ANTERO DE QUENTAL, THE COIMBRA YEARS - 1858-1865

by

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ABSTRACT

The theme of the essay is the evolution of Antero de Quental from the childhood years in the sleepy island of São Miguel, Azores, up to the famous controversy called the Questão Coimbrã in which Antero played a major part.

The first chapter depicts the circumstances of Antero's childhood: the liberalism of his 'morgado' grandfather, father and brother, the strong religious feelings of his mother, the high status of the families on both sides. It discusses the impact of A. F. de Castilho and his Sociedade dos Amigos das Letras e Artes on Antero's island world, and the influence of Alexandre Herculano's mystic ode, Deus. It covers the early schooling years up to the departure for serious education on the continent.

The second chapter deals with Antero's arrival in Coimbra, his disappointment and frustration at the complacency of his professors, and the revolutionary impact of his reading of Henriques de Nogueira, Lamartine, Michelet, Proudhon, etc.... It introduces Antero's friends. It follows the development of the poet up to the publication of the Sonetos (1861), under the influence of João de Deus: religious, mystic, intimate poetry inspired by their mutual admiration of Camões.

In chapter III, we examine the evolution of Antero's social conscience. In his definition of art, he accepted the concept of art as corresponding to beauty but, convinced that poetry is also an
expression of man's moral conscience and an agent for social reform, he wrote a collection of militant verse, his Odes Modernas (mostly 1862-1863), published for the first time in 1865.
CHAPTER 1

TO COIMBRA

(1858)

On first reading about Antero some years ago, I thought that the boy from São Miguel must have been very timid and ill at ease, arriving at the great University of Coimbra from his remote little island for the academic year of 1858–59, but I changed my mind as I became more familiar with his circumstances.

When he entered the faculty of law on September 28th, 1958, the seeds had been sown, the soil was promising, he was an intelligent healthy active boy. Would Coimbra provide the nutrients?

The first thing Antero had prized and received confidence from, was his name:

Nasci nesta ilha de São Miguel, descendente de uma das mais antigas famílias dos seus colonizadores... um meridional descendente dos navegadores católicos de século XVI.¹

His grandfather, Andre da Ponte de Quental da Camara e Sousa, was born in Ponta Delgada, as had been generations of Quentais; his grandmother was D. Carlota Joaquina de Freitas Betencourt, one of the great names from Madeira. One visit to the cemetery of Ponta Delgada would show you the social rank of the Quentais, Camaras, Betencourts, Pontes, Freitas, Farias e Maias, Machados, Cantos, Chaves, Cabrais. Not a large family, the Quentais, that is not a persistent one. Though

¹
Antero had quite a few brothers and sisters they produced few children. His grandfather had nine children, only three had children. His father Fernando had seven children, only two had children. Andre, the first born, died in the asylum of Rilhafoles in 1888, leaving a wife and two children; a first Antero died when two months old; Maria Ermelinda married and had two children; Antero, the fourth child, never married; Matilda obtained a separation from her husband and had no children; Ana Guilhermina married and had no children; Amelia died when two years old in 1849.

Antero could not grow up in Ponta Delgada dividing the year between the large family house on Castilho Street, as it is now named, and the Solar do Ramalho close to Ponta Delgada, without feeling himself to be part of the elite of São Miguel. He liked as a young boy to practise signatures, autographed his books "Antero" or "Anthero", "Tarquinio Quental de Camara e Sousa", "Anthero do Quental", "Anthero de Quental", "Antero de Quental" and settled on "Antero de Q.". Being the son of a wealthy "morgado" in São Miguel might instill a sense of importance, but it might also give him a feeling of isolation and awkwardness vis-a-vis the general population, increased by the Quentais' reputation for eccentricity.

His grandfather had been a close friend of Bocage; together they had versified in Coimbra and Lisbon. Grandfather had even been jailed by Pina Manique's police for possession of subversive literature. He fought the French invasion, took part in masonic meetings, was active again when the liberal contingent of D. Pedro liberated São Miguel from the Miguelite forces of occupation. He had named his last born (1830)
"Pedro". A liberal patriot who had lost his dreams, he spent most of his later years reading, taciturn, sorting out genealogical papers, his great hobby. He carefully burned all his memoirs shortly before he died, when Antero was barely three years old.

When 17 years old, Antero's father Fernando joined the "Batalhão dos Caçadores", which played an heroic part in the liberal expedition of 1832, following D. Pedro to the Praia do Mindelo. It is said that, faithful to his revolutionary ideas, Fernando broke his family shield. His hobby and main occupation was bookbinding; he went to Paris to learn the refinements of the trade, and equipped a workshop in his house where he always had some apprentices. Bulhão Pato said of him:

Era o tipo genuíno do fidalgo da velha rocha: polidez extrema, generosidade suma, amando os pergaminhos que eram nobilíssimos, gloriando-se das suas tradições, mas sem bater com os ilustres antepassados na cara de ninguém.2

Antero said of his father:

Nunca me passou pela cabeça desobedecer-lhe em coisa alguma.3

His father is said (by Antero himself to his cousin Artur) to have tested this obedience rather severely when Antero left São Miguel for Lisbon for the first time August 8th, 1852, on his way to the Colégio do Portico, recently inaugurated by A. F. de Castilho.

Fernando de Quental "envergou-lhe a sua casaca, metendo-lhe as mangas para dentro, e calçou-lhe umas luvas, mandando-lhe seguir neste lindo traje e vindo para uma das varandas ver a figura que o desgraçado pequeno ia fazendo. Este desceu a rua cheio de vergonha, muito vagarosamente, olhando de vez em quando para trás a ver se o Pai se condôma e o chamava; mas qual! o Pai estava de carranca fechada e lá foi o pobre do pequeno fazer visitas naquele traje positivamente carnavalesco. O Pai
depois ria a gargalhada quando contava a partida que tinha feito ao pequeno e a atrapalhaçao deste, mas ficou com a certeza que o filho era obedientissimo e era esse o ponto a que ele principalmente queria chegar."

Eccentric indeed! Fernando de Quental is said to have been an enthusiastic, indefatigable talker and somewhat theatrical. Julio de Castilho, in his *Memórias de Castilho* (Coimbra, 2nd ed., 1929) never mentions Antero's father, although they were almost neighbours and Julio was a constant companion of Antero during the Castilhos' stay in Ponta Delgada. Filipe de Quental, uncle of Antero, was an intimate at the Castilhos' home. Of Antero's mother, Julio de Castilho speaks with restraint, respect and admiration. Other people who knew the Quentais said of her that she was extremely, even fanatically religious, and not highly educated. But, with a few exceptions, this was typical of most of the wives, aristocratic or otherwise. A. F. de Castilho received the help of a few of the benevolent blue-stockinged ladies of São Miguel in his efforts to enliven the literary scene.

If these circumstances contributed to make of the young Antero a proud but subdued young student on entering the University of Coimbra, other factors also helped shape his character. Antero Insulano, as he sometimes signed his writings, came indeed from a very distant, sleepy island. According to the period when the biographies were written, the emphasis is placed either on the geographic location, on heredity, on the environment, or on the individual. I would not hesitate to claim that the place of his birth and childhood had a profound influence on Antero, especially the sea.
Eu por mim nunca me pude conformar com a ideia de entrepor as vastas solidões do Oceano entre mim e a terra que me vio nascer.5

It was not until the late 1860's that the breakwater and dock were built in Ponta Delgada; until then the city itself was open to the whims and rages of the sea. The houses, the poorer ones, were built at the edge of the sea, on top of the natural seawall, their backs turned against it, looking inland towards the agglomeration. Ponta Delgada had more or less 20,000 people. The Azores sit in the middle of the Atlantic, sometimes sloping gently towards the beaches of black lava pebbles, sometimes perched, exposed, stubborn, on high volcanic cliffs.

The island of São Miguel is green, kept moistened by mists, rains, fog, storms. The climate is mild and humid, or hot and clammy, or deliriously bright and sunny. The sea is the enemy; the fishermen in Antero's day were a lowly lot; there were no harbours, natural or artificial, only coves. There is hardly a flat field in the island, and Ponta Delgada itself is built on a slope with little mounds here and there generally topped by a chapel or small church. Antero often went to sit on top of a mound and observed the sea - a little boy watching this immense horizon, the changing waters, the low sky, gay or awesome, the waves pounding nonchalantly or furiously and immutably against this accident, this island.

Another boy might have gone there only to fly kites, might not have heard the sea, might not have been touched, excited by the power, the depth, the attraction of this encircling sea; but Antero was not just any boy, he was Antero de Quental, the heir of intelligent intellectual
people, the heir to enthusiastic temperaments, the son of a godfearing evangelical mother.

The life of the island is bound to the land. This was the period of the oranges, although not yet its apogee. In this little island, turned inland upon itself toward the thousands of orange trees and the fields of corn and beans and lupines, it took four and a half hours by donkey, the only means of transport up and down the "canadas", between Vila Franca and Ponta Delgada, some twenty kilometres; goods which were not transportable by animals were carried in small boats hugging the shore. More or less two hundred sailing vessels precariously approached the towns of Vila Franca and Ponta Delgada from Portsmouth or Lisbon to load fifty million oranges a year, each wrapped in maize leaves, and unloaded cloth and mutton and soap and tobacco and mail and subscription romances and continental newspapers; everyone was at least three weeks away from the next mail, ten days away from Life. In this small town of Ponta Delgada priests were abundant and influential within its boundaries, church bells were everywhere close, witness to all celebrations, to every event; the dead were brought through the wide open doors of the churches, carried in open biers, exposed to the gaze of the silent gaping children. The men who thought about such things shouted for the "cats" (setembristas) or no less vituperously for the "pigs" (cartistas), and the other men thought only of doing their daily labour and dividing the food among all the children. Only the rich houses had glass in the windows, and the stores were recognizable only by the emblem which decorated the door – a sprig of beech for a wine shop, an old shoe for a shoemaker. A stranger could not find a room to stay without a letter of
introduction to one of the gentlemen farmers. All women looked alike in the street, dressed in their sombre cloaks, and the peasants wore unbleached linen trousers woven by their overburdened wives. In such a place it was good, and awesome, to look out to the sea. Antero looked out a lot; he remained faithful to his childhood visions of the sea, which strengthened his native lyricism and mysticism.

In this period of 1842 to 1856 there were still many who remembered vividly the exciting days of the War of the Two Brothers. A man had to take a stand in those days. Up to 1832 São Miguel had not been much involved; a printing press was installed only then. Political activity was confined to the island of Terceira, where governments were accustomed to send their chosen exiles. But D. Miguel had sent troops to São Miguel in preparation against D. Pedro's attempt to gain control, and a contingent of the Caçadores was sent from Terceira to São Miguel to defeat the Miguelites.

Mousinho da Silveira passed through Ponta Delgada with D. Pedro on February 22nd, 1832, and stayed there two or three days. This must have had a traumatic effect on the town. Most of the island became liberal, but the men in their dark suits, who could not meet in the banks, in the bookstores, in the coffee houses, in the public parks, because none of these things existed, were sure to meet in some public spot. They had to create dissension, if only to escape from the circumambient boredom. The men who had travelled, been soldiers, been educated in Coimbra, in France, in England, the heads and sons of those great families of "morgados" who had libraries in their houses, these men discussed politics. They were the local civil servants, they represented the var-
rious levels of government present on the island, the doctors, the
teachers in the "Liceu", the army officers who, like Teófilo Braga's
father, had settled on the island by force of circumstance, the
bishop; these men formed partisan clans, wrote in the local newspapers—
there were two specializing in features of local interest and impersonal
invectives—. Antero is likely to have heard many discussions, even in
his own house, between his father, his paternal uncle Filipe, his
maternal uncle, António Carlos da Maia.

Filipe de Quental was born in 1824. He was, like his brother
Fernando, a dedicated liberal. He had an enthusiastic temperament and
was given to theatrical postures. He obtained his doctorate in medicine
from Coimbra in 1863 and became a professor at the University.

Politics to some of these men were more a matter of attitudes
than of dogma or partisanship. The law of entail which determined the
life of any child born within the landholding family was much discussed.
The "morgado" Francisco Afonso Chaves e Melo (1797-1863), publisher of
O Monitor, wrote against the law of entail, making it responsible for so
many bitter family feuds. Manuel António de Vasconcelos, "morgado",
disinherited himself in favour of his brothers and sisters; he was the
founder (1835) of O Açoreano Oriental. The law of entail determined
marriages between cousins, between uncles and nieces. Antero must have
heard echoes of all this in friendly reunions around the table. He
grew up in a climate of social concern mixed with an elitist and reli-
gious catholic sense of responsibility. Literature was intimately
connected with these interests; books were read, treasured, collected.

The stay of António Feliciano de Castilho in Ponta Delgada from
August 1847 to June 1850 must have stirred all these sentiments and interests among the setembristas with whom he had by then allied himself.

It was fashionable to give English teas, indeed English was fashionable, English gardeners, English lessons - a certain Mr. Rendall gave lessons to the flower of Ponta Delgada's youth, - but French cooks to prepare those English teas! French was taught by Mr. Lambert and was lingua franca in the Castilhos' home.

Antero went to Mr. Rendall's for English. For his primary education he went to a private liceu; the Liceu Açoreano was directed by an ex-Miguelite officer, Pedro de Alcântara Leite and Joaquim Manuel Fernandes Braga, another ex-Miguelite and father of Teófilo.

Antero learned Latin from a priest and developed early a taste for reading, which was easy for him in this environment.

A. F. de Castilho also taught Latin, especially to his own children. He taught versification, created a Sociedade dos Amigos das Letras e Artes on the model of the Lisbon club of which he was secretary, wrote his Felicidade pela Agricultura and had it published in Ponta Delgada. He offered a copy to young Antero, who put his own autograph on it. The notion of happiness through agriculture was popular at the time, several gentlemen of São Miguel were creating luxuriant gardens and parks on their land, introducing botanical species to the islands. Courses were organized with the benevolent help of the same gentlemen, to teach reading, writing and elements of geometry to the young peasants of the island in the hope that they would abandon their traditional agricultural methods for newer, more
scientific ones.

Castilho started a political newspaper *A Verdade* and a newspaper of agronomical information *O Agricultor Michaelense* to counter the opposite party, the existing *Monitor*. He helped the children write their own school newspaper. He composed a poem *Hymno dos Lavradores, Hymno do Trabalho*, which was set to music and sung ritually by the students. There was a profusion of ideas coming out of the Castilhos' house, enthusiasm spread among the influential houses, projects were made and set in motion.

Filipe de Quental was a constant visitor at the Castilhos', who lived almost across the street. Little Antero ran from one house to the other, heard Castilho and friends compose and recite verses. At school he was not the best student, being unruly and excitable, but poetry already moved him. From then dated his respect and admiration for Herculano, whose ode *Deus* made a lasting impression on him.

_Nas horas do silêncio, à meia-noite,_
_Eu louvarei o Eterno._
_Ouçam-me a terra, e os mares rugidores,_  
_E os abismos do inferno._
_Pela amplidão dos céus, meus cantos soem,_  
_E a lua resplendente._
_Pare em seu gyro, ao ressoar nest’harpa_  
_O hymno do Omnipotente._

_Antes de tempo haver, quando o infinito_  
_Media a eternidade._
_E só do vácuo as solidões enchia_  
_De Deus a immensidade._
_Elle existia, em sua essência envolto,_  
_E fora della o nada:_

***

_Eis o Tempo, o Universo, o Movimento_  
_Das mãos solta o Senhor:_
_Surge o sol, banha a terra, desabrocha_  
_Nesta a primeira flor._
_Sobre o invisível eixo range o globo:_  
_O vento o bosque ondeia:_

Has horas do silêncio, à meia-noite,
Eu louvarei o Eterno.
Ouçam-me a terra, e os mares rugidores,
E os abismos do inferno.
Pela amplidão dos céus, meus cantos soem,
E a lua resplendente
Pare em seu gyro, ao ressoar nest’harpa
O hymno do Omnipotente.

Antes de tempo haver, quando o infinito
Media a eternidade
E só do vácuo as solidões enchia
De Deus a immensidade,
Elle existia, em sua essência envolto,
E fora della o nada:

***

Eis o Tempo, o Universo, o Movimento
Das mãos solta o Senhor:
Surge o sol, banha a terra, desabrocha
Nesta a primeira flor
Sobre o invisível eixo range o globo:
O vento o bosque ondeia:
Retumba ao longe o mar: da vida a força
A natureza ançelal

***

E eu onde estava quando o Eterno os Mundos,
Com dextra poderosa,
Fez, por lei imutável, se librassem
Na mole ponderosa?
Onde existia então? No typo imenso
Das gerações futuras;
Na mente do meu Deus. Louvor a Elle
Na terra, nas alturas!

***

... Mas aí do abeto, se o seu dia
Extremo Deus mandou!
Lá correu o aquilab: fundas raízes
Aos ares lhe assoprou.
Suberbo, sem temor, saiu na margem
Do cauteloso Nilo,
O corpo monstruoso ao sol voltando,
Medonho crocodilo.

