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Integrative Psychology and Humanities

Marina Massimi

Psychological Knowledge and Practices in Brazilian Colonial Culture



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Marina Massimi

Psychological Knowledge and Practices in Brazilian Colonial Culture

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*To Josef Brožek and Luigi Giussani
In memoriam*

Preface of the Series Editor

Psychology as an Historical Cultural Product

The academic life is sometimes filled by a curious sequel of events and coincidences. I have never met in person Marina Massimi, the author of this volume titled *Psychological Knowledge and Practices in Brazilian Colonial Culture*. Yet, our lives crossed already several times and all the times it was because of her publications. Marina Massimi is, indeed, one of the most prominent scholars in the History of Psychology in South America and I had already a taste of her vast knowledge about the historical roots of psychological and education sciences in the Brazilian context, in a volume I co-edited some years ago (Massimi 2015) to which Dr. Massimi contributed. I am very glad to host again her work within *Latin America Voices Book Series* that will serve as an international “sounding board” for her investigation.

This volume is the fourth in the series and after the Llorens’ (2020), Guimarães’ (2019), and Diaz-Loving’s books 2019, it brings us to Brazil again, yet in a particular space and time configuration.

According to the author:

The History of Psychological Knowledge has as its object the study of aspects of the worldviews present in a given culture, related to psychological concepts and practices. Therefore, the area is part of Cultural History. This is the field of historical knowledge that addresses the worldviews of a given culture, with its own methodological resources [...]. The objective of this book is the reconstruction of psychological knowledge in Brazilian culture throughout its cultural history [...]. The time frame of the historical reconstruction that will be presented here extends from the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century. This period, in historiography, is defined as the “colonial period.” It is the arc of time between the beginning of the sixteenth century and the end of the eighteenth century, which marks the dependence of Brazil as a colony under Portuguese rule (Massimi 2020, p. 1).

So, the book provides an integrated overview of the psychology as it developed over centuries under specific sociocultural circumstances. Why is it so important to study the historical roots of a discipline like psychology? First, because psychology is an historical cultural product and any meaningful attempt to understand human conduct needs to consider the psychological level of analysis as strictly connected with the societal context within the economic and political frame.

There are no doubts that this book represents an original contribution to psychology since there are few works that address it more in depth, for instance, the religious influences on the psychological thinking in colonized countries (like that of Jesuit missionaries who came to Brazil). At the same time, Marina Massimi provides many historiographical elements to understand the peculiar and ethnocentric perspective from which indigenous people had been considered since then. As the author pointed out:

The elaboration of the knowledge of the psychological characteristics of the native Brazilians carried out by the Jesuit missionaries was the effect of their vision of the world and of man and their sense of temporality. In this sense, it employed the resources of their universe of thought, especially those arising from the Conimbricenses treaties analyzed in the first chapter of this book. The influences of Humanist and Renaissance conceptions about education and civilization, considered capable of radically transforming man, were also very important. The representation of the psychological characteristics of the Indians proposed in the Jesuit sources allows us to reach some kind of knowledge about the subject at the time considered, given the lack of written sources elaborated by the Indians themselves. In fact, the various indigenous peoples who lived in Brazil in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had a culture based exclusively on orality (Massimi 2020, p. 86).

If the missionaries' effort to document the lifestyle and the cosmogony of Indigenous people is undoubtedly relevant for the sake of overcoming the scarcity of written sources, those representations of the psychological characteristics of the Indians proposed by the Jesuit have widely circulated and cultivated over the centuries in different domains of the social sciences. The peculiar perspective from which Jesuits elaborated their knowledge on the natives was simply forgotten or dismissed, and the missionary voice became one the most accredited source of knowledge to deal with populations who do not share the same ethos (Guimarães 2019).

What this volume documents is, then, also the *original sin* in our traditional psychological knowledge. This critique has been recently developed in the field of decolonizing studies (Bathia 2018) where the seminal work of Miranda Fricker (2007) defines the concept of *epistemic injustice* as the lack of epistemic legitimization for some people on the basis of a prejudice or cultural habit. I am sure that this book *Psychological Knowledge and Practices in Brazilian Colonial Culture* will offer to the reader historical foundations to think critically on the complex cultural plot of our contemporary globalized societies.

Salerno, Italy
August 2020

Giuseppina Marsico

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Foreword

In *Psychological Knowledge and Practices in Brazilian Colonial Culture*, Professor Marina Massimi examines the complexities of the colonization of the territory that is now Brazil and its shaping of psychological knowledge and practice. She reveals the rich network of cultural practices that were formed in response and resistance to the imposition of Jesuit Catholicism.

Massimi uses examples of various literary genres and practices common to the colonial period to explore how psychological knowledge was shaped from the early sixteenth century through the end of the eighteenth century. This was the period of what Mignolo and other Latin American scholars refer to as the beginning of modernity/coloniality (Escobar 2007; Mignolo 2011; Mignolo and Walsh 2018). That is, the contemporary sense of what it is to be modern was constructed on the framework of coloniality in which the European colonizers asserted their dominance and right to shape the world on the basis of diminishing all other ontologies and epistemologies. The result of the colonization and subjugation of various populations endures to this day in how it shapes our thinking and being. As Nelson Maldonado-Torres wrote in his influential article, “On the coloniality of being”:

Coloniality...refers to long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations. Thus, coloniality survives colonialism. It is maintained alive in books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, in the self-image of peoples, in aspirations of self, and so many other aspects of our modern experience. In a way, as modern subjects we breathe coloniality all the time and everyday (2007, p. 242).

Massimi’s writing here is a cogent example of the impact of colonization and her chapters dive deeply into the effect of that colonization in Brazil on both the colonized and the colonizer. As she points out, the result in Brazil of these processes has been the creation of a “porosity of identities” (Massimi, this volume, citing Sanchis 2012). In the first era of the colonial period, Jesuit missionaries drew on the tradition of philosophical treatises developed in Portuguese seminaries. These treatises were modeled not only on the teachings of Ignatius of Loyola, but the philosophical heritage grounded in the teachings of the ancient Greeks, especially Aristotle, and their

interpretation by the thirteenth century philosopher, St. Thomas Aquinas. The first missionaries used these treatises to understand their mission in Brazil and to explain the behavior of the people they encountered. Letter writing, or epistolary correspondence, as a medium of instruction, information, and, sometimes, entertainment, grew steadily in the period covered in this book (Flynn 1982; Shemek 2013). Massimi shows how the letters between the missionaries and their superiors back in Portugal informed missionary practice, while also providing a description of the flora and fauna of the colonized land. Beyond that, epistolary correspondence was a means to share ideas, raise questions and concerns, and give insight into the minds and behavior of indigenous people. Massimi proceeds in the following chapters to examine pedagogical correspondence, allegorical novels, autobiographical essays, and sermons as means to shape the psyche and instill desired values and behaviors. An especially rich chapter is devoted to festivals and celebrations as they developed in Brazilian culture. These festivals, while based in Jesuit Catholicism, also were shaped by indigenous and Afro-descendant populations, thus representing the beginnings of mestizo culture in Brazil and foreshadowing perhaps the emergence of Candomblé and Umbanda religious cultures.

Massimi beautifully illustrates how these practices shaped Brazilian popular culture and remain vibrant today.

Running throughout the chapters and made central in the book's conclusion is the importance of memory in shaping psychological knowledge and practice in Brazil. For indigenous and Afro-descendant populations memory was maintained through oral traditions. In these traditions, the religious teachings and practices imparted by the colonizers were typically syncretized with extant traditions and made part of the collective memory. This made it possible, Massimi argues, for the colonized to maintain their own cultures. Memories preserved through written narratives, architecture, and celebrations by the European settler-colonialists also were key to the maintenance of European identity and their sense of dominance and superiority over the colonized and enslaved populations.

In her conclusion, Massimi raises important questions about why the institutionalization of psychology in modern Brazil draws so little on the psychological knowledge that was shaped in the first three hundred years of Brazil's history. She makes a cogent argument that the tradition of elites to have their children educated in Portugal or other European countries has created an unnecessary barrier between everyday psychological experience of the greater part of the population and the governance of the country. It is a telling example of how coloniality of being and knowledge endures in Brazil, to the resultant diminishment of Brazilian culture.

Massimi's book will now form an important foundation of English-language scholarship about the psychological and cultural impact of colonization on subjugated peoples. She has, of course, made many such contributions in Portuguese. It is to be hoped that much of her work will be translated into English so that more scholars may benefit from the richness of her insights.

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A special thanks goes to the colleagues and friends of the working group in History of Psychology in Brazil: Maria do Carmo Guedes, Regina Helena de Freitas Campos, William Barbosa Gomes, Aparecida Mitsuko Antunes, Ana Maria Jacó Vilela, Nádia Rocha: first generation of researchers with whom we traced the first steps outlining the area of historical studies in psychology and the beginnings of the Brazilian Society of History of Psychology. Gratitude is also extended to the second generation of researchers who chose to dedicate themselves to the area, represented by the names of Raquel Martins de Assis, Sergio Cirino, Rodrigo Miranda, Arthur A. Leal Ferreira, Cristina Lhullier, Erika Lourenço, and Rodolfo Batista. There are so many others whose names I do not mention, but which make up this panorama. Their role is very important for giving continuity to the area and affirming its importance for the formation in psychology of the new generations.

The investigations summarized in this book would not be possible and would not have continuity without the adhesion and participation of young students who have fallen in love with historical studies in psychology, since graduation, treading the first steps in scientific initiation, master's degree, doctorate, and some choosing to dedicate themselves to the academic career in the area of the History of Psychology. The names are many but here I mention only the first and the last of my mentors: Paulo José Carvalho da Silva and Gabriela Daud Bollela. Others, whose names can be found in the bibliographical reference lists, deserve my gratitude for the curiosity, availability, and creativity with which they participated and gave continuity to these investigations.

The path that was possible to follow in the researches reported in this book was opened by the meeting with some masters of life and study to whom I owe my eternal gratitude: Josef Brožek, Luigi Giussani, Sadi Marhaba, Isaías Pessotti.

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Finally, I thank my family and the friends who accompanied and encouraged my journey.

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Chapter 1

Introduction



1.1 Objects and Objectives of This Book

The History of Psychological Knowledge has as its object the study of aspects of the world views present in a given culture, related to psychological concepts and practices. Therefore, the area is part of Cultural History. This is the field of historical knowledge that addresses the worldviews of a given culture, with its own methodological resources.¹

The notion of worldview articulates a system of thought with the sociopolitical conditions of life of a group, or society, which share this system of thought at a given historical moment. However, it does not reduce them to each other. The field of worldview encompasses everything that was possible to think and write in that historical period (that is, the universe of the thought) and the universe of the practices that expressed that knowledge (Certeau De 2000).

The objective of this book is the reconstruction of psychological knowledge in Brazilian culture throughout its cultural history. Such knowledge is reconstructed through investigative paths, seeking to highlight through the historical route, through the sources, the main objects, methods and actors in the process of developing knowledge and psychological practices in Brazil over time. The definition of psychological, conventional and provisional, should be replaced during the course of the research by terminology and demarcation of fields pertinent to the specific sociocultural universes studied.

The time frame of the historical reconstruction that will be presented here extends from the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century. This period, in historiography, is defined as the 'colonial period'. It is the arc of time between the

¹We take the meaning of the term culture according to Arendt's definition: the home built by men on the earth during their stay there, where the totality of manufactured things are organized in such a way as to be able to resist the vital consuming process of the people who inhabit it, thus surviving them. Si veda (Arendt 2003).

beginning of the sixteenth century and the end of the eighteenth century, which marks the dependence of Brazil as a colony under Portuguese rule.

At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese armada led by Pedro Alvares Cabral on April 22, 1500, the territory was populated by approximately five million natives. These were divided into tribes, according to the linguistic trunk to which they belonged: Tupi-Guarani (coastal region), Macrojê or Tapuias (Central Plateau region), Aruaques or Aruak (Amazon), and Caribbean or Karib (Amazon).

The history of Portuguese colonization of Brazilian territory is part of the broader colonial history of the West, parallel to the process of Modernity. It makes clear what Mignolo describes as “a hidden dimension of the events that took place at the same time, both in the economy and in knowledge: the dispensability (or disposability) of human life, and life in general” (Mignolo 2017, p. 4) Indeed, in Brazilian colonization, the entire productive system was based on the use of the labor of African slaves deported from Africa. This system lasted in the country from 1539 to 1888. At the same time, the territorial extension that configured Brazil’s empire as an independent nation at the beginning of the nineteenth century was obtained at the cost of progressive expropriation and the extinction of the indigenous ethnic groups that previously populated that territory. Even the forms of integration between local ethnic groups and the modern western world, such as those carried out over about 150 years by the Society of Jesus with the Guarani in the territories called the Jesuit-Guarani Reductions, located between Brazil, Paraguay, Argentina, Uruguay, and Bolivia, were violently extinguished. In these conditions, over the centuries in which Brazil was structured as a territory and Brazilian society was formed, a complex process of mixing took place between different peoples who, in various ways, came into contact and mixed.

The choice to investigate this temporal arc is justified because it is a decisive period: in fact, the dynamics resulting from the process of colonization of the territory led to the multifaceted constitution of society.

Several ethnic groups with very different cultures were displaced and brought into contact with each other (in many cases by the use of force) and had to live together and adapt to each other, not without conflict and loss. Thus, in the historical reconstruction one must consider the presence of different cultural subjects who were protagonists of the elaboration of this knowledge, in the Brazilian territory, along the time: indigenous peoples; Lusitanians and Luso-Brazilians; travelers and merchants of French, Dutch, Spanish, North American nationality; Africans deported by slavery; European immigrants; and from other countries. These subjects reflect the composition of Brazilian society, marked by complex cultural stratification: in it, there are different ways of experiencing time (temporalities) and there are different ways of elaborating the psychological experience. In this environment, some social groups have played a role of agglutination: the work of the missionaries of the Society of Jesus stands out.²

²The Jesuits acted in Brazil in the long period beginning in 1549 and ending in 1760 with the expulsion by decree of the Portuguese Minister Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo. They pushed the mixture in the perspective of what they understood as the Christian social body of the Cologne,

Historical research on psychological knowledge in Brazilian culture from the colonial period bumps to a limit: written sources highlight the voices of only a few parts of society. In fact, the indigenous peoples who lived in Brazilian territory during the colonization period had no written culture. And African populations brought in as slaves were not given access to writing. Thus, the lack of written vestiges makes it impossible to know directly the world view, man and psychism of those peoples in the historical period considered.

1.2 The Mestizo Character of Brazilian Culture

Several authors have pointed out the “mestizo character of Brazilian culture” as the mark of its originality (Pickren and Rutherford 2012, p. 57).

The Pernambuco writer Ariano Suassuna (1927–2014) highlights the existence of “two Brasís”. The first is the Brazil of popular culture represented by singers, cowboys, peasants, fishermen, and storytellers, which transmits and elaborates its culture predominantly through orality. The second is the Brazil of the urban and cosmopolitan bourgeoisie, the modern Brazil, the academy, the intellectual elite that transmits its culture through writing and has access to and management of the means of cultural transmission (Suassuna 2003).

This duality, however, is part of a “harmony understood in the baroque way”, as a “composition of opposites”. According to Suassuna, this would be the “great lesson” of Brazil, from the colonial Baroque and mestizo to the present day: the receptivity to dissonances, “the harmonic union of antinomic terms”, the ability to “hear all voices”.³

The Brazilian historian and anthropologist Luis da Câmara Cascudo (1898–1986) states that the oral culture of popular matrix is an integral part of every human culture, received and transmitted “by the exercise of practical acts and rules of conduct, religious, and social”. It is a “layer in front of school knowledge, transmitted as indispensable and general science by the book and the voice of masterly teaching”. In Brazil, these two “platforms of institutionalized culture and popular culture accompany the normal life of man and are identifiable,” but between the two, “there is a living intercommunication,” a deep connection (Cascudo 2004, p. 710).

In Brazil, there was a mixture of popular traditions of different ethnic groups. In dealing with Brazilian popular songs, Cascudo takes up the hypotheses formulated by essayist Silvio Romero (1852–1914), about the modality in which this amalgamation happened:

where all social and racial components were inserted and united by a vision of the Christian world. In this effort, they contributed to the constitution of knowledge and practices aimed at the knowledge and care of the person according to the demands of individual and social life.

³From this perspective, Suassuna gave life to the Armorial Movement, which brought together artists who sought to elaborate an erudite Brazilian art based on the roots of popular art.

In the first century of colonization, the Portuguese, Indians and blacks found themselves in front of each other, and faced with a splendid nature, in struggle, having for weapons the obuz, the arrow and the hoe, and for lenitive the homesickness of their homeland. (...) Everyone should sing, because everyone missed (...). Each one should sing the songs of his country. From all of them amalgamated and merged into a single mould, the Portuguese language, the language of the winner, our popular songs were formed in the following centuries (Casculo 2003, p. 280).

In another text, Câmara Casculo discusses the process of assimilation and appropriation of poetry and popular novels and states that “secular traditions, (...) episodes coming from Arab, French, Saracen, German, Iberian fabularies, (...) remained in the soul of the people as an immovable and profound cultural base” (Casculo 2005, p. 26).

The anthropologist Pierre Sanchis (1928–2018) takes up an expression of Augras, the porosity of identities, to describe something that he considers peculiar to the process of formation of Brazilian culture: the fact that the various cultural positions are co-present. They “do not get lost mixing, but neither do they oppose each other, nor do they come close by simple juxtaposition or parallelism. They become porous, enriching each other creatively, reinterpreting each other within their own being, while affirming their differences” (Sanchis 2012, p. 45).

Thus, the perspective put forward by these authors indicates that, despite the process of colonization and “coloniality,” spaces of cultural elaboration were created where indigenous peoples and Africans could construct “answers” (Mignolo 2017), whose memory was fixed mainly through cultural practices such as dances, celebrations, and songs.

In a context marked by this complexity and diversity, the historical process of psychological knowledge in Brazil is also complex. It is the product of different sociocultural subjects and is articulated according to different ways of experiencing the time they cross and interpenetrate with each other, without being exclusive. They are irreducible knowledge to the univocal mold of contemporary scientific culture.

In short, the complexity that characterizes the psychological knowledge of Brazilian culture can be represented through the metaphor of a fabric made up of varieties of threads and warps from the loom. It is up to the historian of psychological knowledge to highlight within this weft the concepts and practices of elaboration and care with psychic life, elaborated in this environment.

1.3 The Historical Reconstruction Method

In contemporary historiography of psychology, the historical reconstruction is defined by Danziger as a “biography of psychological objects” (Danziger 1990). Psychological objects are terms, concepts, and practices. However, at different temporal moments, the same term could indicate different concepts (such as the term memory), or different terms could indicate a single concept (for example, the terms

passion, affection, and emotion). It is then up to the historian to focus attention on the differences and changes that have occurred.

1.3.1 Object Definition: The Psychic Apparatus

Psychic processes are conceived in the context of culture, as dimensions, or elements of a space that has some kind of organization. We follow in this, the hypothesis formulated by Bergamo, author of a historical study about a domain close to the psychological field: the interiority, in the West, in the seventeenth century (Bergamo 1991).

According to Bergamo, the delimitation of the inner world, its differentiation from the outer world, its description, and interpretation are the fruit of a historical-cultural process that had created a set of devices to order and regulate this domain. Different schemes or molds, in each epoch, regulated the apprehension of the inner life. They emerge at a given time and then disappear, or remain marginal. The expression ‘psychic apparatus’ was used by Freud to designate the models designed to explain the organization and functioning of the mind. In this book, the expression will be used to refer to the elaboration of the epistemic schemes and models through which, at a given historical moment, the universe of psychic life was observed and thematized. In this way, it will be possible to elaborate a reconstruction of knowledge and practices regarding the psychic phenomena taken as parts of the psychic apparatus, in the chosen space-time universe.

1.3.2 The Sources

Such reconstruction is made possible by the existence of traces, or signs, referring to the universe of temporal space where the object chosen for the investigation is placed. The vestiges chosen for this task were written documents, that is, the sources. These sources were collected and located based on some bibliographies that compile the titles and synopses of what was produced by Brazilian authors in that period.⁴ Titles and synopses were selected for those subjects that could have some reference to psychological or anthropological knowledge.

It is important to note that in Brazil, until the declaration of its independence from the metropolis in the nineteenth century, neither the press nor the presence of higher education institutions was allowed. Our cutoff regarding the field of sources was limited to written sources, due to the objective of focusing the knowledge produced in the period considered and transmitted in writing in circulation in the

⁴*Bibliografia Brasileira de Período Colonial* de Rubens Borba de Moraes (1 edition 1969); *Bibliografia Brasileira* de Rubens Borba de Moraes (2011); *Destques da Biblioteca Brasileira* de Guita e José Mindlin (2013).

country. In this sense, we were not able to approach knowledge transmitted orally by indigenous or African cultures, as well as knowledge that could be deduced by the analysis of archaeological remains such as clay utensils, or basketry.

These sources conveyed and were produced by a process of circulation of knowledge in the territory of the country, knowledge coming from various traditions and places. Raj points out the relevance of the changes that occur in the circulation of knowledge due to the interconnections between subjects, practices, and ideas in the meetings between cultures, when borders become fluid: there is a real reconfiguration of forms of knowledge and practices (Raj 2013). Canclini suggests the term hybridization, to designate a set of processes of exchange and blending of cultures, or of blending between cultural forms, including *mestizaje*—racial or ethnic—religious syncretism, and other forms of fusion of cultures, such as musical fusion (Canclini 2001). Pickren defines with the term ‘indigenization’ the process by which knowledge becomes local or native and can take many forms: for example, Western norms can be incorporated or reconfigured with local content, or conversely, they can be rejected in favor of methods and objects that are native to the culture in question (Pickren 2009).

1.3.2.1 Criteria for the Analysis of Sources

Cultural Appropriation

Therefore, it is necessary to pay attention to the space-time context of the research: when reconstructing the history of psychological knowledge in Brazil from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, we must understand the way in which, in this context, the phenomenon of assimilation of psychological knowledge formulated in other space-time spheres occurred. This phenomenon is not a mere reproduction, but reconstitutes its object according to the problems of the sociocultural universe of reception (Vezzetti 1992, 1996). Dagfal applies to historical studies in psychology, the concept of reception proposed by Jauss in the area of art and literature: Jauss starts from the Husserlian notion of ‘horizon of experiences’ which translates into the concept of ‘horizon of expectations’. Dagfal applies to historical studies in psychology, the concept of reception proposed by Jauss in the area of art and literature: Jauss starts from the Husserlian notion of horizon of experiences which translates into the concept of ‘horizon of expectations’ (Jauss 1987). Such a horizon shapes the modality as a text is read and interpreted in a certain context (Dagfal 2004).

On the cultural history side, Chartier suggests replacing the reception category with the cultural appropriation category. With this term, he wants to emphasize the plural possibilities of employment and understanding of a given text. Such possibilities are due to the creative freedom, even if regulated, of those who receive and read this text. It is about reconstructing a social history of the uses and interpretations of

a text, focusing attention “on the concrete conditions and processes that sustain the operations of production of meaning” of it (Chartier 1991, p. 180). In short, “reading is not only an abstract operation of intellection”, but is inscribed in a certain type of social space and intersubjective relations (Chartier 1991, p. 181). Therefore, it is up to the historian to reconstruct the modes of reading proper to each community of readers, or interpretative community.

The recent historiography of psychology complements the category of cultural appropriation with that of “problematic”: “a problematic defines the schemes, the images, the metaphors in terms of which specific problems are formulated, and therefore delimits the range of possible questions within its scope” (Danziger 1984, p. 5). In this way, psychological objects are not only the result of the invention of individual actors, but also respond to constructive activities carried out by groups that share the same problem.

In Brazil in the period from the 16th to the eighteenth century, orality was in force and reading practice was restricted and a small social group. Thus, even the reading of texts was often performed as an oralization, the reader was someone who read aloud and addressed an audience of listeners. In short, the texts were usually “intended for both the ear and the eye”, elaborated “with forms and procedures capable of submitting the writing to the demands of oral performance” (Chartier 1991, p. 182). For example, some written sources that will be used for our historical reconstruction such as the novels were largely intended for oralization.

The Literary Genres

Another methodological aspect to be highlighted is the fact that concepts and terms should be interpreted taking into account the literary genres that articulate and express them. Chartier recommends “considering discourses in their own devices, their rhetorical or narrative articulations, their strategies of persuasion or demonstration” (Chartier 1991, p. 187). Pécora points out that the different genres are not merely forms used for the composition of texts in which external contents are leaked, but are conventional and historical determinations that constitute the meanings of these texts (Pécora 2001, p. 11).

In this book, psychological knowledge will be organized from the literary genres in which they were produced. We start from the hypothesis that the construction of psychological concepts and practices in the history of knowledge before the advent of scientific psychology happens in the proper way of the genera in which such knowledge is configured. Therefore, we will not be able to understand them well if we dispense with these molds.

The systematic reconstruction of the historical path proposed here, based on structuring axes made up of some genders, will also make it possible to highlight the connection between the history of psychological knowledge in the West and the history of psychological knowledge in Brazil (Massimi 2016).

Articulation Between ‘Universe of Thought’ and ‘Universe of Practices’

A third important methodological aspect is the suggestion to consider the possible articulation between concepts and practices. This is the proposal of De Certeau’s multidimensional model: it distinguishes between the level of thought (what in a given historical period is possible to think and write) and the level of the ‘social practices’ that express this knowledge (Certeau De 2000).

These two interconnected and complementary levels follow their own logics and different growth rhythms. Therefore, in the historical reconstruction of psychological knowledge, the existence of these two universes must be taken into account.

Regimes of Historicity

The sources emerge as traces of a past time. Therefore, their meanings are also part of specific historical regimes. The notion of regime of historicity concerns the periodization of historical study and was formulated in contemporary historiography by F. Hartog. The concept presupposes the existence of a nonlinear and nonhomogeneous temporality, of a “plurality of ways in which human communities live their relationship with time” (Dosse 2004, p. 109).

Regime of historicity is an expression used to refer to the “experience (Erfahrung) of time”: in each historical epoch, men have peculiar ways of discourse about time and of experiencing time (Hartog 2003, p. 11).

Different forms of self-awareness experienced by human communities throughout history correspond to different “forms of the experience of time” or different “ways of being in time” (Hartog 2003, p. 12). In this way, each culture lives a dominant order of time, a way of translating and ordering the modalities of articulation between past, present, and future and giving them meaning (Hartog 2003, p. 118).

Different historical regimes can coexist in the same geographic or sociocultural space, especially in modern societies, such as the Brazilian one. These are composed of a set of strata of regimes of historicity, each one “imbued with a singular knowledge to recover, always open to creativity and to new forms of updating” (Dosse 2004, p. 141).

The Authors and Their Traditions of Belonging

The creation of the threads to compose the fabric of psychological knowledge in Brazilian culture must be attributed to the authors. In the studies that gave rise to this book, Brazilian authors were chosen, or who lived in Brazil a large part of their existence. However, they must be considered not only in their individuality, but also in relationships of belonging. The constitution of psychological knowledge in Brazil will be approached from the intentionality of the authors of the sources analyzed and their insertion in specific groups and in a given social, economic, cultural, religious, and political context.

The attention to the author's biography enables a better understanding of his work, clarifying "the link between existence and thinking" and recovering "the broken unity between thought and experience" (Dosse 2009, pp. 363–364).

Mac Intyre proposes an interesting concept to define the relationship between the author and his universe of belonging: the traditions of research. Each author is a member of some kind of community. Therefore, he is marked by a belonging and involved in conflicts and social problems inherent to the life of the community (Macintyre 1991). Each community develops its own research tradition, i.e., a set of standards of reasoning and fundamental beliefs. Standards and beliefs are elaborated by rationalities based on belonging to particular communities. There the domain of theory and the conceptual universe is indistinct from the field of interests, needs, and forms of social organization (Mcintyre 2001). Each tradition is situated historically and can be deeply transformed in dialogue with others. This means that theories and concepts do not constitute a field independent of the author's needs, interests, and forms of social organization.

However, it is not a question of establishing a deterministic relationship between the author's intellectual contributions and the social, political, and economic interests of the particular group to which he belongs. It is a question of showing that the theories and concepts proposed by an author are always the fruit of a "history that is neither distinct nor intelligible independently of the history of certain forms of practical and social life" in which he is inserted (Macintyre 1991, p. 418). As a member of a specific social community, an author is a protagonist of a certain tradition and begins his research from the perspective offered by its social and intellectual past. Each of the sociocultural subjects that make up the multifaceted Brazilian society is inspired by one or several research traditions.

Orality and Writing

A final aspect to be considered concerns the relations between the world of orality and writing in the composition of sources in the historical period focused on. That is linked to the question of authorship. According to Chartier, the role of the author means the attribution of a certain set of texts (designated as work) to an individual. This phenomenon began in European culture at the advent of modernity, to the extent that in that period the intellectual work began to be considered as individual and original creation (Chartier 2000). However, in antiquity, in the Middle Ages, as well as in Brazilian popular culture, authorship was and is linked to orality. In this case, for an author, even when dictating written texts, the use of the voice becomes indispensable (Chartier 1998, p. 24).

An example is the preacher: he has a set of texts intended for reading and necessary to prepare his sermons. At the same time, he elaborates these sermons as "oral performances" (Chartier 1998, p. 25).

The preacher's word is accompanied by a gestural performance, by modes of communication with the audience that are hopelessly lost when the sermon is subsequently transcribed (Chartier 1998, p. 28). Many of the authors studied in this

book are characterized by the dimension of orality (sacred oratory; theater, teaching). In the case of the sources of sacred oratory, there was, at first, a written draft; then, the speeches were pronounced orally; and thirdly, in some cases (such as that of Antônio Vieira) they were later transcribed into text.

In conclusion, we return to the metaphor of threads to weave the history of psychological knowledge into Brazilian culture. Weaving is one of the oldest traditions of Brazilian craftsmanship and is still practiced today by the remaining indigenous communities and in several regions of Brazil. The weaving process is an operation that consists of crossing at right angles two systems of parallel threads: the warp and the weft. The threads are of different colors and textures. The act of weaving is the interweaving of the weft yarns (transversal) with warp yarns (longitudinal). In our metaphor, the yarns (i.e., the fonts) created by the authors can be of oral or written origin, since in the production of the fonts, the yarns of writing are blended with the yarns of orality. In fact, we have seen that transits have occurred between these two modes of expression. In many cases, such threads were elaborated through joints established between the ‘universe of the thought’ and the ‘universe of practices’, that is, between two different modes of transmission and appropriation of knowledge. The interlacing of the threads consists of the intersection between the web of genres and the weft of contents. When elaborating the historical narrative, we insert a plot and a web in the loom of the times, according to the historicity regimes of those narrated events.

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Chapter 2

The Conimbric Treaties: The Transmission of the Psychological Knowledge of the West, in the Land of Santa Cruz



Brazil was initially called Terra de Santa Cruz by the Portuguese discoverers. Since the first decades of the sixteenth century, those who arrived in Brazil by sea route could bring books in their suitcases: in fact, the art of the newly founded press allowed the reproduction of texts, in a less expensive and less voluminous way than by handwritten copies.

A set of books in the luggage of the missionaries of the Society of Jesus, who arrived in Brazil in 1549, consisted of newly printed treaties and nicknamed Conimbricenses. The nickname derived from the fact that they were written in Coimbra, whose ancient Roman name was Conimbrica. The knowledge of the content of these texts will help us to understand the way of thinking of the Jesuit missionaries (their ‘universe of thought’, in the expression of De Certeau) and of those who were trained in the schools they created in Brazilian territory. In this book, we will focus on the way of thinking about psychic phenomena.

The path that will be proposed will require the reader to engage in the language of philosophical psychology of the time, in its specific articulations and terminologies. As will be evident, the effects of the transmission of this conceptual baggage, in the cultural universe of colonial Brazil, were considerable.

2.1 The History of Treaties

The first group of Jesuit missionaries in Brazil were mostly Portuguese who had studied in Salamanca, Alcalá, Lisbon, and at the College of Arts in Coimbra. The College, founded in 1548 and given to the Jesuits in 1555 by King John III, was located in Coimbra, a city already an important center of production and cultural formation inspired by Portuguese humanism. Since 1537, a University had been operating in Coimbra.

In this context, the Colégio das Artes had assumed an important role in the political project of formation of elites and cultural renewal of the Portuguese State. In this sense, the managing entity was highlighted: the Society of Jesus (Carvalho and Camps 2010).

Initially founded in preparation for other colleges, the College of Arts expanded into the Faculty of the same name. There, not only subjects of a literary philosophical nature (Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectics) were taught, but also Arithmetic, Astronomy, Music, and Geometry. The cultivation of Greek and Latin Humanities had thus acquired milestones of the Renaissance climate (Carvalho and Camps 2010).

Jerome Nadal SJ, then in the position of Visitor of the Society, ordered that a teaching manual for the course of philosophy, based on the commentary on the works of Aristotle revisited by Thomas Aquinas, be composed as soon as possible. The Jesuit Manoel de Góis (1540–1597), who taught in Coimbra between 1574 and 1582, began the work, taking advantage of the handwritten course in philosophy, read ordinarily by the teachers of the College of Coimbra, but also of Evora, Lisbon, and Braga (Carvalho and Camps 2010). In this way, Góis wrote the treatises quickly and the volumes began to be edited from 1584 onwards.

In all, these are eight volumes of Commentaries from the Conimbricense College of the Society of Jesus. The parts referring to the “scientia de anima”, that is, the philosophical psychology of Aristotelian and Augustinian origin, were printed in Coimbra and Lisbon from 1592 to 1606.¹

The publication of the Conimbricense Course represented an important editorial event in Europe, due to the systematic, interdisciplinary, and comprehensive nature of the work. The organization of the text in questions, solutions and theses, corresponds to the structure of the scholastic method heritage of medieval philosophy. As for its content, the treatises labeled by the authors as commentaries on Aristotelian works are in fact appropriations of texts and themes proposed by Aristotle, but according to clippings, choices and emphasis dictated by the specific circumstances of the space-time context in which they were written.

¹Here is the chronology of the organization and publication of the volumes (Carvalho and Camps 2010): Volume I (Coimbra: 1592): (1) *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Jesu, in Octo libros Physicorum Aristotelis Stagiritae*. Volume II (Lisbon: 1593): (2) *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Jesu, in Quatuor libros Coelo Aristotelis Stagiritae*, This comment was accompanied by an appendix on the problems on the four elements: 2.1. *Tractatio aliquota problematum de rebus ad quatuor mundi elementa pertinentibus, in totidem sectiones distributa*; (3) *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Jesu, in libros Meteororum Aristotelis Stagiritae*; (4) *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Jesu in libros Aristotelis Stagiritae, qui Parva Naturalia appellantur*; (5) *In libros Ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nicomachum, aliquot Conimbricenses Cursus Disputationes in quibus praecipua quaedam Ethicae disciplinae capita continentur* (the Ethics dispute is published in a second part of this volume, the only monograph omitting the expression “commentaries” in the title). Volume III (Coimbra: 1597): (6) *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Jesu, in duos libros De Generatione et Corruptione Aristotelis Stagiritae*. Volume IV (Coimbra: 1598): (7) *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Jesu, in Tres libros De Anima Aristotelis Stagiritae*. Contains two appendices: 7.1. *Tractatus of Anima Separata*; 7.2. *Tractatio aliquota problematum ad quinque sensos spectantium per totidem sectiones distributa*. Volume V (Coimbra: 1606): (8) *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Jesu. In universam Dialecticam Aristotelis Stagiritae*.

In the Commentaries, there is a thread that guides the teaching of philosophy in the field of pedagogy directed at schools and that responds to the dictates of the *Ratio studiorum*: the thought of Thomas Aquinas. Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) had attended the University of Paris at the time when the *Summa de Aquino* was taken as a theological manual. In this way, Loyola appropriated Aquinas' work in the form of an aristotelianism guided by Christian revelation.

Nevertheless, the Society of Jesus was a newly constituted religious order devoid of its own philosophical and theological tradition. For this reason, Jesuit teachers had the freedom to combine the legacies of tradition in the constitution of new philosophical positions.²

2.2 The Elaboration of the *Scientia de Anima*

The topics related to psychological study are covered in the following texts of the Conimbricenses treatises: the commentary to *De Anima* (On the Soul, Góis 1602), the commentary to *Parva Naturalia* (Small natural things, Góis 1593), the commentary to Ethics of Nicomaco (Góis 1957), the commentary to *De Generatione et Corruptione* (On generation and corruption, Góis 1607). In the texts, all written in the Latin language, the main concepts concerning psychological knowledge are highlighted.

