vitalidade ou beleza.⁴⁰

In the Introduction to "Os Santos" Maria d'Eça de Queiroz questions her father's intention in writing "S. Cristóvão". She asks:

Seria só para escrever um conto que Eça de Queiroz fez aturado estudo de História? ... Seria só para escrever uma amável vida de Santo que devassou antigos Flos Sanctorum? Um estudo tão profundo da personalidade física e espiritual do gigante nascido na floresta, da época histórica em que o colocou, seria, realmente, só para satisfazer uma sempre insatisfeita sede de saber--- ou pensaria meu Pai des-

envolver num grosso volume os problemas sociais e religiosos que começavam, então a debater-se com tanta aspereza? 41

This three-part question does have an answer and it is applicable not just to "S. Cristóvão" but ^{also} to "Frei Genebro", "S. Frei Gil", and "S. Onofre". It has already been concluded that Eça had not experienced a sudden conversion and become an apologist, writing pious lives of saints for the edification of the faithful. Eça in the Lendas as elsewhere is the bitter critic, the supreme stylist as well. The Lendas, writes Djacir Menezes, "não exprimem, como tantas vezes se repetiu, uma capitulação ante a fé e uma justificativa da sociedade que tão luminosamente analisara e caricaturara. Bem ao contrário: o protesto social continua pulsando naquelas páginas. Sob o aparente misticismo, a condenação e a desaprovação persistem." 42

Eça's purpose, then, in the Lendas de Santos, was primarily to present his social and religious views, as he had done in earlier novels. What is new and different is that the satirical humor and the irony are missing in these works. Eça had always displayed a powerful attraction to religion and the Church, as well as a constant interest in social issues, which he introduced as themes into his works. The Lendas represent a culmination of these two seemingly paradoxical interests on the part of the author. Eça is both attracted and repelled by religion; or at least, by the practices of the Church; and he appears as a champion of society while satirizing and cari-

capturing some of its members. The Lendas are examples of this duality in Eça--- social and religious at the same time. To be fully understood and so that they may take their legitimate place alongside his other great works, the Lendas de Santos must be studied for their ideological content, for the moral creeds which Eça exposed in them and which he held in common with other European men of letters. Eça had striven, in all his works, to present mankind as it should be, as he would have liked man to be. The legends were one final try at giving reality to his views. Before discussing the principles Eça included in the Lendas, a brief study of the possible sources for those ideas is necessary.

Socialism, a philosophy which held that the community as a whole should own and control the capital, land, and means of production, was influential in Eça's thinking from his Coimbra days, when he began to read J.P. Proudhon. He also was receptive to the socialist ideas of his two close friends, Antero de Quental, and Oliveira Martins. Of Antero and Oliveira Martins, José Tomás de Sousa wrote:

... a sua acção revolucionária dividiu-se em múltiplas iniciativas, como a das conferências do Casino, que tanto ruído provocou, em polémicas, em escritos de toda a natureza...

Diferente foi o papel desempenhado por Oliveira Martins na propaganda do socialismo. A sua obra é meramente teórica e condensa-se nos dois livros Teoria do Socialismo (1872) e Portugal e o Socialismo (1873). 43

The Socialism we find in Eça is not a doctrinaire nor a revolutionary principle, but it is essentially the view of an idealist who is concerned with the conditions in society. As a Consul in Cuba he took direct responsibility for the fate of Chinese workers, who were being admitted into the island with Portuguese passports, and who were being exploited, becoming virtual slaves in sugar plantations. When he was in England, living in Newcastle-on-Thyne, he was a witness to the social ills, the deplorable conditions brought on by the Industrial Revolution, and admired Dickens for his efforts to publicize the lot of the English poor.

In a discussion of Socialism, the name of Pierre Joseph Proudhon must feature prominently. He is particularly important for having had a considerable influence in Eça's thinking. For Proudhon Socialism meant more than an economic theory, a notion which was to have direct expression in Eça's writings. "Socialism is an ethos as well as a policy, an attitude towards social life and an interpretation of one's duty towards one's neighbor, as well as a body of economic and political doctrine. And of this ethos Proudhon, though not the originator, was the major prophet."⁴⁴ Eça was profoundly affected by this ethos which calls for every individual in society to be concerned for his neighbor. This socialist moral doctrine is very much in evidence in the Lendas.