***

De seus dentes em roda o susto habita;
Vê-se a morte assentada
Dentro em sua garganta, se descerra
A boca afogueada;
Qual duro arnez de intrépido herreiro
E seu dorso escamoso;
Como os últimos ais de um moribundo
Seu grito lamentoso;
Fumo e fogo respira quando irado;
Porem, se Deus mandou
Qual do norte impellida a nuvem passa,
Assim elle passou!

***

Eu, por mim, passarei entre os abrolhos
Dos males da existência
Tranquillo e sem temor, à sombra posto
Da tua Providência.6

How well this corresponded to his mother’s teaching! How well
this corresponded to nature around him! How much more easily this would
find a long echo in him than the

amenidade pura e suavíssima do cantar de idílios7
of A. F. de Castilho.

Did the little Antero admire Castilho then? Was he a happy boy when his father sent him, at ten, to the Colégio do Pórtico, which Castilho had opened in Lisbon? Having found followers in São Miguel, but no way to earn a living for his family, Castilho had returned to Lisbon. His Colégio closed after one year, and it is supposed that Antero returned to Ponta Delgada until October 1855. We know that he was examined in the Liceu of Ponta Delgada in July 1855.

Teófilo Braga, one year younger, had passed the same examinations a year earlier. Teófilo was always a better student than Antero. The Bragas being ex-legitimists, it is possible that there existed a certain antagonism between the families. One could not be at once a friend of Sr Castilho and of Sr Braga. Sr Castilho was too opinionated to be on friendly terms with people of opposite views, as the Ponta Delgada newspapers well knew.

Antero arrived in Lisbon in October 1855 and maybe spent an academic year in the Escola Académica in Lisbon. He continued at the Colégio de S. Bento in Coimbra the preparation for his admission to the University in 1858.

Caetano de Andrade Albuquerque Betencourt, born in Ponta Delgada in 1844, a good friend of Antero, attested to Antero's "vocação poética e fascinação da vida sacerdotal" already manifest at that age. Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcelos tells of a conversation with Antero in which he explained to her how early he had been inspired to write love poems by the popular songs he heard at many public celebrations. He told in a letter to his friend Augusto Bicudo Correia, dated Coimbra 1857, and
printed in *O Fósforo* (Coimbra 1861), how he felt then about leaving his island and crossing the great barrier of the ocean

Não sei que encanto suave e melancólico encontra a alma quando divagamos solitários por entre as tristes pedras do pobre cemitério da aldeia, marcando ali todos os dias de novo, ao lado das gerações passadas, um lugar já de há muito marcado e conhecido. Não sei que triste alegria se experimenta ao termos um canto de terra certo, muito conhecido, muito escolhido onde possamos encostar a cabeça cançada pelo pezo enorme dos annos e dos cuidados.

In our own native corner, he said, everything loves us, everything is friendly, familiar and welcoming; nature itself reminds us of our childish games and of our first pangs of love. He remembered:

a rocha erguida a bordo do abysmo, onde, na idade das penas, nas horas mortais do sofrimento, nos híamos assentar contando as nossas magoas aos ventos e aos mares.

Far from this nest, he went on, even nature seems hostile and when nature seems hostile we distrust the men who dwell there.

These emotions, he claimed, do not belong to ordinary souls; some might even be above such feelings, but "I feel not all but some of these nostalgic emotions".

Missing his family and his island, yes; but ill at ease and timid no. He had been away from home a few times, he had his young uncle close by, Coimbra was already a familiar place by 1858. He handled words with talent and confidence, and he had his educated, progressive, extrovert and ancient family to back him up.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I

1 José Bruno Carreiro, Antero de Quental, Subsídios para a sua biografia, Vol. I, p. 20.

2 Ibid., p. 24.

3 Ibid., p. 95.

4 Ibid., p. 95.


6 Alexandre Herculano, Poesias, Ode Deus.

7 António Feliciano de Castilho, Cartas de Echo e Narciso.


9 Ibid.
BIBLIOGRAPHY - CHAPTER 1


Antero himself described these years as being, in his life, a period of intellectual and moral revolution. It is also the period when Antero came to see himself as a poet. Maybe this is not an exact statement since later on he denied that he ever was a poet: he was, he insisted: a philosopher. He certainly came to view himself as a philosopher but most of his friends and admirers then and now see him as a poet concerned with philosophy. In his first years in Coimbra he developed his talent in poetry and asserted himself as a poet among his friends and co-students, using poetry as his most genial medium, convinced that Art was the most effective tool to express his concerns and impress his audience. These concerns he developed in Coimbra during his very first year. The law which he came to Coimbra to study, did not interest him. Law was the traditional course to take for sons of "morgados". Whether law was his choice or that of his advisors, I do not know, but he soon established himself as a mediocre student. Had his teachers been more openminded, had the university walls been more welcoming, had so many challenging books not been accessible, had Antero not found a supportive family in a circle of firm friends, had he not been a suggestible, sensitive, intelligent, religious, energetic young boy, avid of knowledge, things might have turned out differently, but such
he was: these years were for him energizing, revolutionary, anguish­ing, and painful.

According to student witnesses, and particularly according to Teófilo Braga's *História da Universidade* the program of studies was not very up-to-date, nor was the Faculty of Law up-to-date in most universities of Europe. In Coimbra few reforms had happened since those effected under Pombal. Teófilo (registered in 1861) claimed in his *História da Universidade* that the text studied had not changed since 1839. Basílio Teles (1856-1921), the author of *Carestia da Vida Nos Campos, Estudos Históricos e Económicos, Problema Agrícola*, wrote in the *In Memoriam* (1892) that the University of Coimbra did not seem to have heard the name of the new sciences: "glotologia, philologia, mitologia, exegese, sciência das religiões, etnologia, anthropologia, arqueologia, paleontologia, comunismo, colectivismo, socialismo catedrático." There were five faculties: Theology, Law, Medicine, Mathematics, and Philosophy. The professors were appointed by the king. Many teachers were landlords, had commercial interests, Coimbra offered them financial security and status. If the stipend was not high it allowed some ventures in extra-curricular activities. The less ambitious stayed as teachers after their graduation, the more ambitious used the position of teacher at the university as a stepping stone toward ministerial jobs, said Oliveira Martins.

Coimbra was conservative, traditional, and had a guarded attitude toward the students always apt to show rebellion. Eça de Queiros wrote in the *In Memoriam*:
A Universidade que em todos as Nações é para os estudantes uma Alma Mater, a mãe criadora por quem sempre se conserva através da vida um amor filial, era para nós uma madrasta amarga, carrancuda e rabugenta de quem todo o espírito digno se desejava libertar, rapidamente, desde que lhe tivesse arrancado, pela astúcia, pela empenhoca, pela sujeição à sebenta, esse grau que o Estado, seu cumprêce, tornava a chave das carreiras.¹

Twelve years earlier, during the revolution of 1846, the governor of Coimbra, the Duke of Loulé, had organized the Batalhão Académico against the established Cabral government. The battalion had kept the Duke of Terceira prisoner and, before peace settled again, some students had been put into the Torre de São Julião da Barra and guarded by english troops. In 1848, it was clear that 1846 was not forgotten: a student sang the "Hino da Maria da Fonte" from his balcony, and military sanctions were imposed to restore order among the aroused students. Socialist masonic lodges existed in the city: Chocas and Altas Vendas, Barracas Egualdade e União, Chocas 16 de Maio, and Fraternidade e Liberdade (1846-1847) (Hist. Univ.).

In 1852, to celebrate the enthusiastic adhesion of the body of students to his "Regeneração", Saldanha, with Maria II, had exempted the students from examinations. This had allowed a generation of incompetent graduates tibi quoque, claimed Teófilo. Queen Maria II, during her visit with the infant princes had given permission to the academics to wear caps and gowns at public functions outside Coimbra. From this, says Teófilo, bloomed a crop of pompous and ostentatious professors. In 1851 a group of socialist-inspired students had created the "Sociedade de Instrução dos Operários" with José Afonso Botelho, António José Teixeira, Albino Augusto Giraldes, and Filipe de Quental,
Antero's uncle, then a student. They had managed to enroll some members of the university staff as lecturers: José António dos Santos Silva taught History of Democracy; Jacinto António Perdigão and Carlos Ramiro Coutinho taught political economy and administrative law. The lectures were given in the municipal hall of Coimbra and José Feliciano's "Hymno do Trabalho" was sung regularly. This was part of a socialist-inspired movement, not in any way republican, according to Teófilo. The "Sociedade" represented an effort to close the gap between the intelligentsia and the working class of Coimbra but the scission between "filhotes" (not titled, not blazoned, not haute bourgeoisie) and the "académicos" was too real and too deep, and this effort petered out after some serious fights. Those "académicos" who could not sympathize with the movement had started a secret "liga académica" which also petered out. Moral standards were low among the youth, and the military was always ready to be called by the administration against the students. After an incident when a student, protesting against some act of favoritism, had rallied some malcontents around him and created a disturbance, the rector José Manuel de Lemos, being perhaps too absorbed by his creation, the "Jardim Botânico", was replaced in April 1859 by Basílio Alberto de Souza Pinto.

This rector was a stickler for external discipline, determined to restore not only order but prestige to the university. He insisted that a cassock type of vestment be worn by the students, open in the back, with a long row of small buttons in the front. This clerical garb did not please the students, unless they were "ursos", that is to say, docile, studious and subservient, in the eyes of the "cabulas". I found
this advice in the Cancioneiro de Coimbra:

E' ser indulgente- e em suma
Não se rir de coisa alguma.
Acho isto assim mais feliz
Se um Doutor se engasga, espeita...
Esqueceu-lhe a caderneta....
E' um acaso infeliz...
Falou pouco???Nãö te peses...
Fala demais outras vezes!2

Antero became conspicuous in the streets of Coimbra for his untidy long flaming hair, his unpolished shoes, his unkempt clothes. He soon made a show of his attitude toward the Establishment. He was not likely to obey promptly the university bell which pealed from the tower summoning the students and reminding them of the curfew. The rigid external discipline irritated the young boys, newly escaped from the rural domains; the system of the "sebenta" whereby the professors read each year their own same comments on the traditional texts did not stimulate those inclined to laziness and did not satisfy the individualists and the bright ones among the students.

It is not quite clear from the História da Universidade and the Subsídios whether the "Sociedade do Raio" was started in 1860-1861 or 1861-1862. Antero joined this secret group of students determined to demand the dismissal of Basílio; they intended, according to Teófilo, to capture the rector and hold him hostage until the king agreed to replace him. During their meetings they read Proudhon, Michelet, Hegel, Hugo, Darwin, Strauss and others, indiscriminately and enthusiastically.
We can imagine young Antero, bored in class, staying away as much as he could without endangering his eventual law degree, reading all the books on the shelves in his Uncle Filipe's quarters which he shared at first. A rather lonely boy, but anxious for close friendships, too serious to be amused long by pranks, awkward in appearance, a little intimidating. We can follow the history of his readings and of his friendships through his contributions to the Coimbra reviews, through the poems he published in the ephemeral journals, through the small book of twenty-one sonnets which he published in 1861. (Now a very rare book.)

He seems to have been absolutely prepared, like a well tended early spring garden, for the most generous sowing. The new ideas he received from his readings moved him, he rushed to discuss them with his friends. Bruno Tavares tells us that he was always ready to join his selected group for dinners and social gatherings but he came always with his head full of ideas generated by his latest reading; impatient and unmethodical, he would only respond to the group if it was willing to follow him in wild speculations. If the group did not respond, he would read, compose poems, or go for long walks. The Sampaio brothers, Santos Valente, and Meireles were often joined from 1861 on, by Teófilo Braga, and in 1862 by Eça de Queiros who became a close and loyal follower of Antero as soon as he discovered him one evening speaking
enthusiastically to a few co-students on the steps of the Sé Nova.

Antero had inherited from his family, and his Uncle Filipe in particular, an inclination for theatrical postures. A strange young man, intense, individualistic, full of feverish anticipation about the future, not his future but the future of Humanity, Antero looked too far away to see the present: politics did not interest him, he despised the narrow interests of Coimbra society. He was at this time trying to make an adjustment between his growing vision and his trained conscience. Ideas inebriated him. The concern for his "brothers" expounded by some of the authors he read, echoed inside him. The appeal to universal brotherhood, not militant but loving, was exactly the answer to his youthful religious aspirations. His mother had well prepared him by teaching him about the love of God. She had transferred her intense religiousity to Antero but Antero had different ideas. He retained the notion of love, we know it became a sort of madness. The slightly hysterical love relationship which existed in that large welcoming house, the high emotional content of the atmosphere and the loneliness inherent in such highly individualistic people had developed in Antero a capacity and a hunger for love. His Coimbra friends provided an essential element in his development. He needed to care for them, he needed to be with them, he needed them to bounce his ideas around without fear of rejection. When he stayed in Coimbra during the holidays, he missed his friends acutely, could find no one who would be interested in his dreams of the future, no one who had, like him, read eagerly the Lamentations of Lamartine, the Divine Comedy of Dante, the sonnets of Camões, the romantic works of
Herculano. With his friends he read and discussed Nogueira's *Estudos sobre a Reforma em Portugal*, not interested in pan-iberianism for practical or nationalistic reasons, but because pan-iberianism was a step toward universalism. "Liberté", "Egalité", "Fraternité" were as tangible to him as the wine he drank while describing them to his friends. Antero came to be the moving, lyrical, prophetic, evangelical voice of the writers worshipped by the group. He translated them for his friends in exalted verses. There developed in him a great thirst for Beauty, a disgust for compromise, a search for absolutes. But his emotional nature would not let him follow the mystical inclinations of his soul.

During the 1858-1861 period Antero grew in contradictions. On one hand he said: "A natureza em mim é conservadora, só o espírito é que é revolucionário." On the other, his soul required Perfection, Harmony. All the conflicts which common mortals suffer from in various degrees, he suffered from acutely. Fortunately for him, he was able to exteriorize his longings, disappointments, exaltations, in writing.

The year 1858-1859 was one of adjustment; Antero sorted himself out, rejected those companions with whom he had little in common, found his way around Coimbra, and drifted away from the academically inclined. Did he embarrass his uncle? His appearance and performance in the classroom could hardly have pleased Filipe, although the dreams of Antero were largely his also.

Antero lived away from the university walls, as did many of his friends, the Sampaioes, João de Deus, Santos Valente. Real life for him happened inside his head: he read, thought, discussed, wrote. His writing was a manifestation of his mental activity, like an overflow at
times. The new ideas he came across in his readings in these first years of Coimbra had a permanent effect not only on his social and political beliefs but mostly on his philosophical beliefs. His mental activity was feverish, because thought and feeling were so inextricably associated. The shock of a new idea immediately caused him to visualize possibilities never before imagined; his generous heart could never separate his visions of Humanity from his feelings for Humanity, and because he was so intensely religious, every revolutionary thought forced him to re-evaluate his relationship with his God.

Since his writings are the positive manifestations of his inner life, we are fortunate to be able to read most of his works and trace their genesis. This is what he wished eventually: that what he left behind deliberately (a book of sonnets) should be the story of a soul. Antero destroyed systematically most of his early writings in 1865 but because he was a young man who could function comfortably only when in close communication with congenial souls, most of his poems were dedicated to this or that friend, as the outcome of a discussion, as a game played mutually, or as the expression of his selective affection; these friends who were his brothers in thought and heart, and poets like him, kept these little presents. Teofilo Braga made a collection of those discarded witnesses in a volume which he called, quoting Antero: **Raios de Extinta Luz**:

Raios de Extinta Luz, ecos perdidos
Da voz que se sumiu no espaço absorba–
Meus cantos voarão de idade em idade,
Como folhas que ao longe o vento espalha.

(Palavras Aladas, Nov. 1860)
Salgado Junior published another edition later in which he added a few more "dispersos". Alphonsus de Guimarãens Filho borrowed the title for a similar collection, in 1976, from the sonnet A Mão de Deus and called it: Antero de Quental, Coração Liberto.

The first prose document by the hand of Antero dates from 1857 when he was fifteen: A Patria. It was directed to August Bicudo Correia, another São Miguelite. Fragments appeared in one of the Coimbra reviews: O Phóosphoro. We should not doubt the genuineness of the feeling expressed even if the style is "literary", that is to say, self-conscious. Antero missed his island; already he felt, in a supremely Portuguese way, a constant, painful, deep-rooted and inexplicable bereavement as of an exile. His Quentais genes, his mother's intense piety, his father's preoccupation with genealogical papers, his early years on an isolated Atlantic island, and the necessity of removing himself to the Continent to make the connection with the nineteenth century, all these helped to develop the mystical quality characteristic of Antero. He felt more acutely than most the exile from his family's birthplace. Even if A Patria is not a great piece of writing, it gives an insight into the young man, now living among his uncle's books in Coimbra; Antero spoke here of his feelings at the thought of his homeland, he recalled one of his favorite memories:

_Aqui a velha árvore onde todas as tardes_  
uma mãe boa e carinhosa se vinha sentar  
rodeada de seus filhinhos, e apontando  
para o sol moribundo nas orlas do hori-
zonte, e meio mergulhado no Oceano, lhes  
dizia de amar a Deus e aos homens._

He recalled the top of the hill overlooking the sea
onde fizemos os nossos primeiros juramento
dos de amor, tão puros e límpidos
como a água do regato, 6

and

Depois ainda, a rocha erguida à beira do abismo, onde, na idade das penas, nas horas mortais do sofrimento, nos íamos assentar contando as nossas magoas aos ventos e aos mares...