As already mentioned, the proposition of Aristotelian psychology involves the appropriation of it by the philosopher and theologian Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century in the context of the anthropological vision shaped by Christianity; it assumes, therefore, the denomination of Aristotelian-Tomist doctrine. However, the vision of man and the psychism conveyed by the medieval philosophical tradition is interpreted in the light of the cultural changes that marked the humanist and Renaissance period.

²This is evident from this document concerning the General Congregation of 1593/94: “May the Fathers not feel obliged to be so attached to St. Thomas that they cannot distance themselves from him in any matter. In fact, even those who declare themselves to be more openly tomist sometimes distance themselves from him” (*Monumenta Paedagógica Societatis Iesus Vol. VII, 1992. In: Oak & Camps. Comm. Op. Cit. 2010, p. 24*).

Such influences are philosophical,³ but also medical,⁴ or other areas of “natural philosophy”. The quality and quantity of the cited sources are significant of the position of the Jesuit philosophers who seek to discuss and when possible to reconcile sometimes very different theories among themselves; that is, they are seeking to reconcile ancient and modern doctrines.

The analysis of the commentaries on Aristotelian psychological works allows one to know the broad panorama of the time with regard to anthropological and psychological knowledge. It allows one to understand the problems, the solutions, the themes, and the concepts, the methods of knowledge, which at the time were considered essential components of the domain defined as the study of “anima”.

An important component of this knowledge transformation process is the challenges arising from the need to open up to the “new” worlds outside Europe with which Europeans came into contact in the sixteenth century. This is a real revolution produced in the field of knowledge by the discovery of New Worlds, new men, new peoples, and social forms.

Some fundamental theses referring to the Aristotelian-Tomist definition of the human soul constitute the foundations of the proposed knowledge about the soul phenomena. The soul is defined as the first substantial act of the body, form of the body, and principle of our activity, according to the classical Aristotelian doctrine (Aristotle 2006).

The qualities of the soul are simplicity, spirituality, subsistence, immortality, and be created. Góis states that the theory of the substantiality of the soul is supported by a large group of philosophers (from Plato, of whom Timaeus quotes), but he also discusses the contrary theories widespread in the cultural universe of his time.⁵ The position of Góis is the reaffirmation, against these theories, of the substantial character of the soul.

³They're quoted: Marsílio Ficino (1433–1499), Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), Jean de Jandun (1285–1323), French philosopher and theologian who followed the Averrian Aristotelianism; Pietro Pomponazzi (1462–1525), Italian philosopher, author of *Tractatus de immortalitate animae* (1516); the Dominican theologian Durando de Saint-Pourcain (1275–1334) nominalist and fierce theological opponent of Aquinas states that only the human soul is indivisible; Caetano da Thiene (1387–1465) Renaissance philosopher and physicist, professor at the University of Padua. For further studies on the philosophical proposal of the treaties see also: Tavares 1948; Caeiro 1982, 1989; Giard 1995; Giard and Vaucelles 1996; Martins 1989; Cerqueira 2002. For further studies on the historical cultural universe of the treaties, see: Garin 1995; Kristeller 1953.

⁴Góis cites ancient and modern medical sources, which ones: Aristotle, *De sensu et sensibili*; Hippocrates (460aC–360aC), *Liber de carnibus*. Important contemporary doctors are cited as follows: André Vesalius (1514–1564) the creator of modern anatomy and author of *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, atlas of anatomy published in 1543, Tomás Rodrigues Da Veiga (1515–1579), a physician and teacher from Coimbra, also a therapist for members of the Society of Jesus, *Ars medica*, and *De locis affectis*; Jean Fernel (1497–1558) author of *De partibus corporis humani* who had created the term physiology to refer to the study of bodily functions; Realdo Colombo, *De re anatômica*; Realdo Colombo, *De cerebro et nervis*; Realdo Colombo (1516–1559) was an anatomist and surgeon, professor at the University of Padua and student and successor of Vesalius.

⁵The thesis that the soul is not an act first but an act second (i.e., that the soul is “entelechy”, a continuous and perennial movement) is found in several authors, some of them from the Christian tradition. Among the most important authors are Cicero (in *Tusculanas*, book first); Nemesio (in *De natura hominis* chap. 2); Gregory of Nissa (lib 2 *De anima* chap. 4); Justino (in: *Oratione par-aenetica ad gentes*). For further study of psychological knowledge in the treaties, see: Massimi

The soul has peculiar abilities called powers (*δυναμεις*). These are classified in four types: first, the vegetative power with the nutritive and generating functions; second, the sensory power, responsible for the sensitive knowledge that acts through the external senses (sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch) and the elaboration of this knowledge through the internal senses. These are as follows: the common sense whose function is to gather the sensations coming from the five external senses, distinguishing them and comparing them among themselves; the fantasy, which composes and divides the sensations among themselves; the cogitative power, or estimation, and the memory appetitive.

Thirdly, there is the appetitive power, which distinguishes itself in sensitive appetitive power, oriented toward sensitive and singular objects (i.e., passions or affective life itself) and intellectual appetitive power, directed by reason (or will). The intellectual power is composed of intuitive intellectual knowledge (information about a present object) and abstract intellectual knowledge (apprehension of an object that is not present).

According to Góis, the intellectual soul transcends the body. The argument is that the operations of the intellectual soul (intellect and will) transcend the nature and the physical and material condition of the human being. The intellectual soul is a spiritual substance, but not a part of the divine mind. It is of a spiritual nature by overcoming the bodily condition and is able, through the way of the intellect, to grasp and elaborate immaterial realities and, through the way of the will, to overcome the sphere of affections and sensibility (Carvalho and Camps 2010).

The powers of the soul correspond to what modern psychology today defines as psychic functions, notably: sensory functions, motivational and emotional functions, intellectual functions. However, from the perspective of Aristotelian psychology, the powers do not identify themselves tout court with the phenomena, whereas modern psychology recognizes the existence of only the phenomena. This change was the decisive step for the birth of psychological science in the nineteenth century.

Another important differentiation from modern psychology is that the *scientia de anima* of the Conimbricenses conceives the psychic dynamism not as an autonomous sphere, but in its intersections with the other aspects of the person (that is, corporeality and the spirit). Thus, the understanding of psychic phenomena also depends on the knowledge of the functioning of the other spheres of personal life, in the first place the corporeal sphere.

2.3 The Psychic Apparatus in the Body Complex: Humors and Temperaments

In the view of the Jesuit philosophers, there is a deep intersection between the corporeality and the psychism of the person.⁶ The Conimbricenses treatises teach that the functioning of the psychic dynamics is grafted in the dynamism of the “natural

2000c; Massimi and Silva 2001; Massimi 2002, 2009, 2010a.

⁶For example, in accordance with the Aristotelian-Tomist concept, the Conimbricenses claim that the locomotor power in man is directed by reason, unlike what happens in animals where it is

complexion” of each person, that is, in the psychophysiological condition of the body, expressed by the concept of temperament. In these treaties, the link between these two levels is considered so important that knowledge of temperament is considered part of the study of the soul.⁷

This view, in turn, fits into the context of a realistic epistemological position that postulates the deep intersection between metaphysics, “physics” (i.e., natural philosophy), mathematics, and theology.⁸

The origins of the concept of temperament date back to Greek medical theory, systematized by Hippocrates (460aC–370aC) and Galen (129–217). The theory considers the constitution of man determined by the presence of four fundamental humors. These correspond to the four basic elements of the composition of the universe. The humors are as follows: black biles (or melancholy), yellow biles, phlegm, and blood. The theory establishes a correspondence between the preponderance in the body of a type of humor and the temperament of the individual. Thus, excess black bile (*melanê kolê*) corresponds to melancholic temperament; excess yellow bile corresponds to choleric; excess blood, the blood; excess water, the phlegmatic. Temperaments determine the psychosomatic characteristics of the subject: his organic condition as well as his psychic states (Klibansky et al. 1983).

From this theory, an area of knowledge defined as Medicine of the Soul, or Medicine of the Spirit, emerged in the West. In Medieval and Renaissance West, the Medicine of the Soul became “guides of good living”. Knowledge and practices coming from theology, philosophy, spirituality, rhetoric, and medicine integrate this domain: medical theories (such as humoralist theory), advice suggested by the Fathers of the desert, advice derived from the ancient tradition of Christian Patristics, etc.

The Medicine of the Soul is based on an analogy between the soul and the body. It presupposes the existence of “diseases of the soul”. Thus, it admits the specificity of psychological pathology. At the same time, the psychological dimension is taken as an intermediary between the organic and the spiritual.

The illness of the soul can be the object of medical care because it has symptoms that can be physical. At the same time, it is also the object of cure by philosophers. In fact what gets sick is the soul as a whole (not only the sensory and vegetative soul, but also the rational soul).

Such analogy is, in many cases, interpreted in terms of a parallelism, in others, as expressive of the psychosomatic unity that characterizes the human being. The

governed by instinct.

⁷For example, Pedro Gomez, SI. *Breve Compendium eorum quae ab Aristotele in tribus libris de Anima et in Parvis Naturalis dicta sunt*, (1593). The compendium was intended for the use of the missions in Japan (manuscript n. 426, Lat. Reg. of the Vatican Apostolic Library, 134 pages, chap. 9). Analogous position is found in Góis, M. *Commentarii Conimbricensis Societatis Iesu, In Tres Libros de Anima* (1602), in Book I chap. I.

⁸Let us remember that the conception of nature that underlies Jesuit science was inspired by the renewed Iberian scholastics, which sought to propose an open conception integrated with the lay intellectual world of the time.

unitary principle of health is balance. Any imbalance, be it in the body or the spirit, is the cause of illness. For example, an imbalance caused by an excess, or defect, in the movements of the sensory appetite (= passion) can cause bodily and psychic illnesses and also cause a fragility of the spirit. In the same way, the diversity in the composition of the body's humors (complexion) leads to different psychological temperaments. However, an excess, or defect, of one or another mood may degenerate into psychic and physical pathologies.

In the sixteenth century, the Spanish physician Huarte de San Juan, a graduate of the University of Alcalá and author of the *Examen de Ingenios para las Ciencias* (1574), established a close correspondence between the Medicine of the body, the Medicine of the Animo, and the political and social construction of society. In doing so, he based it on the model of the Platonic Republic (San Juan, 1989). In this way, social practice is based on natural philosophy. The social body is conceived as a structure analogous to the microcosm, which is man himself.

Therefore, the Jesuits continued this tradition and spread it in their areas of missionary presence. In the writings of Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the religious order, there is frequent reference to this knowledge. It was used for a deeper understanding of the human being and his destiny, aiming at the orientation ("direction") of his spiritual life.⁹ The application of temperament theory is also found in the writings of Cláudio Acquaviva (1543–1615), one of Ignatius' successors in leading the Society of Jesus (Acquaviva 1660/1893a, b).

The knowledge about the natural complexion of individual bodies can be found in various treatises prepared by the Jesuit masters of Coimbra. Among them, the *Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Iesu, in Libro de Generatione et Corruptione* stands out. This book discusses the theories of physicians and philosophers about the diversity of temperaments (Góis 1607).¹⁰

The concepts conveyed in the treatise are inspired by Galeno, Averroés, Avicenas. It is postulated the existence of a type of temperament, the uniform, where all four qualities (heat and cold, wet and dry) are present in equal proportion. However, most individuals have disformed temperaments: in these, there is an unbalanced distribution of the four qualities. There are four types of disformed temperaments.

⁹For example, in a letter written to Father Antonio Brandão in June 1551, Loyola stressed the importance of the spiritual master knowing the temperament of the one who gives himself to his care. He affirms the need to "accommodate the complexion of the one with whom one talks, namely, whether he is phlegmatic or choleric, etc" (Loyola 1993, vol. 2, p. 89). Loyola demonstrates the use of these categories of psychological knowledge aimed at social practice, in some rules of coexistence suggested to Fathers Broett and Salmerón, (letter written from Rome, September 1541): "If someone is of a choleric temperament and treats with another choleric, if they are not of the same feeling, there is a great danger of their conversations being maladjusted. Therefore, if one knows to be of choleric complexion, one must go, in all points of the business, very armed with consideration, with a decision to bear and not to quarrel with the other, especially if one knows he is sick. But if one treats with phlegmatic or melancholic, there is not so much danger of maladjustment by hasty words" (Loyola 1993, vol. 3, pp. 21–22).

¹⁰Góis. In *Lib.de Gen. Op. Cit.* 1607, pp. 661–664 [Liv. Seg., cap. 8 (*Quaestio* I, art. II), (*Temperamentorum differentiae quae et quales sint*)].

The choleric temperament has prevalence of the fire element and for this reason has excess of the yellow biles humor and has the qualities of heat and dryness. The blood temperament has prevalence of blood and therefore has excess of blood and has the qualities of heat and humidity. The phlegmatic temperament has excess of water and therefore of the phlegmatic humor, and therefore, it has the qualities of cold and humid. The melancholic temperament has excess of earth and therefore of the black biles humor and therefore has the qualities of cold and dryness.

Within these types of temperament, there is a great variability, according to the quantitative combination of the four qualities. For example, if in the choleric temperament (where heat is combined with dryness) dryness predominates, it may become choleric-melancholic. If, on the contrary, heat predominates, it can be transformed into choleric-bloody temperament.

The commentary discusses the kind of temperament that would be most conducive to the excellence of inventiveness and to the perspicacity of the mind.

In the tradition of the Medicine of the Soul, melancholic humor was considered the most favorable for the development of intellectual activities, starting with Aristotle (*Problemata XXX*). Góis states, however, that the best temperament is the choleric-melancholic. In fact, the choleric constitution favors commitment and the speed of action and perception. At the same time, the heat of the choleric component moderates the negative effects of the black biles.

Góis warns that the subject may not retain the temperament inherited by his parents throughout his existence, due to changes within the organism itself, or the external environment.

The affirmation of temperament determination, however, is not equivalent to determinism. Góis refuses the theory of the absolute determination of individual differences by humorous factors. In this aspect, it distances itself from the galenical orthodox tradition and highlights the role of the subject's responsibility in the improvement and correction of his inclinations (Massimi 2000a, b, 2010b).¹¹ The Commentary points out the difference between soul and temperament and defines as wrong some deterministic positions similar to Galen's position.¹² According to the commentator, the error of this identification has already been pointed out by Thomas Aquinas.¹³ The fundamental difference between soul and temperament is that temperament is an accident (resulting from the combination of the four fundamental elements), and soul is substance. On the contrary, the identification between

¹¹ Galen had affirmed the absolute determination of the temperament regarding the psychism. See: Galeno 1976, 1984.

¹² Before Galen, the Greek philosopher Empédocles believed that the soul was the harmony between contrary qualities of the body. Góis states that Galen also considers the soul as the crase, that is, the balance of the four primary qualities. Therefore, the soul would be an accident, not substance. In this way, the soul would acquire different connotations in each individual according to bodily differences: in melancholics, it would be inclined to sadness; in choleric, to anger, etc.

¹³ In the second book of *Suma contra gentiles* (chap. 63), and *In quaestione disputata anima* (article one). On the use of temperament theory by 16th century medicine, see: Lemnio 1563; Lemnio 1564.

soul and temperament would imply the negation of the substantiality of the soul. Góis confirms Thomas' thesis by the evidence that the soul has its own functions that do not derive from temperamento: "*ab anima vero actus nutriendi, augendi, loco movendi, sentiendi, intelligendi*" (Góis 1607, p. 37). Moreover, the rational soul shows itself capable of controlling the movements linked to temperaments that arise in the sensitive appetite and of moderating passions.

In short, Góis and the Jesuit thinkers in general, while at the same time addressing the intersection between psychism and corporeality, also reiterate the distinction between them. In order to reject the materialistic view of the human being, they also seek to show the determination that the psychism exerts on the body. In fact, in *Comentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Iesu, In Libros Aristotelis qui Parva Naturalia appellantur*, (supplements to the book *De Anima*) published in Lisbon in 1593, questions concerning the influence of psychic phenomena on the condition of the body are addressed.

For example, one of the chapters on the Aristotelian *De somno et vigil* (q. 13) addresses the phenomenon of sleep associated with sadness. It is known that in depressive conditions, there is a tendency to excessive daytime sleepiness. According to Góis, the cause of this phenomenon would be that sadness mainly affects subjects of melancholic temperament, who are thoughtful and have excessive activity of the imagination. Such activity would disperse steam and consume the body's unity, causing sleep. Sleep, in turn, seems to relieve sadness, which is an unnatural movement of the body, by bringing body activity back to its natural state, thus containing the effect of melancholic humors.

Góis dedicates an entire chapter of commentary to the theme of sleep and dreams. Dreams are differentiated into two types: natural and psychic. Natural dreams are derived from affections and body movements. Psychic dreams depend on events experienced throughout the day. Natural dreams are shaped by the moods that prevail in individual temperament. Thus, the dreams of the melancholic are sad, funereal, full of darkness, and snowfall. The choleric have dreams full of fights and enmity. The blood people dream of wounds and burns. The phlegmatic dream of water sports, swimming, rains. Psychic dreams contain as follows: things, people, and intense affections (hate, love, fear, hope, etc.), and gestures proper to the daytime activity of the dreamer. The singers, they sing; the philosophers, they dispute; the avaricious, they accumulate money, etc. In accordance with Aristotle's *Ethics* that good men have better dreams, Góis states that dreams also reveal advice for virtuous conduct. The complementarity between physiological, psychological, and ethical dimensions of the human person is a statement that often appears in *Conimbricense Commentaries*.

Góis also addresses the links between temperament and individual characters. For example, the audacious character is determined by blood complexion. Individuals with this temperament have a great deal of blood and animal spirits and are by nature warm. In this way, they act with strength and endurance in the face of danger and never become pale and trembling. The commentator also wonders why the too daring seem at first to be daring in the face of danger and then become shy. He answers that this fact depends on them not being able to evaluate the entity of the

danger by excessive self-confidence. Therefore, true fortitude implies the activity of judgment, that is, the ability to assess the situation rationally.

Some habits influence the phenomena linked to temperament: in this way, sadness and pain are relieved by contemplation and sleep, because both induce in the human being a pleasurable state which is the opposite of sadness, and at the same time, reflection evokes the consideration of aspects which overcome the motives of sadness.

Finally, in the commentary *In Librum de Longitudine et Brevitate Vitae*, Góis asks which of the four temperaments is most suitable for a long life. And he answers that it is blood complexion, a balanced mixture of heat and humidity. They are less durable: the choleric complexion, characterized by heat and dryness; the phlegmatic complexion, characterized by humidity and cold; and the melancholic, characterized by cold and dryness.

2.4 The Sensitive Life and Its Dimensions

The interface between body and soul is constituted by the sensitive life, considered by the Conimbricense philosophers as an essential element of the psychic dynamism, above all by its function in the process of knowledge, whose basis is sensitive.¹⁴

Góis restates Aristotle's position that the sensitive perception consists of being moved and being affected (Aristóteles 2006). In the sensory dimension, there is a material modification (which occurs through contact with an external object) and a spiritual modification. This occurs at the level of the *species*, or *intentio*, that is, through the psychic representation of this object, which maintains similarity with it.¹⁵

Góis reiterates Thomas Aquinas' view that the senses are primarily passive faculties naturally susceptible to being modified, or altered, by an external sensitive object.¹⁶ The priority of the senses in the cognitive process is affirmed by Góis. In accordance with Thomas, he rejects the theories of innate representations previously planted in the mind by some superior entity without the need to go through the senses. On the contrary, Góis follows what Aristotle and Thomas taught that the

¹⁴The doctrine of sensitive knowledge in its general lines takes up the theories of Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas. However, the philosophers of Coimbra reformulate the conception of the universe of the sensitive, according to their Jesuitical vision inspired by Loyola.

¹⁵Aristotle writes in *De anima* II 1242a16ss that "in general and in relation to all sensitive perception, it is necessary to understand that sense is the receptive of sensitive forms without matter, just as wax receives the signal of the signet without iron or gold, and captures the signal golden or iron, but not as gold or iron".

¹⁶Thomas Aquinas deals with the psychic powers in *Summa theologiae* prima pars *Quaestio LXXVIII De potentiis animae in speciali*; e prima pars *Quaestio LXXIX: De potentiis intellectivis*.

intellect in power is like a tablet on which nothing is currently written (Aristóteles 2006, III 4429^b31).

In *De Anima's* Commentaries, Góis carries out a detailed study of the five external senses, especially vision. The treatise develops a kind of “ocular physiology, which deals not only with what is seen and how it is seen, but also discusses the noethical dimension, that is, the apprehension of the meaning of what is seen” (Carvalho and Camps 2010).

The attention to the senses is deeply inserted in Ignatian anthropology. The Commentary offers the readers the knowledge of the theoretical foundation that inspires the meditative and imaginative practice of place composition, a crucial aspect in the *Spiritual Exercises* of Loyola.

The description of the inner senses and the questions about their number and location is proposed at the beginning of the commentary to the third book of *De anima* by Aristotle. Significant space is dedicated to it because it was a very important discussion at the time.¹⁷

Starting from the Aristotelian-Tomist foundations, Góis began with a discussion of the position of the physician Galen on this matter. According to Galen, the exact number of internal senses can be evidenced by the different effects of lesions practiced in the anterior, median, and posterior parts of the brain. A lesion in the anterior part causes a delirium that makes the person imagine things that do not exist. A lesion in the middle part causes a delirium that leads the person to make mistaken judgments. A lesion in the posterior causes a delirium that makes the person remember facts that never occurred. The internal senses would therefore be three: imagination, reason, and memory.

Góis then discusses the theory that the number of internal senses should be determined by the different functions to be performed. From this perspective, he presents the contributions of various thinkers. Among them, he proposes the distinction introduced by the Arab philosopher Avicenna among five internal senses: common sense, imagination, estimation, cogitative, and memory.

Finally, in the conclusive solutions presented to this question, Góis follows the opinion of the Jesuit philosopher, Pedro da Fonseca, without, however, explicitly mentioning him. Fonseca returns to the Aristotelian position and groups the internal senses in two, that is, common sense and fantasy. The latter is a complex dynamism composed of imagination, cogitative/estimative, and memory. Common sense differentiates between the perception of objects of different senses and to identify the

¹⁷ *Commentarii Collegi Conimbricensis Societatis Jesu in tres libros De anima*. Coimbra, 1598, lib. 3, cap. 3, q. 1, artigos 1, 2 e 3. In *De anima*, Aristotle explicitly mentioned only common sense and fantasy, but the latter would also cover the functions of imagination, estimative/cogitative power, and memory. Thomas Aquinas adopted the following division of internal senses: common sense, imagination, cogitative (in human beings, which would correspond to the estimative power in animals), and memory. All these internal senses are located in the brain. The question of the exact number of internal senses and the specific function of each one was intensely discussed in the various comments on *De anima* produced by the first generations of Jesuit teachers. Pedro da Fonseca, Francisco Toledo, and Francisco Suarez postulated in their respective comments on *De anima* that the internal senses were two, three, or four, respectively.

very act of perceiving. The imagination serves as a deposit of things perceived, which can be accessed even when the objects that produced them are no longer present. The estimation (so called in irrational animals) or cogitative (proper to human beings) has the function of perceiving information (*intentiones*) that are not directly accessible to the external senses (for example, the information of danger, or the convenience of something) and form the instinctive judgment of fleeing from what is harmful, or approaching what is convenient. Memory stores what it receives (especially images and concepts) and brings it before the understanding every time this is necessary. In memory, Góis distinguishes two natures and modes of operation: the sensitive and the intellectual.¹⁸

Góis' long exposition about the definition of the number of internal senses reveals the attempt to reconcile different methods and approaches to the conceptualization of psychic phenomena: the empirical methods (based on observation and experimentation) and the speculative methods of philosophy, the positions of Aristotle and his interpreters, among them Thomas Aquinas, and those of Augustine and the neoplatonists.

As for the dynamism of the internal senses, Góis describes it as follows: the sensitive data obtained by the external senses are processed by the internal senses, and the result is called the 'phantom'. The cogitative power is called *ratio particularis*, because it manifests, in *specific features* of individual phenomena of the sensitive world, some elements that refer to the essence (universal). The act of thinking requires the presence of images deposited in the memory, ready to be made available again in the face of the request of imagination. In the interpretation of the Aristotelian-Tomist theory carried out by the Conimbric philosophers, thinking is the act of an incarnate being, of a corporal being. For this reason, it always needs to return to the support of the sensitive world for knowledge to occur. The act of thinking requires the presence of fantastic images and simulations deposited in the memory. It depends, therefore, on the action of the internal senses.

2.5 The Appetites

The psychic dynamic that gives rise to human actions is the result of the intersection and interaction between will, cognition (or intellect), and appetites.¹⁹

¹⁸This distinction seeks to reconcile the theses of the third book *De Anima* by Aristotle with those of the book *De Trinitate* by Augustine dedicated to the theme of memory and imagination (Carvalho and Camps, Com. Op. Cit. 2010, p. 115).

¹⁹The systematic and comprehensive discussion of these and their interactions with the other components of psychic dynamism is found in the "*Disputas do Curso Conimbricense sobre os Livros da Moral a Nicomaco de Aristóteles, em que se contem alguns dos principais capítulos da Moral*", elaboradas pelo jesuíta Manoel de Góis (Lisboa, Na Oficina de Simão Lopes, 1593. Modern edition organized by Banha de Andrade, Lisbon, 1957). The dispute is articulated in several issues.

In the wake of the tradition of Aristotelianism, Góis declares that the engine of psychic dynamism consists of the appetite, that is, the inclination of all things for good. Morality and human action depend on the positioning of appetite. Thus, the good functioning of appetites is a condition for the exercise of virtues. Such functioning depends on the previous sensory knowledge of objects.

In the First Ethical Dispute (Góis 1593/1957), it is stated that the act of appetite evidences the inclination of all things for the good, according to the tomist conception.²⁰ Góis distinguishes between innate appetite and appetite learned (elicited), following the emphasis on learning and transformation of the person by education proper of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Innate appetite is distinguished into natural sensitive (also called lust) and natural intellectual (or will). The inclinations of sensitive appetite are also called passions. Such movements, arising from the apprehension of good or evil, produce some unnatural mutation of the body.

2.5.1 Sensitive Appetites

The study of these psychic phenomena and their interfaces with the body is deepened in detail by Góis, in various comments on Aristotelian works. The conceptualization of these appetites is found in the Disputes about Aristotle's Ethics.

The sensitive appetite is proper to animals and men and is distinguished as concupiscible and irascible. By the concupiscible appetite, the animated being inclines to those things that prove convenient and avoids the harmful ones, according to the information given by the senses. By the irascible appetite, the animate being repels the impediments and obstacles to what is good, useful, and healthy. The concupiscible appetite is considered more "noble" than the irascible, because it is directed directly and immediately to the good, concerning the conservation of life. The irascible appetite seeks to remove the impediments. This is equivalent to saying that the power that is ordered to the end is more "noble" than the power that takes care of the means.

Therefore, there are two different kinds of passions, or affections: the passions of concupiscible appetite and those of irascible appetite. In some cases, these passions are conflicting, but they can also act in a complementary way. See the case of anger and lust: "The passions of irascible appetite sometimes seem to repel the movements of concupiscible appetite with intestinal and domestic struggle. In fact, in many cases, the inflamed concupiscent appetite attenuates anger and anger diminishes concupiscence" (Góis 1957, p. 181). It can happen that a passion attributed to a concupiscible appetite becomes a passion of irascible appetite and vice versa. For example, hatred (concupiscible appetite) can lead to anger (irascible appetite), and anger can lead to sadness (concupiscible appetite).

²⁰ Tomás de Aquino *Questiones de Veritate*: em *Summa*, 1,2, q. 25, art. 1, 2001/2012.

Góis discusses various classifications of passions, proposed by philosophers, and positions himself in favor of the traditional Aristotelian classification. Referring to the intensity of affections, the author draws a comparison between the passions and the four winds: “as the winds disturb the sea with storms, so the passions disturb the spirit with turbulent movements” (Góis 1957, p. 203).

The proposed classification includes 11 passions, divided into two groups. The first is composed of the six passions of the concupiscible appetite which concern the good object and the harmful object. The passions of the concupiscible appetite which concern good are love (which acts when the good object is present), desire (which acts when the good object is absent), delight, or pleasure (which acts when the good object is present). Love, in turn, can be differentiated into friendship (love for someone to whom we desire good) and love of concupiscence (love for one’s own good). The passions of concupiscent appetite which concern evil are hatred (when a harmful object is present), flight (when this object, still absent, could approach), sadness, and pain (when the harmful object is present). The second group of passions are the five that belong to the irascible appetite and concern hard good and hard evil. The passions that aim to achieve a hard good are hope (when we imagine being able to achieve good) and despair (when we imagine being unable to achieve good). The passions that aim to avoid hard evil are fear, audacity (when a harmful object is absent), and anger (when a harmful object is present).

Both sensitive appetites are located in the body. Góis presents several positions on the subject: the platonic, the aristotelian, the galenic. Although they all agree on the location of passions in different parts of the body, there are, however, differences as to the specific organs involved in each emotion. According to Góis, all authors establish a relationship between the organic location of passions and humoralist theory: “These authors think that the affection of wrath is placed in bile, the affection of fear in the heart, the affection of joy in the spleen. This distribution is justified by the fact that the bile (among the three excremental moods that separate from the kilo) is found in the gall bladder. It is said that bile is a stimulus of cholera. That is also why bile is usually choleric. And so it is true that anger resides in the gall’s receptacle. It can be proved that fear is thirsty in the heart, because in those who fear, blood and heat are immediately collected in the entrails, where the disturbance preferably occurs (...). Finally, it can serve as an argument to the fact that joy is located in the spleen the fact that those who suffer from diseases of the spleen, rarely and hardly laugh, being the laughter companion of joy and hilarity, as the doctors attest” (Góis 1957, pp. 188–189). Finally, Góis cites Galeno’s opinion that the concupiscible appetite lies in the liver, from the observation that individuals of blood temperament by nature are more prone to lust. In turn, the irascible appetite would be located in the heart.²¹

After articulating these traditional theories, Góis accepts the opinions of Hippocrates, Zenão, Posidônio, Crisipo, Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Vesalio. In

²¹ Exposed by Galen in the first book of the essay *That the inclinations of the soul follow the temperament of the body* (of which the Conimbricenses cite the Parisian edition of 1528).

accordance with these, he declares that appetites are thirsty in the heart. The reasons are two. Whether the affection of anger or greed, they cause perturbation in the heart. Moreover, the heart is the origin and source of all vital operations and therefore also of appetites, given by nature to conserve life and ward off dangers. However, irascible and concupiscent appetites reside in two distinct places in the heart due to the diverse composition of qualities that anger and concupiscence demand. Anger demands abundance of heat and dryness; concupiscence demands abundance of moisture and heat. In this view, there is a very strict relationship between the theory of passions and humoralist theory. Although the passions are defined as psychic phenomena, the hypothesis of their organic location establishes a humoral and, therefore, physical determination in the genesis of passions.²²

Another aspect addressed in detail in the Conimbricenses treaties refers to the somatic changes caused by passions. In Tomist theory, these would be organic effects caused by the concentration, or dispersion, of vital spirits in the heart. These, by heat, are directed to the outside of the body or, by cold, are concentrated in the entrails. Thus, such alterations would be determined by the modification of the primary qualities of the elements (heat and cold). This modification would be caused by the sensitive soul as form of the body.²³

Based on the position of Tomás, Manuel de Góis states that such changes are peculiar to the kind of passion experienced. In the case of anger and love, for example, although both induce body heat, they are different types of heat: “The fervour that follows heat belongs to love and anger for different reasons. In fact, the fervor of love is given with a certain sweetness and gentleness: it exists for the beloved and resembles the warmth of air and blood. That is why blood is prone to love, and it is said that the liver in which the blood is generated incites to love. The fervor of anger, on the other hand, is bitter and is turned to consume, because it tends to the punishment of the opposite and for this reason it resembles the heat of fire” (Góis 1957, p. 185).

To experience a passion is to be taken from a body disposition according to nature to a disposition that is not according to nature. In fact, we have seen that, by definition, all acts that belong to the sensitive appetite occur with some modification of the body that takes the animal away from its natural disposition. On these acts depends the acceleration or delay of the movement with which it dilates or contracts the heart. Thus, if the acts of the sensitive appetite concern escape and hesitation (for example, fear and sadness), they delay the movement of dilation of the heart, causing greater contraction of the organ. If, however, these acts are aimed at reaching the desired object and delighting in it, they cause dilation of the heart. Some passions produce a movement less alien to nature (joy and delight), others a movement more alien to nature (pain and sorrow), because it is more in accordance with the nature of the heart the operation of dilation, rather than contracting.

²²The ambiguity as to the definition of the nature of these phenomena pervades, in reality, much literature from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: for example, the work of King Dom Duarte, *Loyal Counselor*, (1437–38).

²³Tomás. *Suma*, Liv. 1,2, q. 48, art. 2. São Paulo: Editora Loyola: 2002–2006.

The somatic effects of fear are a topic widely addressed by Conimbricense Commentaries, among them the Commentary on *Parva Naturalia*, which was printed in Lisbon in 1593, and is considered a supplement to *De Anima*. The author warns about the force of such effects, such as that in some cases, fear can induce death. According to Góis, there are two types of causes, the formal cause (the sensitive appetite itself) and the material cause. This is a particularly intense emotion, which produces an organic alteration of vital spirits, an alteration which correlates with the operation of the sensory appetite. Such an alteration brings about an excessive contraction or an excessive expansion of the movement of the same spirits. Thus, in the movement of escape in the face of an imminent evil aroused by fear, the spirits and the blood condense in the heart, causing death by extinction of the innate heat of the body (Góis 1593). The possible serious somatic effects of fear depend on the fact that this passion intensely alters the natural movements of the heart. This also explains why fearful people pale and tremble; the phenomenon derives from the concentration of blood and animal spirits inside the body and the tremor of the limbs is due to the fact that heat is concentrated in the lower parts of the body.²⁴

In the comment *In Librum De Vita et Morte*, Góis asks again about the cause of which intense disorders of the animus—especially anger, fear, strong joy—affect the heart and can lead to death. In the first place, two causes of this phenomenon are established as follows: formal (for example, in the case of anger, the appetite for vengeance) and material (an intense commotion, or organic alteration of vital spirits, correlated to the operation of the appetite, leads the individual to have a red face because of the irritation of the blood). Thus, if the affection of the animus (formal cause) is very intense, it may cause death due to the unnatural movement of vital spirits. The author begins to analyze the effects of each passion: anger stimulates intense heat and a release of moods of cholera (yellow bile) that reach the brain and deprive the anger of the use of reason and sometimes lead to death. In fear, analogous to escape behavior to avoid evil, vital spirits, and blood also “flee” toward the interior of the body, and this sudden movement can cause the extinction of natural heat and sudden death. The same goes for intense shame.²⁵ Góis makes an example of the somatic effects of sadness, which is originally a sickening soul. It induces a change in the body; it makes the heat collect inside it, thus making the limbs flaccid and soft. In this way, it weakens the body and its operations. However, because it is a slow movement, sadness does not lead directly to death. But this can occur over

²⁴Thomas Aquinas in *Summa Theologica* puts trembling among the effects of fear: lack of heat induces weakness in the regulating force of body parts (Thomas Op. Cit., p. 1349).

²⁵The commentator cites some illustrious examples. The first is found in Plinio's *Natural Histories*, (book 7, chap. 53): a dialectic teacher called Diodorus, unable to resolve some issues proposed by the famous rhetoric Stibone was so affected by pain and shame that he lost his life. Another example is taken from Plutarch and Herodotus and concerns Homer (Valerius Maximus *Factorum et doctorum Memorabilium*, Lib. 9, chap. 12. f. 88–89). He would have died on the island of Io for the shame of not being able to interpret a phrase of some fishermen, in spite of his skill.

time, by the effects of this weakening of the body.²⁶ Joy, if moderate, favors the healthy movement of vital spirits. If it is excessive, it produces disorders which may even cause sudden death.²⁷ An intense affection of the soul can affect the frequency of wrist movements, notes Góis, in the comment *In Librum de respiratione*.

The commentator also answers several specific questions regarding the somatic manifestations of emotional phenomena. Such questions have already been addressed in Aristotelian *Problems*.

One of them concerns the fact that heat, produced in different quantities depending on different passions experienced, concentrates in specific parts of the body. In the case of sadness, it thickens in the heart; in the case of shame and joy, in the face. What would be the efficient cause of this phenomenon? The answer given by Góis is that the vital spirits and the blood that produces the heat move on the impulse of the soul.