Proudhon also believed that religion and the Church were detrimental factors in the social order. Proudhon was con-

cerned with Justice, which he defined as "the respect for human dignity in whatever form or in whatever circumstances it may be compromised and at whatever risk one may expose oneself to by defending it." ⁴⁵ But he discovered that the Church acts as an inhibitor of Justice; "by proclaiming that all justice is in God, the Church made it transcendental and sanctioned a stultifying oppression of the individual" ⁴⁶ Furthermore, Proudhon judged the Church to be "immoral in so much as it upholds an absolute ideal; any absolute, any mysticism, must be a negation of morality. Led astray by its mysticism, the Church tends to deny sexuality, to minimize woman and passion, and thus to destroy true marriage." ⁴⁷

To Proudhon poverty was a contradiction since it exists in societies that have plenty or the potential for plenty. Socialism, he believed, because it exalted the community, would provide the solutions. "Proudhon insisted on decentralization, anarchism and the necessity of social rather than State action. Revolution could not be made by decrees; it might be made by men deciding to rely on themselves." ⁴⁸

Jesus was another prominent figure in Eça's social thinking. References to him appear again and again in Eça's works for different purposes and in different themes, but always it is Jesus the man, natural and human, who is described. Having been profoundly affected by the publication of Ernest Renan's Vie de Jesus (1863), Eça never relented in his search

for the historical Jesus, who lived among men and them with his simple ideas of love and charity.

One man who put the ideas of Jesus into practice was St. Francis of Assisi. With the publication of the Vie de S. Francois d'Assise by Paul Sabatier, the saint and his ideas experienced a revival of popularity in Europe. St. Francis of Assisi "a été par excellence le saint du moyen âge. Ne devant rien à l'Église, ni à l'École, il fut véritablement théo- didacte, et s'il ne vit peut-être pas la portée révolutionnaire de ses prédications, il refusa du moins toujours d'être ordonné prêtre. Il devinait la supériorité du sacerdoce spirituel." 49

Eça follows St. Francis' precepts and endows his three saints with individuality in the face of religion. Each one is free from the confines of an organized religious order. Only Gil joins an order and, only late in life does he begin to live as a religious.

St. Francis practiced poverty and elevated the concept to a higher level that had ever been placed before him. "What Peter and Paul had been able to accomplish--- to announce the gospel to the world while they at the same time supported themselves by the work of their hands or by the gifts of the charitable--- should still be possible." 50 St. Francis rejected the idea of monasticism because he envisioned a ministry that would be completely free. He judged the convents and monasteries to be rich and complacent, endowed with lands and other

wealth, even while the monks themselves were poor. He followed strictly the example of Jesus and the apostles:

Le doux Galiléen qui avait prêché la religion de la révélation personnelle, sans loi dogmatique ni cérémonielle, n'a triomphé qu'à la condition d'être vaincu et de laisser confisquer ses paroles d'esprit et de vie par une Église essentiellement dogmatique et sacerdotale. 51

He was equally opposed to the life of the hermits, concluding that it was contrary to the teachings of Christ to abstain from contact with society. Jesus, he said, "bien loin de fuir les foules, il allait à leur rencontre pour les éclairer, les consoler et les convertir." 52 What St. Francis preached he put into practice. Instead of fleeing from the pain and misery he encountered, he embraced it eagerly, spreading love and compassion everywhere towards all of God's creatures.

Eça, in his formative years, received these influences and with his own convictions and experiences evolved a set of moral doctrines and social ideals which he incorporated into his writings. "Eça de Queiroz sofreu as influências daquele triple credo idealista, franciscanista e social-cristão. Será mais just e certo dizer-se: através daquele movimento o escritor tomou mais clara consciência do seu fundo idealista e aproveitou o cristianismo franciscano, tão medular na tradição religiosa portuguesa, para dar expressão literária à sua velha e arreigada fé" 53 The Lendas de Santos, instead of being considered a strange hybrid appearing in Eça's waning years, may

be seen as a culmination of his ideas. There is a visible line of thought which does not deviate from the beginning to the end, in his published works and in those which he chose not to allow to appear in print during his lifetime. And what are those moral doctrines which are found in the Len-
das and "Frei Genebro"?