O Judeu is a poem of 1858, published in O Phósphoro, n.8, 1861, on the theme of exile. (The Wandering Jew, by Eugène Sue was published in 1845.)

In March of 1859, with João de Deus, Eduardo José Coelho, Eugénio A. de Barros Ribeiro, Alberto Sampaio, Alberto Teles de Utra Machado, — Azorean of Angra, — Guimarães Fonseca, Severino de Azevedo, J. M. da Cunha Seixas, Antero started the review O Académico, dedicated to the aspirations of the younger generation, the rise of the working class - the most important, "a única". O Académico was to help improve moral standards and reach social equality. This review had a very short life (three issues).

Quero-te muito and A Rosa e a Borboleta were published in Nos. 10 and 16 respectively, of Prelúdios Literários, a more successful review already well established. Salgado Junior in his thorough new edition of Raios de Extinta Luz claims that Quero-te muito as well as Salve Portugal and Senda do Calvário were inspired by poems by Mendes Leal: Cânticos, Pavilhão Negro, and Indianas. Vicente Machado de Faria e Maia, a Coimbra friend and Azorean, claimed that Antero recited whole poems of Mendes Leal by heart in those days. We can also assume that
João de Deus and Antero read together many of Victor Hugo's poems; in the collection of João de Deus Campo de Flores, gathered by Teófilo Braga under the supervision of the author, I found the poem entitled Flor e Borboleta (Versões a Imitações) imitated from Victor Hugo. In this collection there are several poems inspired by Victor Hugo, and in the same series Versões e Imitações there are a number of poems inspired by David's Song of Songs, and by Dante's Divine Comedy, which both friends read and commented avidly together.

Of his own love poems Antero did not think very highly. He said as much in his autobiographical letter to Wilhelm Storck (1887). Antero was not comfortable with his own sensuality; despite Dr. Ruy Galvão de Carvalho's protests (Antero de Quental e a Mulher) we have no evidence to show that Antero was even then, or indeed ever, able to accept woman as a creature of flesh and blood. He had an article published in 1859 in Estrela Literária, II, (1860-1861): Educação das Mulheres, with a quotation from Aime Martin (Lettres à Sophie):

> E'mister que os povos se embruteçam em seus braços, ou se civilizem a seus pés... E'm vossa alma, jovens esposas, que repousam os destinos humanos.9

Another quotation, this one from S. Barreto:

> Sem a mulher, a aurora e o occaso da vida seriam sem soccoro e o meio-dia sem prazer.10

According to young Antero (seventeen years old), and according to Baudelaire (1821-1867) whom Antero read (he made references to the Fleurs du Mal, published in 1857), we owe our better and worse impulses
to her training:

A mulher, é um ente fraco, desvalido,
apaixonado, e nobre mais que tudo, said Antero. We have to give women a chance to receive moral and intellectual education because it is through them that we will reach Goodness and Truth, he claimed. Young Antero was awed and fascinated.

A woman's bosom, "o seio", is one of his most recurrent images:

It is up to us, young men of 1859, to inculcate high moral values in the mothers-to-be, said he.

We recognize Michelet's influence (1798-1874) in the writings of this period: his insistence on strong individuals ("L'histoire c'est le travail du soi sur soi."), on heroes, his admiration for Joan of Arc, his appreciation of the spiritualism inspired by the Gothic cathedral. His faith in God was at the basis of his faith in Man: A Senda du Calvário, published in O Académico:

Ave Christus!
Herói e mártir, deixa a terra
Que é cumprida a missão.
O Mundo o Seu preceito guarda e encerra
Na mente e coração.
Morres tu, mas a ideia que deixaste
Nã0 morre, como a luz em fim do dia,
Nem o fogo do céu que em ti ardia,
Nem o exemplo sublime, que legaste.

...
Before the year was over there was an incident at the University which involved our young romantic: a group of students had jumped on a fellow student and cut his hair. Whilst he fought to free himself, the scissors wounded him and the culprits were summoned before the university rector who condemned one of the Sampaios to expulsion for two years; Antero was condemned to eight days in jail. He protested, claimed he was not there, but the judgement stood. Whether he was really there or not, his reputation as a mediocre student did not help his case. Judging by his literary activity in 1860, his assiduousness at the classes did not improve.

Still under Aimé Martin's influence he undertook to write seven articles in Prelúdios Literários under the title Leituras populares. The topic, as we have seen, was not new in Antero's world, A. F. de Castilho, his uncle Filipe, with other Azoreans, had already tackled the problem of the education of the working class. Antero's reading of Giuseppe Mazzini, or at least his knowledge of Mazzini's action in Italy and Lajos Kossuth's in Hungary, inspired him (he mentioned them here) into the only action he was capable of in these years, which was writing and publishing his articles in the available periodicals. Antero deplored the state of sciences in Portugal, he deplored the absence of material at the level of the working class. Like A. F. de Castilho, Antero wanted a Ministry of Education instead of an institution like Coimbra in charge of national education. In France there was
already a system of Rural Travelling Libraries. The two great books Antero recommended were J. F. Henrique Nogueira's *Estudos sobre a Reforma em Portugal* (Lisbon 1851) and A. F. de Castilho's *Felicidade pela Agricultura*. Nogueira favored a Republic with universal suffrage, free legal aid, a single tax based on individual income, improvement in the status of the working-woman, protection of agriculture and industry, election of bishops by the "povo", priority for the consideration of municipal interests, so dear to Herculano, abolition of "morgadios", and, following Proudhon, respect for rights to property ownership as being the natural agent of civilization, and freedom from land levies. Nogueira also advocated Iberian federation. Antero called him "um economista profundo, poeta e pensador." A poet and a thinker with an appreciation for the realities of life, what better combination to attract Antero, then eighteen years old: Proudhon, Lamartine, Victor Hugo, Baudelaire, Michelet, Nogueira, Mendes Leal, Herculano, Mazzini, Kossuth, David, Dante, not a bad diet for those starved young men. It stirred Antero into writing, in these same articles

> Quem acampa nos arraiaês longínquos e desertos do futuro, e o aguarda sereno e firme na sua fé, tem uma nobre missão: a de abrir e esclarecer, sentinella do porvir, a estrada da nova era, que outros, vagarosos, de prudentes, só mais tarde pisarão.

His second chosen book was the one A. F. de Castilho had written while in São Miguel: *Felicidade pela Agricultura*: there must be agreement and cooperation between Industry, Trade and Agriculture. There must be free associations. The poet, who has special resources, is able to combine imagination, analysis, knowledge and inspiration, and arrive
at Truth.

He published in O Académico: Esbocetos biográficos, inspired by Lamartine's La Vie des Grands Hommes. In conformity with his romantic masters, for Antero, History was, of course, made by individuals:

E' o coração do homem uma como harpa melodiosa, de tão maviosos sons e por tal arte uns com outros casados, que esta só harmonia sublime da natureza humana fora de sobra a revelar-nos a mão munificente, com que o Criador espalhou seus dons por todo o universo... Mas de todas... as cordas d'essa harpa celestial nenhuma ha... pela qual mais a Elle aspiramos - o sentimento do infinito. E' esta ideia de Deus um centro commun, a que todas vêm necessariamente convergir, a synthese do Universo. D'elle dimana tudo, e tudo a elle tem de se referir.15

This year (1860) Antero made his Lamartine's formula: God, Poetry Love. It appeared in Vida e Morte (Prelúdios Literários, No. 4 of February). In May, he wrote an innocuous Resposta a um pedido de uma Senhora. For the July graduation of Vicente Machado de Faria e Maia, his friend in São Miguel as well as in Coimbra, he wrote A Missão. There is in this poem an expression of his growing disenchantment, a loss of joy; Antero took refuge from his black mood in mysticism, he worked at keeping his faith. During his holidays in São Miguel we may assume that he regained some of his emotional vigour: he worked, with Alberto Teles, on a project of collecting A Lírica Açoriana, which was to be sold by subscriptions and the monies gathered spent on a monument to Camoës. In September, the weather is perfect for an excursion to Figueira-da-Foz. Antero went there and was inspired to write As Estrelas. Was he thinking of Lamartine? (Les Etoiles, Secondes Meditations.) We know that he continued to read Lamartine during this year: an article
As Meditações poéticas de Lamartine appeared in O Phósphoro, Nos. 1 and 2, November 1860. Antero said that the Lamentations were a great comfort to him then. From Lamartine Antero learned to polish his style, to abandon the arcadism of Castilho whose prose he had praised in Leituras populares:

A linguagem fictícia foi substituída pela realidade.16

From Lamartine, Antero learned to extract a christian meaning and feeling from the contemplation of Nature. He appreciated the expression of spiritualized love in Lamartine's poetry:

Tu disais, et nos coeurs unissaient leurs soupirs
Vers cet être inconnu qu'attestaient nos désirs.
À genoux devant lui, l'aimant dans ses ouvrages,
Et l'aurore et le soir lui portaient nos hommages,
Et nos yeux enivrés, contemplaient tour a tour
La terre, notre exil, et le ciel son séjour.17

yet he deplored its pantheism, "illusão, nascida da excessiva contemplação da Natureza." (Prosas, I, p.73.) He reproached Lamartine for excessive sentimentality and imagination.

In Figueira-da-Foz Antero wrote another poem that year, A Beira Mar:

E eu também quero sentir n'alma os íntimos
Celestes gozos que esta hora tem; (the twilight hour)
Em livro aberto ler um nome augusto
Que em letras de ouro vejo escrito além.

E no regaço da mulher amada,
Que é a minha esperança de melhor porvir,
Quero estas magoas ir depor e apenas
Guardar um peito para amor sentir.

E antes...

Quero ao sordo gemedor das ondas
Casar as magoas deste imenso amor.
Ardente e puro, como aqueles lumes,
Candentes focos de vivo fulgor.
Quero nas horas do crepúsculo ameno,  
Sobre o rochedo sobranceiro ao mar,  
Aos pés da virgem que escolheu minha alma  
Ler-lhe nos olhos confissão sem par.18

According to Salgado Junior, this poem corresponds to a withdrawal from mysticism. This may well be, but the withdrawal was certainly temporary and may have lasted only during his walk to Figueira-da-Foz; it was characteristic of the moody young man. Had he been rejected?

In November he wrote Palavras Aladas:

Se alguém tiver no peito a urna mística  
Onde o Amor se recolhe, essa ha de amar-me;

Se livre, por tiranos não comprado,  
Pulsar um coração, esse comigo
Ha de a aurora saudar do nosso novo-dia;  
Se uma alma recordar a eterna patria  
Que lhe dera o Senhor, do ceu saudosa
Comigo a Deus num hino ha de elevar-se.

Aos mais sera mistério o canto e a lira,  
À Liberdade, a Amor e a Deus votada;19

It is one of Antero’s recurrent complaints that he is not understood, that he is alone. Although the testimonies which we have now led us to believe that Antero wasted no time in imposing himself as a popular leader, he was at this period a non-conformist, a member of a small group of an elite which considered itself so, made of some strong individuals, gifted, rebels with a few followers, keeping themselves apart from the crowd of average students and particularly from the exemplary students.

In December he was still holding on to his faith

Não pode o sopro dele (God’s)  
Mandar a morte e o pranto,  
Em vez de doce encanto,  
Que imenso amor revele!
Nãô ele, o Deus suave!
Daquele seio imenso
Só manda à terra o incenso
E o balsamo que a lave!

Esperemos em Deus!
Ele, ao mais pobre de alma, ha tributado
Desvelo e amor: ...

E a mim, que aspiro a ele, a mim, que o amo,
Que anseio por mais vida e maior brilho,
Ha-de negar-me o termo deste anseio?

Minh' alma, o Deus! a outros ceos aspira:
Se um momento a prendeu mortal belleza
E pela eterna patria que suspira...

Yet, at times life seemed so full of promises: "Partir", he said in a piece he wrote Na sentida morte do meu condiscípulo e amigo José

Martinho Raposo,

quando...esse existir nos sorri pelos vastos horizontes de mil brilhantes ilusões que gera a imaginação florida do mancebo, e que todas o fogo da sua esperança lhe promete realizar,...

then death is a frightening spectre. He spoke of course, not of his death, but of that of his friend, but he perceived clearly the quality of youth, his own as well as others. He was eighteen, and a poet!

A poesia, a grande e verdadeira poesia,
a que se escreve com uma mão sobre o coração,
sem querer outros modelos além da natureza,
outras leis mais que as da razão, essa vive e chega longe nos séculos.

"Homem, he said to João de Deus about whom he wrote the piece, A Propósito d'um poeta,

chora e alegra-se, crê e duvida, como todos nós, como tudo que tem alma, como tudo que aspira ao infinito e se sente encadeado n'esta prisão, vendo fluctuar eternamente ante si o grande problema da verdade."
Antero would not like to see quoted all these early writings which he came to disavow. "Coisas obscenas" he called them a few years later, when he was with his friend Faria e Maia. Nevertheless, we cannot forget them if we want to know Antero. He fervently believed in himself, in his mission, in Humanity; his enthusiasm about his visions for the future of society was boundless, but he had more and more trouble reconciling what he read with what he wished deeply to believe: that God cared. 1860 was not an eventful year from all appearances, but Antero, apart from having given himself a lot to think and care about, had also learned to write; he had asserted himself as a capable and gifted young man, he was publishing regularly, was solicited by his friends to write poems for special occasions, had decidedly sided with the working class. He agreed with Herculano, who received the epigraph for his article on *A Ilustração e o Operário*, that the working man had the duty and the right to education. And he needed education even more than the rich man who compensated for his lack of knowledge with his wealth. He had made clear his point of view on the position of woman, not only in his first article on the *Education of Women*, but in a further enlargement of the subject in *Influência da Mulher*. In this he had been guided by Aimé Martin, whilst Lamartine had been his "livre de chevet" to comfort and inspire him. Michelet also helped him define his vision of the ideal woman. He shared with him his admiration for Joan of Arc and, to satisfy his Iberianism, awakened by Nogueira, he presented Isabel the Catholic as a second prototype.

This division in periods of years starting in January and ending in December is a little arbitrary, but there is no way of knowing
whether Antero was more sensitive to a division into academic years rather than into calendar years. It is unlikely that he went home for the celebration of Christmas, travelling was slow and uncomfortable in those days; the railway did not reach Coimbra until 1863, there was the long journey by sailing ship from Figueira or Lisbon to Ponta Delgada, which took up to 10 days, and the sea is likely to be rough at that time of year. A student in Coimbra would not have had time to travel there and back during Christmas time. Yet there was a break in the academic year when the students dispersed and maybe a few exiles - Azoreans and other overseas Portuguese - holed up in chilly quarters, warming themselves with wine and tobacco, staying away from the deserted streets of Coimbra, reading the latest available imports, stretched on the bed, going out occasionally in search of company.

Antero's good friend João de Deus (João de Deus Ramos) probably went home, so would Santos Valente and Meireles and the Sampaios, all from the Continent (one of the Sampaios had been rusticated, remember!).

During 1860, stimulated by João de Deus, who was older (b.1830) more practised and just as indifferent, or more, to his studies - he spent eight years getting his degree - Antero tried his hand at most forms of poetry. I seem to have overindulged myself filling these pages with quotations but how could I adequately and convincingly present this young man, paraphrasing him? The style is inseparable from the emotion and the emotion is inseparable from the thought in all Antero's writings.

1861 confirmed his gifts and his inclinations. The first poem he wrote in January was *Paz en Deus*. His spiritual anxiety seems to
have been growing and we observe his pains. He was too fond of absolutes, of purity and Light and Love, too proud and too unsure, too demanding, too unstable, to be sailing through these years without shocks. How he must have enjoyed Lamartine:

Borné dans sa nature, infini dans ses voeux, 
L'homme est un dieu tombé qui se souvient des cieux. 