Another question refers to the fact that the faces of the frightened ones turn pale. The answer attributes the phenomenon to the retraction of blood and vital spirits within the body, a retraction resulting from the movement of the soul.

The question about the cause of the fearful hair leads to attribute this effect to the sensation of cold experienced; this sensitive appetite leads the natural heat of the body to retract itself inside. An analogous movement of retraction explains the phenomenon that the frightened ones are thirsty. In fact, the natural heat when it withdraws inside the body warms the viscera absorbing its humidity and inducing the need to drink water to restore balance.

Different dynamics are found in the case of the blushing of the face caused by the affection of shame (defined as the fear of just reprehension). In this case, the contraction of the blood and consequent pallor of the face does not occur, as would be expected. According to Góis, the reason for this difference would be the fact that an object arouses shame concerning the phenomena of the soul and not the body. To support this statement, the commentator quotes the book by the Italian doctor Girolamo Fracastoro (1476–1553), *De Sympathia et Antiphatia Rerum*. Fracastoro states that shame is an affection aroused by the perception of a self defect evident in the eyes of other people present. Affection stimulates the movement of blood, which flows into the parts of the body involved in the perception of oneself and the presence of others, that is, the face.²⁸

²⁶The commentator refers to what Justino Martir quoted in *Paraenesis* and Gregorio de Nazianzo in his *Oratione Prima Contra Iulianum*, about the causes of Aristotle's death. The philosopher would have died as a consequence of the sadness that he could not find the cause of a natural phenomenon despite investigating it, for 7 days and seven nights. The phenomenon occurred in the Strait of Euripo, in Calcidus: there, the flow of the current, very strong at the narrowest point, reverses its direction seven times a day.

²⁷The examples cited are many, taken from various sources: among others, the Second Book of the *Third Decade* of Livio; the Seventh Book of Pliny's *Natural Histories*.

²⁸Here is Góis' text: "*Fracastorius in libro de Symp. et Antip. cap. 12 ait quia verecundia versatur circa defectum proprium in praesentia alterius, ideo fieri motum sanguinis et caloris ad eas partes, quae maxime laborant: laborat autem maxime facies in praesentia alterius, qui nostros defectus iudicet*" (*Comentarii Collegii Conimbricensis Societatis Iesu, In Libros Aristotelis qui Parva*

The cause of the pain and that great joy both cause tears is that these affections bring about changes in the amount of heat in the body. The pain removes the heat inside the body, and this action causes the mood to come out through the eyes. Joy expands the warmth to the outside of the body, so that the humor comes out through the eyes. In the case of pain, the tears are warm. In the case of joy, the tears are cold. The affection of joy provokes the redness of the skin because the soul, approaching the object of joy, makes the blood and the spirits reflect to the face.

Another topic approached by the commentary spells out the relationship between the affection of anger and mental life. The commentator takes up the position of some ancient philosophers who associate the affection of wrath with the good functioning of mental dynamism. He clarifies that there are two kinds of anger: the one associated with hatred and violence that seeks to fight back for aggression and the other, which is called strength, positive and necessary for the mind.

One issue discusses the cause of the eyes turning red when the subject is struck by a vehement anger. The answer is that in the experience of anger, the blood, excited by the fervor of the heart, concentrates on the head and eyes, and therefore, blood vapors easily appear. Still on anger, one investigates the reason for other affections (such as sadness, pain, and pleasure) to manifest themselves in a complementary way to it. The explanation given is that anger is associated with pain and sadness when it refers to insult, which is the cause of pain. Anger is associated with pleasure when it is connected with vengeance.²⁹

The commentator asks about loving affection. If likeness is a cause of love, why are there often fights between fellow men?³⁰ He responds that this happens because of the possibility that love becomes its opposite, hate. Still on love, Góis investigates the frequent association between love and madness, the reasons for which can be varied. In the first place, the intense and constant thought of the beloved object arouses the animal spirits in the brain and they provoke heat in the brain stimulating the functioning of the internal senses beyond the norm. Thus, they provoke an

Naturalia appellatur, Lisbon 1593, p. 92). Góis cites the 1546 edition of Fracastoro's work. Fracastoro, born of a former Verona family, studied medicine in Padova and became a professor at that university at the age of 19. He was elected a physician by the Council of Trent because of his eminence in medical practice. His complete works were first published in 1555. It is interesting to stress the reference made by the Jesuit philosopher to the physician and philosopher Fracastoro: influenced by Pomponazzi's philosophy, he wrote about astrology, philosophy, poetics, and medicine. The book cited here concerns his general philosophy of nature, governed by the principles of universal sympathy. This notion springs from the convergence between philosophical, Aristotelian, and Platonic traditions and the observation and experience of physical phenomena and at the

Another topic approached by the commentary spells out the relationship between the affection of anger and mental life. The commentator takes up the position of some ancient philosophers who associate the affection of wrath with the good functioning of mental dynamism. He clarifies that there are two kinds of anger: the one associated with hatred and violence that seeks to fight back for aggression and the other, which is called strength, positive and necessary for the mind. Same time seeks to overcome any supernatural explanation of natural facts.

²⁹As stated by Aristotle in the seventh book of *Ethics* (chap. 6).

³⁰According to Aristotle in the eighth book of *Ethics* (chap. 1) and in *Rhetoric*, second book (chap. 11).

imbalance, so that the psychic powers can no longer perform their function in an orderly manner.

In Commentary on Aristotelian *Ethics*, one of the points discussed by Góis is whether the passions are also proper to the spirit of the wise, that is, of one who is fully dedicated to the cultivation of the rational soul. The discussion is justified by the dialogue that Conimbric philosophers have with ancient stoicism and with contemporary neo-stoicism. Góis states that the stoic philosophers deny that passions live with wisdom.³¹ And he explains that they “were brought to this sentence because they thought it unworthy of the wise man to agitate with disturbances, since these were proper to sick spirits” (Góis 1957, p. 197). The starting point of the stoic position is the doctrine that passions would be diseases of the soul. This vision is opposed to the Aristotelian-Tomist and Augustinian theory according to which man, though wise, cannot entirely free himself from passions.³² Góis tries to resolve this opposition by proposing the hypothesis that between the two positions there would be only a semantic divergence, and not one of content. The Stoics would attribute a more restricted meaning to the word passion, defining it not in terms of any movement of appetite, but only of the turbulent ones, which go beyond the limits of reason and divert the spirit toward vices. On the contrary, the philosophers of Aristotelian and scholastic tradition would define passions as any movement of the sensitive appetite. Góis reaffirms his adherence to this latter tradition and conceives of passions as natural phenomena of human dynamism. Góis states that the passions, if ordered by reason, are not diseases of the spirit and vices, but possible conditions for virtue: “[the passions], if we put reason before them as mistress (and submit to it with civil obedience), can be used for moderation and balance and can be called to the obligations of virtues, deserving praise and reward”.³³ In fact, “if

³¹ Seneca, *De tranquillitate vitae*.

³² Thomas, *Suma*, Book 2, q.123, art.10, Augustine, *City of God*, lib.9, chap. 4.

³³ (Góis 1957, p. 199). Virtues are considered as inherent habits of intellectual appetites, according to Aristotle’s definition: “virtue is the elective habit which consists in the middle term, in relation to us, regulated by reason as a prudent person would regulate it” (Góis 1957, p. 209). The question posed by Góis is whether the passions, being movements of the sensitive appetite, could be determined by virtues or not. The answer is positive but the determination would occur not with “despotic power” but with “political power”. It would not be a necessary and absolute determination, but a possible sovradetermination of the appetite for reason and free will. Góis’ texts highlight the parallelism between anthropology and politics, which characterizes Jesuitical quintessence. A deep analogy is established between the organism of man considered a psychosomatic reality and the political-social organism. This analogy, despite having its conceptual matrixes in Greek philosophy, pervades in a peculiar way the whole Aristotelian-Tomist philosophy of the Counter Reformation, as well characterized by Pécora (1994). It is precisely in the context of this analogy that knowledge, control, and therapy of passions seem to find their theoretical and practical function. In the typical dynamics of the social body, as well as in the dynamics of the individual body, the “despotism” of the passions must be submitted to a “monarchy” where the government of reason and freedom assigns to each aspect of psychic life its function and its peculiar place. This would be one of the salient features of the “Psychology” of an Aristotelian-Tomist framework elaborated and practiced within the Society of Jesus during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

passions are considered in themselves, that is to say while they are a certain movement of irrational appetite, neither evil nor moral good belongs to them, which depends on reason” (Góis 1957, p. 199). Moreover, if the sentence of the Stoics were to be understood as a statement that the whole movement of appetite is vicious and alien to virtue, it would be contrary to the view of Christian Jewish theology on man. If he is a being created in the image and likeness of God, all his vital expressions have positive value, including passions.

In short, passions become diseases, or disorders of the animus, to the extent that their dynamics depart from the rule and rational moderation. Despite this, Góis admits that in some cases, we cannot dominate passions for reason, and therefore, they are not subject to moral control. This would be the passions that induce deep transmutations in the body (such as the commotion of laughter, or crying, etc.). In this aspect, the author seems to affirm a certain degree of determination of corporeality in psychic life.

Besides the somatic determination, Góis postulates the existence of another cause that would make the passions pathological, the action of the internal senses. It may happen that “the [sensitive] appetite moves the will through the news of the inner sense which itself follows, while the ghosts of the senses determine the intellect for the contemplation of this, or that thing” (Góis 1957, p. 159). In this case, it is possible that the act of the inner sense moves the sensitive appetite toward some object and that this intense movement reaches the will, so that it “is dragged by the appetite,” and “has no power to resist it”. This occurs when the sensitive appetite “is so vehement that it absolutely absorbs the use of reason,” thus moving the will according to a necessary and deterministic causality. This intense and disordered inclination of appetite “disturbs (...) and absorbs the judgment (...) which takes away his faculty to deliberate” (Góis 1957, p. 161). Once again, the decisive function of sensibility in psychic life as a whole is evident.

An important consequence of affirming the psychosomatic nature of passions is that they do not exactly belong to the rational appetite. Therefore, affections such as love, joy, and delight, which involve the action of cognition and will, cannot properly be called passions, but phenomena of intellectual appetite.³⁴

2.5.2 *Intellectual Appetites*

In Commentary on Ethics, Góis addresses the links between the lower and upper parts of psychic dynamism and the ordering role played by will, or intellectual appetites. The first question it discusses is whether all human acts are products of free will. If we consider human acts as to how they operate, then all human action is free. In fact, “man’s proper mode of operation, as distinct from animals, is to act in

³⁴Góis rests on the theories of Aristotle (*De Anima*), Plato (*Filebo*), Cicero (*Tusculanas*, liv.1), Augustine (*City of God*, lib.9), St. Thomas (*Suma*, liv.1, 2, quaestio 22, art.3).

such a way as to generate the dominion and freedom of his actions. Thus only those human actions are called those which man performs in his free power” (Góis 1957, p. 139). The will is free not because it deliberates for itself, “but because it follows the previous deliberation of the intellect”.

In the vision of Góis and the Jesuit philosophers, will occupies a central position in psychic dynamism. Góis uses “own experience” to attest to the evidence that the will actively moves the other powers of the soul to exercise their acts. In fact, all soul powers are by nature subject to the will: “This truth is proven in two ways. Firstly, by our own experience, since we contemplate, read, move from one place and do other obligations of this kind whenever we want. Secondly, by reason: it is from finality that the beginning of the movement of any active power starts (since every agent operates because of the end), and finality is the object of the will. From this it follows that the will to exercise one’s acts moves all the other powers” (Góis 1957, p. 147).

The author describes the dynamism of this “submission”. The will is a kind of vital force that permeates all psychic dynamism: “The will moves the other powers by connecting with them as the most universal cause. In this way, the power with which it competes and the will itself form a unique cause from which action springs. (...) The action with which the will formally moves the other powers is transitory, since it does not remain in the will itself. In fact, it is not really distinguished from the action of the other powers. Moreover, this intervention of the will is sometimes something spiritual, since the will can connect with an immaterial power (for example, the intellect); at other times, it is something material (for example, when it connects with a sensory power, inherent to the bodily organ, such as the imagination)” (Góis 1957, p. 149).

Góis goes deeper into an issue with special attention, the way in which intellectual appetites (or will) move the internal senses. He proposes two modalities, either according to a “despotic power” or according to a “political power”. In the first case, the internal senses would act as slaves who obey without resistance. In the second case, the internal senses would be free to follow, or resist, the movement of the will.³⁵ Góis states “that there is no internal sense that always obeys the will. Indeed, the internal senses “sometimes grasp the object so tenaciously that the will in no way, or hardly, dominates their movement, as daily experience teaches (Góis 1957, p. 151).

Góis asks about the causes that lead the inner senses to turn to an object without the consent of the will. There would be four causes: “the real presence of the object which is introduced through the external senses;” “the internal instigation of demons which, by stirring up animal spirits, transfer from one side to another, the images stored within and sharpen them, and accommodate them to the apprehension of the things represented in them;” “the disposition of the organ;” and the somatic consti-

³⁵At this point, Góis contradicts Thomas Aquinas, according to whom cogitative power would be driven by reason and will with despotic power.

tution.³⁶ For example, “melancholics, who have a dry and cold temperament, persist longer in apprehending the same thing” (Góis 1957, p. 151).

Normally, however, the sensitive appetite is driven by the will with “political power”. The demonstration of this is derived from experience “that the appetite is moved by the will demonstrates it by experience, since we often provoke or repress its movements, according to our will”. The relationship between the sensitive appetite and the intellectual appetite is “a non despotic subjection” because “at each step the sensitive appetite can be taken to the sensitive good against the judgment of reason and the affection of the will”. The will moves the external members of the body with “servile power,” “as proven by experience,” unless they are hindered by some illness” (Góis 1957, p. 155). However, there are some “sudden movements that sometimes move the members”, which “do not always come from the will (...) but sometimes only from appetite. For example, an individual with a choleric temperament moves his hand, by sudden appetite for revenge, to practice an insult” (Góis 1957, p. 157).

According to Góis, the confirmation that on several occasions the will (intellectual appetite) can be moved by the sensitive appetite is found in Sacred Scripture, but also in “experience”: “no one exists who does not experience the movement of an appetite (or anger, or pain, or joy) to incline the will towards himself” (Góis 1957, p. 159).

However, “the (sensitive) appetite does not move the will, because it is an inferior psychic power, connected to the organ of the body. As such, it has no control over the superior and immaterial power (according to the Aristotelian *De Anima*). The sensitive appetite moves the will “for the object, that is, through the intellectual noticia which proposes that the object should be accepted, or rejected” (Góis 1957, p. 159). This happens in two ways: in the first place, “the passion of appetite has an interest in the intellect, in this or that way, judging about the thing, sometimes in one way, sometimes in another“. And this makes “the will, following the decision of the intellect, want or repudiate the same thing as the appetite. In the second place, “appetite moves the will by means of the news given by the internal sense that it itself follows, since the representations of the object elaborated by that sense determine the intellect for the contemplation of this or that thing” (Góis 1957, p. 159). Again, the possibility is approached that the will be dragged along by appetite, in such a way that it has no power to resist it. Góis states that this happens under specific circumstances: “A very intense movement of appetite which entirely inhibits the use of reason necessarily moves the will; otherwise it does not. In fact, the movement of the will is free to the extent that the judgment remains whole and free. However, the inclination of appetite disturbs and absorbs judgment. In fact, the movement of this sensitive appetite when it is penetrating and disturbing moves the intellect vehemently to think about the object of passion (for example, about the

³⁶We will see the presence of this conception in the Sermon of the Demon Muto by Antonio Vieira, in the chapter dedicated to the genre of sacred oratory.

thing which causes pain or pleasure) in such a way as to take away its faculty of deliberation” (Góis 1957, p. 161).

Finally, in the view of Góis and the philosophers of Coimbra, appetites, sensitivity, and intellect (will) are central aspects of a person’s psychic dynamism. They articulate themselves with sensitivity, in various ways.

2.6 The Cognitive Powers

The discussion about cognitive potentials is conducted by Góis within the framework of knowledge theory. The human person is a somato-psychic-spiritual being. Therefore, the elaboration of the sensitive data (which, as we have seen, constitute the basis of knowledge) begins with the psychic processes connected to the body (sensitivity). Later, it is performed by other powers, among which cognition, or intellect (which performs the act of intellection). Thus, one passes from the sensitive knowledge to the intellectual knowledge. Following Thomas Aquinas, Góis distinguishes two functions of the intellect: the agent intellect and the possible intellect. The agent intellect acts in the first phase of the intellectual knowledge: it extracts how much of the universal is potentially found in the representations made by the internal senses (the intelligible species). Once the intelligible species of material conditions have been abstracted, it prints them on the possible or passive intellect. Therefore, the agent intellect has the active role of extracting the essence (quidity) from the particular representations coming from the sensitive knowledge (which by themselves are only potentially intelligible) and transforming them into universal (or intelligible in act). The possible intellect corresponds to the last phase of intellectual knowledge: it receives the information in the form of intelligible in act and constitutes the knowledge itself, that is, the apprehension of the universal.

In the last part of his commentary on *De Anima*, dedicated to the motor faculty, Góis affirms the superiority of the intellect over the will. He also affirms the distinction between will (whose object is good) and intellect (whose object is truth) and the fact that there are several modes of interrelationship (Carvalho and Camps 2010).

A special highlight is given to a specific component of cognitive powers: inventiveness. The importance of the inventiveness within the Company is highlighted in the Constitutions: in describing the rules for the General Admission Examination, it is stated that a defect in the quality of the ingenuity constitutes grounds for refusing admission to the Order: “*ingenii defectus est impedimentum secundarium ad Societatem*” (Examen c.5, n.3, II, 17).

Several Jesuit authors discuss the theme of inventiveness. Among them, Antonio Possevino SI, in the First Book *Cultura Ingeniorum* of the treatise *Bibliotheca Selecta*, discusses the conception of the Spanish doctor Huarte de San Juan and considers inventiveness as a gift from God, common to all men (Possevino 1990). However, it can be damaged in its use by causes arising from sin. In Chapter Eleven (*Ingenia quot duplicita*, ex Aristoteles), Possevino proposes a classification of individual devices, which can be distinguished in “*magna, item parva, mediocria, feli-*

cia, infelicia, apta, inepta, velocia, tarda, acuta, obtusa” (Possevino 1593, p. 8). Possevino dedicates several chapters of his work to refute Huarte’s position according to which the diversity of the devices would be innate. The knowledge of the mills appears to the author important for the orientation of young people toward studies. He recommends that this knowledge be practiced in the educational institutions of the Church. In fact, to possess a good inventiveness is necessary for the action of a Jesuit since to this characteristic are associated functions such as government, oratory, study, and teaching.

Battistini (2000) states that in Modern Age culture, the term inventiveness denotes a specific mode of thought. “In a reality as unstable as that of the seventeenth century, man already aware of his modernity is required to perform a creative task that is not satisfied only by the variations in relationships that are already consolidated and evident, but that also creates other relationships for nothing obvious, less evident and even mysterious, through a continuous solicitation of the intellect and imagination. This explains the baroque centrality of the theme of inventiveness, a gift that consists in bringing things closer together, with a kind of circle that provokes an increase in knowledge and the delight derived from surprise. In fact, the inventiveness is a category already used by Aristotle. However, most authors of the seventeenth century who deal with this category, leave aside all the care of the Greek philosopher in avoiding too distant approaches to concept. In other words, the matrix of Baroque poetics is still Aristotelian, but its rules are modified, eliminating the mesoteric component, i.e. the measurement and temperance. In the game of reception, the audacity of the poet’s inventiveness which, in creating metaphors, identifies a concept with another that immediately seemed irreconcilable, unleashes a double process of watching and unveiling that forces the recipient to participate in the same inventive happiness of the issuer, experiencing the pleasure of deciphering by his own inventiveness what had been created by the inventiveness of another” (Battistini 2000, pp. 131–132, our translation).

In the Conimbricense Commentary to Aristotle’s treatise *De anima* (1602), Góis uses the term *ingenium* when, in addressing some aspects inherent to the psychosomatic unity that constitutes the human being, he discusses the question whether the tenderness of the body’s flesh can be considered an indication of good inventiveness (Góis 1602, pp. 71–72). He thus takes up what Aristotle stated in *De Anima* when he spoke about the sense of touch and its importance in the process of knowledge. According to the Greek philosopher, the tenderness of the flesh predisposes to a greater tactile sensibility and therefore to have a good inventiveness. The subjects who have hard flesh would also be rude as to intelligence. Góis, however, rejects the Aristotelian thesis associating the sense of touch to the cognitive power of inventiveness, using arguments that relate the latter to temperament theory, just as Aristotle had already done, some of them even taken from other texts of the Estagirita: the Problems. In contesting *De Anima*’s position, Góis proposes contrary evidence. For example, the phlegmatic temperaments endowed with soft meats are less intelligent than the choleric ones. And the melancholics, whose meats are harder due to their somatic composition, have greater intellectual acuity.

In this context, Góis provides a definition of ingenium as the ease and readiness of understanding: “*a phantasia, mentis in intelligendo facilitas, et promptitudo, in qua vis ingenii consistit*” (Góis 1602, p. 216). In Conimbricense philosophy, therefore, there seems to be the possibility of delineating a certain connection between inventiveness and temperaments characterized by the prevalence of the igneous element.

2.7 Conclusion

In short, from the perspective of Coimbra’s philosophers, a complex interweaving between body and soul characterizes the personal being. In this way, health results from balance and care in both its dimensions. It is not a question of neutralizing or disregarding the action of psychic powers. They are constitutive elements of human experience. However, it is necessary to learn how to deal with these phenomena in order to make them constructive factors of one’s development. In fact, according to the Conimbricenses, “the passions, if we put reason before them as mistress (to which they submit themselves with civil obedience), can be used for moderation and balance and can call for the obligations of the virtues” (Góis 1957, p. 199).

It is due to the influence of the Renaissance culture that, in Góis’ comments, the theses and questions concerning the dynamics of psychological powers are oriented to the plane of human behavior, leading to the intersection between the domains of Psychology and Ethics. In fact, as already mentioned, Humanism and, above all, the Renaissance have revisited Aristotle’s ethical thinking. *Ethics to Nicome* (Aristóteles 1996) was one of the books most read and interpreted by the thinkers of that period, including those of the Society of Jesus.

The importance given to the will is due to the resumption of Augustine’s philosophy in the sixteenth century, including from the perspective of the theology of the Protestant Reformation. The psychic dynamic that gives rise to human actions is the result of the intersection and interaction between the intellectual appetites (will), the intellect and the sensitive appetites. However, following the thinking of the time, Góis assumes the existence of a relationship of dependence between the other powers of the soul and the will. For this reason, he dwells on the analysis of the dynamics by which the will moves the other powers and deepens the notion of appetite. This term is proper to the tradition of Aristotelianism and in our current language corresponds to the notion of desire. Góis thus reaffirms the classical doctrine of the inclination of all things to good.

We have seen that Góis’ comments attach great importance to states of the soul defined as passions, which in the language of modern psychology correspond to emotions, or feelings. They discuss these phenomena in the light of philosophical knowledge, but also of medical knowledge. They attach great importance to questions about the physiological and biological correlates of the dynamics of passions. The questions are as follows: the relationships between sadness, sleep, and dreams; the relationships between dreams and passions; the relationships between passions,

the cardiovascular system, and breathing; the relationships between passions and the psychosomatic constitution of individuals (temperament); the relationships between passions and the various ages of life. In this way, the conception of the functioning of psychic dynamism is the foundation of a unitary anthropology of Greek and medieval matrix. In this conception of man, there is no solution of continuity between bodily and psychic phenomena and the knowledge of philosophers and theologians and the knowledge of doctors complement each other, because they are expressions of a universe of unitary meaning.

However, the theory of Coimbra's philosophers must be placed on the cultural horizon of Modernity, where the constitution of a new philosophical anthropology is outlined. In this, "soul and body are about to be radically separated". And the various areas of knowledge claim their autonomy in terms of methods and objects. On this horizon, the theory of passions plays a central role, as will occur in Descartes' treatise. After Descartes, the attempt by Jesuit philosophers to build a theological-moral theory for the reevaluation of passions, based on the physical treatment of these passions, would no longer be an acceptable proposal in the cultural universe of the 17th and 18th centuries.³⁷ In this historical moment, in fact, "the shock between two paradigms" will be structured: one that will consider the passions of the soul as simple effects of the body's dynamism and the other that will take the passions as essentially psychic phenomena.

In general, therefore, the science of the soul proposed by the Jesuits and the foundation of self-knowledge implied in it is tied to a broader vision of the world that they make themselves proposers and that is based on some fundamental pillars: The position of the Jesuit philosophers of Coimbra, despite appearing in tune with the vision of the nascent modernity, nevertheless claimed its insertion in the millenary tradition of "know yourself". And this anthropology of radical self-knowledge, in turn, was founded on a cosmology marked by the creationist design; in an ethic directed towards the realisation of a happy life; in a theology which places man in relation to God taken as the Truth.³⁸

On the other hand, it is evident that the psychological knowledge conveyed and elaborated by the Conimbricenses place themselves within the framework of the nascent Modernity. In fact, they discuss issues of contemporary interest, even if they seek to reaffirm aspects of the traditional world view. One example is the great space dedicated in *De Anima's* Commentary to the question of individual and racial differences and the human soul. This theme has already been approached by Thomas Aquinas in the *Suma Teológica* in a somewhat dubious way and interpreted by peripatetic philosophers in different ways. It is treated with great emphasis by Manuel de Góis in the chapter on the qualities of the soul. In this, it is firmly stated that, as far as the soul and its powers are concerned, men of all races and of all times are equal. Thus, the deficiency, or perfection as to the operations of a psychic power,

³⁷ For further study: Santiago, retirado de <http://iiseminariofariasbrito.blogspot.com.br/2009/09/ciencia-da-alma-e-conhecimento-de-si-no.html> em 17/02/2015.

³⁸ For further study: Santiago, retirado de <http://iiseminariofariasbrito.blogspot.com.br/2009/09/ciencia-da-alma-e-conhecimento-de-si-no.html> em 17/02/2015.

should not be attributed to the lesser or greater perfection of the power, but to the defect, or perfection of the organ of the body involved. Every intellectual inequality which exists from individual to individual comes only from the unequal constitution of individual bodies. The importance of the discussion becomes clear as we recall the debate held by contemporary Catholic theologians and philosophers, especially in the Iberian area, about the humanity of the Amerindian peoples (Hanke 1985). The transmission of this discussion in the Jesuit cultural production in colonial Brazil can be found in the *Diálogo sobre a conversão do gentio* (Dialogue on the conversion of the Gentile), written by Manoel da Nóbrega (1989) in the middle of the sixteenth century, dedicated to the theme of evangelization of the Brazilian Indian.

In any case, the psychological knowledge elaborated and transmitted by the Conimbricenses treatises informed the view about themselves and about the other, of the Jesuit missionaries recently arrived in Brazil.

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Chapter 3

Psychological Knowledge and Narratives of Experiences in Epistolary Correspondence



3.1 Premise: The Specificity of the Epistolary Genre and the Jesuit Letters

From the Sixteenth century on, missives were sent from what was then called Terra de Santa Cruz and described raw material, flora, fauna, geography, and anthropology. The letters also comment on what was happening in the territory discovered in 1500 by the Portuguese navigator Pedro Álvares Cabral and target of the greed colonizing Portugal and other European countries.

The letters are the oldest written documents to be found in Brazil. The letters, used as a communication link between the New and the Old World, are of particular relevance in the Europe of the time. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the letter was seen not only as a means of communication, but also as a literary genre close to autobiography. In this, the author of the writing is also the protagonist of the narrative (Longo 1981). In this way, the letters became a space to ask personal questions, propitious grounds for the elaboration of experiences lived by their authors, and not only vehicles for the transmission of theories and ideals. In this context, the use of the letter as a vehicle of psychological knowledge is also evident. Such knowledge also shapes the elaboration of the experiences narrated by the authors.

The writing of a letter is a complex process. On the one hand, the letter is the result of personal and sometimes community elaboration. On the other hand, it is also part of a given universe marked by precise historical and cultural demands in terms of contents and styles, rhetoric and poetics (Pécora 1999). Letters are dialogical forms between an “I” and a “you” that take place in absence and seek to obtain the effect of persuading the addressee about some objective (Quondam 1981). In the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, in order to achieve this objective, the way the epistle was written did not arise from the spontaneity of the author but was based on

the rhetoric¹. This discipline was regarded at the time as the universal foundation of the organization of discourse—whether oral or written. The advent of printing with moving characters also made it possible to publish private epistolary bodies and allowed the production of large quantities of documentary material.

An extensive body of letters prepared in Brazil was written by the missionaries of the Society of Jesus living in this territory, initially European immigrants, and later also natives. The use of epistolary correspondence was a widely used instrument by this religious order².

O'Malley refers to the extraordinary emphasis that the Constitutions of the Order have given to correspondence as an instrument to obtain the union of hearts. The historian comments that, “As far as possible, the rectors had to write to Father Provincial and the Provincials to Father General once a week; Father General had to respond to the Provincials at least once a month, and the Provincials had to correspond with the local rectors of the residences. These prescriptions were too demanding to be observed except in special cases, such as the first months of the opening of a new college. In any case, they proposed an ideal of frequent and frank communication” (O'Malley 2004, p. 71).

The Jesuits maintained correspondence among themselves, official and not, in the vernacular languages and not in Latin. Therefore, most letters from that period were written in Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and other languages. Besides bringing

¹Quondam points out that from Petrarch onwards, and especially during the humanist period, the letter takes on an explicitly public and literary character. It becomes an instrument for the management of public things and transcends everyday communicative and family meanings. Throughout the Renaissance, the publication of collections of letters (loving, family, religious, etc.) is promoted in many cases deprived of real interlocutors. Therefore, letters have become an important literary genre in the book market. Through epistolary correspondence, humanists have built an authentic literary republic where letters are an instrument and expression of a sodalium, of belonging to a common culture that eliminates political and geographical boundaries. Since the 16th century, an extensive treatise has developed, gathering rules that have increasingly fixed the structure of the charter, rules destined even to specialists in the writing of this type of documents: the secretaries. (Quondam. 1981).

²See the introduction by Cardoso, A. SI, Inácio de Loyola, *Cartas* (Letters), vol. 1 to vol.3, São Paulo: Loyola Publishing House, 1990-1993. It is known that Ignatius of Loyola used the letter as an important instrument for the propagation of his teachings and as a fundamental resource to promote intense communication among the members of the Society. In a letter addressed to Father Pedro Fabro in Germany and written from Rome by Ignatius in 1542, he recommended that the writing of the letter be regulated so that it could be used according to its own objectives: “I ask that in our correspondence we proceed to the greater service of his divine goodness and the greater benefit of our neighbor” (1993, vol. 3, p. 27). The main letter is destined to be of public domain, “which one could show to anyone” (1993, vol. 3, p. 28). It must be an account of the missionary activity of the writer, so that “it may serve for the greater edification of the listeners or readers”. Ignatius recommends that “no matter is mixed up that does not come to the case,” that is, of a discretionary order. This should be placed “on separate sheets of paper” where “one can write in haste, from the abundance of the heart, orderedly or disorderly” (1993, vol.3, p. 28). In order for the letter to be ordained, Ignatius recommends writing it twice: “write it again, or have it written down after correction” (idem). See also O'Malley, 2002.

information and seeking, or giving advice, some letters, or parts of them, had a declared purpose of edification both for the Jesuits and for others.

Furthermore, "the Jesuits circulated these letters to silence enemies, win friends, attract recruits and exalt their own enthusiasm for their vocation. More importantly, both Jesuits and others could learn who the Jesuits were by reading about what they were doing". (O'Malley 2004, p. 72). For example, the religious residing in Brazil waited for the arrival of the letters of the confreres in the Indies and read them at table in their houses.

The Jesuit missives are dense communications full of information also about this sphere of phenomena that we today define as psychological. Like all the epistolary correspondence of the time, also in the case of the Jesuit correspondence, writing employs resources of the rhetorical arts that also manage to mobilize the psychic dynamism of the recipients through persuasion. According to Pécora, the Jesuit correspondence should be seen "as a kind of rhetorical map of the progress of their conversion. Thus, the possibility of meaning and expression of the text is restricted to the" plausible routes of that map (Pécora 1999, pp. 373–374).

In fact, from Ignatius of Loyola, the composition of the Jesuit letters follows the traditional rhetorical formula of *ars dictaminis*: in the first part (the brief greeting), the author expresses his consideration for the recipient, almost as a preparatory preamble; in the second part (*captatio benevolentiae*), or beginning, the sender, by organizing the words appropriately, seeks to effectively influence the mind of the recipient, in hopes of obtaining favor. In the third part, the *narratio*, the writer informs the subject and makes explicit the request that is the object of the missive, reporting arguments in favor of it. Finally, in the petition and in the conclusion, the author repeats the request in such a way that it can be printed in the mind of the addressee (Pécora 2001)³.

Within the Society of Jesus, in addition to accomplishing the above objectives, the letters acquire a fourfold function: to inform, to gather in one body, to communicate mystical or devotional experiences, and to govern. These functions are codified in the normative structure indicated in the institutional documents of the Society of Jesus. The letters are a means of communication and exchange of information between the "members" and superiors of the Order, as stated in the *Constitutions of the Company* (Pécora 1999; *Constituições* 1997).

The letter narrates the events "in communicable letters" and interprets them as being endowed with meaning, based on "an enormous effort of will and intelligence, most often synthesised in the duty of writing" (Pécora 1999, p. 381). The letters also fulfill the function of bringing everyone together into one, thus strengthening the spiritual network of relationships within the Company

³With regard to the rhetorical style of writing of the letters, the Jesuits carry out their writing according to four different types traditionally used: persuasive (style which reconciles, exhorts, dissuades, consoles, problematizes, or recommends), demonstrative (style which describes things, people or places, events, travel, etc.), judicial (style which accuses, threatens, judges, etc...), and narrative (style which informs and communicates feelings). Depending on the specific objectives of writing, Jesuit letters follow one of these four styles.

(Constitutions 1997). In this way, the letters help to maintain unity between the head of the Body of the Society and the members on mission. This is the mystical or devotional dimension of the letters, since human writing is considered analogous to the divine scriptures, as a sign of the unity of the body of the Church. Finally, the letters become an effective means of governing the Order through Father General, who uses the help of a secretary to carry out the task of writing.

In addition to the normative content, the correspondence prepared by Ignatius of Loyola and the exemplary figures of the Society of Jesus is a model always available to be read and imitated.

The rapid growth and expansion of the Society of Jesus made it necessary to adapt the rules of the writing of the correspondence to the new circumstances, and differences in the ways of writing the letter were foreseen due to the diversity of objectives and recipients. (Lamalle 2004).

3.2 Brazil as the Object of the Petition in the *Indipetae* Letters

In a group of letters found in the Historical Archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome (Italy) and labeled *Indipetae Lusitanae* 757/II (1651–1716), we find the reference to Brazil as the goal of the missionary destination requested. Let us first “listen” to the voices of its authors. Letter n. 41, written by Alonso Pestana, comes from the College of Coimbra (Portugal) and is dated September 2, 1692, and is written in Spanish, “Much Reverend Father Geral Because I do not think that I am against the style of Our Company, I would like to express to Your Fatherhood my desire to be a missionary for the greater glory of God; and for the good of my soul, and for the help of those around me, the mission is for Brazil, of which Father Manoel Correa is Provincial, with whom I have already failed to be a member. I am indifferent to any reason for which I ask Your Fatherhood, being served, to grant me the release of my request, provided that in everything I do, I do what is of greater Divine glory. I consider that I have greater fruit than the herege of our Galles. To your Fatherhood I trust, in whose blessing and holy sacrifices I entrust myself. In Coimbra, September 2, 1692 Unworthy to be in Christ of Your Paternity. Alonso Pestana”.

Letter No. 24, dated October 29, 1682, from Funchal, (the author’s name does not appear) is written in Portuguese and refers to a previous missive: “Much Reverend Father. I wrote to Your months ago; and as the letters have great sorrow of being lost, as well, because this letter contains business of greater importance, so I take up the pen again. Our Lord has given me a great desire to go to Brazil to accompany the Fathers of that Province in the service of God: this for seven, or eight years, and it will probably be for life, that God will give me life after seven, or eight years. I gave notice of this will of mine to the Father Provincial of Brazil, and there I asked him to give this notice to your Fatherhood as well. And this determination was the cause of my asking Your Paternity in the last letter to inform the Provincials of

Portugal that the following two years, besides this one, would not shake me from this island, and from the chair of cases, which I have been reading for four years: for how much of this port ships leave almost every year for Brazil: and before two or three years have passed, I cannot send myself to sail. I was saying more in my letter to Your Father: how the Provincial Fathers of Portugal have detained me on this island for six to seven years; and it seems that this delay has ordered God to give me the will and I hope that now I will give myself to go and do some service to Brazil. I am nearly forty years of age: I am twenty years old and have made my profession of four vows and I have enough strength, thank God. I ask for your blessing and holy sacrifices. From Foyal of October, 28, 1682. Minimal son in Christ of Your Fatherhood.”