One of the ideas is presented by Cristóvão, who upon learning of the life of Jesus, thinks of him and of his death, and speculates how he would be received should he return:

Porque não voltaria ele mais para consolar os pobres, secar as lágrimas, agasalhar as criancinhas, e nutrir as multidões? Agora que todos o amavam, ninguém o prenderia; o caminho que ele seguisse seria juncado de rosas; os bispos, nas suas capas de ouro, cantando e balançando os incensadores, viriam ao seu encontro. ; para o defender, os barões correriam, cobertos de ferro e com lanças, nos seus grandes córcéis! Porque não voltava? (UP,73)

Cristóvão calls for the return of Jesus. He realizes that Jesus cannot come back and thinks, "porque não iria ele, como se seguisse o Senhor? (UP,73) At this point Cristóvão decides to follow Jesus' footsteps and devote himself to serving others. As he sets out and sees corruption, misery and oppression among the poor, he thinks again of Jesus:

Decerto ele via tantos sofrimentos, as guerras, as fomes, as pestes. Porque não descia do seu trono de ouro? Uma caridade da sua mão direita daria aos pobres a abundância, os frutos, as tulhas cheias de pão. (UP,111)

On many occasions he repeats the phrase, "Porque não vinha o Senhor?", wishing that Jesus would come back and continue his work on Earth for the sake of humanity. But even as he despairs, Cristóvão realizes that he must carry out the teachings of Jesus, that he must not doubt, must not falter in his purpose to be of service to all who are in need.

Another idea in the Lendas is the rejection of the monastic life as going against the example of Jesus; that it is futile and sterile because it does not serve a function that aids the community. Eça shows the monastic and eremitic life in a negative light. The monastery is depicted as a fortress, rich and comfortable, with powerful walls that keep out the people. When Cristóvão lived with the hermit monks on the mountain he witnessed their nightly torments and visions. "E Cristóvão pensava na sua simplicidade: 'Quantas coisas vê este homem, que eu não vejo! Decerto é por causa da sua sabedoria e da sua santidade!'" (UP,97) Cristóvão, in his innocence, could not comprehend the life of these hermits, whose constant preoccupation was with mortifying the flesh. Cristóvão finally leaves the hermits, finding their existence a useless endeavor, and their daily routine of silent contemplation a stagnating force which numbs the joy and spirit of life, and from which no good may come:

É vinha-lhe como um desejo de sacudir aquela imobilidade dos homens e das coisas, e com as suas mãos arremessar conjuntamente os eremitas e os robles, as caveiras e as rochas, e empurrá-los

pela montanha abaixo, a ser úteis aos homens!
(UP,105)

Onofre, a hermit for thirty years in the desert, during which time he had no peace of mind, beset as he was by visions of demons and monsters, begins to doubt the efficacy of his life as a recluse. He finally concludes that his agony and tears, which he experienced alone to gain the grace of God, are more pleasing to God when the sacrifice is performed in the service of man.

While criticizing the rich abbeys, monasteries, and convents, Eça also makes a judgment of the practices of the Church. When Cristóvão is taken to mass for the first time he is awed by the structure itself, imposing and frightening. And he is not moved by the ritual, which to him is incomprehensible. Cristóvão had not yet received his catechism and he is participating in the mass totally inexperienced and with his usual innocent outlook, almost hostile in his objectivity:

... Cristóvão ajoelhava como o pai sobre as lajes, traçava uma cruz sobre a testa, martelava o peito com os seus duros punhos:--- mas permanecia tão insensível e alheio à adoração que ante ele se desenrolava, como o pelar de pedra escura, a que findava por se encostar, fatigado daquela melancolia da casa de Deus.
(UP,46)

Cristóvão first service had been to some friars, whom he had abandoned, "porque lá habitam a paz e a abundância, o celeiro está cheio de trigo, a adega cheia de vinho, uma grande alegria e orgulho reinam nos corações--- e para lá não iriam decerto os passos de Jesus, nem os seus a seguir o seu Senhor."
(UP,73)

He goes to the village to help those who need him. The friars are very resentful and angry at having lost such a strong and valuable servant. They began spreading rumors that all giants are in league with the devil. One evening in May there was a terrible storm with hail, destroying all the crops. The friars saw the opportunity to take revenge:

Um padre veio logo do convento, e estendendo a mão, demonstrou que, por causa dos endurecimentos das almas viera aquela visitaçãõ. Por que persistiam eles em acamara-dar com um servo do Demônio? Cristóvão, como todos os gigantes, era um emissário de Belzebu:--- via-se-lhe o Inferno nos olhos, nas barbas que o fogo crestara, e na sua fingida humildade. (UP,78)

Needless to say the angry farmers drove him from the village. Cristóvão, at a loss to understand their ingratitude, sadly left the area, hearing prayers of exorcism behind him. Cristóvão's only wrong had been to forsake the friars for the serfs who needed him more.