Méditations poétiques, 182026

and how close he felt to this ideal:

la poésie sera de la raison chantée, voilà sa destinee pour longtemps; elle sera philosophique, religieuse, politique, sociale, comme les époques que le genre humain va accomplir...Elle va se faire peuple, et devenir populaire comme la religion, la raison ou la philosophie. 27

In "Prelúdios Literários II, Antero published "O Meu Thesouro", No túnulo d'uma Criança. He sent a poem to Herculano, one of the men he admired most for his ideas and for his lyricism. As Campas shows that Herculano of the Ode a Deus, as well as Herculano the social reformer, as Herculano the christian moral reformer, impressed Antero very deeply. The poem greeted Herculano in these words: ao senhor Alexandre Herculano, ao filósofo - homem de bem, Respeito, ao sabio - ao poeta Adesão e Amizade! Salgado Junior thinks that the critics have exaggerated the influence of Herculano on Antero; I don't think so. The ode had made such an impression on the precocious boy of ten, both by its deeply religious sentiments and by its lyricism, that it predisposed Antero to listen with respect and eagerness to the great man of fifty. Vitorino Nemésio says that apart from some correspondence exchanged about the dedication of As Campas there was no
exchange or letters or visits. There was a mutual admiration at a
distance (Subsídios, II, p. 72). According to Alberto Sampaio, the
relationship between the two continued after the visit concerning
the endorsement of the Odes, but we have no proof of this. However
much he admired Herculano, it is only in December 1865, during the
controversy of the Questão coimbrã that Antero spoke at length of
Herculano in A Dignidade das letras e as litteraturas oficiaes.
The epigraph to the article A Ilustração e o Operário is a quote from
Herculano:

Morigeração, trabalho, sciência, eis as armas com
que a filosofia poética deste século ensina às
nações civilizadas a combater numa luta generosa. 28

Antero in 1861 was just as romantic as Herculano had been, but he was
still vague in his ideas. He had been admiring the poet and social
philosopher for ten years at a distance. It is quite probable that
the students read Herculano's works. It is possible that they read
his Panorama. During these years in Coimbra, without guidance, he
sorted things out for himself and emerged with trust in the "povo",
not "plebs", not the masses, but a very Portuguese emotional loving
protective notion of the "povo"; he allied himself definitively
against the bourgeois, with the "povo". This he might well have
learned from Herculano. He emerged convinced that everyone had to
make his contribution to the New World by effecting his own moral
revolution. This too he could have learned from Herculano. He became
convinced of the urgent necessity to educate the "povo" at a basic
and primary level first of all. This we know he first learned from
Castilho, and we also know that it was one of the main concerns to
which Herculano devoted much energy with his friend Ferrer. By 1862 he declared himself against the clergy, and Herculano would not disagree here either. But was he a close or dedicated follower of Herculano? I do not see any evidence of it. He sent him a copy of *As Campas* with a respectful and admiring dedication, as we have seen. We have no record of an answer by Herculano, who most probably acknowledged this tribute. Apart from this admiration which I believe stemmed from the communion he had felt as a boy with the very religious poet of *Voz do Profeta* and *Harpa do Crente*, and the two approaches by Antero of which we speak in this essay, there is little evidence to prove that the two, the young modern and the old "Regenerador", ever developed a friendship. In *Leituras populares*, Antero mentioned Herculano but I am convinced that, like his admiration for Michelet, it was the strongly emotional reaction he had toward someone who had touched him, rather than the continuing relationship of a disciple and his master.

In April 1860 Antero played a literary game with João de Deus. His sonnet *A João de Deus* was a retort to the *Último Adeus*. In 1861 Antero developed his ability toward the sonnet which was a favourite poetic form with João de Deus. Much later, when Antero met Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcelos, he told her that he had developed an ability for the sonnet unthinkingly, as being naturally the form for idealism and sentiments which corresponded to his, as the poets of the XVIIth century and especially Camões had expressed them. The sonnet was not used by the Portuguese romantics: such a classic, disciplined form could hardly please any Romantic, but Antero admired the sonnet greatly,
read Camões, and thought that João de Deus was a worthy follower of Camões in the art. The sonnet was to him "a forma superior do lirismo"; in the sonnets he expressed his deepest, truest emotions. Whilst the ode allowed fantasy, visions, dreams, the sonnet was the higher expression of the "lyricism of the heart".

Nella têm vindo todos os grandes poetas versar o que tinham de mais puro na alma quando, muita vez, cançados, talvez exhaustos de imaginação e de ideia, sentiam todavia transbordar-lhes o coração.

João de Deus restitui-nos o Soneto como ele é, como deve ser: a forma superior do lirismo-. Sem este laço através dos tempos, quem poderia achar aquella forma para nol-a restituir em toda a sua pureza? Certo que não seriam os Castilhos, nem os Lemos, nem...

While the ode was the cathedral of Strasbourg, the sonnet was the Mosteiro da Batalha. A strange parallel which we must forgive him since he had not seen Strasbourg nor any gothic cathedral, but had wandered many hours through the Mosteiro. For his impression of Strasbourg Cathedral we should probably make Goethe responsible.

I haven't been able to locate the three sonnets of Camões which Antero claimed as his favourites. There is the Alma minha gentil, which we all know, and then CLXXVII Triste o que espera, and CX E vou, de dia em dia, which I cannot find in our available collections. Antero's mood of discouragement toward love and woman at this time makes us suspect some painful rejection, but he was discreet about such things and if his friends knew they didn't tell. Antero was no carouser, nor was he a philanderer; whatever heart pains he had to endure we already know that his dream-women were noble creatures, virtuous mothers-to-be, his favourite dream-image was a warm and pure
breast to lay his tired head against. Since this pleasure was so hard to obtain, no wonder he fell under the spell of Dante's Beatrice! Salgado Junior suggests that Antero turned to Beatrice because of his general and particular discouragement with women: this may well have been so, but Dante's mysticism corresponded to one important quality also present in Antero and it is because he was inclined towards mysticism that he discovered in Beatrice the dream woman who most corresponded to his needs. With Dante he shared "o fogo daquela alma profunda e ardente, as dores da sua alma angustiada," and, most important: "as torturas do pensamento".

Although he concentrated on sonnets in 1861, he thought also of writing an epic, whose title would be **Vasco**. Would he be another Camoêes? Another Herculano?

> Eu tenho sonhos de glória,  
> Que me acodem a memória  
> Como a visão ilusória  
> Que brilha e que se desfaz  
> De ouro e nome tenho sede,  
> Do poder aspiro à sede  
> Mas toda esta glória cede  
> A glória de luz e paz. **Aspiração**, 1861

Pride was certainly part of being Antero Tarquínio de Quental. His dreams of glory were gradually taking shape in Coimbra. But, as he said of himself, he lacked patience and method, and many of his projects were abandoned.

> E o Senhor fez o mundo! e a ti, o noite;  
> Noite de Primavera, deu-te estrelas,  
> Que são almas no espaço a procurar-te.  

We should not expect a **Légende des Siècles** from Antero, always abstract.
O Homem tenteando a grossa treva  
Vai...mas ignora sempre quem o leva!

No historical facts, but images representing ideas, in nine ottavas.

In May he wrote _Lago de Amor_ for Santos Valente. Our suspicions are gradually confirmed: Antero was in a very depressed mood which made him attack all his beliefs: belief in a Redemption, belief in God's concern for his creatures, belief in romantic love:

Olha as bandas longínquas do horizonte  
E de novo interroga em desalento,  
Se o futuro lhe guarda alguma crença  
Ou se o abismo é o termo da jornada!

...  
Que lhe importa o passado ou o futuro?  
P'ra dor que sofre em si tudo é presente.  
Aqui, ali, e em toda a parte o punge...  
Quem lhe dera esquecer, não recordar-se!

In another poem of April:

O dai-me a taça do veneno doce  
Que mata embriagando!

Compared with Baudelaire:

O Mort...  
Verse-nous ton poison pour qu il nous reconforte.

and with Goethe's ballad in Faust, another of his early Coimbra enthusiasms. Antero continued this way:

Dai-me prestes  
Uma taça de amor aonde libe...

This is a long way from his Amor with a capital A. The "Lago de Amor" was the precious friendship of Santos Valente and a few others like Florido Teles de Meneses de Vasconcelos, to whom he wrote in August 1861. Thanks to his friends, he could turn towards other problems, outside of himself, he could join them in their concerns for a new society. Antero didn't confide much through his letters; it seems
that letter writing for him was mostly part of a moral campaign,
a way of curing his own anxieties by pushing them aside temporarily.
The sonnets to which he was working were another way of curing himself,
they were a kind of exorcism, no, not really, more a response to the
need of pressing his finger where it hurt,

A Arte, meu Florido, parece-me a mim, que já em
pouco tenho crenças, a única coisa capaz de
ainda poder fazer saltar nos peitos todos os
corações capazes de nobremente baterem por
alguma coisa boa e bella...Quen crê na Arte
crê no belo, no bom, isto é, no Amor e em
Deus...E já um culto anticipado da religião
que ainda está por nascer para uma sociedade
de que só por aqui terão alguns uma vaga intuição.
Desses alguns quero eu ser, como tu es, meu
apóstolo e precursor de novos mundos, como são
todos os que, depondo ambícoes do dia, viram os
olhos da sua alma para o horizonte longíquo,
aonde tem de raiar a Aurora do dia novo.36

What was he doing in August in Coimbra? The city must have been even
more deserted at this time than at Christmas. And why wasn't he
joining Florido who was working at a new literary review in Oporto
with some friends? He was probably behind in his studies and cramming
for examinations due in October. It was certainly not the delights of
the University halls which detained him, "o tumulo do bom-senso" as he
called his Alma Mater. He escaped to Batalha, where he could always
refresh his spirit. Was he writing his poems in the court of the
Monastery by the light of the moon? Per amica silentia lunae was
written there, with a little help from Lamartine and Dante, it seems.
At this time Teófilo Braga came to Coimbra to enrol in the faculty of
law and, being from São Miguel, naturally joined Antero. Together
they walked to Luso, stopping here and there, reading Herculano's
Eurico. This journey was not the beginning of friendly relations; by October Antero was making disparaging remarks about Teófilo in an article, which he signed Vasco Vasques Vasqueannes, about the Revistas de Coimbra. It is a pamphlet rather than an article, in which he exercised his sarcastic vein against Camilo Castelo Branco, Júlio Cesar Machado, and "unworthy" imitators of Lamartine, against the small mindedness and narrow-mindedness of Portuguese periodicals; wasn't he considering a new life for the World! In November a short piece about O que toda a gente vê ou a política numa lição tells us that he had no faith in the present government of Portugal to improve the fate of Humanity. It seems that as the year passed, Antero became more belligerent, he was becoming more self-assured, published an article on the necessity to build a dock in Ponta Delgada. Eight ships had been wrecked against the coast of São Miguel during a storm a couple of years before, and disasters of less magnitude were frequent. Antero wanted a committee made of São Miguel citizens to be authorized to work out a plan with the help of an imported engineer. By the end of 1861 he had spread his ideas, had had articles and poems printed not only in Coimbra but in periodicals across the country, thanks to his friends. He was confident enough to gather in one edition the twenty-one sonnets he had written on separate sheets for his companions, Alberto Teles, Santos Valente, Florido Teles. Felix dos Santos, Alberto Sampaio, Germano Meireles, his special friend João de Deus and for a certain M.C.

Salgado Junior explains that the chronology of the sonnets shows the evolution of Antero away from Lamartine and his concept of Love.
Antero had discovered Dante, and he now needed a Beatrice to guide him to Paradise. The collection is dedicated to his friends: Ad Amicos, and starts with an epigraph quoted from the Divine Comedy and a prologue addressed to João de Deus. In the universe he no longer saw the hand of a God of Mercy; he no longer knew God:

Que beleza mortal se te assemelha,  
O sonhada visão desta alma ardente,  

...  
O Mundo é grande - e esta ansia me aconselha  
A buscar-te na terra: e eu, pobre crente,  
Pelo mundo procuro um Deus clemente  
Mas a ara só lhe encontro...nua e velha...  

Ad amicos:  

Filhos do Amor, nossa alma é como um hymno  
A luz, à liberdade, ao bem fecundo,  
Prece e clamor d'um pressentir divino;  

Mas n'um deserto só, árido e fundo,  
Ecchoam nossas vozes, que o Destino  
Paira mudo e impassível sobre o mundo.  

Although this discouragement is characteristic of Antero throughout his life, his dedication to the "remodelling of the inner man" is also characteristic. He became convinced, through his readings, and reflections, that society could reach harmony only through moral revolution and each individual was responsible for his own revolution. Antero was by now taking upon himself the priestly task of remodelling not only himself but society around him. Already he felt the loneliness of a position which he had grown into gradually, unwittingly and naively. It was too late already for this young man born "para crer placidamente, obedecer sem força a uma regra reconhecida", to go back to the comfort of his native island, secure in his beliefs and affections.  

It was Coimbra, but not the University, which changed him; here,
but outside the walls of the Faculty of Law, and uninspired by his
teachers, he taught himself haphazardly a blend of moral socialism
based as well on his natural goodness and on his catholic training,
as on his voracious reading. It is not easy to decide with accuracy
which books he read apart from those that he quotes. Michelet had
given him an outlook which appealed to his esthetic sense; it was
always necessary for Antero to satisfy this love of Beauty

Si d'étoiles en étoiles réunis, élancés dans un
vol éternel, nous suivions tous ensemble un doux
pèlerinage à travers la bonté immense! On le
croit par moments. Quelque chose nous dit que
ces rêves ne sont pas des rêves, mais des
échappées du vrai monde, des promesses certaines,
et que le prétendu réel serait plutôt le vrai
songe!

Michelet, L'Oiseau.

These beautiful images enchanted young Antero. It was the lyricism
of Lamartine and Hugo which led him to Proudhon, whose apostle he
became. Those spending with him these years in Coimbra testified
in their memorials that Antero read Byron, George Sand, Guizot,
Thierry, Balzac, Vigny, Sainte-Beuve, from the shelves of his uncle's
library. We read in several studies of Antero that the railway brought
books and periodicals from France. Considering the state of the rail-
way construction at the time, it is difficult to imagine the book-
stores of Coimbra receiving regularly, "daily" said Eça, mountains of
literature. Later on maybe, but now I believe that the coming of the
railway into Portugal, the development of telegraphic lines, stopped
the feeling of isolation, created an enthusiasm for shared knowledge,
made impossible dreams seem close at hand, almost within reach. The
great technical inventions coupled with the new philosophies filled
our vigorous young poet with impatience. The national situation, the
death of Pedro V in November 1861, the nagging problem of debts and
credits, the constitutionalism of Luis I, the growing utilitarianism
filled hearts at once with hope and with despondency. Antero was
no utilitarian; his hopes were not for material wealth but he shared
with his generation: aspirations, dreams, resolutions.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II


2. *Cancioneiro de Coimbra*.


7. *Ibid*.


22 Os Sonetos Completos de Anthero de Quental, pref. J. P. Oliveira Martins, p.15.

23 Jose Bruno Carreiro, Subsídios, p.127.

24 Antero de Quental, Volume I, Prosas, A Propósito d'un Poeta, p.96.

25 Ibid., p.97.

26 A. de Lamartine, l'Homme, Méditations Poétiques, 1820, Lagarde et Michard, XIXème Siècle, p.38.

27 Ibid., p.107.

28 Antero de Quental, Volume I, Prosas, A Ilustração e o Operário, p.59.


30 Antero de Quental Coração Liberto, Ed. Alphonsus de Guimaraens Filho, Aspiração, p.51.

31 Antero de Quental, Raios de Extinta Luz, A. Salgado Junior, Vasco, Numa Noite de Primavera.

32 Ibid., Laço de Amor.

33 Antero de Quental, Raios de Extinta Luz, A. Salgado Junior, Beatrice, p.45.


35 Antero de Quental, Raios de Extinta Luz, A. Salgado Junior, Beatrice, p.45.

36 Antero de Quental, Cartas, A Florido Teles de Meneses e Vasconcellos, August 1861, also José Bruno Carreiro, Subsídios, p.133.

37 Antero de Quental, Sonetos, Ed. António Sérgio, Ignoto Deo, p.117.

38 Ibid., Ad Amicos, p.243.

39 José Bruno Carreiro, Subsídios, p.87.

40 Jules Michelet, L'Oiseau, 1856.
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Antero de Quental, Cartas de, prol. de Teixeira de Carvalho, Imp. Univ., 1921.


CHAPTER III

THE ODES MODERNAS (1862-1865)

By 1862 Antero, now twenty years old, had got over the worst of his personal inner revolution. He had become convinced that only a public revolution would start the era of Peace for Humanity. He was anti-bourgeois, the defender of the oppressed "povo", the advocate of anarchism. These words "revolution" and "anarchism" immediately convey the idea of violence in the mind of the reader, but Antero was not a violent man. He believed in a social regeneration based on moral individual revolution, in sympathy with Herculano. Unlike Herculano, having lost confidence in his religion, he was developing a pantheistic view of humanity à la Michelet, he was an optimist, an idealistic revolutionary and saw a great era starting for Humanity, à la romantique, à la Hugo, to which the only obstacle, but a stubborn and most powerful obstacle, was the attachment to the past: traditional institutions, traditional Church. The press which could help greatly was not responsible, the Arts which he claimed to be the door to the understanding of the New Vision of the World were decadent, Arcadic, removed in form and images from the modern reality.