Letter No. 245 dates from 1699, written in Portuguese, and written by Pero Marques: Much Reverend Father in Christ. Pax Christi. I have long wished to present to our Father the will that God, through His infinite mercy, gives me to go and give my life for His love in one of the parts where ours receive from His divine goodness so high mercy. I did not do this earlier because I waited for the Father procurator of Brazil to whom I gave a part of these feelings as someone who could help me with your Fatherhood. These desires are in me great, of some years. I asked the Provincial of this Province to put them into practice: I never achieved them. Now I ask your Fatherhood for the love of God, for all the good that there is in this, and because he does not want to see so much in Heaven, to use this means that he offers me. “November 12, 1699. From your unworthy Father in Our Lord. Pero Marques

In these and similar letters, Brazil appears as the goal of the senders' desire. The authors tell Father General of their desire to be sent in mission lands, which in the specific case of these letters means “to go and do some service to Brazil” and they claim to have already expressed this desire to Father Procurator, or to Father Provincial. But at the same time, they affirm their willingness to be sent, and they declare themselves “indifferent” as to the choice of destination.

What is it all about? What is an *Independent* Letter? On what occasions does a Jesuit become the author of an *Indepet*?

3.2.1 *The Genre Indipetae and Its Authors*

The Litterae Indipetae are letters drawn up by young Jesuits according to a practice that begins at the end of the sixteenth century and extends into the twentieth century. In them, the authors ask the Superior General of the Society to serve in the missions. The requirement to write the request to be sent to the overseas missions in a letter to Father General of the Society was introduced in the Society of Jesus at the end of the sixteenth century. This document also serves to highlight the maturation of the novices' formation journey through the practice of the spiritual exercises. This text by Ignatius of Loyola was written, as the author himself relates, from an experience: “insofar as he observed some things in his soul and found them useful,

and it seemed to him that they could also be useful to others; then he put them in writing” (Loyola 1991, p. 1072). In fact, the book is a set of diverse instructions designed to arouse in the readers a similar experience, through a number of systematically ordered inner exercises (Guibert, 1953). In the history of the Company, this set of practices is used to propose to the members a model experience that guides their formation journey. The writing of the *indipeta* letter documents that the novice is following this path.

In the Historical Archives of the General Curia of the Society of Jesus in Rome, there is a group of almost sixteen thousand letters of this nature. However, the estimate is that, in all, they were written about 24,000 *Indipetae* (Lamalle 1981-1982). Recently, researchers have focused on the study of these sources, stimulated by the wealth of information and autobiographical content that make possible a plurality of approaches to analysis ⁴.

In all the epistolary correspondence, the *Indipets* assume a triple function: to clarify for the author and the recipient the nature of the desire of the missions; to strengthen the relations between each member of the Society and his superiors, especially Father General (in the missives, he makes reference to Father General as to a Father while the one who writes labels himself as an unworthy son); and to submit the individual desire to the will of God by giving himself over to the decision of the General, whose authority is taken as a sign of the divine will. This submission is expressed by the term indifference, which indicates the experience of affirming desire, obedience, courage, prudence, and freedom (Massimi & Prudente, 2002; Barros & Massimi, 2005).

In short, from the late 16th century the *Indipetae* are an expression of an institutional dynamic related to the missionary policy of the Company, but at the same time, they are narratives of the personal motivations of its members, especially the young people attracted by the missionary adventure. (Pizzorusso, 1997). Each story conveys the particularity of the author's experience, seeking to make explicit his motivations as to the desire to go and act in the overseas missionary contexts. Therefore, in addition to the codified rules of the writing of the letter, the *Indipetae*

⁴ROSCIONI G. C. *Il desiderio delle Indie. Storie, sogni e fughe di giovani gesuiti italiani*. Torino: Einaudi, 2001. Giovanni Pizzorusso, 1997. Le choix indifférent: mentalités et attentes des jésuites aspirants missionnaires dans l'Amérique française au XVIIe siècle, p. 881-894. In: *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* T. 109, N°2. 1997. pp. 881-894. MASSIMI, M., PRUDENTE, A.B.(2002). *Um incendio desejo das Índias*, São Paulo: Loyola. Coleção CES. SOUSA, L.V. & MASSIMI, M. Il desiderio dell'Oltremare nelle *Litterae Indipetae*: le condizioni psicologiche per l'azione nella narrazione di giovani gesuiti del sedicesimo secolo. *Memorandum: Memória e História em Psicologia*. Belo Horizonte, v.3, 2002, pp. 1-17. Ritirato in 16/08/2017 da: <http://www.fafich.ufmg.br/memorandum>. BARROS, M., L.; MASSIMI, M. Releituras da indiferença: um estudo baseado em cartas de jesuítas dos séculos XVI e XVII. *Paidèia*, 15, n. 31, 195-205.2005. MALDAVSKI, Alioscha. Pedir las Indias. Las cartas *indipetae* de los jesuitas europeos, siglos XVI-XVIII, ensayo historiográfico, “Relaciones” 132, (2012), pp. 147-181. 2012. FABRE, Pierre-Antoine, “La décision de partir comme accomplissement des Exercices: Une lecture des *Indipetae*”, en Thomas McCoog, *Itte inflammate omnia: selected historical papers from conferences held at Loyola and Rome in 2006*, Roma, Istitutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 45-70. 2010. Colombo and Massimi (2014).

reveal the space of the person, of the individual. This, through them and sometimes despite them, expresses his desire, his personal experience. This is how the great wealth of this documentation is configured, from the point of view of the subjective elaboration carried out by the authors of the letters.

Indipetae contain traces of autobiographical narrative. This genre dates back to Augustine of Hippo (*Confessions*), but at the beginning of the Modern Age, it acquired great prominence and diffusion (Massimi, 2014). At that time, the Society of Jesus was born. And, in fact, autobiographies are frequent in the bosom of the Company, beginning with that of the founder Ignatius of Loyola himself: the spiritual diary, written between 1544 and 1545 (1996), and the autobiography narrated by Ignatius to the secretary Luis Gonçalves of the Chamber and transcribed by him, over three periods, between 1559 and 1561 (1991). Evidently, the founder's autobiography is the exemplary model of the Jesuits' autobiographical narrative ⁵.

The way of reconstructing his own life story, and of narrating it, typical of the *Indipetae*, is therefore the light of this exemplary model that is the Ignatian narrative, about which it is convenient to briefly dwell. This model of narrative responds to the explicit objective of the Spanish Jesuit, J. Nadal, one of the first members of the Order and a collaborator of Ignatius in the elaboration of the Constitutions. In the Prologue, Nadal comments that: "I asked him instinctively to show us how God had directed him from the beginning of his conversion: such a relationship could serve us as a testament and paternal teaching" (Nadal, 1561/2004). Nadal thought that the writing of Ignatius' autobiography would be of greater benefit to the Society, since "it would be truly founded" (Loyola 2006, p. 15). Nadal considered Ignatius not only as the founder of the Society, but also as the exemplary model to be imitated by all Jesuits. The editor of the text, Luis Gonçalves da Câmara, reports that Ignatius, already at the end of his life and aware that death was on the prowl ("he said he hoped to live three or four months to finish this matter"), called him to the task of writing the autobiography. Ignatius' intention was "to declare how much had passed through his soul" (Loyola 2006, p. 14). Gonçalves da Câmara also provides details about Ignatius' narrative: he had told his life from the adventures of his youth, "clearly and distinctly, with all the circumstances"; "with such clarity that it seems to make present to the listener all the past"; and the narration flowed in such a way that there was no need to ask him anything, because everything that mattered to satisfy a man, the priest remembered to bring it. (Loyola 2006, p. 14). These aspects enlighten us about the scope of the autobiographical narrative of the *Indipetae*: it is about documenting to Father Superior the personal conformation to Ignatius' model of those who write. This conformation is the priority objective of the Jesuit vocation, the value of which precedes the very request of the Indians, the object of the letter.

⁵ It is also worth mentioning the Confessions of Pedro Canisio (1570/1998); and the Memorial of Pierre Fabre written between 1542 and 1546 (1995).

For this intention, the letters *Indipetae* graft into the general vein of autobiographical narrative. This, as Dilthey points out, consists in “man’s reflection on his life trajectory. (Dilthey 2010, p. 176). Autobiographical writing always implies an” integral perspective on the author’s life “(Burr, 2009, p. 11). Indeed, autobiographies take place when the author realizes through the narrative” the connection between the various parts of his own vital course“: he establishes a” goal “from which” every previous event is just a station on the path that leads to it “(Dilthey 2010, p. 176). Therefore, the ordering criterion of the autobiographical narrative—the connection—is not so much chronological as functional to a” meaning, value, meaning, and purpose. In autobiography, “the understanding of the author’s life is realized in the relationship between the parts of that life and the realization of an absolute value, of an unconditionally supreme good. In this relationship, the one who looks back on the consciousness of the meaning of each previous moment of life appears” (Dilthey 2010, p. 177).

In the light of these preliminary considerations, we recognize that the *Indipetae* letters carry significant contents of personal elaboration in order to define the personal life project of their authors. From this perspective, the autobiographical narrative proposed in *Indipetae* is especially instigating. They document the modality in which, as described in the aforementioned autobiography of a famous Jesuit (Fr. Canisio), the youthful yearnings, “desires (...) where the inclination of the mind to a future reality appears”, are transformed and shaped in terms of a collective project: the missionary project of the Society. In this perspective, Brazil represents one of the various modalities of that “realization of absolute value” which consists in “being a missionary, for la mayor por gloria Divina; and bien de mi alma, e ayuda delos próximos”, in the words of the young *indipetente* Alonso Pestana.

3.2.2 *Psychological Dimensions of Indipeta*

Indipetae, as a documentary source, cannot be interpreted in an immediate way and as a spontaneous expression of subjective experiences. They are documents marked by the pedagogical work of man’s ordination developed in the Colleges of the Company, in whose scope the dimension of the psychism is linked to that of the body and opens to that of the spirit. In this perspective, the understanding of desire and the other terms indicating psychic movements used in the petition (specifically: motives, affections, wills, dreams, memories, and temperaments, that is, complexions) is only possible through the understanding of the contents reported in the light of the psychological knowledge of the time, especially the Aristotelian-Tomistic “science of the soul” studied and practiced within the scope of the Society of Jesus. This “science” had also been constituted in the life form of the young authors of the correspondence in question. Let us see below some examples.

3.2.2.1 “Sentir um desejo grande de ir ao Brasil”

Desire is the recurring term in the three above-mentioned letters requesting submission to Brazil. The same term is used with great frequency by the seventeenth century independents.

In a Jesuit source widely used in the formation of young people in the novitiates of the Society, the *Ejercicio de Perfección y Virtudes Cristianas* (1609), written by Afonso Rodriguez (1538-1617), desire is considered the foundation of all human and spiritual life⁶.

The Dutch Jesuit Pedro Canisio (+1597), already cited author of an important autobiography modeling the Company, states that to experience desires is the tonic of youth. In fact, “in them appears the inclination of the mind to a future reality” (Canisio 1998: In: Massimi&Prudente 2002, p. 33). Remember that desire is a synonymous expression of intellectual appetite, an expression of the will guided by reason guided by the recognition of the Ultimate Good to be pursued. Therefore, the desire of the Indies is the movement of the intellectual appetite directed to reach the goal glimpsed by the intellect and represented by the imagination and the action of the other internal senses articulated by the Ignatian method of *compositio loci* (Pawling 2004). This complex psychic operation is proposed in the second week of the Spiritual Exercises. The subject is led to form within himself, through the internal senses, the representation of a “place” where it is possible to be involved in the first person and which will become a space of prayer and contemplation⁷.

In the 17th-century Indipetae, the desire of the Indies is described as the inner force that triggers a dynamism of its own: “internally I feel myself pulling in distant countries, where my time and my life consume”. This assumes multiple qualities, being characterized as: “effective”; “ardent”, “experienced”, “great”, “fervent”; “sudden”; “poor”, qualified as “impulse that reigns in me, I continue”, “alive”, “burning”, “burning”; “strong and vigorous”. There are several allusions to the fact that being able to “exercise these desires, I am happy and quiet”⁸. Desire presents itself as a dynamic experience, whose strength may diminish, or grow in intensity. Even obstacles encountered on the path to fulfillment can diminish it, or increase it: “the desire to go is more grown after being retained. The authors approach the meticulous analysis of the phenomenon that manifests itself in all its strength: ” to feel every day the desire to go there grow, and sometimes so much so

⁶*Ejercicio de Perfección y virtudes cristianas* by A. Rodríguez was published in Seville, with editions in 1609, 1612, and 1616, and more recently in 1887 (p. 19-20), quoted in: Massimi&Prudente, Um inc.Op. cit. 2002, p. 32). The author states that “the principle for attaining wisdom, which is the knowledge and love of God, in which it constitutes our perfection, is a true and entrenched desire for it; and the reason for this is because, as the philosophers say, in all things and markedly in moral works, love and the desire for the end is the first thing, which moves all others to work”.

⁷In the Ignatian case, the place is the space of battle between the two armies: that of Christ and the other of Lucifer. .

⁸Reguer, Juan, Carta *Indipeta* n. 38, 18/01/1585, Archivio Storico della Compagnia di Gesù (ARSI). Fondo Gesuitico FG. n. 173, Our translation.

that I cannot study or do more. "The intensity of desire experienced pushes the petitioner to insist on the request: " now more and more desire is forced to pray again with the greatest affection of my soul, to call me as soon as possible; my heart is greatly strengthened by the desire to reach the end so desired by me; and if it is true that something is never silent if it does not reach the end, how is it possible that I remain quiet (...)? The metaphor of fire is used to refer to it: "a desire (...) has been fomented more and more in the forge of my chest, like the fire fed and grown, but now I think I can no longer hide under the ashes of silence". Desire is also described as "inner affection" aimed at fulfillment, and it manifests itself as a permanent element of the spiritual life, to the point that "I cannot pray, read, watch over, or do anything without it"⁹.

Often, the Indians' desire occupies the dreams at night, the fantasy imagining that it cannot be realized, or that on the contrary it is granted to go. Even in the course of the day, the Indians' desire thus arouses the imagination: "In imagining myself among the flames of fire, among the furious waves of the sea suffering death, I receive singular contentment and embrace myself with the flames and the waves like roses".¹⁰

This soul dynamism related to the expectation of the realization of a desired goal creates an experience proper to temporality, which can be analyzed from a psycho-phenomenological perspective. According to Minkowski and Borgna, in the experience of hope and expectation that what is expected will be realized, "we see the future move towards us: like a star that in a vertiginous movement approaches the earth. Freed from the immediate future, we live in the hope of a wider, more distant future, richer in promises (...) and the infinity of the future opens up to us" (Borgna 2006. p. 52). In this way, becoming acquires a horizon.

As already mentioned, the experience of the desire narrated in the letters is described by words taken from the language of the Aristotelian-Augustinian *Scientia de anima* and in circulation at the time they were written and which we present in the previous chapter. Desire refers to an important dimension of the psychism, that of affections, whose movement is expressed by the term "appetite".

We have seen that the Aristotelian-tomistic philosophical psychology proposed by the *Conimbricenses* treatises considers appetite as a psychic act that is carried out according to two dimensions: the sensitivity (sensitive appetite) and that of the intellect (intellectual appetite). In the first dimension, appetite follows the natural inclination of the living being, linked to sensitivity and, therefore, to the movement of external and internal senses. In the second dimension, appetite is guided by acts of higher psychic processes, that is, cognition (and, in this aspect, reflection and judgment on the objects of appetite) and will (that is, the decision that directs the choice of objects to desire). According to Augustinian philosophical psychology, desire is distinguished in natural sensory (concupiscence) and natural intellectual

⁹Araçolas Francisco. Carta *Indipeta*. n. 98, de Francisco de Araçolas, aos 26 de janeiro de 1588, ARSI, FG. n. 173. Our translation.

¹⁰Antonio Delcantos, Carta *Indipeta* n. 88. aos 21 de janeiro de 1627, ARSI, FG n. 173. Our translation.

(love) and is the engine of experience. The direction of the human path is given by the goal to which it tends, that is, the object chosen and desired as such. For this to happen, personal psychic dynamism must be ordered in such a way that the movements of psychic processes, such as sensitivity and sensitive appetite, are oriented and guided by cognition and motivation. Desire is a movement of intellectual appetite resulting from the apprehension of a certain object represented by cognitive powers and judged good.

The definition of the object is decisive to guide the desire, which in itself has an indefinite status. It can be the scope of a possible disorder, but also a sign of the order established by God, when it is oriented toward good, through prayer and the effort of personal conversion. Ignatian experience shows that in the case where the object of desire consists of material goods, it usually happens that, although these initially arouse great anxiety of possession, once acquired, they lose their appeal. Then the search for satisfaction is transformed into a constant restlessness from one object to another, without a definitive answer. It is a disordered affection. On the contrary, in the case of spiritual objects, we experience disinterest when we miss them, but once obtained, they increase desire, so that, paradoxically, satiety increases appetite. Ignatius defines this experience as consolation¹¹. The desire of the *indipetent* is of that nature. In several letters, its manifestation is associated with the experience of consolation.

3.2.2.2 “La qual mission es para el Brasil”: the goal, object of imagination and affection

The three authors mentioned above elect Brazil as the object of their wishes. Brazil, and in general the Indians, an expression generally used to refer to mission lands, constitute a final goal and theme for the imagination of the *Indipetents*. The imaginative process brings the future goal closer to the present day life: “every time I have the opportunity to think about those countries, I feel moved and moved by the soul, and often I imagine myself on the ship traveling between difficulties and sufferings. I cannot avoid shedding a few tears for the great consolation that comes from this”.¹².

¹¹ Ignatius writes about consolation in his spiritual diary: “I call consolation when in the soul there is some inner motion, with which the soul comes to be inflamed in the love of its Creator and Lord; and when, consequently, no thing created on the face of the earth can love in itself, except in the Creator of all of them. And also when it sheds tears which move her to the love of her Lord, whether for the pain of her sins or of the Passion of Christ our Lord, or for other things directly ordained to his service and praise. Finally, I call consolation all the increase of hope, faith and charity and all the interior joy that calls and attracts to heavenly things and the salvation of her own soul, quietening and pacifying her in her Creator and Lord”. (Loyola, 1544-45/1996, p. 72).

¹² Francesco Rossino *Indipeta* n. 185, Palermo, 14/06/1617, ARSI, FG. n. 735.

The shedding of tears is an Ignatian theme, expressive of the affective experience of the presence of the divine being, and it is accompanied by consolation. This is a sign of authentic discernment as to one's own existential direction, as opposed to anxiety and restlessness, signs that the appropriate path has not yet been found¹³.

In conforming to these model experiences, the missionary goal achieved by imagination and commotion is lived by the authors of the *Indipetae* as a means to experience consolation and overcome a present condition of lack of freedom. This condition derives from attachment to disordered affections: “Here I find myself on all sides bound by countless bonds of various desires and oppressed by the bonds of my passions in such a way that it is impossible to get up and give myself completely to the Lord. For this reason the Indies would be a remedy for me to get out of this situation¹⁴.”

The missionary goal, object of desire, constitutes the center around which the autobiographical narrative of the letter is articulated. We have seen that according to Dilthey, it is a characteristic element of the autobiography that the reflection about life itself is articulated around a center: a goal to which absolute value is attributed and which also rearticulates memory and expectation. This axis is the “driving force” of the subject, not only for “his direction towards a target”, but also for the “intention to achieve something” (Dilthey 2010, p. 182).

In many cases, the *indipetae*, written by the young people vocationally and evaluated by the superiors and especially by the Father General of the Society, remain only as documents evidencing the formation journey of their authors. But often the request presented there receives an affirmative response, so that the intention of accomplishing the goal is concretized in the sending to mission lands.

In this way, Brazil, which we have seen as the object of the requests of some *indipetentes*, will become for many of them, not only the goal of an inland voyage, but also the port of destination of a real navigation, a place of concrete fulfillment of the missionary vocation.

¹³In the spiritual diary, Loyola often refers to this experience during prayer: practically every page of this text, where her mystical experiences are reported, Ignatius refers to tears: for example, when “walking in the street, she represented Jesus to me, with great motions of tears” (Loyola, 1996, p. 40).

¹⁴Carlo Zambosti. *Indipeta* n. 184, Novillara, 13/06/1617, ARSI, FG. n. 173.

3.3 The “Indies of There” That Become Close

3.3.1 *Those Sent to Brazil*

The authors of the missionary letters are Jesuits who were chosen and sent in the Land of the Holy Cross from 1549, by a request to Ignatius of Loyola made by the Portuguese king D. John III ¹⁵.

The mission of the Jesuits was to catechize the indigenous people and to assist the Christian settlers. Once installed in the new context of the Land of the Holy Cross, the writing and sending of the letter was for the missionaries one of the means to affirm and maintain the bond of belonging with the Society of Jesus through their superiors. The practice of sending the letter served to guarantee the unity of the Body of the Society of Jesus from the doctrinal and pragmatic point of view.¹⁶ The names of some of the first missionaries are well known; others, less famous, have also written epistolary narratives which, once received, were kept in the Historical Archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome.¹⁷ Let us cite here only the names of the two most famous Jesuit missionaries in Brazil, names that we will

¹⁵In the process of Lusitanian commercial expansion in the lands beyond the sea, the Patronage regime was established. On the basis of the latter, the Portuguese Crown was responsible for sponsoring the departure of missionary priests whose main task was to baptize, catechize the Gentiles, and extend Christianity to new peoples. The king was responsible for directing the two works, the expansion of the colonial domains and the expansion of Christianity in these domains. Therefore, he was the centralizing power of both practices. The troublesome effects of this association of powers were felt throughout the entire colonial history of the country and in the same performance of the Society of Jesus. One of the most perverse effects was the adoption of the labor regime based on the exploitation of slave labor and the consequent deportation of huge contingents of Africans. (Leite, Vol. I, 1956) .

¹⁶This practice became even more important in the context of the patronage regime to which the religious sent: through the relationships maintained in the letters, a limited margin of autonomy of the missionary presence could be preserved with regard to the objectives and methods of the governing politics.

¹⁷The letters were later published by Father Jesuit Serafim Leite in a five-volume work called *Monumenta Brasiliae* and edited by the publishing house of the Company's Historical Institute between 1956 and 1960. There are also Brazilian editions of these documents produced by the partnership between the University of São Paulo Publishing House and the Itatiaia Publishing House in Belo Horizonte, as part of “*Reconquista do Brasil*” Collection.

often cite because they were also authors of many letters: Manoel da Nóbrega¹⁸ and José de Anchieta¹⁹.

¹⁸Manoel da Nóbrega was the leader of the first group of missionaries in Brazil. He was born in 1517 in Portugal, son of Judge Baltasar da Nóbrega. He studied for four years at the University of Salamanca and then at the University of Coimbra, graduating in canon law and philosophy in 1541. At the age of twenty-seven, he entered the Society of Jesus (in 1544), assuming there the ministry of preaching and acting in this function in Portugal and Spain. As a result of the invitation made by King John III to the founder of the Society of Jesus, Ignatius of Loyola, for the religious to integrate the colonizing project of the Crown with an evangelizing objective, he was assigned to the mission in Brazil and embarked on the armada of Tomé de Sousa for the country in 1549. Nóbrega arrived in Salvador, Bahia on March 29, 1549. Along with him were the Jesuit priests Leonardo Nunes, João de Azpilcueta Navarro, Antônio Pires and the Jesuit brothers Vicente Rodrigues and Diogo Jácome, all authors of several letters. Nóbrega began the work of catechesis of the natives, developing an intense campaign against anthropophagy among the natives and at the same time fighting their exploitation by the colonists. Nóbrega was a friend and advisor of Tomé de Sousa and Mem de Sá, both governors. He undertook constant journeys on foot, boat, and mule along the coast of Brazil, from São Vicente to Pernambuco. He participated in the foundation of the village of São Paulo de Piratininga which would become the point of penetration into the hinterland and expansion of the Brazilian territory and later became the most important city in the southern hemisphere. He worked in the pacification of the Tamoios in Iperoig, in 1563; he accompanied the expedition of Estácio de Sá, participated with him in the foundation of the city of São Sebastião do Rio de Janeiro and built a school there. Nóbrega asked the king of Portugal, Dom João III, to create the first diocese in Brazil in Salvador da Bahia and to send the first bishop, Dom Pero Fernandes Sardinha. In 1558, he convinced Governor Mem de Sá to promulgate “laws to protect the Indians”, preventing their enslavement. He was appointed the first Provincial of the Society of Jesus in Brazil. He died in 1570.

¹⁹José de Anchieta was born on the island of Tenerife in the Canary Islands on March 19, 1534, the son of Juan Lopes de Anchieta, a Basque revolutionary who had taken part in the uprising of the Comuneros against Emperor Charles V in Spain, a relative of the Loyola. José’s mother, Mência Dias de Clavijo y Larena, was the daughter of Jewish-new Christians. At the age of fourteen, Joseph moved to Coimbra, Portugal, to study Philosophy at the Royal College of Arts and Humanities, attached to the University of Coimbra. She joined the Society of Jesus in 1551. After joining the Society of Jesus, Anchieta had received, as a novice, training in sacred sciences, sacred scripture, theology, patristics, philosophy, and sacred oratory. He was appointed to Brazil by the Provincial of the Order, Simão Rodrigues. He arrived in Brazil on June 13, 1553, in poor health, waiting for an improvement due to the milder climate, as he suffered from fallen thornbone. Soon after his arrival, he took care of the construction of the school in Salvador; he quickly learned the Tupi language composing the first grammar of this “general language” of Portuguese America. He also wrote poetic, theatrical, and musical compositions in polylingual texts, mixing Portuguese, Spanish and Tupi, Latin and Portuguese, from the perspective of ecumenism, as a unifying sense of Catholicism. (Luz, 2001). It was a repertoire of multiple forms (depending on the context in which they were used), for example, allegorical images made up of words, designed to mobilize the participants, moving their devotion and at the same time revealing to them the truths of faith. Anchieta participated, together with Nóbrega, in the foundation of the college of São Paulo, in the Piratininga plateau on January 25, 1554. There he lived dedicating himself to preaching, education, and catechesis of the indigenous children and defending the Indians from the abuses of the colonizers who wanted to enslave them. He was also in Itanhaém and Peruibe, on the south coast of São Paulo. In 1563, he went to the Indian village of Iperoig, together with Nóbrega, on a peace mission, aiming to mediate the armistice between the Tupinambás of Ubatuba (gathered in the Tamoios confederation) and the Portuguese. He offered himself as hostage to the Tamoios in Iperoig. Ordained a priest at the age of 32, in 1569 he founded the village of Reritiba in the state of Espírito Santo (called today Anchieta). He lived in Rio de Janeiro from 1570 to 1573. In 1577, he was named Provincial of the Society of Jesus in Brazil, a position he held for ten years. He also directed the Colégio de Vitória in Espírito Santo. He retired to Reritiba where he died in 1597.

3.3.2 *The Practice of Writing Letters*

The importance of writing letters and their multiple meanings are affirmed by the missionaries themselves, as we will document below. Letters make it possible for those who are sent to keep in mind the challenges of the new context to refer to their community of belonging.

Hundreds of letters have been written from Brazil by Jesuit missionaries since 1550. Their authors resided in various parts of the country with the main regions being São Vicente, Bahia, Espírito Santo, Pernambuco, Porto Seguro, and Ilhéus. The destinations of their letters were several: a small part is destined for internal communication among the residents in Brazil; the others were in part of official content, that is, quarterly or annual letters sent to the Father General of the Company in Rome, or to the Father Provincial, or to those in charge of the Order in Portugal. The rest of the letters were addressed to the Fathers and Brothers of his residence of origin (mainly the College of Coimbra, where the missionaries had received their formation in the spirit of the Society of Jesus) and had a more familiar and colloquial character. These are particularly significant for the understanding of the experience of their authors. These are mostly Portuguese (until 1599) priests and other ‘brothers’ with both having pronounced their vows of dedication to religious life according to the charism of the Society of Jesus.

In these documents, one can study the experience that the missionaries experienced in the early days of their stay in Brazil, still as newly arrived foreigners in an absolutely new and challenging context.

The social phenomenologist A. Schütz deepened in some research the most salient aspects of the psychosocial process experienced by newcomers in a new environment. In the light of these researches, one can learn something of what had possibly been experienced by the religious of the Company in their contact and coexistence with the Indians, as portrayed by the actors themselves in their letters (Schütz, 1979; 2010). According to Schütz, the adult individual is characterized by the permanent search for acceptance of the group he approaches. The identity of a social group is defined by a common “cultural pattern of life”, that is, by a set of values, institutions and systems of thought that characterize it in a given period of history.

This cultural pattern is inherited from ancestors or in some way the fruit of the group’s tradition. For its members, it functions as an unquestionable orientation in all situations and occurrences in the world of shared social life. However, when a group member finds himself in a foreign condition in a new context, some changes occur that lead him to question this legacy.

On the one hand, the cultural pattern of the new group in which he seeks to insert himself does not have authority for him, since he does not share the tradition in whose target he was formed and his value system. On the other hand, the subject’s need to act in the new environment leads him to overcome the position of disinterested observer. Using the metaphor of the theater, it can be said that he leaves the audience, to perform on stage with the actors with whom he shares the new living

environment. Thus, the new cultural pattern becomes part of the environment in which he will act, while the pattern of his original group loses its validity in the face of the characteristics of the new environment. These are incongruent with concepts pre-established in the past in another space-time context. In this way, the subject discovers himself displaced from both his home territory and previously learned worldview and his new environment.

It then has the option of “translating” the terms of the cultural pattern of the new group into the cultural pattern of its group of origin (Massimi et al. 1997).

Schütz’s study helps us to understand the role that the letters may have played for the Jesuits. The condition of belonging to the Society of Jesus is the experience of insertion into a social and religious reality that carries the meaning and usefulness of personal existence, or, using religious terminology, the vocation of the person. This is the fundamental factor of the psychosocial identity of the Jesuit in action in his new context of life. However, in the deeply challenging missionary situation, this belonging could not be lived out only in terms of a memory of the past. On the contrary, it needed to be acted upon in the “here and now” in some way so that it could really be a source of meaning for action in the present.

In this context, the writing of the letter becomes the opportunity to consolidate (at a distance) the immanence of the group of belonging and to try to carry out the operation of the translation described above. Facts, objects, meetings, etc., are read and interpreted in the light of the cultural pattern of origin but at the same time presented to the recipients of the letters as challenges for the traditional interpretative categories of the cultural pattern shared by the group.

The importance of the letter in the daily life of the Jesuit on mission is clearly expressed in these words of Leonardo Nunes: “Even if little charity does not force me to write to you as often as I wish, your holy works and the great love that I know you have incite me to do it always and to give you an account of me, also to further compel your charity not to forget this poor one of yours and to have compassion and to order this lost gentility to God (Nunes, In: Navarro, 1988, p. 83). Here the senses of the letter become evident”: giving an account of oneself “to the brothers is essential for the reciprocal memory to overcome the distance and the almost inevitable situation of forgetting and being forgotten that characterize the condition of the” foreigner, “an emigrant in other worlds. In addition, the letters constitute a sharing of information regarding the social field of action of the missionary” (“the lost gentility”). At the end of the letter, this sharing is even a concrete request for support by sending other missionaries

The value of the epistolary correspondence as an instrument to “make present the absent” is made explicit in the words of Francisco Pires, in a letter to his companions at the College of Lisbon, describing the feelings experienced after the arrival of the caravel bringing letters from friends on mission in other lands: “I don’t know what the joy, the uproar, (...) to compare to, seeming to us that we had our dilectist priests and brothers there (...). As we began to read, we began to receive new strength and new desires; and new praises to the Lord we began to paint through the exhibitions of the most heroic works, worked by the Holy Spirit on those we did not know. And here we begin to speak and say: *O quam bonum et quam iucundum habitare fratres in unum*” (Pires. EM: Navarro et al. 1988, p. 111). The letter allows us

to live this paradoxical experience, of companions “*habitare in unum*” even separated by great geographical and cultural distances.

Nobrega refers to the consoling value of the gesture of writing the letter to the distant brothers and reports that in doing so, he revives their memory, visiting them, so to speak, by the memory full of nostalgic affection: “From here I am contemplating you and through the cubicles visiting and with a loving heart. In Heavens I wish to see you and there await you” (Nóbrega 1988, p. 284). The “here” of Nóbrega is now Pernambuco and the “there” of Coimbra is transformed into an eschatological sense of a definitive “there”: the “Heavens”, where it will be possible to meet again.

3.4 Missionary Letters: Psychological Experiences as Part of the Experience

When the request to be sent to the missions is accepted and the journey takes place, the Jesuits no longer live a relationship with the place of destination modulated by imagination associated with affections, judgment, and will, but begin to verify the missionary ideal by direct experience. In fact, in the letters that they send from Brazil to their brothers in the land of origin or in Rome, they often use the term “experience” to indicate their life in the new environment. In the epistolary correspondence, one finds expressions such as “I saw through experience,” “I began to understand through experience,” “experience obliges me to have this opinion” (Massimi et al. 1997).

Of course, the meaning of the term experience used in the epistolary correspondence of missionaries is inscribed in the cultural universe proper to the Society of Jesus at that time. The term must be understood from a complex bundle of influences, above all philosophical, coming from the formation of the Aristotelian-Tomist and Augustinian matrix ²⁰.

²⁰The philosophical conception of the experience according to the Jesuits is synthesized by the formulation of Manuel de Góis, in the Conimbricense Commentary on Aristotelian Ethics: when discussing the good and the purpose of human actions, he states that “what can be experienced [quid potest ab aliquo experienced] by someone and reach the nature of end in relation to someone, can be good and convenient for him or at least be apprehended as such. The experience is acquired after the act (modum operandi) and the precedent (and/or consecutive) think (modum cogitandi) with the involvement of all psychic powers and leads to truth and good. In this sense, all psychic powers are involved. In fact, human action is always oriented toward an end, whose election depends on the movement of will and intellect, but also on sensitivity and affections. The reference to experience often appears in the texts of Góis as well as in other philosophical writings of the Company. Moreover, experience is also a category that belongs to the universe of the Company’s “spiritual and corporal regulation, as well as legal and institutional” (Pacheco, 2004). Still according to Pacheco, experience, in the Jesuit realm, is a way of knowing reality. The theme of the experience appears in Jesuit writings of various nature and purpose. The “experience of things” is one of the categories used to classify the individuals belonging to the Order who appear in the Second Catalogue, documents drawn up every three years by the Provincials of the Society, where the situation of each member and each residence in the different places of presence of the Order is described. To deepen this theme, see: Massimi, 2000; Pacheco, 2004.

In the missives sent from Brazil, especially in the period between 1549 and 1560, by Manuel da Nóbrega, José de Anchieta, and other companions, there are four senses of the use of the term experience: proof and experiment (*peiria*); knowledge, skills, and practices derived from *peiria* (*empiria*); opening of the sensitive to the transcendent opening to the knowledge of the revelation of divine action in the circumstances of human history (mystical); and identification of each Jesuit with the experience of the founder and with the values and ends of the Society (model experience). All these meanings are related to each other, since they are stages of a unitary process that leads to the knowledge of reality: from experience as verification and proof before the new, to its consolidation into knowledge acquired over time that becomes habit and practice, from concrete reality, to transcendent reality.

The dimension of experience as proof and verification is present in the letters, especially in the narratives whose object is the contact with new aspects of the reality with which the authors are faced. The new aspects concern both anthropological and natural reality (for example, natural phenomena unusual in the view of European observers). In the letter sent to Father General of the Society on May 31, 1560, in the item *Making a description of the countless natural things that are found in the province of St. Vincent today St. Paul*, Anchieta describes several natural phenomena that are new to her eyes because they are proper to the tropical environment. And here he also uses the term experience on several occasions. In describing the spawning methods used by the fish, he tells us that it is something “very admirable, proved by everyone’s testimony, and verified by manifest experience” (Anchieta 1988, p. 111). The same goes for the description of the use of *copaiba* (Anchieta 1988, p. 113). Ruy Pereira writes a letter from Pernambuco to the Fathers and Brothers of the Society of Jesus in Portugal, on September 15, 1560, and to prove the beneficial resting effects of the indigenous method of sleeping in the hammock, he states that “experience constrains me to be of this opinion” (Pereira. In: Navarro et al. 1988, p. 290). The term experience is used to show the progress made in the knowledge of the habits of local society: by overcoming what was “obvious” in the world of life of origin and by accepting the new of otherness, one can acquire a stronger and more effective vision and use of reality (Massimi et al. 1997).