In "S. Cristóvão" Eça displays a vast medieval panorama of poverty, sickness, feudal oppression and injustices against the serfs, who were powerless and vulnerable. The work is analogous to a manifesto against the social ills that man has suffered at the hands of other men. Nowhere else in the Lendas does Eça devote so much of his narrative to the conditions which existed under feudalism. The symbolic, allegorical nature of "S. Cristóvão" is made clear when Eça's contemporary opinions on European social problems are divulged.

In Cartas de Inglaterra he describes the Christmas season, making a contrast between the happy festivities of the holiday and the poor, for whom the celebration is meaningless, sometimes bringing a temporary respite to their wretchedness:

E justamente nestas horas de festa íntima, quando pára por um momento o furioso galope do nosso egoísmo---que a alma se abre a sentimentos melhores de fraternidade e de simpatia universal, e que a consciência da miséria em que se debatem tantos milhares de criaturas, volta com uma amargura maior. Basta então ver uma pobre criança, pasmada diante da vitrina de uma loja, e com os olhos em lágrimas para uma boneca de pataco, que ela nunca poderá apertar nos seus miseráveis braços--- para que se chegue a conclusão que isto é um mundo abominável. 54

During Cristóvão's journey through the countryside he encounters peasants in various stages of degradation and misery. One of the more horrendous is the plague that would ravage and depopulate whole areas:

A cada instante os gritos dos doentes abandonados o detinham. De rastos, ele introduzia o seu vasto corpo pelas escadas estreitas, e ia dar de beber aos doentes, limpar-lhes as imundícies, oferecer-lhes o seu vasto peito para eles morrerem sobre o calor de um coração humano. Por vezes um moribundo queria a extrema-unção mas os padres tinham fugido, os ratos que ainda havia não bastavam para tantos moribundos. (UP, 87)

If the plague did not kill the peasants the barons, warring against each other, made pawns of the peasants:

Os barões corriam as suas terras, e tudo saqueavam, tudo roubavam para adestrar soldados, ter hostes brilhantes. Se outros, mais fortes, os faziam prisioneiros, de novo voltavam os seus grandes corcéis, a saquear, roubar, tirar ao pobre a última

acha, a última mão cheia de favas, para reunir o preço de resgate. Se ficavam vencedores, eis que voltavam a saquear os restos, a arrancar a seara ainda mal madura, para celebrar festas, e erguer solares ricos. Depois, atrás, passavam ainda as companhias de mercenários, que, nada encontrando, queimavam os muros, destruíam os arvoredos, e matavam as crianças nos berços. (UF,111)

Eça chose the medieval scene as a background for his theme, writes his daughter, because it was the "época do acordar dos servos oprimidos, quando as leis estavam nas mãos dos mais poderosos e o escravo não podia reclamar." 55 The serfs could not change the feudal system but they could take measures to help themselves and attempt to alleviate their situation. One of the means which the oppressed peasants chose was to abandon the Church, which they saw as an ally of the lords who subjugated them, and the priests as enemies, who exploited them. They joined clandestine societies which practiced witchcraft and called upon the devil and his occult powers to aid them now that God had forsaken them. Eça presents the **Black Mass**, the Witches Sabbath, not so much as the occult practices of some misguided peasants, but as a social phenomenon, in which the ritual serves to give vent to the grievances of the serfs, having no other recourse, no other form of appeal. Jules Michelet explains the Black Mass in its historical context when he states:

It was, I hold, the invention of a moment, --- the frenzied outbreak of a maddened brain, lifting impiety to the level of popular indignation. To realize what this

indignation was, we must remember how the people, brought up by the clergy themselves in the firm belief of the credibility and the possibility of miracles, so far from supposing God's laws immutable, had for centuries expected and hoped for a miracle---that never came. In vain men called for this miraculous intervention in the day of their despair and utmost need. From that hour forth Heaven seemed but the ally of their savage tyrants and oppressors, itself a tyrant as blood-thirsty as any. 56

The man who performs the ritual preaches to the people, cataloguing the injustices committed against them:

Erguendo os braços, perguntou onde se encontraria felicidade para o pobre? A terra era para ele um lugar de desolação. E desde que nascia até que o levavam para a vala, ele não fazia mais que gemer na escravidão. Da alvorada à noite, trabalhava. E para quem ia todo o fruto do seu trabalho? Para o Senhor, para o Bispo, para o Intendente que vinha com arceiros. Para que o Senhor tivesse armas, ele não tinha lume, e tremia de frio. Para que o Bispo tivesse banquetes, ele não tinha pão, e empalidecia de fome. Para que o Intendente vivesse em casas cobertas, ele vivia em tocas que as suas mãos cavavam na Terra. (UP,121)