Antero believed firmly that science, helped by the Arts, was the key to Universal Harmony according to his acknowledged French master Proudhon. From Proudhon Antero absorbed only what reached his emotions. Antero read everything with his heart. It is true that he searched for ideas, but only those ideas which touched his emotional
fibre were received by him. He was impetuous, not impulsive, cautious, not prudent.

I understand the loyalty of his admirers who wished to present him to posterity as a great man, resplendent with virtues. Oliveira Martins, who was an intimate friend and corresponded with Antero for many years, saw him and presented him a little more realistically than did most contributors to the *In Memoriam*. Teófilo Braga, we know, jealous of the place which his generation gave Antero as its leader, did everything he could to undermine the reputation of Antero. Oliveira Martins met Antero only in 1870, we can therefore not use his testimony here; we can however try to reach a balance and see in him, not "Santo Antero" as Eça de Queiros came to call him, but an outstanding young man, serious in his intent, clear-sighted and detached in a period of blind and selfish enthusiasm for technical progress, surrounded by materialists who did not hesitate to compromise between their principles and their greed.

The political Regeneration of 1851 was well over, and Antero saw in politicians nothing but self-seeking unscrupulous exploiters of the "povo". His heart always went out to the oppressed and that is how he saw the great masses, not only of Portugal, but particularly of Portugal. Converted to the "religion of Humanity" of Auguste Comte, the "povo" was for him the most important element of society because of its basic purity. In this he was a Romantic, but in this he differed from the previous generation to which Herculano and Garrett, both dedicated liberals of the Mindelo group, belonged. Garrett, a bourgeois, Herculano, a believer in medieval civic organization and
skeptical as was his King Pedro V about democracy. Camilo Castelo Branco was more to his taste, most probably because of his insight into the peasantry and his anti-bourgeois attitude. A. Feliciano de Castilho was called a socialist by Oliveira Martins in his Portugal contemporâneo. Antero would never believe in a supremacy of the State over the individual. Antero's favourite words were Humanity, Freedom, Peace, Harmony, Truth. The truth as he saw it, was attainable only with the tearing down of all the obstacles, through a revolution not only moral but artistic.

During these years, 1862-1865, he was really getting ready, rehearsing unwittingly, for his big battle with the Pontiff of the Arts, A. Feliciano de Castilho.

I might conclude this essay at the end of the 1864 academic year but as mentioned earlier, to Antero those years as a student of the University were not what he would consider progressive achievements. He failed his fourth year, repeated it and graduated a year later than his best friends. It must have distressed him most because it meant another year on the wooden seats, another year of "sebenta", but he lived, as we have shown, outside of the classroom. The University represented a hated part, a perpetual reminder of national and human stagnation. I chose to carry on until the edge of his great battle, the Questão Coimbrã which established him as the leader of the new generation, not only in poetry but in thinking. The Questão Coimbrã, and particularly the shocking address Bom Senso e Bom Gosto (Nov. 1865), brought his name into the national limelight. From then on he was, for better and for worse, married to his revolution. The Questão Coimbrã
is extremely well documented; if it marked a new phase in the life of Antero, it brought into national consciousness the split between the older generation and the moderns. Before it was over Antero removed himself to Lisbon for good, disengaging himself from the quarrel. I have chosen to stop just short of September 65 but after the publication of the *Odes Modernas* (August 1865) since they are a résumé and a conclusion of his years in Coimbra.

The 1862-1865 years are marked by Antero’s first public interventions. By the end of 1861 Antero was far from contented. He was far from inner peace, but he had published his Sonnets and this gave him a reputation in Coimbra. He had been at University four years and he was a senior. He had prestige, this gave him self-assurance, his friends were around him to restrain him, support him, follow him. During these years he found himself more and more involved in public action, sometimes reluctantly it seems: Antero had always remarkable lucidity. He had detached himself as much as he could, given his temperament and education, from his situation as a son of a wealthy ancient "morgado" family, and was ready to suffer the consequences; he saw the danger of making for himself the reputation of a troublemaker, and showed caution when involved in compromising situations, but he was also carried forward by his growing reputation among his peers. I meet consistently this reservation of Antero’s; he realized that an open stand against authority would be not only compromising for the present but dangerous as far as committing himself to future actions. Usually he did not take initiatives but if he had made an impetuous move, and joined some student rebellion, he did his best
to plead extenuating circumstances or tried to remove himself from
the limelight as long as he was in Coimbra. Here arose the contra-
dictions which plagued the whole of Antero's life: his conscience,
his pursuit of truth, his enthusiasm for a new world, forced him into
stating his ideas publicly, his vanity flattered him into presenting
himself as a priest of a new religion (new in Portugal), his successes
pleased him, he felt a boyish pleasure at upsetting the sedate authorities,
and yet there were the demands of his soul, the need he felt for
secluded meditation, the spiritual aspirations, the interior battles
with doubts, confusion of ideas; there were the demands of his vigorous
body. Even Bruno Carreiro, who is always on the side of Antero, and
his loyal biographer, leaves no doubt that Antero suffered from venereal
disease. How serious? How long was his illness? There are no documents.
His commentators, friends as well as critics, were reluctant to speak
about it. Antero was very open to his best friends and they respected
his confidences. Was his illness of 1865 the same as 1866? Did his
health deteriorate partly because of it? The secret was revealed through
letters published after his death: there is not much to go by. Some of
his commentators, contemporary and others, have tried to portray Antero
as a misogynist. Open with his friends, Antero was very discreet with
outsiders and the fact that such an outsider described him as a
misogynist and that authors have insisted on his uneasiness with women
proves nothing. According to his best friends, Antero was susceptible
of great passions. An observation of his rejection of women's company
of 1864-5 might have been accurate, but the reason was probably not.
If Antero did not seek the company of young ladies during that time,
might it not have been because his conscience and his health kept him away? At times, his verses show disappointment and frustration with women; he was unfortunate in his passions: either she was too young, or uninterested, or married. Yet he held on to his idea of Womanhood. We know that he systematically, almost fiercely destroyed many of his poems during 1862-1863, probably the juvenile love-poems he did not care to leave to posterity; what he wanted to pass on was his reverence for Motherhood, his trust in woman's instinct to lead man to Truth. He saw in her the perfect companion, indispensable to the fulfilment of man's spiritual destiny.

Bruno Carreiro says that 1862 was Antero's great year, "a mais rutilante", the year when he justified his established ascendency, stirred himself about problems which affected his immediate environment, confirmed the faith that his friends and peers were investing in him as a leader. This is how Antero feels in this "most brilliant year":

O último lírio, a Fé secou-se...morre...

...

Que os peitos soltem o seu longo enfim!
E o olhar de Deus na terra escreva: Fim!

Fim desta provação, fim do tormento
Mas da verdade, mas do bem, começo!

E do ninho das velhas ilusões
Ver-se-á com pasmo, erguer-se à imensidade
A aguia esplêndida e augusta da Verdade!

...

Os reis sem fé e os deuses enganosos!
O mal só deles vem — não vem do Homem.

In January Antero published an article, Revista Literária de Coimbra, which he had written the preceding year. It was published
as a series of articles in the Revolução de Setembro beginning on the 26th of January, 1862, signed Raymundo Castromino (one of his pseudonyms). In these Antero made public his opinion of Portuguese letters, whose High Priest had been for quite a while, and still was, A. F. de Castilho:

- the periodical O Phósphoro: died after six months, but it was already dead;
- Tira-termas: old fashioned jokes;
- Grémio Alemtejano: style befitting English granaries;
- O Instituto: indigestible;
- Um Poeta - a novel made of sentimental letters;
- Os Amantes do Bosque: written by a cleric for the edification of old maids.

Reviewing Premírias, first publication by his friend Santos Valente, Antero praised the free spirit expressed but found the two hundred pages of verse too intellectual, not lyrical enough. He joined Santos Valente in the sentiments expressed: anxiety and doubt. He also claimed his preference for a more unified collection. He would have liked to see one theme developed throughout, rather than an anthology.

- It is well to remember this since he applied these principles to his own collections -. The preface of Premírias was from Germano Meireles: all the friends kept together, loyal, finding comfort and support in each other. There is no reason given for not continuing the series. In this agrarian Grémio Alemtejano, Antero published "A Indiferença em política" in April and May of 1862. He declared himself against political parties, which he called reactionary. He complained that they did not represent the people though they claimed to represent the nation,
only the masses, "o povo", could represent the nation. There was no liberal thinking around the throne. It was necessary to develop a civic conscience. The sons of Loyola were not the defenders of the working class (which was slowly increasing) nor of the peasants, who were the majority. Antero stood thus again and again during his life against the criminal indifference of politicians towards the poorer classes; he would again and again attack Absolutism, the Inquisition, Rome, and the Jesuits.

In April he wrote, still for the Grêmio Alemtejano: Questão Romana. This was an attack on an ultramontane periodical. Poor Antero! He believed firmly in the Christian principles which he was taught as a child and though he had lost much of his faith, he had not lost his ability to be incensed at the inconsistency of those who preached one thing and practised another. He could not stand what he saw as an obstacle to progress. "How can the Church claim temporal dominion over Rome?, he asked, Is this Christ's mandate?" His own religion: Tolerance, Freedom!

His first participation in students' activities was a rebellious one, as member of a secret society determined to put pressure on the administration to have Rector Basílio removed. In April students, irritated by Rector Basílio Alberto de Sousa Pinto's petty application of the rules, formed a secret society: A Sociedade du Raio, with masks and passwords and meetings in dark rooms at midnight. Romanticism was not dead yet! The main objective was to apprehend Basílio and hold him hostage until the students received assurances that he would be removed. The atmosphere was very oppressive: denunciations and
expulsions were common occurrences. António de Azevedo Castelo Branco was one of the society's founding members, with José Bento da Cunha Sampaio, José Falcão, Frederico Filemon da Silva Avelino; Antero is said to have been present at some meetings. The members gathered and the plan was read. The plan was never carried out but the membership grew to over two hundred, a sure sign of the growing resentment against the rector, and of the fascination of secret societies!

In May the High Priest of the Portuguese Poets made a visit to his faithful in Coimbra. The attitude of Antero de Quental toward António Feliciano de Castilho seems ambivalent at this time: had he not recently recommended *Felicidade pela Agricultura* in his article *Leituras populares*, not only for its content but for its style? Obviously it was not Castilho's social ideas which he disagreed with, but his approach to poetry. Uncle Filipe urged Antero to make an appearance and a contribution to the poetic soirée; at first reluctant, he agreed finally and wrote an ode: *A História*.

O areias da praia, o rochas duras,
Que também prisioneiras aqui estão!
Entendeis vós acaso estas escuras
Razões da sorte, surda a nossos ais?
Sabe-las tu, o mar, que te torturas
No teu cárcere imenso? e águas que andais
Em volta aos sorvedouros que vos somem,
Sabeis vós o que faz aqui o Homem?

Que é dos santos, dos altos, das grandezas,
Que inda há cem anos adorámos todos?
As verdades, as bíblias, as certezas?
Limites, formas, consagrados modos?
O que temos de eterno e sem enganos,
Deus - não pode durar mais de alguns anos!

Images of furious sea, storms, images of the indifferent Universe where man alone is confused
Antero recited this and received thunderous applause. This is a great moment for him because it means that not only his faithful friends are with him, but also the youth of Coimbra. His anxiety was genuine and he could not be indifferent to the sharing of his own pains by his generation. It was an important moment for him because it was the beginning of solidarity with those who wished to turn their backs on the past, and this victory was made easier by Castilho himself who warmly congratulated him and continued the evening himself with a recitation of Victor Hugo's Napoléon II.

As a poet Antero was already established and his services were obtained again to homage other visitors of less or more importance. It is around this time that Eça de Queiros found him improvising on the steps of the 'Sé Nova'. Such public success had he that he failed his examinations in July. He spent much of the summer in Coimbra preparing his readmission in October. Despite his disappointment at staying in Coimbra an extra year and the prospect of his friends graduating before he did, this was a good summer for Antero, with suppers of "agonias de boi com cebolada". Manuel de Arriaga, who was a vegetarian, shuddered at the sight of those plates of meat; he had come out with the designation "agonias de boi" and Antero added the "cebolada". Together they went swimming in the Mondego. They had discussed Darwin.
(Origin of Species, 1859) and Antero, who could not swim, floated on his side with one hand supporting him on the bottom of the very shallow waters of the summer river. He said if he stayed long enough in the water some atavistic instinct would wake up and he would start swimming effortlessly! He propelled himself on his hand to demonstrate! When he was alone, his ghosts rejoined him: Doubt, Darkness, Longings, Anxiety, Despair. His sonnet "Divina Comedia" from July 1862:

Erguendo os braços para o céu distante  
E apostrophando os deuses invisíveis  
Os homens clamam...  
"Porque é que para a dor nos evocastes?"  
Mas os deuses com voz inda mais triste,  
Dizem: - "Homens! Porque é que nos criastes?"!6

Why was Prince Humberto visiting Portugal in October 1862? The reason given was to visit the tomb of his grandfather Charles Albert who had abdicated from the throne of Sardinia (1848) in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel, and gone to Portugal in self exile where he died in 1849. His daughter, Maria Pia, sister of Humberto, was married to King Luis. Whatever the political reason for such a trip may have been, Prince Humberto made a visit to the student youth of Coimbra and Antero was asked by the Sociedade do Raio to greet him in their name. This he did, much to the embarrassment of Prince Humberto and of the conservative academics of Coimbra. I don't think Antero and his friends were naive. I have every reason to believe that this was indeed Antero's style: confront the enemy, throw poetic bombshells.

Victor Emmanuel had become the king of a unified Italy except for Rome and Venice and reluctantly allowed a constitutional regime. This unification had been achieved by the revolutionary patriotic
movement led by the republican Garibaldi, whom the forces of Piedmont had joined for practical reasons, without enthusiasm, it goes without saying. Britain as usual sided with liberalism. Of course the young democrats of Coimbra, had followed enthusiastically the career of the Italian patriot. Antero did not hesitate to remind Prince Humberto of the sympathy of the Coimbra youth for the popular movement of liberation in Italy from Austrian and papal dominance: it is not the representative of the House of Savoy to whom we come to pay homage but to the son of the first soldier of Italian Independence, son of a friend of Garibaldi;

Os Estudantes da Universidade de Coimbra, filhos e netos dos heróicos defensores do Porto...a mocidade liberal portuguesa, sauda, em nome da liberdade do mundo católico o filho do amigo de Garibaldi! 7

From such an example "the European kings may learn that it is possible to be close to the people while remaining king". Raimundo Capella (Gazeta de Noticia, Rio de J. 30-IX-91) said:

Isto fez um effeitarrão, o Anthero de Quental foi logo acolhido generalíssimo da academia revolucionária. 8

It must have made a great impression in the opposite direction on the sedate audience in their gala dresses and costumes!

In the evening, a soirée was organized in the presence of his Royal Highness at which a friend of Antero, Fialho Machado, a better reader than he, read A Itália:

Tudo tem alívio à magoa,
A flor murcha, a gota de agua;
Cruz, o moribundo exsangue;
Um filho, à fera mais seva;
Amor, o martir; a treva
Um raio de claridade
E o Povo que é vida e sangue,
Não há de ter liberdade?

Nothing would stop Antero now; he had plunged into the fight and from now on he had to live with his public image and his internal agonies.

In November, he wrote a sonnet *A Um Crucifixo*, offered to José Falcão, which was to appear in the *Odes* of 1865: the sacrifice of Christ was worthless, it had changed nothing.

Finding one's way into the poems of Antero is finding one's way into a maze. Young Antero wrote many things impetuously, which he found unsatisfactory later. Or he sometimes borrowed from previous material; he pruned, he reorganized. As a poet, he demanded of his collections of poems that they have a unity of theme and he wished his collection of sonnets to be the story of a soul, but since his mood changed and, despite his basic consistency, he was unpredictable, he could not follow the chronological order if he wished to satisfy his esthetic purpose. Thus it is that for one reason or another, one needs a lot of help from such reliable sources as Bruno Carreiro, or Salgado Jr., or with some reservations, António Sérgio to sort out the real chronology. Antero was not good at remembering dates either. To add to the puzzle, there were several collections of the same poems during his lifetime, with some alterations. Thanks to notes and forgotten papers in the hands of his friends, fair accuracy can be achieved, we hope.

He had between October and December some *Momentos de Tédio* but another call was made on his talents, connected with the Sociedade do Raio which still had not achieved its goal: get rid of the Rector.
On the 8th of December 1862, all students were assembled for the graduation ceremony in the Capella. There were a few words of introduction, as is the custom, then Basílio Teles Pinto started his address, and all the students, save the few who were being crowned, evacuated the room. The Sociedade do Raio had prepared this stand against Basílio. The reports disagree about the order and discipline which prevailed during the evacuation but, arriving in the square, the students shouted their exultation and, the press claimed, cries of "death to the tyrant" were heard. The national press got hold of the event and gave the public an interpretation of the facts very damaging to the rebellious students. Antero sharpened his pen, or rather, used a large rounded feather dipped in red ink - so it seems - and wrote to the public. Manifesto dos Estudantes da Universidade de Coimbra à Opinião Ilustrada do País:

Essa voz parte d'alma: é a voz da eterna justiça.