In the first years of mission, the “experience of fruit” achieved is cited in the letters which verify and prove the performance of the missionary ideal: “in the missions, everywhere a fruit is harvested that is not to be despised, since it is certain and proved by daily experience” (Anchieta 1988, p. 61) ²¹.

Repeated experiences of proof, over time, give rise to the “experience of things” (*empiria*), i.e., the knowledge and practices that arise and mainly concern social coexistence and interpersonal relationships. This dimension of experience appears in several letters of the missionaries, at first, right after their arrival, as something

²¹During this period, “the letters sent from Brazil by Manuel da Nóbrega and his companions still contain a somewhat optimistic view of the catechetical work”; and, in general, “comments on the particularly favourable dispositions of the Indians for conversion and the descriptions of mass baptisms carried out along the coast constitute a recurrent commonplace of missives” (Zeron, 2011, p. 61).

still to be acquired, and later, as something that is acquired, sustains decisions and positions.

The “experience of things” is a decisive criterion in the relationship with the Indians, whether it signals failures²², or positive effects²³.

However, this same experience would not be enough to instill in the missionaries confidence about their work if they did not count on an overcoming of worldly experience and the possibility of interpreting the events experienced as signs of divine design in human history. The experience can become a revelation of the divine action in human history, to the extent that one knows how to read the signs of this action. In several cases, this action is reported as “the spirit of God that moves”. The formation and experience of the Jesuits make us capable of reading and acting on the basis of this hermeneutics of worldly reality. In it, the limits of “immediate and visible reality” are expanded by the “mysterious pondering of its foundation, conservation and purpose” (Pécora 1992, p. 265). Historical facts are places of divine presence (Pécora, 1994, p. 170). Experience acquires its full thickness insofar as it refers to the mystical dimension, to the dimension of the mystery in which it participates, from which it originates and to which it is destined²⁴. It is on this

²²For example, in a letter sent to Governor Thomé de Sousa in 1559 (an account of the activities of the Company in Brazil in its first decade of missionary presence), Nóbrega evaluates the effects of evangelizing action with the Indians, stating that the negative results attest to the need to use different methods, such as the use of military force and constriction. And he justifies this change of procedure from experience: “and we now begin to see him by experience, (...) who, if they leave him in his freedom and will, as are brutal people, do nothing with them, as we have seen from experience all this time that we have dealt with him with a lot of work, without taking more fruit from him” (Nóbrega, 1989, p. 201). Zeron points out that during the years in which the letter was written, Nóbrega elaborated a new missionary strategy: the “external obstacles (in particular the epidemics and the colonists’ attacks against the villages)” and the “internal resistances (the letters refer us notably to the flight, the relapse and the inconstancy of the Indians)”, lead the Jesuits to “despair of their mission”. Thus, “from the 1550s until the end of the 1560s, we see a multiplication among the missionaries of the positions taken” in favor of “a strategy of submission of the Indian by force” (Zeron, 2011, p. 125).

²³Jorge Rodrigues, in a letter written from Ilhéus, on August 21, 1565, addressed to priests and brothers of the Society of Jesus in Portugal, uses the word experience to designate the knowledge already acquired regarding the religiosity of the natives: “the people of this land proceed very well in via Domini, they are devout and friends of God, according to the experience of this short time I have been here gives me to understand” (Rodrigues. In: Navarro, 1988, p. 494). Analogously, in a letter from Bahia (1565), Father Antônio Blasquez expresses himself. Addressing the Provincial Father of Portugal, he refers to the adherence of the Indians to religious practices: “one has seen from experience that, as they continue this exercise, they take great advantage (...) and this because they naturally have good condition” (Blasquez. In: Navarro, 1988, p. 466).

²⁴The discernment of the designs of Providence through circumstances, including natural ones, is based on the proof that experience provides. This discernment of the divine will in the midst of human circumstances, proven by experience, is referred to in a letter from Bahia to the brothers of Portugal in 1552, Francisco Pires. The letter relates the failed attempt of a missionary journey undertaken by Nóbrega and Manoel de Paiva in the direction of São Vicente. Pires tells that, having been forced to return by climate change, the two missionaries decided to give up the trip. In fact, “the experience taught us that it was a great glory of Our Lord not to go, because of things that happened” (Pires. In: Navarro. 1988, p. 153).

ultimate horizon that the full meaning of the experience is placed. The experience of a Jesuit, when conducted according to the formative journey of the Society of Jesus, becomes a mystical union and model experience that imitates the examples of Christ and the founding fathers. This mystical union is not so much of an interior nature, but is revealed in facts, historical, social, and natural. In a letter from Bahia of May 30, 1564, to the Provincial Father of Portugal, written by commission of Father Nóbrega, António Blasquez summarizes the good successes of the mission of the Company in Brazil: “after the whirlwind and storm, the Lord gives tranquility and bonanza, and after the darkness and darkness shows the light and clarity, allowing these works to precede first so that the consolations present, as we now feel by experience, may be more tasty” (Blasquez; In: Navarro, p. 431).

In short, it is an experience whose horizon is increasingly broadened. What was “there” becomes “here” and the letters relate a process of progressive accommodation of the Jesuits to their new living environment. The distance from the world of “there” leads at the same time to a deeper rooting in the vocational and missionary ideal, so that in living the condition of “here” there is a greater identification with the model experience of the exemplary figures of the Society of Jesus, incarnated in the “there” of the community of origin. And this “there” broadens the horizon of the action of “here” to the point of inscribing itself in the plan of eternity. The experience mentioned by the Jesuit missionaries in their letters from Brazil is really a modeling experience, in the sequel of Ignatius along the paths of the Brazilian earth. At the heart of this modeling experience is that the actual psychological experiences reported in the letters occur.

3.4.1 The Psychological Experiences

The authors of the letters observe and describe psychological experiences in their own experience and in the experience of the Indians (inferred by behavioral signs and verbal communication). Such inferences should obviously be taken as an expression of the psychological knowledge of the Jesuits themselves. We will thus distinguish two types of narrative: firstly, we will analyze the accounts of the authors’ experiences; secondly, the accounts concerning the inference of psychological experiences in the Indians themselves.

3.4.1.1 The Senses and Its Dimensions in the Experience of the Jesuits

The missionary letters describe experiences that refer to the plane of the senses. Among them, imagination stands out, defined as one of the internal senses by the psychological knowledge of the time.

Anchieta in a letter sent to the brothers of the Infirmary of the College of Coimbra, and written by St. Vincent on March 20, 1555, refers to the “imaginary illnesses” experienced by the brothers there and by himself when he lived in that city. To cure

them, he proposed an “effective remedy” he experienced in Brazil. Anchieta began with a shared experience: his visit to the infirmary in Coimbra and the difficulty of finding medicines for the suffering: “The long and long conversation I had with these infirmaries made me, dear, unable to forget my old companions who were ill, desiring to see them heal with other, stronger, than those you have there” (Anchieta 1988, p. 158). Anchieta goes on to point out that the remedies often used would be useless, since the cause of the illness would be found at the level of the imagination: “No doubt, according to what I have seen and experienced in myself, I know how deceived I was while I was using these strange little meanings. I think that these serve more to increase the disease than to heal or give patience. Great pain I have to see that this happens in some of you (...). Dear Ones, I ask you to forgive me for writing to you with such pride, because perhaps the love I have for you deceives me, and I would like to see you free from imaginary diseases, more than true”. (Anchieta 1988, p. 158).

The writer proves this judgment by his personal experience, comparing the experiences of “there” with those of “here”: “I tell you this from me, that when I was there I complained before the illness manifested itself, all I had to do was to appear that there was a sign of illness so that I would never stop boring nurses and doctors. They no longer knew what to make up, because they could not find so many remedies that no more roots of illnesses could sprout, which there seemed almost irremediable except with death. But sometimes I don’t count on anything bigger than what made me complain”. (Anchieta 1988, p. 159).

The unruly imagination takes care of the individual in specific circumstances, changing which can be ordained, as the missionary attests. To take attention away from apparent symptoms, together with action, commitment to reality through work, is the best therapy: “My disposition, then each day has improved, so that no difference is made from me to a healthy one, even if sometimes there are still some remnants of past illnesses. But I don’t take them anymore as if they were not. (...). In Piratininga I healed because the land is very good, but without syrups or purges, nor the cuddles from the infirmary. Many times, and almost constantly, it was our food cooked mustard leaves and other vegetables from the land, and other foods that you cannot imagine there; along with understanding in teaching grammar in three different classes in the morning until the night, and sometimes, while I was sleeping, the students (Indians) came to wake me up to ask me questions. In these circumstances it seemed to me that I would heal”. (Anchieta 1988, p. 159).

The fact that the illness was imaginary is proved by the fact that “and so it is, because, since I pretended not to be ill, as soon as I began to be healthy. And you can see my disposition by the letters I write, which it seemed impossible for me to write while I was there”. (Anchieta 1988, p. 159). The ascent of the steep Serra do Mar “which is a very rough road and I believe the worst there is in much of the world, of quagmire, ascents and bushes”, “sleeping at night in a shirt soaked in water and without fire among the bushes”, shows the full health of the missionaries who in Portugal were often sick. For this reason, Anchieta suggests to her sick companions that the best cure for imaginary illnesses is missionary action, commitment to reality.

The theme of imaginary illness is frequent in medicine in the sixteenth century: Cornelius Agrippa (1486-1535) states that the passions of the soul, which excite the imagination, can change the body and can cure or worsen its illnesses, so that the soul induced by an unbridled imagination can spread health, or somatic illness (Agrippa, 1927). According to Agrippa, influenced by the philosophy of neo-stoicism, the imagination is a potency of the eidolon, one of the three components of the human soul, together with reason and mind, which is subjected to the influence of the stars and in turn vivifies and governs the body. Thus, the imagination receives the determinations of the stars but also of the senses and the affections inherent in the body (Reghini 1927). The use of imaginary illnesses to provide encounters between lovers was topic of medieval Iberian literature certainly known to José de Anchieta. Moreover, it is a topic used by humanist literature, which also uses notions of medicine of the time.²⁵ In the case described by Anchieta, the imaginary illness seems to be that of hypochondria, whose symptoms are described by Girolamo Mercuriale, one of the greatest Italian doctors of the sixteenth century, in the fourth chapter of his treatise on melancholy (Mercuriale 1997). In hypochondria, an unnatural movement of the viscera occurs without showing on the body level the injury accused by the patients' complaint. The explanation of the phenomenon formulated by is that "intense disturbances of the soul and sad thoughts act negatively on the brain, liver and stomach, stimulating the production of melancholic mood responsible for a tetrical disposition of all members, especially the brain itself, from which results the corruption of imagination and reasoning" (Silva 2007, p. 56). According to the Roman physician Paolo Zacchia, the recommended therapy for this disease is a change in lifestyle: guided by the galenical perspective of the opposites cure opposites, it suggests moderate joy as an antidote to sadness and its discomfort in body and soul (Silva 2007). It is precisely this change in lifestyle that Anchieta proposes to the sick brothers of Coimbra seeking to persuade them by the examples of aspects of missionary life that bring joy, even in the midst of great sacrifices.

The imagination can be misused if it is not informed by data from the observation of reality itself: in this case, the imagination contributes to the construction of prejudice. Anchieta in the letter *Information of the Province of Brazil* written by him in 1585 and addressed to Father General of the Society corrects a prejudice about Brazilian natives formulated by Jesuits living in Europe. He affirms that these "are people of very little natural capacity, although for their salvation they have enough judgment and are not as bohemian and rude as is imagined there". (Anchieta 1988, p. 441). This passage is very significant, because at the same time that Anchieta seems to propose a representation of the Indian free from what he believes to be an easy and rhetorical optimism, it opposes the negative vision of it, elaborated "there" based on imagination. The knowledge of the other acquired through direct experience is here explicitly privileged and opposed to an a priori knowledge, composed

²⁵Among them, *La Celestina* tragicomédia de Fernando de Rojas, published anonymously in Burgos in 1499 (Rojas, 1998). Montaigne in the essay on the power of the imagination confesses to be a person especially affected by the power of the imagination. (Montaigne, 2010).

of images elaborated from a preconceived cultural code. Anchieta then proposes an epistemic point of view, from which she can construct knowledge about the other, based on direct contact with the reality of the other and not on what “*is imagined there*”.

3.4.1.2 The Appetites (Sensitive and Intelligible) Experienced by the Jesuits

We have seen that, according to the Jesuits, sensitive appetites, or affections, acquire a very important function in human dynamism, insofar as they are accompanied by the movement of intellectual appetites that promote virtue.

Some of these appetites are reported more frequently in the letters.

The Jesuits declare their own joy in various circumstances: for the arrivals and meetings of friends, as Leonardo do Vale writes from Bahia on May 12, 1563: “Father Manoel de Paiva arrived here from São Vicente with three brothers, with whom we rejoice greatly. In: Navarro, 1988, p. 5); or Nóbrega comments in a letter addressed to Ignatius de Loyola written by St. Vincent in May 1556”: Luis da Grã came in the month of May, with whose coming we all rejoice and take new fervor and effort for the service of the Lord “(Nóbrega 1988, p. 276). On other occasions, the cause of joy is the arrival of letters from Ignatius and the distant brothers”: We received them (letters), las quales oymos with joy of spiritu (Nóbrega 1988, p. 14).

Pain is an affection experienced under adverse circumstances. Nóbrega, when faced with what he considers to be the failure of the missionary project of the Society of Jesus in Brazil, exclaimed in a letter to the former Governor Tomé de Sousa on July 5, 1559: “First I want to weep on this earth”; “How many cups of bitterness and anguish my soul would always drink! (Nóbrega 1988, p. 71). And, still in the same letter, faced with the fact that” there is no peace, but everything is hate, murmurings and detestations, robberies and prey, deceit and lies, “seeing this at the very beginning, I took care to lose my wits” (Nóbrega, 1989, p. 75). The letter is full of expressions of pain: “I see losing everything. I have already told Your Grace a great deal of my pain; many more pains would be left to me to let off steam that by letter they cannot say”. (Nóbrega 1988, p. 105).

The affection of fear, or fear, is widely described in Jesuit correspondence. The personal experiences reported seem to be associated with “critical” moments in the experience of new social relationships. (Massimi et al. 1997). It has already been pointed out that the crisis is experienced by missionaries when newcomers in the new geographical, social, and cultural context have the perception that the resources of their own cultural tradition and group of belonging no longer function as an effective “available income system”. For example, in the correspondence of Nóbrega (1988), observations about personal experiences of fear appear, above all, in the second period of his work in Cologne. If at first the fear reported in the letters referred to natural dangers, little by little the feeling of fear appears regarding the uselessness of evangelizing action.

The objects of fear evoked by the Jesuits are the same as those described by the Aristotelian-Tomist doctrine: from the evils of nature to death. João Azpilcueta Navarro relates the fear experienced in the face of the dangers of the natural environment to which the Jesuits are continually exposed due to the need to move frequently to their missionary tasks: crossing dangerous rivers, famine, beast attacks, various threats faced on the night paths through forests and unknown territories (Navarro et al. 1988). Among the natural evils to be feared, the Jesuit Pêro Correia places deadly illnesses, which seem determined by “hellish forces” (In: Navarro et al. 1988, p. 70). An object of quite frequent fear is the shipwrecks, as already pointed out by Aristotle in *Nicomachean Ethics* (Aristotle 1996). A description in especially dramatic tones is that provided by Lourenço Braz: “The ship began to drag (...) It started screaming at the ship. (...) And since it would be an hour at night, a great storm of contrary wind would come... And the other people would shout and say that we were dead. (...) Brothers, it’s one thing to meditate on death in the cubicles, but another to see it through the eyes!” (In: Navarro et al. 1988, p. 42).

Descriptions of the fear experienced personally are frequent in José de Anchieta’s letters, especially in the famous account of January 8, 1565, about his imprisonment among the Tamoios, a circumstance in which Anchieta fears an imminent death: “in this way we lived in continuous fear” (Anchieta 1988, p. 141).

In social relations, in situations of hostility as described in this account, individual fears are articulated with those of the companions in the group of belonging as well as with the fears of the enemies themselves. If the affection of fear generates escape or defense behaviors, these developments are particularly important and must be foreseen and eventually controlled to avoid worse threats. Thus, all the factors observed in the behavior of the other that signal a lack of reliability are occasions that reinforce the fear of an imminent outcome. The notations about the fear of threats of war and rebellion of the natives appear again and again in Jesuit correspondence: this is how Anchieta comments: “one always lives in continued restlessness with them” (Anchieta 1988, p. 377). In fact, as Aristotle states in *Rhetoric*, the objects that arouse fear are exactly those that seem to have the power to destroy or to cause damage from which great pain results. That is why the signs of such things induce fear indicating the approaching of something to fear.

The dangers which most seem to frighten the Jesuits are, however, spiritual evils, which, compared with the natural threats and brutality of external enemies, are more harmful and difficult to eliminate: “In spite of the many dangers I have known up to now, I have sailed on this southern sea where there are torments from which few ships escape, I confess, dear brothers, up to now I have sailed on another more dangerous sea, which is the one of this world and its vanities where so many are lost to themselves” (Rodrigues. In: Navarro et al. 1988, pp. 469–470). The intervention of the devil is an omnipresent factor in the life of the Jesuit, the term of a spiritual ‘battle’ which constitutes the essence of religious life and missionary presence. This battle is fought through all circumstances, including natural ones, all of which are interpreted as signs of a supernatural reality (Pécora 1994).

The affection of fear must be “controlled” and overcome by the virtue of trust, especially trust in God, because it is the virtue that opposes fear, in the Aristotelian-Thomistic perspective²⁶. This virtue is fundamental in the personality of missionaries. The virtue of the fortitude manifested by the missionaries contributes to increase their fame and spiritual power with the Indians, including with their potential enemies. They begin to fear that the religious will be endowed with a supernatural force: “the Indians threatened us with death. We others prepared for everything that comes, having the Lord as our defender, fear nothing. And they, taming their wrath, show us love, and give us alms of their fruits”. (Anchieta 1988, p. 366)

Another affection often cited in letters is love. Love is always associated with the purpose chosen by the judgment, according to the definition of intellectual appetite. Its expressions can provoke attitudes of trust and correspondence in the Indians. The Jesuits affirm love for the Indians through concrete actions, as Anchieta relates: “we do not let any day go by without visiting them; “we get into their conversations and treat them with the greatest familiarity”; “the private conversations move us a lot, and seeing our great dedication, they cannot help but be amazed and know a little of our love for them: above all seeing that we are so diligent in curing their illnesses, without any hope of gain” (Anchieta 1988, p. 198).

Consolation is a typically Jesuit intellectual appetite, experienced to the extent that his life realizes the ideal of his vocation and by the presence of the vocational company that supports him on this path. Consolation is a sign of authentic discernment as to one’s own existential direction, as opposed to anxiety and restlessness, signs that one has not yet found the way. In the life of missionaries, this affection is experienced when one recognizes a correspondence between the lived circumstance and the ideal. In a letter to the brothers in Coimbra written by the Region of Spirito Santo, Lourenço Brás relates the experience of consolation in a circumstance in which he finds himself almost faced with death because of his missionary activity: “and what comforted me most was to die in obedience”. (Bras. in: Navarro et al. 1988, p. 42). The receipt of the letters from the distant brothers brings consolation: “Your (letters) have come and have given us great consolation” (Anchieta 1988, p. 155). Consolation is also the affection experienced in experiencing missionary activity and perceiving the correspondence of the recipients: “We are in this village of Piratininga (...) where we have a great school of nests, children of Indians already taught how to read and write. (...) These are our joy and consolation”. (Anchieta 1988, p. 82).

²⁶For Aristotle, trust is the opposite of fear. In fact, the object of trust is the opposite of the object of fear. The representation of trust is therefore concomitant with the hope that the things that can save us are near and that the things to fear do not exist or are too distant. For Thomas, the overcoming of fear is given by the virtue of fortitude. This is a “cardinal virtue”, that is, it is among the principal moral virtues (cardinals=principles). Thomas deals with fortitude in Quaestio 123 (article 2) and thus defines fortitude: “when the passion is moved away by reason, as the fear of dangers or of works; and then a virtue is needed by which man holds fast to what is rational, and this designates fortitude” (Thomas Aquinas, 2005, Vol. 7: p. 49).

Disconsolation, the affection contrary to consolation, is manifested when missionary plans are made impossible, especially by the lack of correspondence from the Indians: “the work is great, and it dubs itself with the little consolation that one receives for the little fruit that gives fields plowed with so much sweat” (Anchieta 1988, p. 452). The passage from consolation to disconsolation, caused by the failure of missionary action with the indigenous children, is reported by Anchieta in several letters to Father General between 1560 and 1562.

In general, in the experience of the Jesuits, the affective dimension is always united to the judgment about the significance and value of actions. The judgment shapes affections according to the ultimate purpose of the action and bases the movement of the will. The attitude of deliberation of the will is evidenced in the accounts of Anchieta when she describes the hard work of the missionaries to realize their evangelizing intention. The decision, fruit of this deliberation, is manifested in concrete gestures and attitudes, such as, for example, to face “many asperous and depopulated paths, where there is no conversation except with the tigers, whose footprints we often find fresh where we pass by”, where there is nowhere to rest, neither to be warmed by the cold nor to repair the rain, nor to satisfy our hunger, “covered alone with the divine support, for whose love we suffer this”. (Anchieta 1988, p. 455).

In short, the set of psychic experiences reported by the authors of the letters is focused on the performance of the missionary ideal identified by them with the ultimate realization of their life, such as the satisfaction of that desire formulated in the *Indipetae*.

3.5 Conclusion

The epistery correspondence written by the Jesuit missionaries before and after sending to Brazil can be analyzed from various historical perspectives. The perspective chosen in this book is that of the elaboration and transmission of the experience lived by the authors in the new context of life. Immersion in this new context enables a new knowledge of oneself. In fact, while the elaboration of this knowledge makes use of the psychological knowledge coming from the cultural and religious tradition of the authors, it acquires peculiar characteristics coming from facing a new world and new challenges. The writing of the missive constitutes a proper place where the ‘there’ of the past life and the community of origin and the ‘here’ of the present world of life are put in connection. The identity of the authors is attested to as an expression of this double insertion: belonging to the community of origin is what gives meaning to the mission in Brazil and to facing the related challenges; at the same time, immersion in the missionary context of each one is what contributes to the realization of the ideal of life of the Society of Jesus.

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Chapter 4

Challenging Alterity: The Process of Building Knowledge of the Indigenous Peoples Psychological Characteristics



The Jesuits used the psychological knowledge of their own cultural universe not only for the knowledge of themselves, but also for the understanding of the Indians with whom they lived. This was particularly challenging given the anthropological and cultural diversity between the world of missionaries and that of natives. And, as we will see, the Jesuits will try to understand the Indians from the cultural categories provided by their world of origin, the same applied to the knowledge of their own experience. The use of these categories before the other is guided by the observation of behavioral signs.

A first aspect of this knowledge was constructed by the use of a set of knowledge spread in Western medicine and which we have already seen employed in the bosom of the Society of Jesus: the galenic hypocratic humoralist theory. Among the authors of the letters, José de Anchieta shows a particularly attentive look at the psychosomatic traits of the natives' temperament: he states that the Indians "are somewhat melancholic" (Anchieta 1988, p. 442).

4.1 The Sensory Powers of the Indians

As far as the external and internal senses are concerned, the theme of imagination stands out in the observation of the Indians. In a letter written by Piratininga in 1557, when he reported the removal of the Indians from the newly created Jesuit school, Anchieta wrote that "most of these Indians (...) made other addresses not far from here, where they now live, because (...) now persuaded them a diabolical imagination, that this church is made for their destruction" in which we can close them". This "diabolical imagination" comes from the fact that "other Indians tell you this", especially "some of their wizards, whom they call shamans" (Anchieta 1988, p. 366). Possibly Anchieta following the Tomist doctrine on this subject: according to the Tomist conception, the imagination can be diabolical because the

devil has power to act in the internal and external senses of man. In the case of the imagination, the devil acts on the individual by making him appear as real, something deceptive, or by making him see something different than he is, by modifying the sensitive species received by the external senses.¹

Such a conception became very widespread in sixteenth-century theology, especially in the inquisitorial manuals (Clark 1997). For this reason, the Jesuits, realizing that the words of the sorcerers contradicted those used by them in preaching, sought to propose actions that would add strength to the word and that they could act on the imagination of the Indians, as appears in this Letter of Anchieta to Father General D. Laynez, written by St. Vincent on January 8, 1565. In their relationship with the indigenous chief Pindobucu, the Jesuits use images to impress and persuade him: “Pindobucu told us among other things: ‘You all know the things! God discovers them all! Ask him to give me a long life, and I’ll put myself on your behalf.’” And from then on, he would always come to see us in the morning, to see if we had anything to eat and looking for it, and asking us many things of God. In fact, according to Anchieta, the imagination of the Indians seems particularly influential, to the point that “if they want to die by seizing only death in their imagination or by eating land; or tell them that if they are going to die or make them afraid, they die briefly (Anchieta 1988, p. 442). The same is confirmed by the Portuguese Jesuit F. Cardim. Cardim, in the account of his visit to Brazil, commented that the Indians are in extreme submission to the power of imagination. They “are so afraid of the devil (...) and it is so much the fear they have of him that they die only by imagining him, as has happened many times” (Cardim 1980, p. 87).

4.2 The Appetites (Sensitive and Intelligible) of Indians

The Jesuits portrayed in their letters the force that, in the psychic dynamism of the Indians, seemed to have sensitive appetites: according to the priests, their excessive movement toward inappropriate objects would determine ‘unnatural’ conducts such as anthropophagy. In reporting to Inácio de Loyola the situation of the natives on the coast of Brazil, Anchieta pointed out that, “from Pernambuco (...) over 900 miles, (...) the Indians without exception eat human flesh; in this they feel so much pleasure and sweetness that they often travel over 300 miles when going to war. And if they captivate four or five of their enemies, without taking care of anything else, they return to the village with great voices and parties and copious wines, which manufacture with roots, and eat them in such a way that they do not lose even the slightest nail, and all their lives boast of that egregious victory” (Anchieta 1988, pp. 108–109).

¹According to Thomas, good and evil angels have the power to alter the movements of animal spirits and moods that allow the external senses to receive information from the external world (See Thomas Aquinas. *Summa Theologica*, Part 1, *quaestio* 114, art. 4) (Veja-se Tomás de Aquino. *Summa Theologica*, Parte 1, *qaestio* 114, art. 4).

However, the question is complex: for the understanding of anthropophagic conduct, Anchieta also referred to the movement of intellectual appetites. How can we explain the behavior of the prisoners condemned to this atrocious death, who accepted it as an honor, except by judging and adhering to the will of the Indians to the values of their cultural tradition? “Even the captives think that it is a noble and dignified thing for them, facing such a glorious death, as they judge, because they say that it is proper to the timid and unsuitable for war to die so that they have to bear in the grave the weight of the earth, which they think to be very great” (Anchieta 1988, p. 109).

The appetites of the Indians become disordered because they are guided by inadequately valued objects, and they are accentuated by the “unbridled passion of the drinks”: “when they are drunker, the memory of past evils is renewed, and they begin to boast about them soon burning with the desire to kill enemies and the hunger for human flesh”.

Anchieta’s position referred to anthropological theories of contemporary authors: the Jesuit José de Acosta and the former Jesuit Giovanni Botero.²

José de Acosta stated that “barbarians” are those who depart from the straight inspiring reason of human habitual practices. The definition of right reason and customary habits is grafted onto the Aristotelian-Tomist view. According to Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), human intelligence has a natural tendency toward its Creator. At the same time, man is a composite of body and soul and, therefore, his thinking is an act that takes place within the corporeality and material conditioning in which he lives (example: climate, geographical space, etc....). In this way, by changing some conditions (e.g., politics), an educational process could take place that leads to and transforms the condition of barbarity into another, of civilization.

Acosta pointed to “monstrous deviations” from the conduct of indigenous populations that he classified within an established hierarchy of human conditions, as “wild men” in a state of absolute barbarism. Among them, described as “without law, without king, without covenants, without fixed magistrates or regime of government,” anthropophagi and without fixed abodes, capable of carrying out crimes

² Giovanni Botero, after entering the Society of Jesus at the age of 16, in 1580 left the order because of disagreements with his superiors, and from 1582, he resided in Milan as secretary to Cardinal Carlo Borromeo and then to his nephew, Cardinal Federico. His most important work is *Relazioni universali* (in four parts; a fifth part was published in 1895), an anthropological geography, with detailed news about the physical, demographic, military, and political configuration of the nations of the Old and New World. The five volumes were written in 1591, 1592, 1594, 1596, and 1611. In Botero’s work, the spirit of the Company is evident, and most of the sources used are Jesuit. As Descendre (2005) observes, Botero’s work has an apologetic intention: the description of the missionary movement in the world evidences the strong expansion of Christianity conceived according to the vision of the Council of Trent. Latin America is one of the themes treated by Botero in the *Relazioni universali*. Extensive parts of the work are dedicated to Latin America: the first part of the fourth book; the entire fifth book; in the fourth part, the first, second, third, and fourth book; some sections of the fifth part. Botero also dedicates five pages of the Fifth Report to Brazil, reconstructing the anthropological history of the country.

that made them “like beasts,” would be “a good number of Brazilian peoples (Acosta 1987, pp. 68–69).

The stereotype of the Latin American natives was conveyed by the writings of Giovanni Botero (1544–1617), author of the voluminous work *Universal Relations* (1591–1596), a great compendium of elaborated anthropological geography. The objective of the treatise was to portray the characteristics of what the author considered to be the new Christian orb, based on the reading of letters, reports, and other Jesuit documents, among others. Botero takes up the opposition between the wild man and the civilized, having as comparison criterion the straight use of reason, formulated by Acosta. In the third part of *Relations* (1595), he defines Brazilian Indians among the most barbaric peoples, “for leading a wild and bestial life without chiefs, without laws, without any form of civility and politics” (Botero 1595, p. 2).

The writer also formulates a derogatory assessment of his psychological characteristics: “his understanding seems obscured by the senses, reason by appetites, and judgment by passions. His thought does not depart from the earth, nor does it extend beyond the present object” (Botero 1595, vol. 3, p. 2). For this reason, the natives do not worship any divinity, although they rely on “the sorcerers and their false prophecies. Botero believes that it is appropriate to deal with the anthropophagous Indians as if they were “madmen”, and should also resort to the use of weapons (Botero 1595, vol. 3, p. 53). The fourth part of *Relations* (1595) relates the missionary work of the Jesuits in Brazil: Botero tells of the great difficulty encountered by the missionaries, caused by the “bestiality” of those populations. To exemplify his judgment, he again describes in detail the anthropophagous ritual (Botero 1595, vol. 4, p. 78).³

Therefore, the similarity between Anchieta’s interpretation of indigenous behavior in his letters and the texts of Acosta and Botero is evident. They are all inspired by the model of Aristotelian-Thomistic philosophical psychology of sixteenth-century Jesuit thinkers. When the prevalence of sensorial powers, especially sensitive appetites, over intellectual appetites and cognitive powers occurs, individuals are unable to judge and evaluate the objects of their desires. The resulting dissatisfaction leads them to excesses in their behaviors and experiences of sensations and affections. They present unruly habits, among which violence, cruelty, anthropophagy. Such processes can also be determined by supernatural influences (the demons) and the consumption of herbs and drinks. These influences can act not only on the sensory level but also on the functioning of intellectual appetites.

However, we have seen that Anchieta was also a man of humanist background, who believes in the power of education in the modification of human habits. By

³ Botero attributes the state of bestiality to the action of demonic powers. It describes the emergence of superstitions that it defines as “madness” (p. 84). He states that these “sick outbreaks” are stimulated by the use of the juice of a herb called Petima, which induces in the users, symptoms similar to those we would define today as epileptic: “they fall as dead to the ground, with their mouths twisted and their tongues out, they stretch and turn all over with trembling of the whole body and speak between their teeth” (p. 85).

writing in 1555 to Ignatius of Loyola of Piratininga, where the tribe headed by Tibiriçá lived, he sought to show how coexistence with the missionaries has achieved some positive effects. He affirmed that “the other nefarious ignominies also necessarily diminish; and some are so obedient to us that they dare not drink without our permission, and only with great moderation if we compare it with the old madness” (Anchieta 1988, p. 194). Anchieta pointed out the change of habits and values “in the way of Christians”, starting from the coexistence of that same population that before thought could be converted only by the intervention of military force. He wrote: “the subjection of these Indians is too much to admire, not living obliged to any laws, nor law, and not obeying anyone’s authority” (Anchieta 1988, p. 110). In Anchieta’s pondering, this fact is inexplicable in the light of the civilizing theory of the authors already cited, according to which there would be a foreseeable need for law, religion and obedience to a king, to enable religious conversion. But the fact is explained by the strength of educational coexistence, and this is an argument in favor of *used to highlight* the importance of the presence of the Society of Jesus in colonial territory in view of the creation and preservation of a “Christian Republic”.

4.3 The Affects of the Indians

The letters reported observations of the manifestation of some specific affects in the Indians. One of them is the joy that in the view of those who wrote proves the establishment of successful social relations. The letters referred to the joy expressed by the Indians when they received the missionaries: “he was from the Gentiles very well received and welcomed with great joy” (Vale. In: Navarro 1988, p. 437); “Brother Pero Correia was received with the greatest joy when he reached the Indians to whom he was sent” (Vale. In: Navarro 1988, pp. 197–198); “we were received with great joy” (Nunes. In: Navarro 1988, p. 86).

The opposite affection, hatred, also appears among the lines of the Jesuit letters, and the intensification of this affection was attributed to the demonic action. But fear was the most cited affection observed in the conduct of the natives. The objects that induced fear in the Indians were of various natures. Some were inherent to the indigenous culture itself, such as, for example, fear of “demons”. Nóbrega reported in a letter to inform his former teacher in Coimbra, Martim Navarro, about the life and habits of indigenous nations: “(The Indians) have a great sense of the devil and are terrified of him (...). And they find him at night, and for this cause they go out with a firebrand, and this is their defensive means” (Nóbrega 1988, p. 91). The fear used by the Portuguese as a strategy of domination seems to constantly mark the relations of the Indians with the colonial power, especially by the frequent and violent “punishments” that achieved the effect of Indian submission. Through the fear inculcated in the natives, the Portuguese Governor ended up collaborating with the objectives of the missionaries: for example, “he had the sorcerers arrested and another (...) of what they were all frightened that from then on began to fill the churches” (Nobrega 1988, p. 159). The adhesion of the Indians to Christianization

in many cases occurred out of fear. The induction of fear was, according to Nóbrega, one of the resources that could be used to accomplish this goal: “This Gentile is of a quality that is not wanted for good, but for fear and submission, as has been experienced” (Nóbrega 1988, p. 448).

Observations about the fears expressed by the indigenous people were also frequent in Anchieta’s letters: not only fear of physical dangers, but also fear of the supernatural power of the missionaries, resulting in their surrender to Christianization: “Pindobuçu began to preach in the houses (...) saying: If we are afraid of our sorcerers, how much more should we be afraid of the Fathers, who must be true saints, and have the power to make us come with chambers of blood, coughing, headache, fevers and other diseases that we will all die!” (Anchieta 1988, pp. 134–135).