The rites performed are similar to the Catholic Mass but as a form of mockery, in which the people worship the devil in the form of "um homem enorme, de longa barba preta, todo coberto de pêlo preto, que o assemelhava a um boê." (UP,119)

After the prayers,

dois homens apareceram, trazendo um grande carneiro assado que, com facas, começaram a retalhar. Outros colocaram na mesa de pedra uma pipa de vinho. Com um clamor bestial, toda a turba se arremessou para o feiticeiro. A criatura negra bradava: "Comel do-meu corpo, bebei do meu sangue!" (UP,122)

Then a drunken orgy would begin, characterized by the total, wanton abandonment of all:

Gemidos de pecado contente soavam
na negra espessura. As feiticeiras
rascavam os últimos trapos, e nuas,
hediondas, galopavam escarranchadas
sobre as vassouras. (UP,122)

When the despair of the serfs reached its lowest point, the only solution was revolt. The attempt at social action on the part of the peasant is recorded in "S. Cristóvão", in which Cristóvão joins a band of peasants who are in rebellion **against** their oppressors. The episode of the Jacques has its foundations in historical fact, in fourteenth century France, when the peasants, known collectively as Jacques Bonhomme, momentarily shed their docility, and started an uprising.

Celui-ci, que la noblesse appelait Jacques Bonhomme, prit les armes, et après d'horribles excès, il fut écrasé. La cavalerie des gentilshommes domina victorieusement les campagnes, battit les routes, affama les villes; les bourgeois furent obligés de se soumettre aussi bien que les paysans. Toutefois, cette horrible guerre avait rendu un service à la France. Elle avait éveillé la conscience nationale par l'excès des maux. Les villes avaient tenté un premier essai de liberté, et le peuple même, des campagnes jusque-là muet, s'était révélé, au moins, par un horrible cri de douleur. (1358) 37

Michelet describes the revolt of the Jacques, who had a leader, known as Guillaume aux Allouettes. This captain of the serfs, a peasant himself, had a servant whose description is reminiscent of Cristóvão. Is this the character *ça chose* to substitute, elevating him to leadership in the person of

Cristóvão, in his version of the jacquerie revolution? The similarities are striking and seem to explain the mystery of the anachronism of placing the saint in medieval France. Michelet writes: "il avait avec lui pour le servir un autre paysan d'une force de membres incroyable, d'une corpulence et d'une taille énorme, plein de viguer e d'audace, mais avec cette grandeur de corps, ayant une humble et petit opinion de lui-même. On l'appelait Le Grande-Ferré." 58

Under Cristóvão's direction the mob of Jacques becomes a group, organized, with a purpose, attenuated in their ferocity and their wish for revenge:

Dia e noite, Cristóvão mantinha a ordem na turba emensa. Não permitia que despojassem as árvores dos frutos, que se tomasse o gado das pastagens. Só era aceite o que a caridade dava. Se encontrava mendigos, histriões famintos, gritava com um grande gesto: 'Virde também. Os seu coração queria abrigar toda a miséria humana, levá-la a esmolar pelas estradas do mundo. Do dinheiro recebido, repartia com as aldeais pobres. (UP,156)

At first they found no resistance and began gaining confidence that their efforts would bring changes:

Decerto Jesus voltara à Terra. Em breve todos os castelos se abririam, e partilhadas as riquezas, quebradas as armas, não haveria fomes nem guerras, e apenas, na paz dos campos decoes, irmãos abastados. (UP,157)

Their illusion is broken when the lords formed an army and pursued them, finally dispersing them and killing as many as they could. Cristóvão survived, miraculously cured of his injuries by his guardian angel, and continued on his way, ever striving to be of service to humanity. Always trying to find a reason

and purpose in his life, distributing the love that Jesus preached to all impartially.