This is no prank, he says, we are the elite and do not do things without premeditation, we asked for no blood, we were misrepresented, the suggestion that we are a band of dangerous revolutionaries is without grounds;

O Bom senso da nação regeita-a como uma ofensa feita a si mesma na pessoa dos seus melhores filhos. Os estudantes não são discolos, amotinadores, facciosos ou assassinos. Pois o leite que se bebe no seio das mães transformar-se-ia em veneno ao primeiro sorvo do ar de Coimbra?

"We deplore the irresponsible attitude of the press which is supposed to be the teacher of the masses. It is to freedom that the students
gave their cheers! And is it now forbidden to give cheers for freedom in this country? We are more against the obscurantist attachment to the past than against the person of the Rector. We must progress, we must not stay behind other nations. We didn't know that the General of the Jesuits had eliminated the word "freedom" from the political dictionary of this nation! We protest against the spirit of the Inquisition which persists among us in Coimbra. We must have science instead of tradition." To us now this style seems too emphatic, oratory of a low degree. But Antero was serious. Basílio took off for a leave of absence, became Viscount of São Jerónimo and in July 1863 Vicente Ferrer Netto Paiva was Rector of the University. This was a triumph for Antero. Taking action as he did against the well established authorities, Antero took the lead of his generation, made the break between his generation and those who had come before him. The Manifesto was signed by 300 students. Eça de Queiros In Memoriam:

Gram Capitão das nossas revoltas, desde aquella que derrubou o bom tyranno Basílio...Manifestos ao Pais- que a tradição nos impunha no começo d'estas sedições, saham da penna de Antero; porque já elle era, além da melhor ideia da Academia, o seu melhor verbo.12

Antero had become a leader. His sonnets in 1861 had proven his ability as a poet, as well as his seriousness, his lucidity, his sensitivity; 1862 had shown him to be a young man who could act on his word, who could inspire his peers and who could express what all felt. He had done his homework, I mean, he had read all he had time for to enlighten himself and shared his knowledge with his companions who in turn had added their ideas to his: he was now a spokesman for the
student youth of Coimbra. On this score, I consider 1862 a very important year.

Ferrer took over from Basílio and introduced a few reforms: no more private exams, one thesis in Portuguese instead of two in Latin and the Master's exams were shortened from four days to forty-eight hours. Ferrer stayed only a year and resigned in 1864, to be replaced in 1866 by António Luiz de Seabra. But although I find no factual evidence, it seems that with the departure of Basílio the atmosphere changed. Students were now enthusiastic about science, and abandoned the traditional way which had been for the sons of the noble landowners to go into law or medicine.

Although the History of the University by Teófilo Braga stops a few years later, it gives us no special information about the last years during which Antero was still a student, except to tell us that reforms were slow and inadequate.

Passos Manuel, the devoted liberal who had been one of the main actors of the Revolution of 1820 died in 1862, and so did José Estevão, one of its most outstanding orators. The bourgeois had had their turn and now the new champions wanted justice for the working class or "the poor and the oppressed".

There is not much awareness on the part of Antero of home politics, the great debate about the Sisters of Charity - should they be allowed to stay or should they be expelled - had culminated into their expulsion but there is no mention of this in the writings of Antero. He has decidedly adopted a style too intimate, or too philosophical, or too broad for factual references.
Mas dá lugar a todos a Cidade  
Assente sobre a rocha da Igualdade.

E'desse amor que eu falo !...

...  
Dele! de Amor!... enquanto vais abrindo  
Sobre o ninho onde choca a Unidade,  
As tuas asas d'água, o Liberdade.

During the year Antero went to share lodgings with the SampaioS with Frederico Filemon da Silva Avelino and Eduardo de Andrade. Of this year 1863 we know little. The government of the Historicals, the most energetic since the Regeneration, with Loulé, abolished the practice of entailments. Antero was probably not directly affected since his brother Andre was the "morgado". The father died in 1873 when, André not having registered his land, the patrimony was divided equally among the children. At this time, and most of the time, Antero gives the impression of having had a very slim purse. He passed his examinations nemine discrepanti this time. We have two poems dated 1863 both in honour of an Italian actress: Beijo and A Gabriela Florentina. Antero took part in the activities of the students' theater (Teatro Académico) - benefits to help Polish patriots in March 63 - and gave homage to some actors in a few poems.

Beatrice, written in 1862, after discovering Dante, was published in 63; "The Lord God lets the seed of love fall into our heart but he doesn't tell us what this seed will bring forth. It is difficult to speak of love which is everywhere, and so mysterious, so vast and so secret. Love is in our dreams, and in the stars and in the sea, a divine gift

Há de alargar teu peito e ser do templo incenso  
Mulher! has de escutar, que eu vou falar d'amor!
I don't think it is necessary to sort out the identity of Antero's loves during these years. Not that they did not affect him profoundly at the time. Oliveira Martins claims that nothing affected him more than his love pains - since they were mostly pains. Like other young men he fell in love, a few times, but unlike most of them, he fell in love with women who would not or could not return his love.

Are we letting him down when we divulge such "poems" of no great value? In a way we are since we destroy an image of high-caste virtue, since we reduce the moral stature of the hero Antero wished to be. The authors who studied him, as well as his followers, extolled his purity, his mysticism, his other-worldliness. Nevertheless I think we can be justified in revealing Antero's ordinary humanness; Oliveira Martins, his best friend, insisted on Antero's passionate, unpredictable nature; Dr. Galvão de Carvalho tried to "rehabilitate" the character of Antero, devoting an essay to "Antero e a Mulher". I am joining them: my aim is to present a man, not an emasculated, hypocondriac, mystic, martyr, as he has been represented too often.

The four Peppa poems were published as fliers.

Eu sou o peito sequioso
E o viuvo coração
Que em vão chama, em vão procura
Outro peito seu irmão
Mas se avista, um dia, a alma
Por quem andou a chamar,
Tem ali ninho e ventura
E e ali o seu amar
Pois sou quem anda chorando
A procura d'um irmão...
Sê tu a alma que me fale
Inda uma hora ao coração.

Dá-me pois olhos e lábios
A Peppa
Dá-me os seios, dá-me os braços
Dá-me a garganta de lírio
Dá-me beijos, dá-me abraços.

15

16
1863 was a very slack year indeed, no cause to serve, no faith, no mystic crisis; this is why Salgado Junior, in the light of this recent poetry, interprets the situation as one of demoralization. Dante's Beatrice of the earlier year has been replaced by an Italian or Spanish actress on the boards of Coimbra, to whom Antero addresses his poems! He is now developing a notion which he will call "pantheistic". Whatever else he stops believing in, his soul remains real, and sacred. His soul has more reality than anything else around him. He never sees nature, never describes it other than as symbol; moon, sea, winds, mountains are ideas which are all connected to his being, and altogether they represent a unified Universe. This is what he sees when he looks at them: not the colour, not the shape, not the line, but a "correspondence", as Baudelaire would say. At the light of these expressions of despondency, unfulfilled desires, dissatisfaction with existing notions and situations, and of arrogance also - feelings which pervade the whole of that generation of European poets, - knowing also how suggestible is Antero, his growing pantheism, and his conversion to the religion of Humanity can be understood. Pantheism is something he can live with for the time being in relative comfort, no longer the "God the Father" he was taught to worship, but an unidentifiable God, indifferent to humanity, not against, not for, just indifferent, no longer a vast expression of Love. It is not a conviction yet; Antero never settles with a metaphysical concept, he oscillates. He is not alone in this: his generation has been shaken. As Eça de Queiros said: "This generation was the first to be brought up in a society where traditional religion, the power of the
Church had been broken and early schooling was taught by lay people."
The Sisters of Charity had just been expelled, fear of the power of the
Jesuits still existed. If the Sisters of Charity were welcome for
their work with the poor, they were violently rejected as teachers of
young children, since their order was based in France, whence they
received their rules. The connection with the headquarters of the
Jesuits in Paris was intolerable to many in Portugal. In 1861 the
law of disamortization of the convents had further weakened the in­
fluence of the clergy, which since 1820 had been one of the targets of
the revolutionary liberals. Mousinho da Silveira had started, and
Joaquim António de Aguiar, "o mata-frades" had relentlessly pursued
the policy against all religious orders, the great landlords of
Portugal. The centuries-old domination by the Church had been replaced
by privileges and monopolies of bourgeois enterprises. The ideals of
the liberal revolution of 1820 were dead. The government was supported
by an ever-growing class of civil servants. There was no unanimity
in this; the country continued to be divided and the unedifying
politicking discouraged not only Antero but many of his peers. There
was relative quiet in the country, but Portugal was in an untenable
financial position and quite unable to face the expenditures needed to
develop communications and industry. Only loans from abroad could make
a railway system possible; the Portuguese government depended on foreign
bankers, the national debt increased, whilst the attempt to impose more
taxes created popular revolts. The increasing dependence on foreign
capital, the failures of the government to control expenditures created
a climate of discontent, and the lagging behind in industrial progress
caused distrust, discouragement. No wonder the new generation, the brightest sons(I), all formed at the one University, looked outside for inspiration. Whilst the teaching in the University was stubbornly traditional, whilst the agricultural landscape had been shaken by the dismemberment of the vast holdings, and the peasants' problems were evidently ignored, social consciousness was growing in France. An anti-bourgeois feeling was growing and socialism was emerging as a solution to the suffering and abuses of the rapidly increasing working class. Already in the 50's there had been Portuguese publications aimed at the problems of the working class: *O Eco dos Operários, O Defensor do Trabalho, O Jornal dos Operários, O Eco Artístico.*

Lopes de Mendonça, pamphleteer and poet on the side of the working class, had inspired Antero in 1858. There were problems abroad, the struggles against autocratic monarchies were not over but to the young intellectuals of Coimbra, the evident lagging behind of the Portuguese nation was intolerable, it wounded their national pride. They could not bear the attachment to ancient methods and outdated texts, the refusal to examine new ideas. They could not be indifferent to the rapid industrial development of England and France. We can understand that they wanted Freedom, with a capital F. We can sympathize with serious, sensitive, bright young men like Antero who wanted Justice and Equality for all, especially for those not equipped to fight for this themselves.

*Que querem os estudantes da Universidade? Justice! Um raio de sol também para nós, desse sol de liberdade e progresso que luz para todo o século e só a nós nos deixa nas trevas do passado.*

Antero was a spokesman, not a genius, not an inventor of systems.
His appeal consisted in his sincerity, if he spoke for his generation, he spoke first from his own heart. He was a catalyst. He had the sensitivity of the artist which made him react to the general disquietude; from there came his metaphysical preoccupations, his search for understanding and for a new vision. He had the tenderness, not unusual in a man but traditionally assigned to women, which made him respond to the sorry state of the working classes. He was not politically motivated, nor selfishly ambitious. In this year of 1863 besides mundane poems which he repudiated a couple of years later, he wrote *Fiat Lux*, where he developed his poetic vision of the Universe which he called pantheistic: "The Five Fingers of God have left marks on the earth, nature, idea, soul, love, immortality. These imprints are what remains of God; it is now impossible to reach Him.

In May he wrote the sonnet *Nihil*

Homem! Homem! Mendigo do Infinito!
Abres a boca a estender os teus bracos
A ver se os astros caem dos espacos
A encher o vacuo imenso do finito!

Porque sobes à rocha de granito?
Porque é que dás no ar tantos abraços?
E cuidas amarrar com ferreos laços
Um reflexo da sombra de um espírito?

Vê que o céu, por escárnio, a luz nos lança
Que a tua voz, a voz da imensidão
Responde com imensa gargalhada!

A ideia fechou a porta à esp'ranca
Quando lhe for pedir gasalho e pão...
Deixou-a cara a cara com o Nada!!

The Divine Comedy has become a jest of God. In the same month the Sociedade do Raio came under the protection of the Gr. O (Grande Oriente. Gr. O. da Conf. Mac. d. Porto *(Subsídios, Vol. I, p.177,*
nota 13) (Grande Oriente da Conferência Maçónica do Porto) with José da Cunha Sampaio as Grand Master but Antero by now had little interest in this society. He had another poetic conversation with João de Deus.

Antero: *Velut Umbra*, a sonnet:

...O Sol,...ficamos todos sós...
E'nesta solidão que me consumo.

o' nuvens do Ocidente, o' coisas vagas,
Bem vos entendo a cor, pois como a vós,
Beleza e altura se me vão em fumo!

João de Deus:

Em fumo se vai tudo, amigo, olhando
Para as nuvens do Céu, nuvens daquelas,
E até néo sei se diga que mais belas,
Anda a gente fazendo e desmanchando!

Andasse ainda eu lá desenganado
Mesmo já como estou de achar um dia,
Essa pátria de onde ando desterrado!

1864 was his final year in Coimbra as a student. His poems were no longer offerings to his friends, his closest companions had graduated a year earlier. Antero gives us the sources of his inspirations:

*Idílio Sonhado*: Durch Nacht zum Licht, Spiehagen,

*Maria*: Faust—"Mein schönes Fraülein, darf ich wagen, Meinen Arm zu Geleit ihr anzutragen ?-Margarete—" Bin weder Fraülein, weder schön, Kann ungeleitert nach Hause gehen" Goethe,

*Cantigas*: "Asi escribo en mi loco desvario, Sin ton, ni son,
y para gusto mío." *El diablo mundo*.

*Do Inglês de Edgar Poe*.

Antero had put together a collection of poems by the end of 1863, which he called *Odes Modernas*, with the emphasis on the *Modernas*.
doubt. His good friend Alberto Sampaio who graduated in law in 1863 had a novel ready for a publisher early in 1864. The two went together to seek the benediction of Herculano, poet and historian generally respected for his integrity and with whom Antero had some points in common. By now Herculano had published four volumes of his *História de Portugal*, he was working still at his *História da Origem & Estabelecimento da Inquisição*. He was, during these years, 1860-65, working at the reform of the civil code. He had spoken publicly up and down the country whilst gathering the archives lying in the dispossessed monasteries. This he had done with the authority of the king. He was dedicated to the organization of public primary schools, and had written and spoken against the admission of the Sisters of Charity. He was working at the rehabilitation of History by insisting on adherence to documents: history was a work of reconstruction, not of creative imagination. As a patriot and a Romantic, Herculano had gone back to medieval history to give heart to the new Portugal by learning about its past heroes, men of the people, strong individuals who had not feared to face princes and bishops and die for their principles. Herculano had made sure that legends were separated from facts and in doing so he had encountered violent opposition. He had denied the miracle of the battle of Ourique, even now in 1980 so dear to the Portuguese nation. King Peter V had consulted him, sought his advice, and so did many people, concerned like him, about the future of the nation. He had a great reputation as a writer, as a patriot, as a man of honour and courage. It is no surprise that Antero and Alberto
were anxious to consult him. Herculano read the Odes and promised Antero a bright future, but we do not know what judgement he passed on the literary quality of Antero's "poesia de combate". The two friends wanted a publisher, a word from Herculano and from Castilho would have assured them success. As far as we know, neither of them complied. Castilho, still the dean of Portuguese poetry, received the two young men, but Antero felt he accorded them only a patronizing attitude and went away indignant. The Odes were set aside after another vain attempt to find an editor in Oporto.

Earlier in the year Antero started a fairly regular contribution to the Século XIX, published and edited by his good friend Germano Meireles, located in Penafiel. In April 1864 in a column which he called Correspondência de Coimbra, Antero praised the poem of Teófilo Braga "Visão dos Tempos", inspired by La Légende des Siècles. Teófilo, arrived in 1861, had early joined the republicans. He remained so, as we know, and became the first president of the Portuguese republic in 1910. He too had been converted to the theories of Proudhon, and like Antero, believed in the revolutionary role of poetry. The articles attributed by Bruno Carreiro and Joaquim de Carvalho to Antero are signed Bacharel José. I accept their authority, which is challenged by Fidelino de Figueiredo.

Meanwhile, Coimbra was rocked by another student rebellion. When the students asked for a dispensation from examinations (perdão de acto) from the Loulé government, their request was turned down because, says Mendes Lajes, the University of Coimbra was probably reluctant to lose
the income it received from the registration of examinations. A "perdao de acto" was traditionally allowed to celebrate some national event. In this instance it was to mark the birth of King Luis' first son D. Carlos, who would face the Ultimatum of 1890 and be the first king of Portugal to be assassinated.