The escape from the arrival of the priests for fear of their supernatural powers is reported in a letter by Francis Pires: “The Gentiles ran away from them like death and evicted the houses and ran away through the woods (...) and some came on the way to pray to the priests not to harm them, to pass by (...) and, trembling like the verge, did not want to hear the preaching” (In: Navarro 1988, p. 393 6396).⁴

In the discourse of the Jesuits, the descriptions of the behavior of the Indians signaling fear were associated with the construction of moral habits, positive (moral and theological virtue, uprooting of vicious customs, obedience to priests and colonial government, conversion to Christianity), or negative (refusal of the relationship, flight, enmity). The association between the affection of fear and virtue was explicitly assumed in the letters, as a possible resource of missionary strategy.⁵

⁴The fact that, especially in warlike situations, the demonstration of the adversary’s strength and the punishments inflicted are causes of fear and can obtain desired effects goes back to the doctrines of Aristotle and Thomas. Aristotle in Rhetoric states that being fear, or fear, a passion aroused by the imagination of a coming evil that can cause destruction or pain, the condition for us to experience fear is that these evils seem close and imminent (as is, for example, a warlike circumstance). Thus, for Aristotle, the objects that arouse fear are exactly those that seem to have great power to destroy or to cause damage from which great pain results. Therefore, the signs of such things induce fear by indicating the approaching of something to be feared. As for people who induce fear, Aristotle presents a great variety of cases: among others, the hatred or anger of people who have the power to do us great harm. Thomas, for his part, states that “fear is aimed at two terms, namely the evil from which it flees and the good which, by its virtue, can inflict evil. And it is in this way that God is feared by man, while he can inflict a punishment, spiritual or bodily. In the same way a man’s power is feared, especially when he is wronged, or unjust, because then he is immediately led to cause evil. Thus we also fear who has power over us, that is, we fear to depend on another, so that it gives him the power to do us harm; such is the case of one who, being conscious of a crime, fears that another will reveal it” (Thomas, Summa. Op. Cit. 2005, vol. 7, p.81–83).

⁵In the *Dialogue on the conversion of the Gentiles* and in a letter written in May 1558, Nóbrega summarized the theological and political reasons why he thought that “servile fear” would be the only way to subjugate the Indians and subjugate them within the space of mildew controlled by the missionaries. This position had political as well as theological and legal consequences. In fact, according to Eisemberg, “by amalgamating the concepts of *libertas* and *dominium* (...) the Jesuits distanced themselves from the concept of freedom as an inalienable objective right (*ius*), breaking, perhaps for the first time, with the then dominant Dominican interpretation of tomism” (Eisemberg 2000, p. 146).

However, the fear observed in the behavior of the other is one of the effects of the failed establishment of social interaction: this emotional phenomenon manifests refusal, defensive attitude, flight, in the face of a type of relationship judged as dangerous, negative. In this sense, the emergence of this affection in the relationship between the Indians and the Jesuits was a clear sign of a crisis of the missionary method. Not by chance, the recourse to fear as an instrument of indoctrination emerged in a second stage of missionary presence, after the defeat of the initial attempts to evangelize the Indians. An evangelizing method based on the establishment of positive social relations and rational discourse would be the opposite of a domineering and imposing relationship based on manipulation and emotional control. In this second sense, evangelization would not be founded on the establishment of a social relationship of belonging and community. Instead, it would be founded on the induction of virtuous habits, on the formation of an ethical conduct where diversity must be assimilated, or eliminated.

Among the intellectual appetites observed in the Indians, the most quoted by the authors of the letters was love. The correspondence of the Indians to the evangelizing work of the missionaries was described in terms of the affection of love. Anchieta, when narrating that the Jesuits promoted teaching, an element that attracted the will of the Indians, said: “a boy leaving his relatives, stayed with us, and joined the boys to learn the first elements. The main care we have of them is to declare to them the rudiments of the faith, without neglecting the teaching of the letters; they esteem it so much that, if it were not for this attraction, perhaps we could not lead them to anything else” (Anchieta 1988, pp. 307–308). The same author, in a letter of 1549 to the Provincial of Portugal, Simão Rodrigues, reported the symbolic exchange attitude of an Indian chief: “He is very fervent and a great friend of ours: we gave him a red hat and some pants. Bring us fish and other things from the land with great love” (Anchieta 1988, p. 113).

In another letter of 1565, Anchieta reported loving and caring attitudes expressed by members of the indigenous communities: Cacique Cunhambeba had helped the Jesuits by endangering their own lives and had shown his love for them through various gestures: “One of them, a man very dear to his family (...) called Cunhambeba, got into a canoe, which was not yet finished, and came to help us during the night, half flooded, by a very rough sea. (...) we left very early in the morning to his village, where he had ordered us to build a small house in the middle of it to say missa. And when he saw us, like all the women in the village, they were so happy, as if we had risen from that hour, speaking to us words of great love.” (Anchieta 1988, pp. 145–146).

Love is a phenomenon of the will, and for this reason, the Jesuits sought “to co-opt the will of the chiefs” (Rodrigues. In: Navarro 1988, p. 410); “I use all the ways in which it seems to us that we will win the will of the Gentiles” (Nóbrega 1988, pp. 523–524).

4.4 Cognitive Powers in Indians

The Jesuits used Aristotelian-Tomist terminology to refer to the cognitive processes observed in natives. The main category used was understanding. The evaluation about the understanding of the Indians is present in several letters and acquires different valuations.

Meaningful in this respect is a letter sent by Anchieta to Inácio de Loyola in which the author described the condition of the various Brazilian ethnic groups and establishes differences between them. The description is similar to the aforementioned political theories of José de Acosta and Giovanni Botero, that peoples who do not have in their political and social organization, a sovereign, a jurisdiction, a religion, live in a condition not according to reason, while peoples who have at least one of these three pillars develop toward an increasingly rational condition. In fact, according to Anchieta (and the tradition to which he is inspired), these three aspects (legal organization, government, and religion) belong to natural law. Referring to the Indians of the Porto Seguro region, the author stated that “they are indomitable and fierce, nor do they bend reason”. On the contrary, “the carijós are much meeker and more prone to the things of God” in a way similar to “other people to the west, through the interior to the province of Peru”. These “are very meek, they come closer to reason, they are all subject to one head, each one lives with his wife and children separately in his house, and in no way eat human flesh. Continuing the description, Anchieta dealt with the “people who call themselves Ibirajaras, who we think are ahead of all these in the use of reason, intelligence and meekness of customs. And she explains the reasons for this judgment: “All these obey one lord, have horror to eat human flesh, are content with one woman (...). They believe in no idolatry or sorcerer, and they advance to many others in good manners, so that they seem closer to the law of nature” (Anchieta 1988, pp. 117–118).

In the opinion of the Jesuits, the demand for learning manifested by the natives proved their intellectual gifts while justifying missionary work. Nóbrega wrote in a letter to the Provincial of Portugal in 1549 at the beginning of the mission of the Society of Jesus in Bahia: “They have schools to read and write; it seems to me a good way to bring the Indians from this land, who have great desires to learn and, when asked if they want to, show great desires” (Nóbrega 1988, p. 110–111).⁶

Therefore, as in the consideration of the other psychic powers inferred by the observation of the behavior of the Indians, the evaluation about the cognitive powers was associated with the response of these as to the evangelizing initiative of the Jesuits. When the Indians showed resistance to the missionaries, they were evaluated as not very rational. An example is the following excerpt from a letter written to Torres de Rio Vermelho by Nóbrega in 1557: “I have come to understand by

⁶In a letter of 1551, Nóbrega refers to the fact that several indigenous women show willingness to learn Christian doctrine and to bring their children to be taught, which would justify the creation of a College (Nóbrega 1988, p. 286). Similarly, in the same year, Nóbrega expressed himself in a letter to the Portuguese king (Nóbrega 1988, p. 292).

experience how little one could do in this land in the conversion of the gentiles for lack of being subjects, and they are a form of people in a condition closer to wild beasts than to rational people” (Nóbrega 1988, p. 400).

And in a letter written to the same recipient the following year, Nóbrega outlined a picture quite different from that set out in his initial letters. He placed the need for the Indians, once “subjected” with force, to be taught how to live “rationally”, and then to be evangelized: “First of all, the Gentiles must subject themselves and make them live as rational creatures, making them keep the natural law” (Nóbrega 1988, p. 447).

4.5 Importance of the Word and Sociability Among the Natives

José de Anchieta, in the Information of the Province of Brazil (1585), a long letter addressed to the Father General of the Company, affirmed the importance of preaching as a fundamental instrument for the indoctrination of the Indians. It justified the statement by the observation that the Indians attach an enormous value to speech and the word. He wrote: “They make a lot of case among themselves, like the Romans, of good speakers and call them masters of speech. And a good speaker gets from them what he wants: he gets them to kill or not to kill in wars; or to walk one part or the other; and he is lord of life and death. They listen to him all night and sometimes also throughout the day, without sleeping or eating. To experience whether he is a good orator and eloquent, many listen to him all night long to overcome him and tire him out, and if they cannot, they have him for a great man and speaker. That is why there are preachers among them very esteemed who exhort them to war, to kill men and to do other deeds of this sort” (Anchieta 1988, p.441).

Anchieta’s attention to language and use of the word here is also an expression of his interests and skills. The theatrical records written by Anchieta have used plurilingualism as a form of acculturation. It was common to use the three languages in the same writings. Thus, for Anchieta, the word would be the great resource for the transformation of the customs and ideas of the natives, according to the evangelizing objectives. Anchieta’s position is inserted in a broader context. In Brazil, a colonial country where the majority of the population was illiterate, as we will see, the use of the oral word as a vehicle for transmitting ideas and as a “therapeutic” means was a priority.

Anchieta emphasized the Indian ways of experiencing social relations and related affections. Anchieta stressed the fact that the Indians “love their children very much” and showed great sociability among them: “They are not demands, but benefactors and charitable; all those who enter their homes eat with them without telling them anything (...). They live together many times and a very big house of palm that they call hollow and with such peace that they are astonished, and with having houses without doors and their things without keys by no means steal from each other” (Anchieta 1988, p. 442).

There are psychosocial phenomena observed in native Brazilians, which do not fit the traditional labels and which the author described showing their strangeness. In the *Information on Indigenous Marriages in Brazil*, the Jesuit sought to investigate the peculiar relationships of kinship existing in the indigenous community, trying to infer the “feelings” experienced in such social relationships. He inferred that the Indians do not have a particular “feeling of adultery”. About the polygamous Indians, he stated that “it is not possible to know with which of them they joined with a marital spirit, because (...) they do not even know how to say it really, because to all they had the same spirit” (Anchieta 1988, p. 457).

The difficulty of the missionary in understanding the affective experiences of the Indian is clear. Another unusual phenomenon in European eyes, described by Anchieta and other chroniclers, is that after the birth, it is the father who receives care and visits, not the mother. According to the writer, this conduct was explained by the fact that the Indians “have for themselves that the real kinship comes from the parents, who are the agents; and that the mothers are nothing more than a few bags (...) in which the children are raised” (Anchieta 1988, p. 460). In short, the sphere of affectivity, which we have seen valued in Jesuit psychology, could also be highlighted among the psychological characteristics of the Brazilian Indian, but the specific experiences and their cultural meanings remained an unknown to the eyes of the Canarian writer.

Fernão Cardim emphasized the sociability of the indigenous people, which was expressed in various signs, from the liberality in distributing food (“they share everything they have with their friends”), to the structure of the house, called “hollow”, in which “there is no reparation between them (...) and entering it you see everything you have” (Cardim 1980, p. 88). The description of the indigenous hollow made in the *Narrative* is even more suggestive: “there is so much conformity between them that all year round there is no fighting, and with having nothing closed there is no theft; if it were any other nation, they could not live the way they live without many complaints, grievances, and even deaths, which is not found among them” (Cardim 1980, p. 152). According to Cardim, since childhood the Indians get used to socializing. The children play among them “with much quietness and friendship. (...) Among them there are no bad names, (...) and rarely when they play they get disconcerted, nor do they get angry about anything. They rarely hit each other, nor fight” (Cardim 1980, p. 53).

As for relationships and parental affections, Cardim confirmed the fact that Indians “love their children extraordinarily” and that “they do not give them any kind of punishment” (Cardim 1980, p. 91). He pointed out that “children are joyful and given to play”, more than the children of the Portuguese. He noted that the natives “have no kind of punishment for their children; there is neither a father nor a mother who in all life punishes or touches a child, so much so that they carry them in their eyes” (Cardim 1980, p. 153). Cardim noted that, in spite of this, “when they are little, they are obedient to their fathers and mothers, and all of them are very kind and pleasant. This fact should intrigue the mentality and pedagogical concepts of Fernão Cardim, a Portuguese Jesuit, used to consider punishment as necessary in

the educational relationship, according to the practice of his time in Europe, when it was used to punish even university students, princes and kings (Ariès 1978).

A ritual that documents the ways of welcoming the Indians in front of foreigners, involving affective manifestations, is the tearful greeting reserved for guests, or new arrivals. The observer Fernão Cardim commented: “it is not only a new thing, but of great amazement, to see the way they welcome the guests, who they welcome crying in a strange way” (Cardim 1980, p. 153). The narrator declared his inability to evaluate the affective dimension of this gesture: crying in the eyes of the European was an expression of sadness, but for the Indian crying could also communicate joy. However, he recognized the value this practice assumes for the other and the need to respect it: “At this time of sad or joyful reception, the greatest insult they can do is to tell them to be silent, or that it is enough with these cries”. Sociability within the tribe contrasted with the aggressiveness and violence shown in behavior against enemies. In this respect, Cardim confirmed the judgment of the other authors: “they are intrepid and ferocious, which is astonishing” (Cardim 1980, p. 105).

4.6 The Temporality Experience by the Authors of Letters and the Representation of Indians in this Perspective

The psychic experiences described above are inscribed in the experience of temporality lived by the authors of the letters. To pay attention to this is also something necessary for the understanding of the psychological knowledge proposed.

The sense of time lived sustains the Jesuits’ positions on action in the present. In the letters, they often referred to a near past inherent in their own experience. We have already seen that the present experience is placed as the constant criterion for discerning what is convenient for the action and intervention of the Society of Jesus. In this respect, the Jesuits revealed themselves as men from the beginnings of Modernity, permeated by the anthropological vision of pedagogical humanism and by confidence in Portuguese military colonialism as a possibility for the creation of new political worlds. In the historical circumstance of that ‘present’ in which the action of the Jesuits was inscribed, the colonization that implied the submission of the Indians by military force was justified as the only possibility for the realization of the missionary plan. This position, expressed in the writings of the aforementioned Joseph of Acosta, considered the natives to be capable of being transformed by military submission before and by Christian education after. Thus, the influence of the indigenous traditions of belonging was also minimized. Nóbrega justified the fact of the military and political domination of the natives by the Portuguese, as a historical necessity, to enable the realization of the project of the Company. He wrote that, in this way, it could happen of “seeing the Gentile Indians subject and put in the yoke of Christian obedience, to be able to print in them everything we wanted. For it is the Indians of such quality that, once tamed, the faith of Christ will

be written in their understanding and their will very well. This is how it was done in Peru and the Antilles, which seems to have Gentile Indians of the same condition as this one, and we have now begun to see it by experience, as I will say below. If you leave them in their freedom and will, as they are brutal people, nothing will be done with them, as we have seen from experience all this time that we have dealt with him with a lot of work, without taking more fruit from him than a few innocent souls that we send to heaven” (Nóbrega 1988, p. 193).

On the other hand, the explanation given by Nóbrega about the condition of the natives referred to an ancient time. In *Diálogo sobre a conversão do gentio* (1556–1557), Manoel da Nóbrega used the resource of dialog, a literary genre widespread in the culture of the time, to highlight two visions about the Brazilian Indian, existing in the Company and among themselves contradictory. The first vision is expressed by the speech of brother Gonçalo Alves, a preacher in the indigenous villages, the other by the speech of his interlocutor, brother Matheus Nogueira, a blacksmith. In the text, it is on the level of a fragility of appetites, of will, fragility defined by Catholic theology as “original sin” that the “state of barbarity” of the Indians is explained. This existential condition, by which man “was made similar to the beast”, is common to all peoples, whether the most civilized or the least, in the present moment of history: “so that all, thus Portuguese, as Castilians, as Tamoios, as Aimurés, we become similar to the beast, by nature corrupt, and in this we are all equal, nor has nature dispensed with more with one generation than with another” (Nóbrega 1988, p. 238).

The long history (*magisterial history*) is invoked in this case to evaluate the situation of the Brazilian Indians in the present: “They worshipped stones and sticks of men made gods, they had faith in witchcraft of the devil; others worshiped oxen and cows, and others worshiped rats for gods, and other filth. The Jews, who were the most right people in the world, and who had accounts with God, and had the scriptures from the beginning of the world, worshipped a metal heifer. The Romans, the Greeks, and all the other Gentiles, paint and have inda por god to an idol, to a cow, to a rooster” (Nóbrega 1988, p. 239).

In the letters and texts of Nobrega, two apparently antagonistic positions are merged. On the one hand, the author uses the resource of experience, linked to personal and group experience of the new circumstances of the present. On the other hand, he uses the reference to examples of a remote past, an expression of the traditional regime of temporality, which considers history as the master of life and the past as light to think of the present. According to Hartog, this mixture is characteristic of the historical period of Humanism and the Renaissance, when the sense of temporality proper to tradition begins to be questioned.

According to Hartog (2003), on the one hand, “the top of magisterial history in general gained new and greater importance in the Renaissance, with the rediscovery and reading of ancient historians, emphasizing the imitation of the ancients and, in broader terms, the use of antiquity as a controversial instrument of criticism of

Christianity (2003, p.14). At the same time, the Renaissance is also witnessing a questioning of this vision.⁷

Nóbrega's position seems more focused on recent past experience and less on tradition. This position can be better understood by taking into account the novelty that the Society of Jesus itself proposes to represent in its historical time, being conceived as a response to the signs of the times.

In the view of the Jesuits, children of their time, transformation was thought of in a perspective shaped by Humanism: it must occur through education. In the Dialogue on the conversion of the Gentiles, Nobrega puts these words in the mouth of one of the two interlocutors: iron "stuck in the forge, fire makes it so that it looks more like fire than iron. Thus all souls without grace and charity from God are cold irons without profit. But the more it is heated, the more you make of it what you will..." (Nobrega 1988, p. 240). One of the interlocutors of the Nóbrega Dialogue, the Jesuit Matheus Nogueira, considers the attribute of "bestiality" reserved for the Indians by the fifteenth-century literature, as something common to "all generations" and peoples, before going through the civilizatory process. The cultural inferiority of indigenous peoples in relation to other nations is not due to a diversity in their psychological structure (for example, the state of barbarity in which they live should not be attributed to a presumed intellectual inferiority). But it is due to education: "having the Romans and other Gentiles more police than these, did not come from naturally having a better understanding, but from having better creation, and creating themselves more politically" (Nóbrega 1988, p. 240).

In the Jesuit perception of temporality, another decisive factor is taken into account: under the circumstances, Nóbrega and the other partners appealed to divine initiative. The intervention of the latter in worldly reality was proved by experience: "When God wants to help, friends make themselves enemies in favor of Christians, and when he wants to punish, he makes enemies friends: and one thing and another was seen on this earth by experience" (Nóbrega 1988, p. 216). It has already been seen how experience can become a revelation of the divine action in human history, to the extent that one knows how to read the signs of this action. In several cases, this action was reported as "the spirit of God that moves". For the Jesuits, in fact,

⁷Hartog cites the example of the French historian J. Bodin: he, in a book of 1566, *The Method of History*, states that "thanks to history the present is easily explainable, we penetrate into the future and obtain very sure indications of what we should seek and avoid" (p. 17). At the same time, however, it presents a vision of the historical past in which it demystifies the traditional conception of "beginnings as a time of poverty and purity" and shows that, on the contrary, such beginnings were marked by superstitions and cruelties. Another contemporary author to Nóbrega quoted by Hartog is Loys le Roy, a humanist and author of *De la vicissitude ou variété des choses en l'univers* (1575): this book also "is based on the magisterial history and at the same time challenges it by trying to prove the superiority of the present". The text simultaneously makes use of various temporalities and, above all, considers the present as superior to any previous time, the commitment of the present being to correct the heritage left by barbarians, Greeks and Romans. Another example cited by Hartog can be found in the first two books of the *Essays* of Montaigne, published in 1580. Montaigne, if on the one hand is widely used of examples, as appeals to imitation, at the same time emphasizes their variety and contradiction: the examples become curiosities to highlight the multiplicity of the world and the fact that time destabilizes everything.

the value of history was sacramental, always referring to the mystery of divine Providence (Pécora 1994).

In short, the horizon of expectation about the future was sustained by the experience lived by the Jesuits: this was elaborated over a near past and in any case in the first person. It is on this ultimate horizon that the sense of temporality was placed. Time was constantly crossed by the action of the Eternal One and referred to Him. The sense of the present time was that of being grafted into the transcendent, into Eternity. The future belongs to God. On this same horizon, the writing of the letters was placed and acts, for its authors and its recipients: this was a link that links actors close in ideal, but distant in space to a time, whose present was apparently obscure and whose future was mysteriously certain. In the letters, the authors outlined what for them was a portrait of Brazilian reality and, at the same time, mirror how much they experience themselves. Psychological knowledge was mobilized for the composition of this portrait and, through mirroring, they somehow constructed the self-portrait of each of the writers.

4.7 Conclusion

The elaboration of the knowledge of the psychological characteristics of the native Brazilians carried out by the Jesuit missionaries was the effect of their vision of the world and of man and their sense of temporality. In this sense, it employed the resources of their universe of thought, especially those arising from the Conimbricenses treaties analyzed in the second chapter of this book. The influences of Humanist and Renaissance conceptions about education and civilization, considered capable of radically transforming man, were also very important. At the same time, such an elaboration took place in a temporal horizon, proper to missionaries, where the present was linked to the eternal; so that also the process of formation of man was thought in this long perspective.

The representation of the psychological characteristics of the Indians proposed in the Jesuit sources allows us to reach some kind of knowledge about the subject at the time considered, given the lack of written sources elaborated by the Indians themselves. In fact, the various indigenous peoples who lived in Brazil in the sixteenth and seventh centuries had a culture based exclusively on orality.

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Chapter 5

Psychological Knowledge in Educational Treaties



5.1 The Person as *to Become* and Education as a Process, from the Perspective of the Luso-Brazilian Jesuit Alexandre de Gusmão and the Society of Jesus

5.1.1 Education from a Jesuit Perspective

From the second half of the sixteenth century, due to the demands of European society and the missionary territories, the creation of schools for the education of children and young people became the main way of missionary action of the Society of Jesus (O'Malley 1999). The emphasis on education as a ministry of the Society of Jesus goes back to its origins. Ignatius of Loyola recounts in his Autobiography that in 1524, he saw the need to devote himself to study in order to help souls. According to him, there is a close correlation between the acquisition of virtue and the study of letters. In a letter sent through secretary Pedro Ribadaneira to Emperor Philip II of Spain, Loyola justifies the Company's commitment to the foundation of colleges. He affirms that all the welfare of humanity and of Christianity depends on an adequate education of young people.

In Brazil, the pedagogical commitment of the Jesuits, together with the children, is based on the humanist conviction of the religious that the cultural inferiority of the native peoples is due to the lack of education and not to a structural anthropological or psychological diversity. This is what was stated by Manuel da Nóbrega in the text *Diálogo sobre a conversão do gentio*. The passage from the conversation between two Jesuits representing two different emerging positions in the Society about the methods and objectives of missionary work has already been mentioned. In comparing the "rudeness" of the Indians to the civilization ("police") of ancient pagan peoples, one of the interlocutors states: "to have the Romans and other Gentiles more police, that these, did not come to them from naturally having a better understanding, but from having a better creation, and creating themselves more

politically” (Nóbrega 1988, p. 240). José de Anchieta states in a letter of 1557 that the children of the Indians raised in the colleges of the Society “will become firm Christians” (Anchieta 1988, p. 159).

In this way, through the Jesuits, the conviction about the possibility of man “doing himself” through the educational process, characteristic of Humanism and the Renaissance, finds in Brazil, recently discovered by the Europeans, a great laboratory of experimentation. Through education, the religious intended to act in the transformation of the natives, of their culture and society, into members of the “Christian social body” of the colony.

From this perspective, the important role of Jesuit schools should also be highlighted. The first schools built in Brazil were intended to teach reading and writing. In the various places of missionary presence in Brazil, the Jesuits created primary schools for teaching catechism and literacy; Latin and grammar schools; schools for the study of classics and for the practice of theater and rhetoric; courses in philosophy and arts, mathematics and physics, moral and dogmatic theology. The studies in these schools were governed by precise norms promulgated by the Society of Jesus and condensed into the *Ratio Studiorum* (1559). The *Ratio* recommended that studies should be free, schools should accept students from all social classes, pedagogical methods should take into account the psychological characteristics and character of each student, there should be a balance between humanistic and scientific instruction.

The great commitment of the Company in the pedagogical area explains the fact that the first author who, in Brazil, used the genre of the treatise to refer to the art of educating children and disciples is a Jesuit: Father Alexandre de Gusmão. Gusmão, founder and director of the Colégio do Menino Jesus de Belém in Cachoeira do Campo, a place near Salvador da Bahia, was born in Lisbon in 1629 and died in Bahia in 1724. Gusmão came to Brazil at the age of 10, joined the Company at the Colégio da Bahia in 1646, and graduated from this religious institution. He held several important positions in various colleges: master of novices, professor of humanities, mayor of studies in Rio de Janeiro, rector of the college of Santos and Bahia and, finally, Provincial of Brazil (Leite 1945).

The school created by Gusmão called the Seminary of Belém. It appeared near the city of Salvador, on the banks of the Paraguaçu River, near the urban center of Cachoeira. Established as a provincial school in 1686, it was the first boarding school in Brazil. Over 73 years, it has received the first education and taught about 1500 Brazilian students. The school was subsidized by the Portuguese government and also had the support of some benefactors. It was initially intended for the children of the poor, inhabitants of the sertão, in order to teach them the first elements of learning to read, write, count, study music, and Latin. But later, it began to receive students from all over Brazil, especially from the Recôncavo baiano, be they poor or the children of supplied farmers. The children of wealthy families paid a pension that supported the poorest in school.¹

¹Pitta states that “from all parts of Brazil they sent him many wealthy people, children and rela-

In 1693, the College had 50 students, and in 1710, it had 500 (Gusmão 1715).

Gusmão elaborated a Statute that gives the Colégio de Belém its own brand (Freitas 2011): students should learn to read, write, tell, grammar, humanities, Latin (including rhetoric), and music.

The treaty *Arte de criar bem os filhos na idade da puerícia* (*Art of raising children well at the age of childbearing*) by Gusmão was published in Lisbon in 1685, since in Brazil there was still no press because of the prohibition of the Portuguese Crown. The work is the result of the pedagogical experience carried out at the Seminar. At the same time, it is part of the extensive work of Father Gusmão as a writer. In fact, this Jesuit was attentive to the value of writing for the transmission of values and for the Christian formation of the new generations and employed different kinds of writing in his works. Among them, he used the genre of the allegorical novel, of which he was a precursor in Brazil. This novel and the psychological knowledge it conveys will be dealt with in a chapter of this book.²

The objective of the composition of the voluminous treatise *Art of raising children at childbearing age* is pointed out in Proêmio: the formation of a “perfect boy” (Gusmão 1685a, p. II). The author intends to explain to parents and teachers what “good upbringing” consists of and “how to do it properly” (Gusmão 1685a, p. III). It should also be noted that this book is also intended for women: “daughters and mothers of families”. (Gusmão 1685a, p. IV). Something innovative at the time. Gusmão defends the right of women to receive training in the first letters and liberal arts, the same as men. This statement was innovative and challenging if we consider that, at the time, education was forbidden to women in Brazil and Portugal (Massimi 1990).

Awareness of the importance of the work of the Society of Jesus for the educational work of society runs through this entire treaty, from the Prologue to the Reader where Gusmão writes: “It is so proper to the Company of Jesus to attend to the good institution of children in the early years of their childhood that it makes special mention of it in the form of his profession; because his Institute is to teach the good arts, and to inculcate good morals to all for the greater glory of God and the good of souls, in this particular matter of instructing children, his Founder, enlightened by the Holy Spirit, wished that there be a special obligation in the Company. (...). If the parents are careful to read and practice this treatise on their children, and the children are curious to study what belongs to them, I hope (...)

tives, to whom they assisted with a moderate annual congruous for his support” (Rocha Pitta, 1976, vol 7, pp. 67–68). Some of these students continued their higher studies in Coimbra. Among these students, the Caligrafo de Corte, the Brazilian Manoel Andrade De Figueiredo, born in the State of Espírito Santo, may also have studied at the Seminary: according to his biographies, his first training took place in Brazil at a Jesuit college.

²Gusmão was the author of numerous other works that were widely disseminated in Brazil at the time: a *Escola de Belém, Jesus nascido no Presépio* (Évora, Oficina da Academia, 1678), o *Menino Christão* (Lisboa, Deslandes, 1695), *Maria Rosa de Nazaret nas montanhas de Hebron*, a *Virgem Nossa Senhora na Companhia de Jesus* (Lisboa, Deslandes, 1715), *Eleição entre o bem e o mal eterno* (Lisboa, Oficina da Música, 1720), *O Corvo e a Pomba da Arca de Noé no sentido Alegórico e moral* (Lisboa, Bernardo da Costa, 1734).

there will be much improvement in the families, in the Republics much reform, in the Church many Righteous, and in Heaven many Saints”. (Gusmão 1695, p. I).

In the treatise, the pedagogical experience acquired by the Society of Jesus in the two centuries of life is cited, by means of numerous examples. In fact, the treatise does not aim to present a mere pedagogical theory but to discuss the results acquired through practice: in this sense, the works of many educators of the Society are cited. The method of argument used by Gusmão to support his positions interweaves the doctrines of the ancient with the experiences of the modern.

5.1.2 *The Importance of the First Years of Life*

In considering the first phases of the educational process, Gusmão emphasizes the need for parents to take care of their children in the first person from the first months and years of life.

Gusmão warns mothers about the importance of breastfeeding their own children and dedicates the entire third chapter to this need. The reasons given are several: first, the fact confirmed by the authority of Galen and Avicenna that “the mother’s milk is healthier for her child” (Gusmão 1685a, p. 80); second, a psychological reason, extremely interesting: the fact that with milk one communicates the “inclination” (Gusmão 1685a, p. 184). In fact, the humors would also be transmitted through milk, and this transmission could modify the original individual complexion. The question becomes important in a social environment where it used to be the case that breastfeeding children were handed over to milk nannies, usually slaves.

The book’s thesis on the “importance of good upbringing of children” from the early years of life is also based on Aristotle’s conception of Ethics to Nicomachus (basic text of Renaissance Aristotelianism). Gusmão states that “all the good of the children depends on their good education”. In fact, at birth, “the children’s spirits are like a shallow board. He uses the metaphor of painting to explain how the educational process can shape the personality: it is such that “an outstanding painter has the equipment to paint any image on it. what he wants to paint on it will represent, if Angel, Angel; if Demon, Demon will represent. Just as a picture comes out well, or badly painted, depends on the first lines that the painter drew, so the fact that the son is bad or well educated, depends on the first dictates, which in the child, as in shallow board, the father inspired”. (Gusmão 1685a, pp. 2–3).

The plasmability of the human being, the infinite possibilities of being that he can choose for himself, was a common Aristotelian place taken up by the humanist philosophy and pedagogy of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As Cassirer points out, Pico della Mirandola’s famous *Oratio de hominis dignitate* had reversed the traditional sense of the relationship between being and acting. Human dignity will no longer reside in the place that man occupies in the cosmos and which once and for all prescribes the direction of his path of formation (Cassirer 1977). On the contrary, the being of man is born from his doing. In this way, man created “neither

angel, nor devil, nor heavenly nor earthly” will be able to give himself, as a “free craftsman,” the form that he himself chooses for himself. The educational process is an expression of this “making of himself” of man, paraphrasing an expression of the Spanish humanist Luis Vives (Delumeau 1994).

Gusmão emphasizes that the diversity and the result of the “paintings” possible in the shallow tablet, that is, man in his birth, depend on the “first lines, the first blurs”. And he affirms: “the same happens in childish moods, which, like shallow tablets, are disposed to form any images in them. According to the first doctrine, which you give to your children, you will be able to know what is to be. They will be good children if they are well brought up in childhood, and bad children if they are badly formed in the beginning. For as well as going out well, or badly painted, the panel depends on the first lines, which threw the officer’s hand into it, so the fact of going out well, or badly raised the son, depends on the first raising, which his father gave him”. (Gusmão 1685a, b, p. 4).

The development experienced by the child in his early years of life has, over time, a decisive social impact: “From ordinary children know how to raise their own, when they become parents, and these to their own; and so all the other offspring come to form a good generation and good procedures. From this comes that in some generations certain virtues and certain vices are reigned as hereditary” (Gusmão 1685a, b, p. 31).³

5.1.3 *The Dimensions of Psychic Dynamism*

5.1.3.1 **The Sensory Power**

Gusmão begins the treatise “*Art of raising children well at the age of childhood*” (1685a) with this statement: “By the teaching and education you give to your children at the beginning of their life, they will be able to know what they will become”. It has already been said that the art of raising children well is inspired by the conception that the human being as a child is arranged in such a way that any image can be formed in him. This statement refers to the aforementioned Aristotelian theory of knowledge that we saw shared by the Jesuit philosophers of Coimbra. This theory considers that the psychological powers that provide knowledge have their foundation in the activity of the senses. Therefore, the changes that occurred in them in the early stages of life would have the effect of shaping the cognitive processes of the adult.

³The theme of the social and political usefulness of education and the importance of the Jesuit mission in this area is amply developed by Gusmão in the fifth chapter of the treatise: “The good upbringing of children in childbearing age is of such use to the Republic that all its good depends on it, and all its ruin follows on its lack” (Gusmão, 1685a, b, p. 38).

5.1.3.2 The Cognitive Powers

A particularly interesting chapter of Gusmão's treatise is dedicated to "as if there are to be parents with children in poor condition" (Gusmão 1685a, pp. 134). Gusmão defines as "children of bad condition" those who "are not docile in nature to discipline. He attributes this situation to three different causes: the "bad understanding," that is, lack of intellectual capacity, the "rebellious will," that is, difficulty at the level of motivation, and the whole of the previous causes (Gusmão 1685a, p. 135). All three conditions are "disciplinable," for "no child is in such a bad condition that he cannot be corrected, and domesticated, if in the father or the master there is vigilance and prudence to raise him while he is little" (Gusmão 1685a, p. 137). A very important consequence of this statement, on the pedagogical level, is that "the parents should not forsake their children, who have felt bad conditions, distrustful of making fruit in them, because none can be of such natural evil, that indoctrinated and tamed cannot be of benefit through good education" (Gusmão 1685a, p. 139).

When parents feel unable to perform this training task, they should seek the help of those who are competent in the matter. In this case, the father is recommended to "consult the politicians foreseen in this matter, i.e. those who have written children's policies, or as experienced may give him advice". (Gusmão 1685a, pp. 141–142).

5.1.3.3 The Punishment and the Playing

Among the resources available in the educational process indicated by Gusmão, we highlight here those that seem to us to have more relevance from a psychological point of view: punishment and play.

The use of punishment, moral and physical, is admitted, but in a moderate way, that is, inspired by the rational consideration of the pedagogical objectives to be achieved. For this reason, Gusmão reproves the excessive severity of the punishment and warns about the need to punish children at the appropriate time. Thus, it is necessary to consider the psychophysical reaction caused by the child's grievance in the father, or in the master. Punishing cannot be the effect of this reaction, but rather the means to achieve the formative objective. Gusmão bases himself on the humoralist medical doctrine of hypocratic-galenic derivation to affirm that punishment should be administered at specific times of the day: "To avoid these disorders it is good advice not to punish the children in the fragrant offense, when the deformity of the guilt naturally alters the anger, and causes the anger to break out; otherwise he keeps the punishment for the night, or for the dawn. (...). For at dawn are the moods quieter. (...) The mind is quieter to punish him with the rigor that asks for the offence, and not with the excess to which anger compels". (Gusmão 1685a, p. 323).

Play is considered an important practice in the process of formation of children's personality, especially because it takes children out of "idleness". This is defined as the principle of all addictions. Gusmão says it is "so proper and natural for children to play and play, that the same Latin word *puer* that in the vulgar means child, in

Hebrew it sounds playful, or playful”. So it would be “to take away the nature of children to forbid them to play” (Gusmão 1685a, p. 368).

In short, the pedagogical proposal of Gusmão and the Jesuits, in general, is part of a person’s conception that he realizes his destiny through the good use of his personal, including psychological, dispositions. Among these dispositions, the life of the soul has a fundamental function of articulation between the corporal and the spiritual dimension. The knowledge of the psychic life provides the practical objective of their ordination, to which the Jesuits dedicate all their efforts. In their pedagogical action, the Jesuits aim at the incorporation of the person to the whole, mobilizing, and exercising senses, affections, judgment and will, body and soul, according to a path oriented to the achievement of the ultimate goal. In Brazil, we have seen the project of the creation of the “Christian social body”, according to the expression often used by Manuel da Nóbrega in his letters, where Portuguese, Indians, slaves, and half-breeds would all be integrated. Therefore, the formation of the “Christian Republic” will be the objective of the pedagogical commitment of the Jesuits, as Gusmão emphasizes in the *Arte de criar bem os filhos na idade da puerícia* (Art of raising children well in the age of childhood). (Gusmão 1685a, Prólogo ao leitor).