This, then, is the last and most important idea found in the Lendas de Santos--- that the function of the saint is to act, to do, to perform, unselfishly, without regard to his personal salvation. To Eça all other manifestations of sanctity are useless, to be rejected and despised. Only a total commitment to the people in true imitation of the teachings and example of Jesus is possible. In "S. Cristóvão" as in "S. Onofre", it is the poor, the helpless, the lame, the oppressed, the suffering who are the benefactors of the saints' pure love. It is they, the poor and forgotten ones, to whom Eça channels this profound charity. Cristóvão expressed it constantly. Onofre tried to repress it, only to have it burst forth in one ultimate attempt, when he cured a child, and for which he was rewarded with everlasting peace. Gil, even as a young man, had thoughts of his purpose in life and to what endeavor he would devote himself:

Quereria ter um saber que lhe permitisse
fazer as leis mais justas, curar todos os
males do corpo, enriquecer as multidões,
estabelecer a paz entre os Estados, e guiar
todos os seres vivos pela larga estrada do
Céu. Para tal fim, só para ele valeria a
pena viver. (UP,331)

Frei Genebro, who had spent his life in an exemplary manner, lost this love of God and was condemned to eternal damnation because of one deed, one solitary act, committed in the service of one who was in need. His sin is another paradox, brought on by the rigorous, somewhat impractical adherence to Franciscan views on nature, which Brother Juniper ignored, momentarity, in his zeal to be of help. Despite all other

efforts on behalf of his fellow men, Genebro loses heaven for that one sin. When he died his soul was taken to a place of judgment, where two scales were placed to accept his good deeds and his evil deeds. As his pious works were being weighed the scale lowered with the weight of so many good acts. But suddenly the scale began to level off and it was the side of the evil deeds that began to descend:

E os Serafins, Genebro, o Anjo que o trouxera, descobriram, no fundo daquele prato que inutilizava um Santo, um porco, um pobre porquinho com uma perna bárbaramente cortada arquejando, a morrer, numa poça de sangue... O animal mutilado pesava tanto na balança da justiça como a montanha luminosa de virtudes perfeitas! (Côn,135)

Onofre, after struggling with his natural inclinations, abandons his arrogance and pride, and returns to live among his own, finding a happiness that thirty years of penitence in the desert had not given him:

E nunca como então gozara uma paz tão perfeita. No deserto, os seus rudes labores de enxada e rega, para combater a esterilidade das areias e concorrer para a realização da divina promessa, não lhe davam alegria:--- e a fadiga com que deles saía, era inquieta e melancólica.

.....
Agora, ao contrário, o cansaço naqueles longos dias de caridade era cheio, era feliz e repassado do doçura:--- e a mais curta oração, balbuçada à pressa, fazia descer das alturas sobre o seu coração, como uma longa e vaga carícia que o refrescava deliciosamente. (UP,287)

And what is the cause of this peace and good feeling? Onofre has at last found fulfillment, spreading love and charity in the company of his fellow human beings. All the torments

and temptations have disappeared. He can now go about the world with a pure conscience knowing that he is finally doing God's work, and complying with the precepts that Jesus instituted:

Onofre trabalhava no serviço dos miseráveis, arranjando leitos de folhas para os velhos, lavando os trapos à beira do canal, cobrindo de fios as chagas, cantando a vérmina nos cabelos intonsos. Depois ia mendigar para os seus pobres, por toda a cidade, desde as casas mais ricas, onde os cães lhe ladravam, até às tabernas dos canais, ou às cubas das prostitutas, de onde trazia sempre no saco algumas côdeas de pão, restos de peixe, ou uma maquia de lentilha. (UP,236)

Onofre's sacrifice now has meaning, for it has a definite purpose and he has a destiny to carry out.

Cristóvão's mission was predestined. He was born to redeem Jesus's pledge to love the meek and the persecuted. Throughout his life he served, expecting nothing in return, practicing charity, and living from the charity of others. His ultimate service is a symbolic one. All the years of his life he alleviated the pain of others, accepting the most arduous labors, literally accumulating the burdens of the world on his broad back, all for the love of humanity and of Jesus. He never hesitated, never faltered in his goal, receiving no rewards, and often rebuked for his efforts. At the end of his days, now old and tired, he settled down at the edge of a river, transporting persons and goods across:

Nenhum esforço custava ao bom gigante.
Passava os fardos mais duros, grossas

barricas de vinho, pedras enormes para a construção das abadias. Passou touros que iam para um curro de fidalgos. E passou um bando de leprosos, que fugiam de uma cidade, e lhe deixavam sobre a pele o pus das suas fístulas.