The refusal was signed by the Duke of Loule, and the justification accompanying the refusal was published in the official Diário de Lisboa. It claimed that such a dispensation was detrimental to the students. In the city of Coimbra, the indignation and tumults were such that a military detachment was sent from Oporto to reinforce the Coimbra garrison. Antero and Fernando Rocha, another agitator from the Azores, rallied the students and a large number of them decided to remove themselves to Oporto before the reinforcements arrived. This they did, and the troops from Oporto found Coimbra empty. Having arrived in Oporto, the students were at a loss, they had no purpose there, and were without money. There was nothing to do but go back as unobtrusively as possible. The Vice-Rector dr José Ernesto de Carvalho e Rego found the right touch; most of his students were stranded in Oporto with no cause to serve there, he offered them an honourable way to come back,

"so as to justify the faith which parents and Fatherland have in their sons." A general amnesty was granted publicly through the Diário de Lisboa, 23, V, 64.
What was the role of Antero in this? Bruno Carreiro suggests that he urged the students to go to Oporto as a prank and then lost interest, but it seems possible that Antero didn't so much lose interest as wanted to remain out of the limelight at this time. He often intervened impetuously and upon reflection, removed himself from the scene, convinced of the futility and pettiness of the action which he started. The maturity of his thoughts did not always coincide with his behaviour; this was normal for a privileged young man of his age and circumstances. Antero had failed his exams once, and this was his last term, he had to tread carefully. We also know that he did not have much esteem for the student masses, "those imbeciles". This was just another of his contradictions. During this year he sent a collection of João de Deus' poems to an editor at Oporto, who returned them. Enraged, Antero sent an insulting letter, but a little while later he humbly apologized. After all, he needed editors too.

In the same month of May he wrote **Ibéria**.

O grande céu, o céu da humanidade!
Onde os povos serão constelações
E distilando a luz da liberdade
São astros e estrelas as nações!
Onde há-de o grande laço da igualdade
Reunir a vontade e os corações!
Cobrindo-os, a dormir, os mesmos céus,
Terão todos também o mesmo Deus!23

In Antero's imagination so full of lightning and thunder and resplendent visions, Spain was the betrothed, Portugal, the husband-to-be!

Porque beijas teus ferros, pobre louca,
E cuidas 'star beijando coisa santa?

Oh! tu, cuidando os orbes abraçar
Só ruínas abraças - Trono e Altar!24
He was still under the influence of Nogueira's *Estudos sobre a Reforma de Portugal* in which the author recommended an Iberian republic for strength and status. In his autobiographical letter to Wilhelm Storck (1887) he says he only abandoned the idea of a union with Spain after a series of disappointments. To Antero such disappointments could only be a failure of his companions to transcend material or personal gain. Yet, to most of those who at the time wished for fusion with Spain, this was not the culmination of an idealistic dream, political fusion was not in the offing then; it was strictly a matter of Union makes Strength against a possible resurgence of autocratic monarchy. In France, Napoleon III was head of the second Empire.

In July, Antero's thoughts turned towards Woman: *Idilio sonhado, Ermelinda, Maria, Amor no mar, A propósito de unas poesías de D. Henriqueta Elisa* (Século XIX, 28). Antero was moved by this lady's poems which came, not from her knowledge of metaphysics, but from her heart, and above all, from her intuition. Of his amorous poetry he said to Wilhelm Storck: "du Heine de deuxième qualité".

Fundamentally his image of Woman never varies: she is soul, she is strength, she is unencumbered by knowledge, she has direct contact with truth, love. If we let ourselves be guided by her, we are guided by the pure essence of Being. His Woman is a mother to man, she is Dante's Beatrice. There are others; they offer only pleasure of a lower quality. Man may use her, we should always revere in her Womanhood and Motherhood: this is Antero, who falls in love from afar. At close range nothing measures up. This disposition of his toward abstractions has made some of his critics think of him as a misfit; he should have
been born in the times of the great mystics, they say. True at times one wonders if he would have been more at home with Saint Theresa or Saint Francis of Assisi, but this is only one aspect of the man. He is not a man for his times but certainly a man of his times, absorbing, as he is doing during these years, the ideas, the anxieties, the great aspirations of his generation at home and abroad. Only in a country still divided into the followers of D. Miguel (he died in 1866), the absolutists, the members of the clergy still powerful among the peasants, attached for obvious reasons to tradition, and the followers of D. Pedro, dead since 1834, but still the symbol of constitutional monarchy and liberalism, could an Antero acquire the status he already had in 1864 among his peers, status and prestige which kept growing with the years. Only in a country with a single university could it happen where the sons of the powerful, if they did not enter the army or the navy, had to go through this one prestigious institution to achieve power or knowledge. In one half of a century this country was invaded by French troops, had felt threatened by the British military in charge of operations on Portuguese soil. It was a country ruined by wars, invasions, homegrown revolutions, and incompetence, where a residue of hatred was still active. The revolution of 1820 had miscalculated and lost Brazil. The plan of 1820 was to suppress privilege by taking over the property of the nobility and the church, but the liberals simply replaced the old aristocracy, imposed a heavy system of taxes and lived off the state, no longer off the land. The great hopes of the 1820 revolution had turned into bitterness, wealth had merely changed hands, the liberal bourgeois fought for the
monopolies. Portugal at the time of Antero and his generation was like a plowed field and the old seeds had become sterile.

In July 1864, qualified as a lawyer, Antero went home to spend the summer with his family, but soon returned, oppressed by the emptiness of the island's life, nostalgic for the congeniality he had thrived on during his years as a student. With no plan for his future, from October on he stayed with José Sampaio.

The words of Larra (La Nochebuena): Yo estoy ebrio de vino pero tú lo estás de deseos y de impotencia (the servant to his master), could well be applied to Antero this year. As they were applicable the previous year; had he not written to Mariano Machado

The tone of Antero's articles in the Século is often satirical; he continued his diatribes against the University, against

He expressed his pleasure at the recent reforms there: those who had not registered could not be present at the classes without a signed
authorization from the secretary.

He commented in October 1864 (O Século XIX, 16/10) about the demands of the tradesmen from the Beira (Beira Baixa) who wanted a railway from Beira to Spain. The railway line had been extended by then from Lisbon to Évora and Beja. Antero’s idea of progress had nothing to do with engines and railways. Never a materialist, he deplored the enthusiasm of the population for the technical development in Portugal. In April he had announced the arrival of the railway from Oporto to Coimbra and the festivities which were to salute the event:

grita-se todos os dias- progresso. Tremem montes e valles, e uma via férrea, ou estrada de cascalho responde àquele grito desesperado. Estradas - eis para a maior parte da gente a maravilhosa estátua do progresso. Grande peccado ande elle penando, para que o tratem tão deshumanadamente...27

The railway made a profit, but it had changed Coimbra into a noisy, dirty place, and it had not changed the University, he complained.

He had declared himself pantheist while still a student; in November 64 he wrote a poem entitled Fantasia Panteísta

Em toda a forma um espírito se agita.
O Imóvel é um Deus que está sonhando
Não sei com que visão vaga e infinita

A Ideia, o sumo Bem, o Verbo, a Essência,
Só se revela aos homens e às nações,28
No céu incorruptível da Consciência.

He was dejected; bored by the pettiness of the bourgeois. Not very comfortable in his quarters, he wished he could afford a good armchair and a good cigar:
Quem faz profissão de ser pobre não pode nunca chegar a essas grandezas, então deita às costas o cobertor da cama, compra uma cadeira por doze vintens e assim se vão passando estes dias d'inverno...29

At the end of the month Antero announced the visit of Fontes and Casal Ribeiro to Coimbra, and a new Regeneração. This is the only reference to a political event in the Correspondências. Casal Ribeiro was a partisan of an Iberian federalist republic on the lines of Henriques Nogueira and had been in favour of a marriage Portugal/Spain when Pedro V became a widower in 1858. Both men were now ministers under the Historical Loulé. Antero was not quite right when he announced a new Regeneração in politics, but Loulé formed a coalition with the Regenerators in 1865. Antero called the two visitors "os dois ante-christos oposicionistas". Both were dedicated to material progress, industrialization at all costs, Fontes had a fixation on railway and highway development, regardless of the increased burden it put on the rural population. Oliveira Martins had little regard for them and considered Fontes dangerous to the economic future of Portugal. Capital for the development of lines of communications were then sought from France:

Que sahira d'esta estranha combinacao de pesadas machinações diplomáticas portuguesas, com leves vapores de champagne francês? E' o segredo do destino.30

When Fontes and Casal Ribeiro made their visit (22/12/64), Antero remained aloof. This new Regeneration movement did not attract the best brains, he wrote, the University youth who were all convinced that politics could not be associated with honesty and self-sacrifice.

Vicente Ferrer has left the Rectorship, forced to resign "because
the strength of the medieval spirit handicapped his efforts of reform”, said Teófilo Braga.

For the Século XIX in December, Antero translated Edgar Allen Poe and Gerard de Nerval. The following lines characterize his mood:

Je suis le ténèbreux, -le veuf, -l'inconsolé,
Le prince d'Aquitaine à la tour abolie.
Ma seule étoile est morte, -et mon luth constellé
Porte le soleil noir de la mélancolie.31
G. de Nerval, El Desdichado, Lag. & Mich. 274

Do Inglês de Edgar Allen Poe:

Sonho...um sonho que esquece!  
Mas não se esquece o sonho da Vantura!  
Que fantasma nos brada - avante! avante!
   Esquecer! esquecer! - ?  
   O coração não quer
Não quer...não pode...luta vacilante!
Onde teve seu ninho e seu amor,
Ali há-de ficar sombrio, incerto...
Há-de ficar,pairar no seu deserto
   Ave eterna de dor!32  
   Coração liberto p.82

The writers whose works Antero studied - Nerval, Heine, Poe - died about ten years before (Poe, 1849; Heine, 1856; Nerval, 1855); they seem to have had a vogue at this time and other writers were also translating them.

Writing from France in 1878 to Lobo de Moura, Antero said:

Tenho agora lido Heine em alemão. Que Poeta!  
E talvez o único que a gente ainda pode ler na idade madura de 36 anos. Penso que é porque nos versos d'elle o antidoto anda sempre ao pé do veneno, quero dizer, ao pé da illusão das paixões a ironia, a divina ironia salvadora.33

Pope Pius IX has published an encyclical which called the faithful to a stricter adherence to the dictates of Rome and pointed the finger at those dissidents. Antero, certainly not a papist now, but much
against the high middle class aimed at by the encyclical, wrote his
Defesa da Carta Encíclica da Sua Santidade Pio IX (Prosas I, p.279).

Rome was fighting against liberal catholicism, against Darwinism, against the impact of science on Christian doctrine, against rationalism. "Be catholics if you must, said Bacharel José, but be logical, be catholics according to Rome. Yet if you find it too painful to remain within the Church, have the courage to turn your back to the old dream and break the barriers of your faith."

Of his own comments, he wrote in O Século XIX:

Toda a rhetorica do discipulo de Quinet...Nao nos dira emfim qual a verdadeira religiao que professa - a nao ser que as professe todas, como o seu mestre Renan. 34

Manuel de Arriaga opened a course of political economy on 11/2/65 directed at the working class. "I hope he will not have to feel sorry", says Antero, who is not doing much. At the eve of having his Odes published, he was in a very pessimistic mood but by now we are used to seeing him seesaw this way.

Some cafés were opening in Coimbra and soon, with Spring coming, Antero found that things were looking up; conversation was improving in the old University town - which meant that discontent was getting more open.

He started a series of articles which he did not finish in the Século XIX of January and February (Prosas I, p.257): A Biblia da Humanidade de Michelet, ensaio critico: "Christ complemented Socrates, there is something divine in Man; aspirations, ideals are common in the Christian and in the pagan worlds."
Mas que importa esse Deus que nenhum olhar pode
ainda descobrir no deserto dos ceos, se d'um
céu interior tão puro e tão bello, sae para
cada ouvido atento uma voz divina...Se a alma
cria deuses e, respirando, espalha o infinito em volta
de si- é que lá dentro alguma coisa infinita se
concentra e o divino se esconde para se manifestar
dia a dia na revelação constante chamada Vida.35

The ancient God, before Christ and Socrates, who was One, no one knows
him. Christ calls him Love, Moses calls him Jehovah, Mahomet calls him
Allah, Robespierre calls him Human Rights and Revolution, Hegel calls
him Idea. He is the PURE BEING whom we see in all its infinite variety.
Those whom we call God are only shadows cast upon the earth. We must
follow our destiny which is to follow the divine spark which is in all
of us: this is being human.

todos os suspiros vêm do coração que deseja e não
do objeto que os acorda.36

The God of Humanity is Man. The God of the Christians died in the
Middle Ages. In the world there are two kinds of desirable people:
the wise men with their thoughts and the simple minded with their
intuition. To the people - o povo - belong simplicity, purity,
spontaneity.

Isn't this a Romantic notion in 1865? Mme. Bovary appeared in 1857,
Zola was born two years before Antero, but Les Misérables came out in
1862. Antero responded to this last work and wrote the sonnet Aos
Miseráveis, and a poem dedicated to João de Deus, Pobres.

No doubt the scandalous outpourings from the Seculo XIX provided
a topic for conversation in the new cafes where the students now met.
There was also a new Clube Academico; the youth was solidifying its
positive and progressive attitude. This gladdened Antero's spirits,
he was elated at hearing his contemporaries take a "modern" stand.
The Castilhos, the Serpas, the Lemos have had their day, said Antero in the Século XIX, 4/4/65. A collection of philosophic poems (the Odes) are about to appear in print, he announced. Great poetry, he warned. The separation of the young and the old generation was getting more acute. The opposition to the establishment had become clearly intensified. Antero felt stronger because there were more adherents to his ideas on campus.

He still had friends at school: Mariano Machado and Jose Falcao were studying mathematics. Francisco Faria e Maia, after a course in mathematics in Coimbra, was studying engineering in Lisbon. Joao de Deus has not been converted to Modern science, nor to the sovereignty of reason; with his usual ironic pen he attacked those who put their faith in modern notions. Antero wrote to him:

A ironia, ou o desprezo não é a melhor consolação para quem, vergando sob um fardo excessivo, lança em voita os olhos e não vê onde se firme senão no seu esforço interior, no estoicismo duma vontade heróica. Para esses uma piedad amiga e compadecida: essa sim, é digna da nobreza deles e da posição superior de quem, sentado na pedra cúbica da fé os vê passar tremulos sem terem a quem se apagar.37

A series of articles was to be published in June in A Revista do Século, the periodical representing the Castilho clan, to which Pinheiro Chagas and A. Osorio de Vasconcelos were faithful contributors. Since this was the official journal of Castilho's "church" and the articles were to be printed under the title Arte e Verdade, was Antero seeking even then the seal of approval of Castilho? This approach is not entirely foreign to Antero when he wants desperately to succeed in being heard.
He may well have, even then, hoped to make a breakthrough, to influence the young generation by appearing in print in such an important review.

One article only appeared on the 25th of June:

A arte é a coisa santa de Humanidade. Entre o sentimento religioso, apaixonado mas confuso e ilusório, e a Sciența, luminosa e segura mas fria, há uma regiào serena e clara aonde a transparência do ar consente aos olhos do espírito, perceber na correção inteira de suas linhas, a forma puríssima da Verdade...E esse o domínio eterno da Arte...38  Prosas I, p.322

The publication was interrupted by the beginning of open attacks on the new poetry by Pinheiro Chagas.

There are three additional texts not appearing in the Prosas, Vol. I, which A. Salgado Junior assigns to this period (Prosas da Época de Coimbra), one entitled Espontaneidade. Another article is entitled O Futuro da Música. He already touched on this topic in a letter to Anselmo de Andrade in April 1865, which he had published in Diário do Povo Possessões, Oporto, O Sentimento da Imortalidade.

He predicted that music would no longer be necessary in the New World, in his Utopia. Real music, said Antero, who was no musician, was

sublime disproporção, romântico excesso do grito, da lírica, explosão de sentimento, do transbordar da alma.39

It is also, according to him, the thermometer of the life of an era. Now that we are irresistibly propelled towards man's final destiny, and that we have achieved "a última e mais completa interpretação da realidade" we are approaching an age where conscience is no longer intuitive but positive, we are approaching a time where music has no
function anymore. Reason is replacing vague premonitions, certainty is replacing intuitions. Fantasy and imagination (the hallmarks of Romanticism) are being replaced by prudence and Reason. This theory was popular at the time, propagated by the French Pelletan. Camilo Castelo Branco mentions him in his Esboços e Apreciações. Antero had already made an extensive commentary on Michelet's *Bible de l'Humanité*; he also drew inspiration from H. Taine, *Philosophie de l'Art*, Michelet, *La Sorcière*, Feuerbach, *Essence du Christianisme*, H. Heine, *De l'Allemagne*, as he himself stated. He declared himself against A. Comte's *positivism*, against Littré, but he claimed to have enlarged his interpretation of his favourite French authors with the help of Hegel and Stuart Mill.