5.2 In the Wake of the Jesuits: Education and Individual Psychic Abilities by Manoel de Andrade de Figueiredo

Manoel de Andrade de Figueiredo was born in 1673 in Espírito Santo, son of a Portuguese man, Captain Antônio Mendes de Figueiredo. Possibly Manoel attended a Jesuit school, but he remained there for a short time, because his father, not having been reinstated as captain, returned to Portugal with his family. We have no news of Manoel’s formation in Portugal, but we know that, as an adult, he dedicated himself to teaching the first letters and handwriting and was a member of the Court, where he taught.

The book *Nova escola para aprender a ler, escrever e contar* (New School to Learn to Read, Write and Tell), was published in Lisbon in 1722, offered to King D. João V. A large part is dedicated to calligraphy, the book being the first of its kind in Portuguese language. But there are also chapters containing pedagogical, didactic, methodological norms and psychological observations.

The references cited in the treatise are from the Portuguese and Christian cultural and pedagogical tradition: Plato, Aristotle, Augustine, Dionysius, Jerome, Cicero, Plutarch, Seneca, and Marco Aurelius. Figueiredo does not mention modern authors such as Comenius and Clenardo; nor does he mention the educator and fellow author Alexandre de Gusmão SI. Nevertheless, he seems to follow tips from the Jesuit *Ratio studiorum* (for example, the rule about moderation of punishment; and the use of monitors called “decurions”). Figueiredo, as the biographers say, had studied at a Jesuit school in his initial formation in Brazil.

5.2.1 *The Human Being in Becoming and the Educational Process*

Figueiredo shares with the Jesuits the vision about the formability of human beings through educational work. For this reason, in his book he insists on the importance of the choice of Masters because of their influence on the intellectual and affective life of children: “because on this good creation (as Aristotle says) depends all the good of the children” (Figueiredo 2010, p. 2). And further: “The spirits of the children are like a new field, where the master as a farmer casts the first seeds of doctrine. As is his science, so is the fruit that the children reap. Therefore, knowing the parents what their children’s numbers are in this settling, they must seek for their teaching virtuous, wise, honorable teachers (...). For if nature is powerful to persuade, more powerful is doctrine; for good doctrine amends bad nature, so says Cicero: *res efficax est natura sed potentior est institutio, quae malam naturam corrigit.*” (Figueiredo 2010, p. 2).

As for the psychological aspects, in a similar perspective to Gusmão’s, Manoel de Andrade de Figueiredo highlights the importance of learning in the first years of life: “what you learn in the first years lasts in others, and especially the vices”. (Figueiredo 2010, p. 5). In addition, he warns that in learning, one must pay attention to individual differences: “Good is knowing, but there are subjects that are not for the sciences/, and there are sciences that are not for subjects. Hence Cicero rightly says that the first care of those who teach is to know the genius of those who learn” (Figueiredo 2010, p. 3). And, further: “The lesson should be according to the child’s ability. For, being of tender age, although of good and easy apprehension, it is always convenient for him to be taught a moderate lesson, for he lacks perfect speech; and with greater reason being of rude intelligence. In this case, he should only be given the lesson that he can learn by the quality of his memory. And with this child, the prudent master should use less rigor in his punishment, which can intimidate and mortify him. Rigor and punishment can confuse the child’s understanding so much that the child, confused and distracted, often happens that following only natural fear, is absent and runs away from school. And since these children are better off, the master is more respectful than fair, taking them with moderate punishments, and sometimes pretending, applying to them the greatness of the lesson, according to the capacity of the talents, until they are purified from the mists of intellectual rudeness, and achieve with the exercise, more clarity of ingenuity” (Figueiredo 2010, p. 11). Figueiredo reproaches those parents who “imprudently insist with the masters that their children go forward to them, not wanting to admit the inconvenience of youthfulness, or intellectual rudeness” (Figueiredo 2010, p. 11).

Another important point is the insistence on the teaching method rather than the content. For example, when teaching arithmetic, the master must explain the rules to the boys, “so that the boy understands and perceives the foundation of what he learns” (Figueiredo 2010, p. 15).

In short, the pedagogical approach of the Brazilian calligrapher and master seems to be inspired by the same ideals that permeate Gusmão’s texts. Therefore, it

is aligned with the same perspective: the psychic processes are considered in function of an ideal of formation of the human person molded by the vision of the world of Christian Jewish matrix.

5.3 A Conceptual Twist: The *Tratado de Educação Física dos Meninos* (Treaty on the Physical Education of the Children) of Francisco de Mello Franco and the Proposal of Medicine as an Integral Science of Man

At the end of the eighteenth century, another treatise on children's education was written by a Brazilian author, with the aim of instructing parents and teachers in the laborious task of educating the new generations. However, very different from the authors analyzed above is the focus of his proposal. The author, physician Francisco de Mello Franco, was born in Paracatu (Minas Gerais) in 1757 and died in Ubatuba (São Paulo) in 1823. While still a medical student at the University of Coimbra, he became famous for having written a book of satirical verses: *Reino da Estupidez* (The Kingdom of Stupidity 1785) whose aim was to criticize the counter-reformist and anti-pombaline tendencies present in that University. (Martins 1978). The text triggered the reaction of the academic authorities and the Inquisition, and the authors were condemned in 1781. Mello Franco finished the course in 1786 and settled in Lisbon where he worked as a clinician and from 1793 as an honorary doctor of the Royal Chamber. He became a correspondent member of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon and began to collaborate regularly with that institution in matters of medicine and natural sciences. In 1817, he moved to Brazil, in the city of Rio de Janeiro, where the Portuguese Court had also taken refuge to escape the Napoleonic invasion of Portugal.

5.3.1 *The Proposal of a New Vision of Man and Medicine as the Science of Man*

Francisco de Mello Franco's position has been shaped by the Enlightenment ideals since the period of his university education. His treatise *Medicina Theologica* (Theological Medicine 1794) is very expressive of this adherence to the vision of man conveyed by the Enlightenment: despite its apparently confessional and innocuous title, it aims to bring about a profound cultural revolution. In fact, it proposes to replace the traditional figure of the Confessor with that of the Physician. In this way, transforming Moral Theology into a Medical Psychology, Mello Franco intends to establish the bases of a new conception of man and a new modality of knowledge of human subjectivity. He performs a radical inversion of objects and

methods, opposing a naturalistic anthropology to the traditional anthropology of religious inspiration. Therefore, more than a scientific text, Theological Medicine is a treatise of a philosophical nature and of a polemic character and, as such, has triggered a heated debate and numerous critical reactions.⁴

The construction of a new medical knowledge, focused on the apprehension of the human being in its totality, also appears in another work, written by Mello Franco, already in Brazil, in 1813: *Elementos de Hygiene ou Dictames Theoreticos e Practicos para conservar a Saúde e prolongar a Vida* (Hygiene Elements or Theoretic and Practical Dictames to Conserve Health and Extend Life 1813).

From this perspective, which takes the human being as essentially corporeal and considers medicine as the science of man, Mello Franco also addresses the education of children. He writes a treatise indicating a normative framework with regard to the necessary care that parents and teachers should take so that they grow up healthy, inspired by the anthropological vision proposed by the Enlightenment philosophers: *O Tratado de Educação Física dos Meninos para uso da Nação Portuguesa* (The Treaty on the Physical Education of Children for the Use of the Portuguese Nation 1790).

The transformative character of Mello Franco's pedagogical proposal is made explicit by the author in several points of his work. In the Foreword, the author himself states the awareness of the novelty and originality of his work: "As a doctor and as a father of a family I have revolutionized how many books I have been able to discover about the physical or corporal education of children. I read carefully, observed with gliblets, and meditated for a long time. From the lesson I concluded that the authors were not only at many essential points wanting each one its own thing, but that none had made a treaty on this subject that omitted anything essential and that gave the subjects the proper extension... Through meditation I made a system of my own, using everyone's ideas, without following any more than my reason and observation confirmed, increasing, altering and innovating" (Franco 1946, p. 95).

In these words, the author's innovative intent is evident: he advocates the use of reason and observation as the foundations of new knowledge, a system of its own, where the contribution of the classics is critically reworked and overcome.

Such a vision is something new in the Brazilian cultural universe which, as we have seen, had been shaped by the Aristotelian, Tomist, and Augustinian conceptions brought and spread by the Jesuits and accommodated to the indigenous cultures.

Another nod to the revolutionary value of the treaty is present in the Preface to the Treaty and refers to awareness of the social and political significance of intellectual work. Mello Franco starts from the observation that "in Portugal, there are abuses and madness in the way children are treated" and that this fact is one of the main causes of the political and cultural backwardness of the Nation. So he pro-

⁴Frei JOAQUIM DE JESUS, *Juízo Critico sobre a Medicina Theologica*, 1795; Frei MANOEL DE SANTA ANA, *Dissertações Theologicae Medicinae, dirigidas a Instrucção dos Penitentes... para que não se contaminem com os abomináveis erros de um livro intitulado Medicina Theologica... cujos erros refuta nesta obra*, 1799.

poses to draft the first text in Portuguese on education. The pragmatic vision of science is also evident in the following statement, formulated at the end of the book: “Nature has condemned us to ignorance in everything that is for us of mere curiosity, that is, that does not compete for our real usefulness” (Franco 1946, p. 256).

From a methodological point of view, the emphasis is on the option for observation over knowledge through introspection. For example, when discussing the phenomenon of sleep, the author declares that his conception “is not taken from the intimate knowledge that we have of sleep, but from what we observe daily” (Franco 1946, p. 255). The author also rejects philosophical methods of speculative theory and points out the inconclusive character of “philosophers’ theorizations”: these “have only succeeded in establishing new hypotheses in contradiction to those already received which are successively destroyed, and their lesson only serves to entangle and never to illustrate our understanding” (Franco 1946, p. 256). Thus, the methods of experimental medicine, among them observation, are considered more reliable than traditional philosophical methods.

5.3.2 *The Education and Psychic Development of Children*

The observation data are the essential pieces of the building of scientific knowledge, knowledge that, according to Mello Franco, would have a normative character also in the pedagogical field. This also explains the very title of the Treaty on the Physical Education of Children for the use of the Portuguese Nation: to approach the education of children implies in the first place to privilege the corporal (physical) dimension, since on the good development of this depends the growth of the other dimensions of the individual. This area is the competence of medicine. Therefore, the physician stands out over the other figures who traditionally occupied themselves with education, such as the Jesuit priests in the case of Brazil.

The reference model that Mello Franco uses to define education, its criteria, rules, and objectives, is that of “Nature” itself. Thus, from the very first pages of the text, he states: “All animals, guided only by simple instinct, at every step are giving us lessons about the obligations of fathers and mothers” (Franco 1946, p. 96). He cites the care of the cow with her calf as an example of the behavior that all mothers should follow. Respect for the laws of nature is the guarantee of the success of the educational work: “Every mother who, without a very just cause, stops raising her children, outrages nature, which is in this part obeyed by all the other animals that constantly and lovingly raise their own” (Franco 1946, p. 155).

On the basis of this parameter, Francisco de Mello Franco proposes to question and refute what he defines as “prejudices” present in the educational system of Catholic culture, or in common sense. For example, he refuses theories about the influence of the mother’s imagination on the constitution of the fetus. He states: “Organizational vices are not more frequent in animals than in vegetables, and does the earth with its imagination have an influence on these monsters? No one will say so” (Franco 1946, p. 115). Just as Alexandre de Gusmão had done, Mello Franco

also condemns some habits that are very widespread in Portugal and Brazil, such as giving your children to the milk nannies so that they can nurse them. But the arguments that justify the criticism are different: “Nobody thinks that it’s indifferent to the child to be raised with the mother’s milk or with that of another strange woman. (...) After having been fed for so many months by the mother’s own blood, it is clear that there is a perfect analogy between the two, and that the milk prepared by the organs of the same body from which it was fed is the only suitable one, given by nature, and preferable to any other” (Franco 1946, p. 157).

Another habit criticized by Mello Franco is the excesses in the care for children: the use of bands and tight clothes, keeping them locked inside the houses and other similar habits that repress the freedom of their movements: “It is no less pernicious the excessive care of their conservation. This is what is common in the homes of the rich and large. The fear that anything will upset them, always puts them in a state of fright, so that they do not allow the children free and convenient exercise, and they are so afraid that the cold and the air will damage them, that they will be locked in glass houses, always dressed in winter. But they do not warn that this is the best way to make their children valiant and miserable”. (Franco 1946, p. 222).

Mello Franco also disapproves of the system of instruction of the time. First of all, he criticizes schooling too early: “and what moral as well as physical harm this does not follow from such reckless custom both to individuals and to the State. A child should not be taught to read until he is five years old” (Franco 1946, 223). Secondly, he criticizes traditional methods of literacy: “it is harmless to use only the right hand, without any foundation in reason. (Franco 1946, 224). On a very controversial page, it is stated that teachers “do exactly the job of jailers”, forcing children to work beyond their strength” (Franco 1946, p. 242).

In short, this text contains an innovative concept of pedagogy. It will be developed with great amplitude in Brazil from the end of the nineteenth century by doctors and the first psychologists. According to this conception, pedagogy must acquire scientific bases and distance itself from its philosophical origins. Its objective must not be a metaphysical ideal of man to be pursued, but the scientific knowledge about the human being as a natural organism, provided by medical sciences. This vision will give impetus to the introduction in Brazil of the new scientific psychology as the foundation of educational practices, from the nineteenth century.

5.3.3 The Dimensions of Psychic Dynamism

According to Mello Franco, “the causes of the infirmities of the soul, both in the medicine of the body and of the spirit, are all corporeal, because either in the body it has its seat, or it depends on it” (Franco 1794, p. 24). In fact, “physical illnesses (for example, inflammatory changes of the brain), climate, food and drink, geographical conformation, different ways of life, sex, work, age and in general all bodies, which have action on man, are capable of modifying the moral state of man.

All this changes the dispositions, and habits of our organs, and this change will influence the moral state” (Franco 1813, p. 315). Because of this, of “man, this visible machine which enchants us with all its Laws, and individuals, only the Physician has a profound knowledge of it” (Franco 1794, p. 21).

5.3.3.1 The Senses

Mello Franco emphasizes the importance of the development of the senses in childhood. In *Tratado para a educação dos meninos* (Treaty for the education of children, 1790), he states that the basis for the intellectual and moral development of the individual is the development of the physical organism: “Let us let the child mature first, and then, with the health of the body, we will have the strength of the spirit” (Franco 1946, p. 225). In these words, the influence of philosophy and medicine developed by the French Enlightenment, on which Mello Franco is inspired, is evident. He quotes several times the philosopher Pierre Cabanis, who considers the spiritual dimension (especially the cognitive) of man as a correlate of his physical organization.⁵

The influence of English empirical philosophy is also evident in Mello Franco’s conception. The empirical assumption appears in the affirmation of the priority of sensory education: “No one, reflecting, will fail to know how important the perfection of the senses is to the perfection of men. As we are now sitting among philosophers, the first and only source of our knowledge is the senses, it is clear that the more perfected they are, the less wrong our ideas will be” (Franco 1946, p. 233).

In another text written by him, *Elementos de Hygiene* (Elements of Hygiene) (1813), Mello Franco states that the action of external agents on the organism takes place mainly through the sensory apparatus.

In short, sensory activity is recognized as the foundation of the relationship that the child establishes with reality and of the adequacy of its emotional reactions to objects.

From the affirmation that the senses are the source of all psychic life, Francisco de Mello Franco proposes to build a deterministic science of the human being: “observation and common sense can with time enlighten us so that, given the knowledge of the impressions made on such or such organs, we can foresee the moral results, which must be their consequence” (Franco 1813, p. 355).

⁵CABANIS, Pierre-Jean George. *Rapports du physique et du moral de l’homme*. 1802. [Available at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k77029t.r=cabanis.langFR>]. From the perspective of the physician-philosopher Pierre-Jean-Georges Cabanis (1757–1808), the soul tends to disappear from the discourse of the science of man.

5.3.3.2 The Hygiene of Appetites and Passions

In *Tratado de Educação Física dos Meninos* (The Children's Physical Education Treaty, 1790), Mello Franco addresses the emotional life of children. Emotions are considered as a phenomenon that places itself at the interface between body and psyche.

Mello Franco points out that the child's lack of emotional control is induced by education and by environmental circumstances that favor the split between imagination and sensory experience. One example is the emergence of excessive fear. In discussing the subject, Franco proposes a procedure for "disengaging the child from fear", very similar to the process of deconditioning by successive approaches elaborated by the behaviorist J. B. Watson in 1928: "Objects are painted in our eyes inside out, and according to the greater or lesser intensity of light, and according to the different distances. In this way, it happens that some objects are depicted at night with a frightening appearance. This is largely due to the frivolous tales with which many people often cherish children. I say that for the most part because on dark nights I have seen that some animals are frightened by things that they don't care about during the day. So you have to get children used to seeing objects at night, even taking them to dark houses. If they are naturally intimidated, it is convenient to get them off their fears by having them examine the object that caused them. Only in this way can they come to have real ideas of things, becoming familiar with seeing them in all circumstances". (Franco 1946, p. 240).

In a text from 1794, *Medicina Theologica* (1794), the author had already dealt with the intense emotions that he calls passions. In this text, he already highlighted the relationship of dependence of the soul on the body. Passions are a product of sensitivity and nerve movements, which transmit to the body the impressions of external objects. The excess of passion that determines an internal imbalance of the organism can lead to illness. Love, for example, can generate madness: "Madness originates from the decomposition of nerve fibers, which enter into the texture of the brain. It is for this reason that love causes this madness: it fixes the thought about the beloved object, decomposes the inner factory of the brain, raises the turmoil of nervous fluids and disorganizes the connection of ideas about which it occupies itself" (Franco 1794, p. 94).

Further analysis of the concept of passion and a theoretical reworking of the psychosomatic doctrine can be found in the text *Elementos de Higiene* (Hygiene Elements or Theoretical and Practical Dictames to Conserve Health and prolong Life). Section Six ("The influence of the physician on morals and of morals on the physician") is devoted to the topic. Passions or "affections of the soul" are classified into two main categories: those that excite organic activity and those that inhibit it. A very interesting aspect is the study of emotional expressions. Starting from the consideration that "passions are painted on the semblants, which serve as a display to those who know how to observe them", the author describes the expressive movements of the human face characteristic of each emotion (Franco 1813, p. 317). "Indignation, for example, is recognisable by the frowning of the eyebrows, the wrinkles on the forehead, the dimness of the eyes, the pallor of the countenance, and

a certain prolongation of the lips. Joy is manifested by the half-closed eyes, the retraction of the corners of the mouth, by a certain distance from the azure of the nose, and by small pits, which in some people are formed, one on each face between the large and small zygomatic muscles, which embellish the countenance remarkably” (Franco 1813, p. 318). The observation of the facial expression and behavior of individuals and the corresponding physiological alterations makes it possible to detect emotional phenomena and even stable traits of the human personality: “By these signs, and still others, which the sagacity of the observer can discover, one recognizes not only the affections, which dominate on certain occasions, but even the same habitual characters”. (Franco 1813, p. 328).

The knowledge of the dynamism of emotions has a practical and therapeutic purpose. If, on the one hand, passions are necessary for the conservation of the individual and of society, on the other hand, their excess intensity can be harmful. Therefore, it is necessary to contain them in “their just limits”, through three resources: “a well directed education, both private and public”; “a known system of legislation”, Hygiene; and “a serious reflection, which each one must make about himself” (Franco 1813, p. 332). Hygiene is a practical science that proposes to follow the dictates of Nature “that never deceives us”. The objective is to maintain the state of health of the individual, establishing “a system, because it governs itself in all its functions” (Franco 1813, p. 258).

From this stems, the importance of prevention at a child’s age of possible future disorders of adult life. Therefore, the standards suggested by Hygiene should be applied to the education of children and especially to the emotional states they experience.

5.3.3.3 Temperament and Education

In *Elementos de Hygiene* (Elements of Hygiene 1813), Mello Franco proposes an interpretation of temperament theory modified by an understanding of the human body as a mechanistic matrix.

Mello Franco warns about the difficulty of achieving an exact knowledge of the individual psychosomatic complex, “if not by approximation”, due to the fact that “the constitutions differ as much as the different semblants”. (Franco 1813, p. 17).

In defining temperament, he frames it within a kind of (measurable) physics of the human body: “We will call temperament a certain particular disposition to each individual, which results from the properties and reciprocal actions of solids and fluids, and causes the body to exercise its different functions with greater or lesser ease. It is absurd to want to derive the difference in temperaments solely from solids without taking account of liquids, whose proportion for those is 6 to 1. It is also absurd to want to deduce it solely from liquids. This difference therefore results from the reciprocal action of one and the other, according to their predominance and degree of vigor; it also results from the susceptibility of the nervous system and the strength and porosity of the muscles” (Franco 1813, pp. 17–18).

According to the author, the classical theory of temperament did not have the possibility to “calculate the various degrees of strength and sensitivity of solids”. For this reason, he limited himself to a qualitative view of the differences in temperament, “without entering into the intricate [quantitative] analysis of solids”. However, “temperament depends on the original arrangement of our machine” (Franco 1813, p. 18). Thus, Mello Franco proposes a classification of temperament based on the composition between the humoral elements and the mechanics of the body (“the liquids and the solids”) (Franco 1813, p. 21).

Mello Franco establishes five classes of temperament: blood, phlegmatic, choleric, nervous, and muscular. It eliminates the melancholic (“attractive”) temperament, with the justification that it is only a degeneration of the choleric. Therefore, melancholy would be “much more an illness than temperament”. (Franco 1813, p. 22).

To the four temperaments of traditional galenic hypocratic theory, Mello Franco adds the nervous and muscular temperaments. To these, he dedicates a wide description. The nervous is portrayed as having “delicate fiber, soft and thin skin, flexible limbs, a tender and attractive way of looking, an enormous number of living sensations aroused by very slight causes” (Franco 1813, p. 22). Many individuals endowed with this temperament have “wonderful ingenuity both in the sciences and in the fine arts” (Franco 1813, p. 22). Mello Franco considers the nervous temperament to be the most widespread among city dwellers: their lifestyle is disorderly and stimulates emotional life. The nervous temperament can be inherited or acquired. Although it appears more often in women, men are not exempt either. A regular and active life conduct is recommended to correct the disturbances arising from this constitution: “regulated, then, the way of life, will take place all the means to force the debilitated machine” (Franco 1813, p. 24).

The muscular temperament is characterized by the following elements: a small head in proportion to the body, thick neck, broad chest, wide shoulders, and all bulky muscles, unmeasured physical strength. As far as the psychological dimension is concerned, individuals with this temperament “are short and slow to understand and therefore make little progress in the career of letters and fine arts” (Franco 1813, p. 24). They are described as apathetic and introverted, cowardly and submissive, more difficult to regress and take care of because they tend to live “the way of the brutes without ever paying attention to the rules of hygiene” (Franco 1813, p. 25).

Mello Franco also proceeds in the characterization of other temperaments. The blood temperament is the result of the predominance of viscous blood; somatically well disposed, moderate and active, of good memory and lively imagination, given to pleasures and the arts; very widespread among the French. In the bilious or choleric temperament, bile predominates; it is robust, with dry skin and ground color, of mediocre stature, endowed with strong passions, good imagination and solid and reflected judgment, pertinent, and predisposed to insomnia. The phlegmatic temperament is endowed with soft and greasy meats, with white and cold skin, pale

semblance and inexpressive eyes, obtuse senses, and weak intellectual functions, disposed to sleep and not very apt for intellectual works, peaceful.

Mello Franco dwells on the affirmation of the plasmability of temperaments, providing several examples. If the individual is robust with elastic and active blood vessels, the blood and moods are denser and he is more sensitive, agile, endowed with a lively memory and imagination. However, if by accident or disease, he has a lot of blood loss, his temper changes completely: from blood becomes phlegmatic.

From this comes the fact that temperaments can be modified by both physical and moral education, especially in the early years of life. In addition, they are subject to the influences of climate, eating habits, age, social relations, and professions. Mello Franco attaches great importance to the climatic factor as a determinant of temperamental dispositions: “Hippocrates, with his particular sagacity, had already observed how much the climate and the place contribute to the formation of habits and temperaments not only of individuals, but also of peoples” (Franco 1813, p. 315). Indeed, climate and geographical location induce the inhabitants to “certain jobs and occupations that making sudden changes in their organization, establish particular proportions and habits. In warm countries, for example, those chance with: those of indolence reign, because nature is prodigal in creating them, how much is needed to maintain life, and the same climate competes, effectively, because they regulate themselves. It is true that abundance and idleness weaken the forces of the body; but as they give more time for reflection and meditation, the spirit rapidly develops, and customs become more polished and human” (Franco 1813, p. 317).

According to the mechanistic paradigm adopted by Franco, the constitution of temperaments defines less the state of the individual than the determining factors of the body machine. Among them, especially important are the sensory stimuli that the body machine receives from the external and internal environment and which can profoundly modify it. The “impressions made” on certain organs are responsible for the individual’s “moral state” (that is, psychological and spiritual), much more than the temperamental dispositions of humoral origin. It is on these impressions that psychic dynamism depends. For this reason, the organic impressions experienced in the first years of life are determining the future development of the person, also with regard to the psychic and moral aspects.

According to Mello Franco, individual temperaments can be transformed from childhood by Hygiene.

Thus, in nineteenth-century Brazilian medicine, a mechanistic epistemology, allied with sensualist philosophy, supplants humoral theory, resulting in the languishing of one of the longest-lasting paradigms in the history of science.

5.3.3.4 Hygiene and Public Policies

The holistic medical science proposed by the Minas Gerais physician Francisco de Mello Franco seeks to promote a reform of individual and social life, in terms of public hygiene in which the education provided in the first years of life becomes

decisive. Brazil, newly affirmed from the colonial condition, presents itself as a propitious territory to carry out this social experiment of transformation.

Some pages of *Hygiene Elements* dedicated to physical exercise are particularly significant to understand the author's posture in relation to Brazilian reality. He recommends that in schools in the country be introduced "all the qualities of masculine exercise, with which those lazy and valetudinary inhabitants already by the climate, and already by habit of indolence would make themselves vigorous and active since their youth. In fact, weak people, who have always been educated in effemination, of little use to the State, because they are incapable of arms, and unsuitable for letters, but not so for vices, companions of inertia" (Franco 1946, pp. 248–249).

The concern for the formation of new generations who can adequately serve the state is reflected in the pages of Mello Franco. According to him, climatic excesses and vicious habits united, "completely destroy the languid organization of those weak, and ruined machines with which the energy of spirit, the firmness of character, inseparable qualities of the useful, and true citizen are not compatible. The properties, however, of essentially weak people are superstition, inconstancy, concealment, and credulity" (Franco 1946, p. 249).

The author reiterates the need that "in the Empire of Brazil a global reform in the physical education of the youth be carried out, because only in this way will the constitutions be able to be in force, and men will find themselves full of health, and activity capable of all the masculine virtues. Let physical and moral education be changed, and people will be different" (Franco 1946, p. 250). Mello Franco puts his point of view as that of an external subject to such a reality and in this his condition as a foreign intellectual is evident. If on the one hand it is evident in these pages the aspiration of the author to contribute with his studies on hygiene and education to the construction and organization of the new state of Brazil, it is remarkable, on the other hand, his distance from the problems of the Brazilian people and land.

In any case, according to Mello Franco's vision, hygiene would have the objective of maintaining the state of health of the individual and of society, establishing "a system, because it governs itself in all its functions" (Franco 1813, p. 258). In fact, the study of hygiene was widely spread throughout the nineteenth century, especially within the medical schools of Rio de Janeiro and Bahia (Massimi 1990).

The study of the work of Francisco de Mello Franco shows that in Brazil at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was a significant transformation in the way education was conceived and its interfaces with psychological knowledge. Education remained conceived as something decisive for the constitution of the social and political life of the country. However, the understanding of its fundamentals changed, and as a result, the way it relates to psychological knowledge also changed.

5.4 Conclusion

In the treaties of Gusmão and Figueiredo, inspired by the conception of humanist pedagogy, education was discussed as the great instrument to provide care for the individual and social being, with the assumption that “all the good of children depends on their good education”. In this perspective, the knowledge of the psychic dimension of the human being is articulated to that of personal dynamism in its entirety which includes, together with the psychic aspect, the corporal and the spiritual. A network of knowledge and competencies linked to each other provides this knowledge, presupposing collaboration and interaction between these competencies: theologians, philosophers, doctors, help educators.

As for Francisco de Mello Franco and the new perspective that he inaugurates in Brazil, medicine is science capable of providing the well-being of the human being as a whole. The basis of this statement is a philosophical anthropology of a materialistic nature inspired by the French Enlightenment and English empiricism, which reduces the human being to the terms of his corporeality. In this sense, medicine inspires the norms of pedagogy, and the doctor can gather in himself the competencies of an educator. A specific medical science, Hygiene, is proposed as the most appropriate place to guide pedagogical practices. This science, in turn, conceives the psychic dynamism as linked to the constitution and physiology of the body and points out the importance of physical development in the educational process.

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Chapter 6

Psychological Knowledge in Novels of Pilgrimage



6.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to address the diffusion in Brazilian culture of the theme of the human condition as a pilgrimage through time (this theme has a Judeo-Christian matrix) and aims to highlight the relevance of this anthropological conception for the history of psychological knowledge. The theme is approached in two sources elaborated in colonial Brazil and inscribed in the genre of the allegorical novel: the first novel, *História do Predestinado Peregrino e de seu irmão Precito* (History of the Predestined Pilgrim and his brother Precito, 1682), is the work of the exponent of the Society of Jesus in Bahia, Father Alexandre de Gusmão (1629–1724), from whom the pedagogical work has already been highlighted and analyzed, and the second novel is the *Compêndio narrativo do Peregrino da América* (Narrative Compendium of the Pilgrim of America, 1728), in two volumes, by Nuno Marques Pereira (1652–1728). Both bring the topic of the human condition as immersed in time, through the image of the pilgrim, of Jewish-Christian matrix. And both were widely spread in colonial Brazil and were read, spread, and quoted until the nineteenth century. The reconstruction of Nuno's biography is not easy. Historians wonder about his birthplace: was he Brazilian, native of Villa de Cairú (in Tupi language, house of the sunV), located in the beautiful region of Morro de São Paulo in Bahia? Or, would it be Nuno Portuguese, born and deceased in Lisbon having lived in Brazil for a period after the year 1733? This doubt inscribes the person of the author in a double register making him, in some way, representative of that process of *mestizaje* between native population and Lusitanian population.

The topic of life as a pilgrimage, or *andance*, runs through Brazilian popular culture and its collective imaginary, from the colonial past to the present, with no solution for continuity. For example, they refer to woodcuts, twine, songs of

Brazilian Popular Music,¹ and it crosses syncretically with the oldest Guarani tradition of the search for the land without evil, whose presence had already been reported by the Jesuits since the seventeenth century.²

In this tradition, the actual psychological meaning of the pilgrimage is mixed with anthropological and theological meanings. These imply reference to morality: from adherence to a religious conception of existence springs the following of a doctrine and the choice of an ultimate goal of the temporal journey. The actual psychological meaning of the pilgrimage is the need to give an orientation to life, a direction, a meaning: that is, the passage from a situation of “wanderer” (who does not know about his origin or destination) to the condition of pilgrim (who is aware of where he left from and where he is going). From this perspective, the psychic dynamism goes through specific experiences, which will be addressed in this chapter.

6.2 Brief Description of the Contents of the Two Novels

The novella *História do Predestinado Peregrino e de seu irmão Precito* (History of the Predestined Pilgrim and his brother Precito, 1682) is placed in the context of the pedagogical activity developed by him at the Colégio do Menino Jesus de Belém in Cachoeira do Campo, of which the author was the founder. The novel is allegorical: it is a great metaphor of human existence. The protagonists are two brothers: Predestined and Precito. The choice of these names is possibly a semantic resource with theological significance. Predestined means the one who is destined beforehand to something, whom God has destined for eternal glory, chosen from God. Precito is the condemned, the reprobate, and the damned. The allegorical journey is organized in six parts corresponding to six imaginary places (cities). The two protagonists undertake a long journey aimed at reaching the city where they intend to establish their definitive dwelling place.

The course of the journey is decided by positions taken at each stage, by the two main characters. Following the Catholic concept of the dynamism of divine grace and human freedom, the two protagonists decide their direction along the way. It is a deeply Jesuit strategy to approach and debate the theological question and at the same time to transmit to the readers (and convince them) their version of the discussion affirmed as the orthodox.

¹ Sater, Almir&Teixeira, Renato. *Tocando em frente*. Maria Bethânia, Álbum 25 anos. Produção de Jaime Alem e Mayrton Bahia, 1990.

² Melià, Bartolomeu. A terra sem mal dos guaranis. Economia e profecia. *Revista de Antropologia*, São Paulo, pp. 33-46. 1990. Venosa, Roberto. Terra Sem Mal. *Revista Administração Empresas*, São Paulo, V. 20, N. 3, 1980, Pp. 86-8; Alencar, Jackson, *Terra sem Males*. São Paulo, Paulus, 2009; Clastres, Pierre. *A Fala Sagrada – mitos e cantos sagrados dos índios Guarani*. São Paulo: Papyrus, 1990. Elíade, Mircea. *Mito e Realidade*. São Paulo: Perspectiva, 2013.

The journey of the brothers takes place through geographical environments of various types: hills, valleys, urban centers, etc. The narrative embodies a kind of ideal topology designed by imagination and memory, according to the long tradition of the art of memory³ and the Ignatian method of composition of the place;⁴ they can be the places of destination of the two pilgrims: Jerusalem or Babylon. The act of the pilgrim acquires a clear symbolic meaning by representing the journey of each human existence marked by a linear temporality, that is, having origin and destination. Through the novel, Gusmão intends to represent “the history of everyone who follows the steps, which in this life he takes, follows the path he has taken, or is saved or condemned” (prologue).

The work is also a compendium of psychological knowledge: on one hand, knowledge about the person and his psychic dynamism (in accordance with the Aristotelian-Tomist doctrine reinterpreted by the Company’s philosophers, especially the Conimbricans), on the other, psychological knowledge linked to the communicative practices used to accomplish this objective and made available by the tradition of the rhetorical genre in its various facets. The novel is destined to be read and listened to by those who, without the instruction to read and write, could hear the narrative by the mouth of more cultured readers. The work aims to provide the reader/listener “a mirror where to see” his own condition and, if necessary, to position himself for a change of direction, “so that he may govern his steps” (Gusmão 1685, prologo).

The second source is the two-volume novel *Compêndio narrativo do Peregrino da América* (1728) by Nuno Marques Pereira. The demand that time be well employed in view of the possibility of the person living a “good life” in the perspective of eternity constitutes the plot of the novel. Time is always compared with

³Carruthers’ research in the field of medieval cultural history shows that the practice of pilgrimage has a pedagogical and psychological dimension. It consists in activating a process called *ortopraxi*: the construction of a disciplined experience that allows the user to identify himself on the basis of an experience or model, recognized as original and constitutive. *Ortopraxi* was a common heritage in medieval monastic communities, whose documentation was widely studied by the researcher. According to the author, the pilgrimages, frequent at that time to certain places and the processions of the faithful following sacred images on the andores, provided the recognition of images from memory. Thus, “the physical activity of moving from one place to another faithfully mirrored the mental activity in which the participants in the procession engaged” (Carruthers, 2006, p. 68). In the pilgrimage, the itinerary, the places, and the images found by the passer-by acquired an allegorical meaning recognized through places and images on the journey, a function that becomes a support for thought. Thus, aesthetic forms and sensory and affective appeals aroused along the journey become functional for the exercise of reflection. The use of images was not so much aimed at imitating the represented figures as at stimulating the cognitive function, which should compose relations and networks of useful relations for the retention of concepts in the memory.

⁴The practice of *compositio loci* is proposed by Loyola in the Spiritual Exercises. Ignatius of Loyola (1519/1542) proposes the *compositio loci* in the second week of the Spiritual Exercises: through this complex psychic operation, the subject is led to form within himself through the inner senses (especially imagination and memory), the representation of a “place” where it is possible to be involved in the first person with the object or scene represented by the spoken or written words, an involvement that becomes a space of prayer and contemplation.

eternity: time is finite, and it has duration, while eternity has neither beginning nor end. The time well employed is the one always compared with eternity; “it is necessary that men take care of this eternity” (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 401). The quality of life, the ‘good life’, depends on this care, while carelessness generates dispersion, disorder, loss.