Se lhe não pagavam, baixava a cabeça, saudando com humildade. Se lhe pagavam, beijava a escassa moeda de cobre:--- e guardava debaixo de uma pedra esse dinheiro, para o repartir com os mendigos. (UP,179)

Cristóvão had now grown old. After each crossing he would rest, for now he was taking longer and longer to get across. One cold winter's night, when Cristóvão was sleeping, he heard a voice calling his name:

Abriu o loquete da sua choça. E viu diante de si uma criancinha, pisando descalça a relva, com os cabelos a esvoaçar no vento e na chuva, e apertando sobre o peito, com as mãozinhas, a camisa muito branca que o cobria. (UP,180)

The child asked to be crossed: "Cristóvão, Cristóvão, estou sozinho e perdido, e por quem és te peço que me leves a casa de meu pai!" (UP,181) Cristóvão picks up the child but he almost falls on his knees, so heavy is the weight of the child. He begins to ford the river, each step an agonizing effort. Each time he asks the boy where is his father's house, he answers, "---Mais longe, Cristóvão, mais longe." (UP,184) Cristóvão knows he cannot go/^{on}any longer, feeling all his strength leaving his body, although his will is strong:

E parou, sem poder, no topo do monte. Era o fim: um grande Sol nascia, banhava toda a Terra em luz. Cristóvão pousou o menino no chão, e caiu ao lado, estendendo as mãos. Ia morrer. Mas sentiu as suas grossas mãos presas nas do menino--- e a terra faltou-lhe

debaixo dos pés. Então entreabriu os olhos, e no esplendor incomparável reconheceu Jesus, Nosso Senhor, pequenino como quando nasceu no curral, que docemente, através da manhã clara, o ia levando para o Céu. (UP,184)

To be a saint is to have a deep love for everyone and for everything. It is to feel the obligation, the commitment to do good, not for egotistical, selfish motives, but in order to help those who are in need of assistance. It is to **negate** one's personal interests and to live an active, useful life, among mankind, never rejecting one's neighbor. Onofre achieved sanctity, a moral perfection, after serving humanity, after devoting himself to useful tasks, acting in the spirit of charity and compassion. Cristóvão was a saint because he was able to conquer his human nature and overlook his physical form, rendering service to humanity and nature with his strength, simplicity, humility, and goodness. After having carried Jesus all his life, by accepting him faithfully, unswervingly, Cristóvão did not refuse him that one more request, carrying him gladly and willingly, even though by so doing he was giving up his own life.

In Eça de Queiroz there is a duality of purpose, already evident in his first publications, but much more developed in his last works. The duality exists in Eça's explicit social statements, critical of the society which he inhabited. This is his realist phase in which he vented his anger and exposed the imperfections of his fellow citizens with ironic humor.

The second aspect of Eça's duality is not a contradiction of the first, but merely another manifestation of it. Eça aspired to the ideal, to the poetic view of life, and his aspirations assumed a religious form. From the very first novel, O Crime do Padre Amaro, he was attempting to find a poetical solution, to create an illusion of ideal harmony in his world of characters by exposing their foibles and idiosyncracies. This need is very apparent in A Relíquia, where Eça juxtaposed two societies, totally opposite in time and philosophies from each other, but united by the birth and death of an obscure Judean mystic. **Therefore**, Eça at the last was the same as in the beginning. The only difference is that he is now more of an idealist, willing to experiment with fantasy, less sarcastic, his irony subdued. "Eça, sem deixar de ser artista, sem deixar de ser romancista, sobrepõe, nestas páginas, o valor do sentimento ao valor do carácter técnico. E nunca Eça foi tão profundo, em romance social, como no S. Crisóstvão; nunca foi tão analista das reacções interiores, em romance psicológico, como no Santo Onofre." 59

As a stylist, he was as of old. The study which Professor da Cal devoted to the works, dispelled once and for all the notion that Eça, in his last literary phase, had changed and lost the mode of expression which so clearly characterized the novels published in his lifetime. José Maria Dello echoes erroneous critical judgment when he states that, "as vidas de santos assinalam evidentemente a descida da montanha do talento

literário de Eça de Queirós. Parece, mesmo, clara confissão do esgotamento das suas faculdades imaginativas." 60

Bello laments that Eça had abandoned the "romances de combate". Indeed he had. The nature of the Lendas de Santos was of a different sort, which did not call for Eça's sarcastic, satirical, or ironic style. Eça changed the characters and themes for the Lendas, but he did not change his style nor his ideas in the legends.