Meanwhile he had the task of quickening the pace, of helping bring the dawn of this New World, or so he thought. The *Odes* came out in August 1865. The University Press had accepted to print the collection, written as we know during the years 1862-1863 with few exceptions. This acceptance in itself is significant; two years before no publisher would take on the task. In 1865, as Antero mentioned in his *Correspondências*, the social climate had changed in Coimbra university, the teaching was more open, the split was increasing between the classicism and uninvolvment of the Castilho group, and the younger generation, impatient with a literature which ignored the present state of scientific development and subsequent changes in society. Many of the French writers who had inspired the modern Portuguese youth had turned social reformers and politicians.

The *Odes Modernas* were preceded by a letter of dedication to Germano de Meireles. This was their "poesia de combate".
A mão que escreveu este livro, copiou apenas. Mas a Ideia, que o inspirou, essa saiu-nos, como dois metais fundidos para o mesmo molde, única, espontânea de ambas as almas...E' o fruto do mesmo Ideal. No meio das lutas e das tristezas, a que este livro de crença me pode porventura atirar a vida, seja-me a teu nome consolação e alegria.

The edition of 1865 had 160 pages. We have already examined several pieces of the collection as they were written in the previous years, but Antero summarized the contents better than anyone:

A Poesia moderna é a voz da Revolução...Que importa que a palavra não pareça poética às vestais literárias do culto da Arte pela Arte? No ruido espantoso do desabor do Império e da Religião, há ainda uma harmonia grave e profunda para quem a escutar com a alma penetrada do terror santo deste mistério que é o destino das Sociedades.

The Odes were to Antero an act of purification which revealed the essence of Life, desembarassed from the artifices of current poetry - so he thought. They expressed, in a rainbow of metaphors and grandiloquence his faith in Man, his love for humanity, his own desire for transcendence, yet they could not be said to be personal; their very style projected the ideas expressed towards a public at hand.

At the time of the publication he had already given up some basic ideas, he had changed his religious position, yet the spirit remained; he had remained faithful to the lyrical Michelet (L'homme est son propre Prométhée. L'ennemi, c'est le passé, le barbare Moyen-Age. L'amí, c'est l'avenir, le progrès et l'esprit nouveau, 89 qu'on voit poindre déjà sur l'horizon lointain, c'est la Révolution).

The first poem, which is the last written, carries the epigraph: L'idée, c'est Dieu. Michelet. António Azevedo Castelo Branco had
introduced his cousin Camilo to Antero; Antero immediately dedicated this poem A Ideia, to Camilo:

Conquista pois sozinho o teu Futuro,
Ja que os celestes guias te hão deixado,
Sobre uma terra ignota abandonada,
Homem - proscrito rei - mendigo escuro -
Faze um templo dos muros da cadeia...
Prendendo a imensidade eterna e viva
No círculo de luz da tua Ideia!

*Amor de Perdição*, was published in 1862; the students of Coimbra had been very enthusiastic, Antero had spent a night reading it. It was quite an occasion for him to meet the author. Moreover Camilo showed interest and understanding of the lower classes; the peasants and artisans of his *Amor de Perdição* were painted with much respect and with more than a pinch of Rousseauist romanticism. This would certainly endear Camilo to Antero.

In the *Nota sobre a missão revolucionária da poesia*, which followed the poems in the edition of 1865, Antero insisted that it was imperative to rebuild a human world on the bases of Justice, Reason, Truth, excluding kings, tyrants, gods, useless religions and other illusions. There were many judgments passed publicly on the Odes. Antero passed some intimate ones to his friends.

To his readers, he said:

*Este livro é uma tentativa...para dar à poesia contemporânea a cor noral, a feição espiritual da sociedade moderna, fazendo-a assim corresponder à alta missão que foi sempre a da Poesia de todos os tempos, no Rig-Veda ou nos Lusíadas, em Tyrtheu como em Rouget de l'Isle - isto é, a forma mais pura daquelas partes soberanas da alma collectiva de uma época, a crença e as aspirações.*
He could never again separate within himself the poet, the philosopher, the social being. What had attracted him mostly to the French writers was the lyrical form they had given their ideas. This Antero could not resist; he could not tolerate form without substance or vice-versa. The revolutionary ideas of 1820 are now dead, he said in the Nota. The whole European middle class is divided against itself; half of it is rushing ahead, the other half refuses to move.

This of course, he continued, does not apply to the Portuguese middle class, which lies in a state of contentment proper to the simple-minded. In Portugal, revolution is a dead word, we are in fact in a deep sleep. The ones who are most noisy are not the newborn, they are the moribund, he went on. We must consider each existence not as an emanation or reflection of an external being, unchanging, unfeeling, but on the contrary, as an eternal thing, a developing force which we can observe in various periods of its evolution in accordance with the degree of internal growth. Thus the foundation of a universal order stops being an abstract principle, to become reality itself, that is to say, each separate individual, and instead of having the law dominate each being, the law emanates from each being and becomes its essence. The idea of Justice is born from this. This is exactly the point at which I had arrived more through intuition (pressentimento) than through a sustained and systematic meditation, he wrote to Francisco Marchado de Faria e Maia. (The underlying is mine.)

This last remark characterizes Antero, and his friends have testified to it that he was intuitive rather than deductive. Cold logic, cold anything was out of the question for this man.
Mando-te esse livro, he wrote to Antonio Azevedo Castelo Branco. Tanta coisa desfeita! E’triste:
Mas entre tantas ilusões não há uma única que não fosse honrosa.\(^{44}\)

Later in his Autobiographical Letter to Wilhelm Storck, translator of his *Sonnets*, Antero said of his *Odes*: (1887)

Não é certamente mediocre, há nele (no livro) paixão sincera e elevação de pensamento, mas além de delamatoria e abstrata, por vezes aquela poesia é indistinta e não define bem e tipicamente o estado do espírito que a produziu. O que ela representa perfeitamente é a singular aliança...do naturalismo hegeliano e do humanitarismo radical francês. A novidade, o arrojo, talvez a mesma indeterminação do pensamento, apenas vagamente idealista e humanitária, fizeram a fortuna do livro junto da geração nova, o que prova, pelo menos, que veio no seu momento.\(^{45}\)

Philosophically the *Odes Modernas* express a loss of faith in any traditional religion, replaced by faith in Humanity, or rather, they express a need to believe which is based on the unexplainable and indestructible existence of some transcendental idea or vision, which is acutely perceived by the poet philosopher.

Politically the *Odes* may inspire action, and were certainly meant to imbue the readers with a sense of responsibility, prompting them to become agents of universal human fulfillment. Yet Antero was never pragmatic, the emotion which he imparts is created by the force of his images representing abstractions, by the eloquent style, the exclamation marks, the suspension points, the capitalized key words: Liberdade, Verdade, Amor, Fraternidade, Humanidade, Paz, etc....

...E ódios, desgracas,
Desesperos, misérias e vingâncias
Eis a bela seara de ouro erguida
Do chão, onde ilusões semeia a vida!

*A História.*
...O céu se fechou, e já não desce,
Na escada de Jacob (na de Jesus!)
Um só anjo que aceite a nossa prece...

... Se não tens que esperar do céu (tão puro
Mas tão cruel!) e o coração magoado
Sentes já de ilusões desenganado,
Das ilusões do antigo amor perjuro,

Ergue-te, então, na majestade estáica
De uma vontade solitária e alta,
Num esforço supremo de alma heroica! 46

A Ideia.

At the end of 1864, when he wrote Pater (Odes Modernas, p.61, IV)
for Abilio Guerra Junqueiro, the faith he publicly expressed in his
poems was very shaky; it alternated between pessimism, nihilism,
melancholy about the known past in view of the uncertainty of the
future:

Com que passo tremente se caminha
Em busca dos destinos encobertos

Tentança Vía, v.1,2.

São os tristes susípios do Passado
Que se erguem desse chão, por toda a parte... 47

At times he expressed faith in some obscure power which, he
felt, led man to push forward, with the help of "Truth" and "Love",
instinctively known. All this adds up to a vague pantheism—which he
viewed as a poetic image. Yet it is the task of the poet to enlighten
the ignorant who cannot see as clearly as he does!

Vós
Que sabeis o segredo da fremente
Palavra que dá fé — o vós poetas!

Estendei vossas almas, como mantos
Sobre a cabeça deles...e do peito
Fazei-lhes um degrau, onde com jeito
Possam subir a ver os astros santos...
Levai-os vos à Pátria-misteriosa,  
Os que perdidos vão com passo incerto!  
*Tentanda Via*

The critics agree to call Antero's philosophy of that period "hegelian". I am not versed in philosophy and have no evidence that Antero made a study of Hegel at this time. He had been brought up in a religious environment and the religious feeling persisted. The God of Wrath, and Justice, and Love, and Mercy had disappeared; his God was an unknown god and would remain so despite his lifelong search.

To lead the flock to its appointed destination, the shepherd (Antero) had no immediate plan in 1865 but he had accepted his destiny "à la Vigny". Political action would come later, with the *Conferências do Casino* (1871). These would be part of the same task, that of "teacher of the Nation" which he described in a letter of 1865 to A. A. de Castelo Branco. Antero never abandoned the feeling of responsibility which he had acquired from his family and his religion, and which he had confirmed through his reading. In 1866 he studied typography and went to work as a typographer in Paris. In 1871 he and his friends among whom Eça de Queiros and Oliveira Martins, organized the conferences (democratic, political, social, literary) which were stopped by the censorship one month later, after four sessions. In 1890 he was asked to be president of the Liga Patriótica do Norte (movement of reaction against the discouragement caused by the British Ultimatum). Antero accepted without much enthusiasm for the position but, like always, prodded into action by his sense of civic responsibility. He was always against political parties ever since his days of Coimbra. The Liga Patriótica lasted little and Antero added this
Most of his writing was didactic; the "educator" took over the "poet" increasingly. As he wanted to be a champion of democracy, he came to side with the socialists, admiring and sympathizing with the French popular movement, yet the Paris Commune of 1871, which he witnessed, shocked him profoundly.

The poet Antero came to think of himself as a philosopher, but in 1865, the problem which presented itself was one of leadership on the literary scene. Castilho had long enjoyed a great reputation for his poetry, his social ideas and his youthful spirit. He had contributed poems and translations, following the classic and arcaic models. He had been presiding literary and artistic societies, had patronized and linked his name with national literary reviews. He had made valiant efforts to spread literacy and invented a method for teaching reading and writing. He had an enthusiastic and optimistic temperament which secured him a youthful following. Filipe de Quental had remained a friend and admirer since the stay of the Castilhos in Sao Miguel. Maybe the fact that he had been blind most of his life increased his appeal. Yet by the 1860's he was getting old (1800-1875) and the creative spirit seemed to have left him. A. Ferreira (Bom Senso e Bom Gosto, 1964) claims that he was losing his faculties. There were young poets like Antero who had received the powerful influence of German, British and French writers, and social philosophers who were looking for a complete change of orientation. Castilho was becoming old-fashioned; his attachment to the purity of form and subject matter conforming to models which were
now considered irrelevant, irritated the young moderns. These were looking forward to a new era, either of materialist welfare or social reform. They felt humiliated by the slowness of Portugal to join in the stimulating progress happening in England and France, they felt resentment at the continued authority of Castilho, at his evident intention to keep the status quo, at the protection he gave to those who formed a coterie around him, as well as at his condescension toward the young innovators.

Teófilo Braga had published *Visão des Tempos* (1864). Camilo Castelo Branco wrote a lengthy criticism of the work in which he singled out irregularities in style, lack of conformity to the rules, unevenness, liberties taken with historic facts. Pinheiro Chagas — whom Castilho presented later in the year as his heir and successor — spoke contemptuously of the "vá fraseologia" of Teófilo. The realistic trend in literature was taking roots, and it was time that Antero de Quental take his place among the Portuguese writers if he wished to affect the direction to be taken. He had the "Verbo", as Eca de Queiros put it; he had the power to inspire and his style was unique in Portugal. At this particular time the *Odes Modernas* (published in August 1865) were therefore more a literary affirmation than a spiritual message. The philosophic and social content was inseparable from the form, yet the message had been written mostly by 1863 and Antero had altered his views since then. It seems probable that the action, at this time, was that of a writer challenging Castilho and those favoured by him.

Camilo said that the *Odes* had the effect of an earthquake on
Coimbra. What in fact was the impact and influence is difficult to say. It certainly made a major contribution to the change of literary scene that followed.

The spirit which dictated the Odes to which Antero associated Germano Meireles and all his friends of the early 1860's also inspired later friends of the 70's. Altogether these young men came to be known as the "Geracao de 70". At the time of the publication of the Odes, Antero was uncertain about a career; he thought of becoming a school-teacher but decided, after communicating with his friends, that he would be a teacher not to a village school but to the nation. Never a practical man, he had trouble coping with the details of life. His world was one of abstract visions, of constant battles against that which in himself presented a handicap to the achievement of his moral goals. Although he suffered the uncertainties of the age, and absorbed readily the Weltschmerz and the "vague-à-l'ame" of the second half of the nineteenth century, he remained faithful to his ideals or, to be more precise, his visions did not leave him, they had been fostered by his well-developed Catholic conscience and generations of civically conscious and influential Quentais.

Whatever Antero acquired in Coimbra as a student was superimposed on the serious, sensitive, religiously oriented, precocious child from Sao Miguel. The Coimbra years were the apprenticeship of Antero who progressively saw himself and his friends as the artisans of the new world. He saw the writers of his time, the Castilhos, the Lemos, the Mendes Leais, the Pinheiro Chagas, as unworthy of their sacred task, effete, perpetuating their kind at the expense of progress.
The journalists he felt narrow-minded, docile to their patrons, not fulfilling their role in society. It was up to him to change this, or so he thought; he had the ideas, he had the vision, he had the words and the moral conscience. Unfortunately he had neither the stamina, nor the steadfastness necessary to make the most of his positive attributes and he was too suggestible. He could not remain free from the influence of such Romantics as Heinrich Heine, Gerard de Nerval, from the nerve-wracking writings of Edgar Allan Poe. In his autobiographical letter to Wilhelm Storck he said he had familiarized himself with German philosophy through Remusat, had read Goethe in a French translation by Blaise de Bury. Hegel he knew through Vera's translation. Gomes Monteiro, the editor he visited in Oporto in 1863 with his Odes was also a translator of German poets. In his Nota at the end of his first edition of Odes Moderna (1865), he lists those who inspired him: Proudhon, Quinet, Renan, Michelet, Dolfuss, Taine, Littre, Heine, B. Bauer, Feuerbach, Buchner. From all those, says Joaquim de Carvalho (Hist. do Regime Republ. em Port. I, 235), Antero developed "Criticism, idealism, optimism, confidence in science and humanity". He moved away from the narrow patriotism and nationalism of the Romantics to universalism, love of Humanity. From the individualism of the Romantics to universalism, love of Humanity. From the individualism of the Romantics he moved to faith in solidarity and equality. From the revendication of freedom from tyranny by the Romantics he moved to social idealism. From traditional religion he moved to mysticism then to pantheism. He cut himself from the past as much as his nature would allow, as he did from the romantic interest and nostalgic wish
for a return to the medieval which occupied Herculano.

In his letter to Caroline Michaelis de Vasconcelos (17/8/85) this is how he speaks of his student years: "I read poets, sonnets (Miguel Angelo, Filica, Gerard de Nerval, Milton, Shakespeare). I had no intent, I just read because I was a compulsive reader: Homer, Niebelungen, both in French, Goethe, Heine, Dante, Shakespeare, Byron, the Spanish Romanceiros, in the original

Liá...mas torno a dizê-lo, tudo isto mal e à la diable, na confusão e no tropel de um espírito agitado por problemas que a poesia só por si não podia resolver. Nos mesmos poetas era o fundo mais que a forma que me atraia. Mas na minha impaciência, na minha impetuosidade, saltava dali e a linguagem abstrusa, o formalismo, a extraordinária abstracção de Hegel não me assustavam, nem me repelião; pelo contrário: internava-me com audácia aventurera pelos meandros e sombras daquela floresta formidável de ideias, como um cavaleiro andante por alguma selva encantada à procura do grande segredo, do grande fetiche, do Santo Graal, que para mim era a Verdade, a verdade pura, estreme, absoluta..."
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER III


4. Ibid., p.39.

5. Ibid., p.43.


33. Cartas de Antero de Quental, anot. Teixeira de Carvalho, Coimbra, Imp. Univ., 1921, p.337, Carta CLXX.

34. José Bruno Carreiro, **Subsídios**, Vol. p.235, Defesa da Carta Encíclica da Sua Santidade Pio IX.

36 Ibid., p.266.

37 Antero de Quental Coração Liberto, ed. Alphonsus de Guimaraens Filho, Rio de Janeiro, 1976, p.35.


40 Antero de Quental Prosas, Vol. I, Couto Martins, 1923, p.304, Carta Dedicatória das Odes Modernas.


44 Antero de Quental Cartas a António de Azevedo Castelo Branco, ed. Signo, Lisboa, 1942, I, p.5.


48 Antero de Quental Coração Liberto, ed. Alphonsus de Guimaraens Filho, Rio de Janeiro, 1976, p.95, Tentanda Via.

49 Ibid., p.97.

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