The language in the Lendas, writes Correia da Costa, is particularized, "pela serenidade rítmica da linguagem, que não emperra, nem é forte, nem tem artifícios, nem tem francesismos, mas antes é fundamentalmente vernúcula clássica, dum castiço natural e límpido. O Eça póstumo equivale ao Eça anterior..." 61

Eça's social attitudes were not so much revolutionary or inspired by Socialism as he was Franciscan in the attention he grants to the poor and the love of nature and simplicity. His ideals represent a type of atonement for the oppression, enslavement, and barbarism of a people in a century marked by scientific progress, cultural brilliance, and revolutions which promised a better future for the people. Eça, as had so many other intellectuals of his time, had come to reject the pose of heroic materialism, in which everything that man envisioned was possible. In his writings, both prose fiction and essay, Eça returned to a more humble place in the social scheme. Ideally the higher virtues of charity, kindness, brotherhood, and understanding were to predominate over the base qualities of man—

greed, prejudice, ignorance, and hate.

De 1892 até 1898, em que podemos acompanhar, ano a ano, na Gazeta e na Revista Moderna, as suas reacções íntimas perante os acontecimentos internacionais, vemos aquela tendência para uma espécie de socialismo espiritualista, ou cristão... Para ele, socialismo e santidade passam a fundir-se nas suas mais altas expressões; e os grandes progressos do movimento socialista realizam-se no íntimo das consciências, que acordam para a fraternidade universal. 62

NOTES

- 1 Eça de Queiroz. Últimas Páginas. (Lello & Irmão, Editores, 1966).
- 2 Fidelino de Figueiredo. Últimas Aventuras. (Rio, 1941), p. 83.
- 3 Eça de Queiroz. Correspondência. (Porto, Lello & Irmão, Editores, n.d.), p. 65.
- 4 Eça de Queiroz, Correspondência, p. 221.
- 5 Eça, Correspondência, p. 247.
- 6 Jaime Batalha Reis. "Na primeira fase da vida literária de Eça de Queiroz", as included in Rosas Bárbaras, p. 53.
- 7 F. A. Ramalho Ortigão. Figuras e Questões Literárias. Vol. II, (Lisboa, n.d.), p. 18.
- 8 "Sam frei Gil foi natural do Reino de Portugal, he hũa villa que se chama Bouzella, a qual está no Bispado de Viseu..." in Frey Diogo do Rosario. Flos Sanctorum. (Lisboa, 1612), p. 413.
- 9 Eça de Queiroz. Folhas Soltas. (Porto, Lello & Irmão, Editores, 1966), p. 170-171.
- 10 Eça de Queiroz, Folhas, p. 173.
- 11 Eça, Folhas, p. 168.
- 12 Types: o lenhador, o romeiro, frade mendicante, pastor

- 12
mercadores, servo, servente, moço da abegoaria, cordeiro
- 13
Types in "S. Frei Gil": Senhor, mestre, aia, capelão, intendente, meirinho, maioral, escudeiro, corregedor, paladino
- 14
Types in "S. Onofre": solitário, salteador, monge, o Demônio, cenobita, arquivista, mercador, místicos, servos.
- 15
Delehayé, The Legends, p. 50
- 16
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- 23
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- 24 Feliciano Ramos. Eça de Queirós e os seus Últimos Valores. (Lisboa, Ocidente, 1945), p. 69.
- 25 Primeira Parte (Madrid, 1584)
Segunda Parte (Valladolid, 1592)
- 26 (Lisboa, 1709-1761)
- 27 Figueiredo. Estudos de Literatura. (1910-1916). (Lisboa, 1917), p. 183.
- 28 When Garrett visits Santarém, he digresses and devotes chapters 39-41 to S. Frei Gil, calling him "nosso Fausto português"; (Sá da Costa ; 1954), p. 191.
- 29 Luís Augusto Rebelo da Silva, an historian, who wrote História de Portugal nos Séculos XVII e XVIII.
- 30 Heribertus Rosweyduus. Vitae Patrum. (Antwerp, 1615),
- 31 Msgr. Paul Guérin, ed. Les Petits Bollandistes. (Paris, 1882)
- 32 Ramos, Eça, p. 97.
- 33 Henry Edward Manning (1808-1892), English prelate and writer; cardinal, 1875-1892.
- 34 Guérin, Les Petits Bollandistes, Tome 5e., No. 54, du 24 avril au 18 mai, p. 532-537.
- 35 Alberto d'Oliveira. Eça de Queiroz. (Lisboa, Portugal-Brasil, Ltda, 1918), p. 205

36

Guérin, p. 26

37

Correia da Costa, Eça, Fialho e Aquilino. (Lisboa, Livraria Clássica, Editora, 1923). p. 38

38

That is how Garrett had referred to him; Teófilo Braga also stresses this aspect in Frei Gil de Santarém. (Porto, Livraria Chardron, 1905).

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- 52 Sabatier, p. xiii.
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