The time well employed is figured by an old and wise pilgrim, the interlocutor of the journey that the protagonist, the “Pilgrim of America”, accomplishes through Brazil, from Bahia to the region of Minas, in search (as he himself says) not of gold and material riches, but of salvation, that is, of the realization of the eternal destiny of his earthly journey. Along the way, Pilgrim and Time meet residents who tell them their stories, all referring to the ten biblical commandments, whose effects obtained by obedience or denial are documented.

In Nuno’s novel, as well as in Gusmão’s, the emphasis is on the fact that caring or neglecting oneself leads to two different destinations. These depend on the positioning of the human will before the good: “the eye experience is showing us, that every rational creature, after he dies, with one of the two eternities will meet. Or with that of Glory, whose greatness is inexplicable, for the incomparable good that those who go to it enjoy: or with that of Hell,” where “one never ends up dying, because they are the eternal penalties in duration. In this way, the message of the text consists in” a warning, never to neglect eternity” (Pereira 1939, vol. 2, p. 275).

The authors of both novels used various literary and rhetorical genres in their composition: allegories, dialogues, psychomachs, and examples, Pécora (2001).

The use of the allegory and the genre of the allegorical novel are introduced in Brazil by the novel of Alexandre de Gusmão. The use of allegory or allegorical processes, which the Middle Ages had developed, crossed the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The allegory affirms one thing to mean another: two or more levels of meaning are found in it in close correlation: a level of meaning, literal and explicit, linked to the world of material life, corporeal, transitory, functions as a vehicle of another implicit sense linked to the spiritual, conceptual world and which in itself could be understood only by abstraction (Santos 2004; Insolera 2004).

In the History of the Predestined Pilgrim in each of the cities traveled, the pilgrim dialogues with the allegorical characters found. These dialogues reveal to him the meaning of the journey and in many cases guide the next steps on the way. Among others, the most important are as follows: the dialogue with the Angel; with Desengano, portrayed as a venerable old man; with a pious lady called Presence of God; with two girls called Devotion and Piety; with a beautiful and laughing lady called Obedience, who had wings on her shoulders and feet and on her head a chapel of flowers; with some virgins called Piety, Charity, Temperance, Observance, etc. Such encounters lead the Predestined to the improvement of his person, providing in some cases also rules of conduct and admonitions. In Pereira’s Compendium, the storylines of the novel are linked by the narrator through dialogue, like a thread that sews the whole narrative, which can be the theme of conversation, of a moral, philosophical, scientific, technical, historical, loving, artistic nature, etc. The written dialogue thus approaches an encounter based on orality, having a persuasive objective. The dialogues, besides the main one between the Pilgrim and the Elder,

also result from meetings with various personalities: the resident, the chaplain, the sacristan, the religious, the young man and the girl, etc. Such personalities portray aspects of the human condition in eighteenth century Brazil, but there are also dialogues with allegorical figures, such as Desengano, Mestra da Solfa, Mestra da Filosofia, Mestra da Poesia, Presidente da Saúde.

The psychomach is the genre that themes human life as a struggle between good and evil, inaugurated by the Roman Prudence (Adriano Filho 2013). In the history of Gusmão, the alternative between good and evil is figured in the different journey of the two brothers: Pilgrim, whose decisions turn to the search for good, and Precito, whose direction tends toward evil. The contraposition between the two positions has its outcome in the final chapters. Precito, on arriving in Babylon, is condemned to the tormenting vision of demons and to experience the stench and bitterness of hell. Predestined Pilgrim enters Jerusalem received in procession by the inhabitants with jubilation and praise and is proclaimed a citizen of the heavenly city. In the Compendium of Pereira, the alternative between good and evil is always present in the journey of the Pilgrim and in the vicissitudes of the inhabitants found, always punctuated in the dialogue with the Elder-Time.

Whether Gusmão or Pereira, they use in their novels the examples, cited by texts of Christian tradition (especially biblical figures and Church Fathers), and cases, derived from the observation of the world of life close to the author, or narrated by some of the interlocutors found throughout the pilgrimage.

Within the dynamic conception of man represented by the image of the pilgrim, on the one hand, and the persuasive effects targeted by the novels through the rhetorical resources employed, on the other hand, the function of psychic dynamism is delineated and the psychological knowledge proposed by them is constructed.

6.3 The Conception of Psychic Dynamism in Gusmão's Novel

Gusmão's writing reflects the Jesuitical conception about the interactions between spiritual dynamism and psychic dynamism, that is, the functioning of the soul powers, their operations, their diseases, and their remedies. Such powers constitute the interface between body and spirit. In fact, the ordering of the person as a whole demands a healthy functioning of psychic dynamism, indicated by the label of "soul powers". From the occurrence of some disorder in these powers, the "bad inclinations" are installed in the person.

In the journey of the two pilgrims, the powers of the soul are metaphorized by the image of a hydraulic device composed of water sources (these may or may not be clean), channels, and streams. According to the account: "these water fountains are the two main powers of our soul: Understanding and Will. From them come all good and all evil (Gusmão 1685, p. 260). The operations of these two powers occur through the mediation of other psychic powers: "Both run through two pipes which

are called Sensitive Appetites. One has as surname Irascible and the other Concupiscible. Both pipes run through eleven streams that are called Passions. The five streams of the Concupiscent are called: Love, Hatred, Desire, Abomination, Delight, Joy and Sorrow. The Rivers of the Irascible are called: Hope, Despair, Boldness, Fear, Wrath and Indignation” (Gusmão 1685, p. 260). This is the classification of emotions proposed by Aristotle (1993) and refined by Thomas Aquinas, based on the distinction of sensitive appetites in concupiscible and irascible.

This conception of the psychism evidences its aristotelian-atomistic matrix and is the same as that found in the Conimbricenses treaties, already analyzed. The link between psychic dynamism (especially appetites) and spiritual values is established in an orderly manner to the extent that reason coordinates the whole. For example, when a greater good is opposed to the natural good, man must be able to discern and opt for it.

The person who does evil does not want evil as such, but it appears to him as good and delightful because of a use of freedom not guided by reason, but by a deceptive image of good. Gusmão points out this drama by presenting the dynamism of Precito: the cause of his deviations is not the exercise of the will itself, but the fact that it is misdirected because it is not subject to reason. In a certain way, Precito’s will has regressed to the level of passions, of sensitive appetites.

6.4 The Sickening of the Soul in Gusmão’s Novel

Therefore, for the good of life, the work of cultivating appetites and other powers and the identification of the diseases of the soul, whose development is described in detail by Gusmão, become decisive. He portrays the sickness of the soul in analogy with the diseases of the body. It is an “infection” resulting from the fact that the “evil inclinations” infiltrate the waters of the springs (soul powers). Thus, “the first source, Understanding, is infected with some sticky slime that says Bad Dictates. The second source, Will, is infected with other slime that is called Bad Affection. From this infection come the following effects: “if our Understanding is infected with dictates or depraved doctrines“ and “if the Will is depraved by the disordered affections of our passions,“ both become incapable of “getting the understanding right with the truth and the will with the good (Gusmão 1685, p. 261).

Through a conceptual construction analogous to that proposed by the Jesuit philosophers of Coimbra, Gusmão postulates the possibility that the movements of the sensitive appetite move the will, especially by the work of the internal senses, to dispense with the “intellectual news” about the objects coveted. If the will follows the decision of the intellect, the movement of the soul takes place in an orderly manner. But if the will is dragged along by a vehement appetite which absolutely absorbs the use of reason, any rational deliberation becomes impossible. This is the process experienced by Precito in the novel: taken to Samaria by Mistake, his counselor, first stays in the “house of Vanity” and then, by encouragement from “his two sons Bad Desire and Distorted Intention”, decides to follow the path of Vanity. Thus, he

enters a land ruled by the old "Vice", with its three governors (Concupiscence of the flesh, Concupiscence of the eyes, Haughtiness of life).

In this land, Precito is staying in the neighborhood of "Pastime," "where there was no other occupation, more than games, laughter and entertainment, where not infrequently a thousand dissents were born. From the union with his wife, "Own will", Precito generates more children Contempt and Estimation. The two children, "applying themselves to some art, applied Despise to eternal things and Appreciation to temporal things. Precito symbolizes the man who surrenders his own will generates in his life vices, like children. These addicts slowly suffocate your conscience and lead you to lose not only the course of your journey but also yourself. As a consequence of the paths chosen by Precito, an inner imbalance of powers occurs, causing "Hardness of the Heart, Blindness of Understanding, obstinacy of the Will. Because of this, Precito "did not seem like a man of reason" (Gusmão 1685, p. 247). The final result is the "confusion" that torments him "with a thousand sorrows, griefs, and restlessness. A "serpent of terrible appearance" (metaphor of "the Consciousness itself") involves him in "revolts and revolts which they call Imaginations. The serpent bites his heart with "three teeth": "the Will went through his heart with an eternal obstinacy or despair, (...); Memory bit his heart with the memory of the brief delights (...) for which he had obtained those torments; and Understanding went through his heart with the representation of his Predestined Brother, who at the gates of Jerusalem was already joyful to enter" (Gusmão 1685, p. 315).

In short, Precito is the exemplary case of the deviation of the will from its target, a deviation that leads to the disorder of human acts. The disorder thus configured is the "illness" that the Jesuit formation, proposed by Ignatius and his followers, seeks to "remedy" through a systematic work of ordering the personal dimensions. It is not a question of neutralizing or disregarding the action of the psychic powers, because they are constitutive elements and originally beneficial to human experience. In the novel, amidst the circumstances of the pilgrimage, the walkers are constantly faced with the "passions", metaphorized by the beasts (wolves, lions, foxes) that accompany them along the entire journey. These are inevitable encounters. However, it occurs to learn how to deal with these phenomena, in order to make them constructive factors of the person's development, as we have seen pointed out by the Conimbricenses treatises, and as it appears in the course of Predestined.

6.5 The Conception of Psychic Dynamism in Marques Pereira's Novel

In the Compendium of the Pilgrim of America, the functioning of the psychic apparatus of the person is thought in conformity with the anthropological vision of Augustine, above all the one exposed in the treatise Trinity (Augustine 1994). Augustine used in this treatise the affirmation of the book of Genesis about man as

a creature the image and likeness of God, to exemplify a fundamental dogma of Christian theology about the nature of the divinity: the God Trinity, that is, God one in three equal and distinct persons. Among others, it establishes the analogy between the unity of the human person and the three-dimensionality of his psychic powers: memory, understanding, and will. Like Augustine, Nuno affirms that “the similarity that man has with God is in the operations of the soul. Because just as God is in the whole world and fills it with the greatness of his Essence, so our soul is in the whole body and fills it with the natural being that God gave it. Just as God cannot be inficinate, nor offended with anything of this world, so our soul cannot be cut or broken with the bodily things. Just as God sees all things and is not seen with bodily eyes in this life, so our soul sees all things outside and cannot be seen by them. Just as God is true life and gives life to every living thing, so our soul is life of the body and gives life to every part of it. Just as the infinite being of God, still growing, or decreasing the creatures, is neither added nor diminished, so our soul, neither in the little members of the body, nor in the bigger ones is it made better or smaller. Just as in God there is an Essence and three persons, so in our soul there is a substance and three powers. Just as the eternal Father is God, the Son is God and the Holy Spirit is God, so understanding is soul, will is soul, and memory is soul. Just as God is one and everywhere, and all things quicken and rule, so our soul in every body, and in every part of it, is quickening, moving, and ruling every part of the same body. Just as God is one and in every place and all things quicken and rule, so our soul in every body, and in every part of it, is quickening, moving and ruling every part of the same body. Just as God is very simple, and not composed of matter or form, so our soul is very simple and not composed of corruptible things. Finally, no honor is so great to man as to be his soul created in the image and likeness of God” (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 108).

The psychism integrates the totality of the person conceived as a microcosm. The Pilgrim expresses himself in these words: “Lord, it is our nature of a composition that cannot always be in a being: reason (moreover) why they call man an abbreviated world. Just as on some occasions the world is in serenity, on other occasions it is stormy, already windy, already raining, and finally on other occasions with lightning and thunder, so on one occasion man is joyful, on other occasions sad, already shouting, already crying and cursing” (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 138).

There are deep relationships between the psychic apparatus and the dynamism of spiritual life. Nuno suggests that sin influences the psychic dynamism of the person: “the first motor of thought is suggestion, which makes us the devil; this passes to the natural appetite: from here it enters into the understanding; then into the will and, if in this there is consent in grave matter, it is mortal sin” (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 217). The suggestion which often occurs at the level of the internal senses passes to natural appetites (sensitives) and then to understanding and will. Since sin only happens by the decision of free will, there is no sin when the person dreams, because in sleep there is no free will.

The interpenetration between soul life and spiritual life appears at various points in the novel. In a dialogue between two preachers (Friar Desiderio and his youngest interlocutor), the disciple says to the master: “I can assure you that after hearing you

practice the holy word of God, in the doctrine you have done these days, I feel with double strength, both in body and spirit. In fact, before that I felt tepid, and with great laxity in my desire to go to the churches, to hear the divine offices, that it seemed to me I was walking with some arrogant devil, as some spirit master affirms” (Pereira 1939, vol. II, p. 237).

And, in turn, the psychic apparatus integrates the body complex, so that the rules on the good conservation of the soul must be accompanied by rules for the good conservation of the body. The Pilgrim is received by the owner of a house in which he is staying, who invites him to walk after the meal and asks him to instruct him on some spiritual or moral subject along the way. This is the story: “And since it was already night, the owner of the house made me collect. And after supper he said to me, “I know, Lord, that you will come tired of the journey. But, according to the dictates of medicine, I have always heard it said: After supper, a thousand steps to take, understanding that it is very bad for your health to sleep right after supper without first doing some exercise as the Portuguese adage says: if you want to get sick, supper and go to bed. For this reason, before we dress up, I hope you will give me some rules so that I can get rid of this vice of murmuring, because I consider you a man who is very well versed in the histories of sacred and profane books” (Pereira 1939, vol. I, p. 269).

6.6 The Senses

According to the narratives of both novels, the senses play a very important role in psychic dynamism. For Gusmão, the possibility of the person “governing his steps”, that is, of ordering his behaviors according to a model experience to which to conform the person himself, depends on the possibility of seeing. The seeing provided by images and its effects on the psychic dynamism of the recipient is part of a path of knowledge (the disenchantment) that integrates the work of man’s ordering to its ultimate meaning.

Special emphasis is given to the internal senses, whose good use is provided by the Ignatian method of *Compositio Loci*. Gusmão wrote a book *Meditations for every day of the week, for the exercise of the three powers of the soul, as Saint Ignatius teaches*, which he wrote in 1689, where he describes in detail the practice of *compositio loci* proposed by Loyola in his *Spiritual Exercises* (Loyola 1982). This method consists in representing in the imagination the mystery to be meditated on, placing oneself mentally in the place where the event took place.

In the novel, the *compositio loci* is described in its operation, through an allegory. Predestined enters a room in the Palace of Desengano called Place Composition. There he receives a painted picture representing an evangelical scene and offers it to three virgins called: Memory, Intelligence, and Will: “Fixing his knees on the ground and his heart on God he gave the picture to the first Virgin Memory. The latter, after briefly recognizing him, handed it over to the Second Virgin Intelligence. This one paused to see him, to review and to consider very slowly with a thousand

discourses and considerations, that the third Virgin Will notably became affectionate and inflamed by having and possessing him. Finally, when it was given to him by Intelligence, he embraced him with some hugs, which he calls Purposes, so tight that they were already able to rip the picture out of his chest, or to put it better from his heart” (Gusmão 1685, p. 80).

In Pereira’s novel, the fact that the senses are connected to the other components of animic life, especially to affects, is evident. In the case of hearing, for example, it is pointed out that “the ears are the second doors of truth and the main doors of lies. The truth is ordinarily seen and extravagantly heard: rarely does its pure element arrive, and less so when it comes from afar; it always brings mixtures of affections, wherever it passes by; it takes the colors as it seems, already hateful, already favorable” (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 267).

6.6.1 *Sensitive and Intellectual Appetites*

In Gusmão’s novel, the ordering of affections (sensitive appetites) and will (intellectual appetite) must remedy the disorder that occurs when appetites ally themselves with fantasy (or imagination, one of the internal senses). The experience of deviation is described by a speech of Predestined in commenting on the condition of Precito: “having enjoyed as ends what should be used as means”, had the effect of confusion “with a thousand sorrows, dislikes and restlessness. This disorder occurs on both the individual and social levels. An indispensable therapist for these weanings is “an old healer, who only knows how to heal, which they call Mortification of the Will” (Gusmão 1685, p. 189). Predestined takes care of the ordination of himself, by the work of two sons, “Return of Judgment” and “Subjection of Will” (Gusmão 1685, p. 243). Thus, access to central virtue for the Jesuits, obedience, is opened to him: “He entered the room of Obedience, which was called the Humble Heart, with the Surrender of Judgment and Subjection of the Will” (Gusmão 1685, p. 135). According to the Ignatian vision, obedience finds foundation in human philosophy (Aristotelian) and confirmation in the divine precept: Obedience declares to the Pilgrim to have “two births”: “the first is Natural: of this I am a daughter of Holy Will and of Surrendered Understanding. The second birth is moral and therefore I am a daughter of Precept and Just Law” (Gusmão 1685, p. 185). Obedience is a fundamental virtue to order social and political life.

The *Compêndio do Peregrino de América* (Pilgrim’s Compendium of America) addresses a similar theme and points out the cases where the appetite of “ambition dominates reason”. Quoting Seneca, it states that “it is ambition that most briefly takes away our peace and quiet and shortens our life” (Pereira 1939, vol.1, p. 31) and, quoting Augustine, it states that “gold is the beginning of all works. Because well considered, there is no kind of sickness that the love of riches does not bring: it deprives bodies of all rest, and souls of all virtues”. The text here refers to the unbridled search for the gold mines that characterized the Brazilian reality of the time and relates the appetite of ambition to the search for social ascension: “these

blind men of deceit break the laws against themselves; and give the weapons to cruelty, to be executed“. Ambition leads to being held hostage to the cruelty of dissatisfaction and this leads to self-destruction. In fact, “all the leather of the worldly and ambitious eyes are very limited; for they never get to buy what their desire is; and often they are not enough to pay the interest of what their hope has done in debt” (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 32).

Pereira contextualizes the harmful effects of these uncontrolled appetites in the “State of Brazil”: “Go to Pernambuco, go to Rio de Janeiro, go up to São Paulo, enter this city, run these villages and Recôncavos: you will see in how many places the arrogance and interests have made remarkable wreckage”. The text refers to “the fleets of people who go to Minas in search of gold,” in search of “pride and wealth that will turn to dust and ashes. It regrets that this passion contaminates women, children, slaves, and even religious people. For this reason, it declares the sin of pride to be “the greatest sickness. (Pereira 1939, vol.1, p. 33). This position of the author is especially interesting as it highlights the intention that the novel also serves as a critical portrait of the situation of the country, alerting readers to the need for change.

The Compendium describes the effects of excessive intensity of affections: “First, you must know that excessively intense causes produce opposite effects. Pain makes one cry out, but if it is great it makes one mute. The light makes you see, but if it is excessive, it blinds you. Joy encourages, but if it is too intense, it kills. Love can be so extreme, it makes madness. Hate can be so extraordinary, that it commits absurdities. The (sensitive) species become poisons and kill, so much so that they go from four degrees from hot to cold. This is the reason why it kills great sorrow or too much joy”. (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 170)

Pereira dwells especially on the effects of excessive sadness. In doing so, he exposes his conception of the functioning of psychic dynamism and the causes of illness. In the first place, he starts from the consideration of the psychic apparatus as a whole: “But speaking now of the effects of sorrow: know that man has a rational soul, which other animals do not have. From it result Reminiscence, Memory, Understanding, Reason and Will, situated in the head, noblest member of the body, place and abode of the rational soul”. The affection of sadness focuses on each one of these components of this dynamism, modifying its natural movement: “By understanding, (the sad) understands and feels the present evils and damages; by memory, past evils; by reason waits and fears the future evils, and by will, annoys. These three kinds of present, past and future evils, loves, desires, fears and hates. (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 170). The effects can have different intensities and, in any case, affect the body as well: “For whose cause come so many kinds of sickness and so many sudden deaths, when the sorrow is so great, that it is enough for life to suddenly come to an end. And when it is smaller, it gradually makes the body weak, according to the quality of the affectionate sorrow conceived on the part of the one who suffers it, until the end of life, unless this damage is not tied up with the remedies that I will soon say. Because discontent is an effect generated and produced by great sorrow, or anger, by some great loss of past damage, from it come great flows (of melancholic humor) that violently leave the brain, and throw themselves in some

limb. In this way, discord (that is, between the soul and the body) spreads, which makes those species of annoyance so inimical to health. This causes them to distill the juice of the melancholic mood little by little, drop by drop, like an alembic or hyssopo, until their bodies dry up and peter out and their natural heat is taken away with this sadness and decay. And I had said more (with the permission of the professors of medicine) that from these causes comes most of all the diseases that come to the bodies. But I'm not going to expound this here, because I'm not going to dwell on it and because it doesn't concern the subject we're dealing with" (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 171). As has been seen in previous chapters and will be seen in subsequent chapters, the theme of sadness pervades the culture of the time and the vision of this emotion conveyed by Nuno is part of the Luso-Brazilian tradition.

Therefore, the effects of sadness introduce a break in the harmony of the dynamism of personal life and cause serious somatic illnesses, until possible death. Pereira writes: "I will only say, that Plato called it discord of the soul against the body. It makes life sad and unhappy; on the contrary, joy makes it pleasant and gentle. Thus said the same philosopher Plato: the sweetest thing is to spend one's life without sadness; and from this comes various illnesses because of too much sadness; as it is: physics, leprosy, apostasy, scabies, thinness and infinite evils" (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 171).

For this reason, therapeutic care for the effects of the excessive intensity of this affection is especially important. In the novel, the following remedies are indicated: "And as a remedy for these sorrows, take these warnings: when the hope for your good is lacking, seek something else, whereby you may forget the present pain that penalizes you. Make it entertaining with discreet and joyful conversation, gentle smells, joyful fields, rivers, spacious sea, tuned instruments and sonorous music" (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 171).

The Pilgrim, in dialoguing with a girl who ran away from her parents' home and went through bad adventures, refers to the beneficial effects of the narrative of the pains experienced: "There can be no greater respite for a sad man, as seeing that there are those who pity him, seeking the means of his respite, in the pain he suffers. This is why it is said that one can barely heal the wound, without manifesting itself. If it is so true in wounds of the body, with greater reason one should practice in wounds of the soul, as it seems to me that you hide" (Pereira 1939, vol. 2, p. 163).

Pereira also deals with the disordered love and brings the example of some parents and some lords, who "love their children and some lords their slaves so much that they idolize them; and for this disordered love God allows them to see a bad end to these creatures for their greatest confusion (...) especially in this state of Brazil" (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 178). The disordered love for the children causes "disorders" in the children, because I transmitted the bad example and the bad inclination: "some empire has in the creature the bad inclination, but for the most part similar vices come from the bad example and lack of doctrine" (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 181).

For the disorders of love affection, or disordered love, the *Compendium* suggests remedies inspired by the Jesuit tradition: religious practices; listening to sermons; reading spiritual books; and biographies of saints; "conversation with virtuous men"

(Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 188). The importance of the will is also stressed. In discussing the Calvinist thesis that sin impedes the operation of the will, the author affirms that sinners are like sick people caught in the sleep of sin and affected by a blindness that prevents them from seeing the vanity of temporal life and the reality of eternal life. However, he affirms that this blindness depends on the bad example and the lack of use of remedies that could correct the weakness of the will. If there is a willingness to overcome the vicious habit, man can use these remedies and follow the examples that strengthen his will.

The *Compendium* also describes the effects of disordered love on body health, citing the book *Luz da Medicina* by the Portuguese physician Francisco Morato (Morato 1664). Such vicious excesses occur in men much more than in animals, which are ruled by the laws of nature that order the sexual act to procreation, despite the lack of reason. On the contrary, “man, coming to be blind, is always appetizing with this sin, without noticing the damage to his health. Such excesses can lead him to sudden death, or to stupor and paralysis, or physics, deformities and pain without remedy. (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 235).

Affective dynamism is also discussed in the dialogue between Pilgrim, Pastrano, and a Captain of about fifty years of age. The three of them are in a church located on top of a “dilated field”. The Captain describes the effects of intense love: “With great foundation, says Aristotle, Mr. João Pastrano, that the distance, in whom one loves, separates the exercise, but not the love: makes divorce with the sight, but not with the will: impedes the familiarity, but not to want it. Because there too, said a discreet Thebano, that the love of friendship is an insensitive hunger for the lack of time, in which one does not see the thing one loves. And that is why love is very aptly compared to fire, which is the first of the four elements, just as love is the first of the four passions, according to what Solomon says in Proverbs. As the great fire cannot hide itself in the bosom, so vehement love cannot be hidden. Finally, all the trades and all the sciences of this life can be learned, except the craft or art of loving: which neither that astonishment of wisdom, Solomon, could define, nor paint Apelles nor Ovid, nor count Helenor, nor sing Orpheus, nor yet say Cleopatra. For it is undoubtedly only the heart that knows how to feel it and pure discretion to declare it.” (Pereira 1939, vol. 2, p. 72). Elements of Greek, Latin, Judeo-Christian literary culture mix in this description of loving affection.

Besides love, another affection addressed in the conversation is fear: “Why do rational creatures fear deep places and underground cliffs so much and do not fear to see high places up to the sky? I reply: just as our soul is spiritual and made by divine omnipotence, so they fear and dread to see all those deep places and subterranean things because they come close to this center of hell; and by contrast they neither fear nor are afraid when they see eminences and high places up to heaven, because heaven is our homeland where we were created (Pereira 1939, vol. 2, p. 72). Affection seems to be regulated here by the spiritual universe: we have it that brings us closer to the divine realities and takes us away from the earthly.

Another disorderly affection discussed is anger: “Often the evil communicated alleviates those who suffer it. Moreover, anger is so damaging to human nature that it makes man look like a brute by the effects he works. It deprives even the most

prudent of judgment, which leaves no room for him to distinguish between evil and good, forcing him to do mischief, which is very noticeable” (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 301).

Anger can arise from the deception of the inner senses, especially the imagination: “An odious hatred, proceeding from an apparent imagination, where rancor is caused against one’s neighbor, with which the devil often makes us fall into a sin of hatred and envy, which calls greed for other people’s goods, and makes us conceive such an annoyance to our neighbor, that we are wishing him evil, and by not making allowances for this we precipitate ourselves into hell” (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 305).

In the dialogue between the Pilgrim, Pastrano, and the Captain, the three interlocutors agree on the fact that strong emotions can impede the pursuit of good. In this way, a deep connection is established between psychic dynamism and moral conduct, between psychological knowledge and ethics: “Some knowing good, blinded by self-love, voluntarily do not want to follow it. And many finally want to follow it, but the passion of fear, of interest, of delightful lust, and other similar vices, dissuade them and disturb their understanding so that they do not freely obtain what they must do and follow spiritually” (Pereira 1939, vol. II, p. 79). In this question, Pereira, analogously to Gusmão, puts the decisive role of the deliberation of free will, that is, freedom. The emphasis on the disorder of affections is strongly associated with moral deviation in Nuno Marques Pereira’s novel.

6.7 The Cognitive Powers

In the view of both authors, Gusmão and Pereira, sin, a deviation that occurs at the level of the spiritual dimension resulting from the positioning of freedom, acts on understanding: in many cases, it starts with a mistake at the level of the external or internal senses (suggestion), it involves the appetites, to later influence the understanding and the will.

According to Pereira, “in thought the first movement that makes, or stops making, the blame happens. From the sights and ears sin is generated in the understanding, and then put into execution” (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 218). In fact, the cognitive dimension of man is intertwined with will and freedom. In fact, “man’s thought is like a slight arrow and sometimes faster, because it reaches where the arrow cannot reach. (...) In understanding and in thought there can be no norm, nor standard, by the free will that God has given to man” (Pereira 1939, vol.1, p. 345). In this sense, understanding is the power where the spiritual dimension of the human condition is most evident, that is, its relationship with the transcendent and its ethical positioning through the use of free arbitration: “One of the greatest benefits that God can do to a creature is to give him a good understanding, because with this gift he frees him from many dangers, giving him the means to remedy himself in his needs, makes him look for friends with prudence, and still conserves the same temporal health, freeing him from many vices, knowing the spiritual and moral virtues; besides

many other goods, which result from having a good understanding” (Pereira 1939, vol.2, p. 25).

The development of this dimension takes place through a journey of maturation of the reflective capacity of the person, metaphorized by the allegory of pilgrimage. In the last chapter of the second book, Pereira puts these words in the mouth of the Pilgrim: “I found all your commandments almost impossible. But when I maturely considered that everything here below is finished, this narrow path widened itself” (Pereira 1939, vol. 2, p. 238).

6.8 The Practices of Care and Cure of the Psychic Apparatus: The Cure by Desengano in Gusmão’ Novel

In Gusmão’s novel, the remedies proposed to Predestined correspond to the great pillars of Jesuit pedagogy: it is about the good use of reason, oriented in its search for truth and good, for morality (right intention and good desire). This, in turn, will know how to order well will and affections. To the Predestined one is advised to give oneself to “the care of the wife Reason and the two children Good will and Right intention”. “Righteous intention” will nourish understanding and “Good will will be careful to ordain good will” (Gusmão 1685, p. 261).

In the Jesuit tradition and, in general, in Modern Christianity, this work is called “disenchantment”. In the novel, “Disenchantment” is a figure who advises Predestined and is characterized as one who “fixes his eyes on Truth”. Together with the advice of Disenchantment, the Pilgrim receives by an angel a torch, made of very pure wax, “made by bees, which they call “Powers of the Soul“, with the pollen of “flowers transferred from Paradise to the garden of the Catholic Church by industry of his own Gardener, who is the Holy Spirit. In other words, the work of disenchantment is provided: on the one hand, by the dynamism of the soul (bees, that is, the powers of the soul, have an active role in the process); on the other hand, by a given that they are the “flowers” coming from Paradise, let us understand Grace. Here is the theological position of the Jesuits on the relationship between human freedom and divine initiative, a relationship questioned by the Protestantism doctrine about the predominance of Grace over freedom (Buzzi 2000). And with regard to psychological knowledge, the active and positive function of the powers of the soul is affirmed, by nature aimed at achieving the Good

The belief in the decisive role of the soul powers in the path of disenchantment demands the knowledge of their actions, and this justifies the attention reserved to the psychological dimension in Jesuit anthropology. In the novel, the daughters and sons of the Predestined, as well as other characters that accompany him, are metaphors of the elements of the soul process associated with disenchantment. First, there are the figures of Curiosity and Devotion. Curiosity leads Predestined to the knowledge of the “memorable things” contained in the city of Belém (also called City of Disenchantment, or Desengano), that is, the intellectual knowledge of facts

and protagonists of sacred history. Devotion leads Predestined to the knowledge of the “places” of that same history. This refers to the already mentioned orthopraxis procedure studied by Carruthers, that is, the exercise of topographic memory. Secondly, the figures Thought and Pious Consideration open paths to the knowledge of the truth by reason. In the novel, Predestined is graced, by a good angel, with the gift of a lighter cabal than the wind, Thought, and a “very practical guide”, Consideration Pia. The two take him to the city of Disenchantment: this is a subject married to a holy and very illustrious lady, called Truth. Devotion leads Predestined to the knowledge of the “places” of that same history. This refers to the already mentioned orthopraxis procedure studied by Carruthers, that is, the exercise of topographic memory. Secondly, the figures Thought and Pious Consideration open paths to the knowledge of the truth by reason. In the novel, Predestined is graced, by a good angel, with the gift of a lighter cabal than the wind, Thought, and a “very practical guide”, Consideration Pia. They both take him to the city of Disenchantment). The figure Disenchantment is a subject married to a holy and very illustrious lady, called Truth.

The articulation between the psychic powers in the exercise of disenchantment is illustrated by Gusmão when he portrays the “Palace of Disenchantment”, which Predestined visits accompanied by “Consideration Pia”. In highlight is the role of memory. All accesses to the Palace correspond to memory activities applied to specific objects. The first and ample door of the palace is the Memory of eternity (it can be an eternity of glory or of feasters). This door opens access to a courtyard from where heaven and earth are clearly seen (namely, the knowledge of the eternal and the temporal). In the four corners of the courtyard, there are four arches, called “The Newest of Man,” with four doors (memory of death, memory of judgment, memory of hell, and memory of paradise). In short, it is a memory focused on the definitive events of human existence. In the Palace, there are other objects of memory, whose presentation paralyzes the Pilgrim and makes the path impossible: objects in the form of paintings that portray the memories of the past, present, and future. Other paintings are also in the Palace, painted by Desengano and intended for pilgrims: they refer to stories of disenchantment. Among them, the story of Francisco Borja, then Duke of Gandia, disillusioned by the vision of the decomposing cadaver of Queen Isabella, whom he loved. The objective of these representations was that passers-by “contemplate the examples of those who, for the same reasons, had been disillusioned” (Gusmão 1685, p. 24).

Just like in Gusmão, in Pereira’s novel the memory acquires great prominence. The memory of the Four Newest to Man allows us “to live a reformed life and have a precious death (...) not giving so many reins to our appetites”. And “the memory of death is a powerful means to heal all our spiritual ills and to put the soul in perfect health” (Pereira 1939, vol. 2, p. 237).

Memory is complementary to oblivion, which should apply to bad objects. However, if badly used, forgetfulness becomes an illness, as happens to Precito, another protagonist of Gusmão’s novel. In him, forgetfulness was “such an evil blood” “a wonder of senses and powers that Doctors call Forgetfulness, with which he walked in a stupid way, without remembrance of God, nor of salvation, nor did

he already feel the remorse of conscience”. This illness made him “have very clever senses and very attentive powers” but turned to appearances: “for this reason he felt the loss of something temporal and for the loss of the eternal no feeling showed” (Gusmão 1685, p. 246).

Another psychic power involved in the process of Disenchantment is understanding. Still in Gusmão’s novel, in the Palace of Desengano, there are four chambers, corresponding to the ages of life associated with the four seasons of the year. In each one of them, Desengano acts and assumes different features, “sometimes of the Old Man, sometimes of the Young Man, to denote, that in all habits, states, and ages one can find Desengano” (Gusmão 1685, p. 23).

The throne of Disenchantment, in the center of the Palace, is the sphere of the world revolving around two axes, life and death, in a constant movement between these two poles (“which began its movement from the pole of life, and ended in that of death” (Gusmão 1685, p. 24). Two words were written on the globe: “all and nothing,” thus explained by Disenchantment: “The world is all nothing, or to the contrary, nothing is all that is of the world. In the apprehension of this constant movement of alternation between opposite dimensions of reality, the awareness that the human condition itself is subject to these changes is central to the disenchantment. These are the words of the figure of Disenchantment personified in the novel: “Time will come, O Pilgrim, in which you, who now hear this, live, eat, play, and delight, will be dead, ugly, and hideous under a grave. Horrible case, that today we were alive, and tomorrow we will dead!” (Gusmão 1685, p. 24).

In the process of disenchantment, acts of memory and understanding are effective to the extent that they are accompanied by the correct use of the senses, which in turn depends on the decision of will. Among the senses, the most important is sight. After visiting the Palace, the Pilgrim is led by Disenchantment on a mountain from where he can contemplate the entire universe. There he is placed before a decision to be made: if he wears the “eyeglasses of the flesh”, he stops at the appearance of things; if he wears the “eyeglasses of the spirit”, he sees them in their real consistency. Placing the first glasses, riches appear to those who look at them as “things of great pet. But by using the second pair of glasses, because they are more crystalline, the one who looks “comes to penetrate the most remote things“, that is, the reality in the long duration from its origin to its destiny. This enables judgment: “Predestined has considered the duration of things eternal, the brevity of temporal things, the eagerness with which men apply themselves to them, the negligence with which they seek the eternal. All these things seemed to him to be very worthy of repair, and to be very slowly meditated upon. (...). Finally then he saw clearly, how false were all the hopes of the world, how deceitful were its promises, that only the eternal was true, and all temporal deception” (Gusmão 1685, p. 44).

Good application of the ear is also important for disenchantment and requires mobilization of attention. In fact, it is necessary to listen with attention and intention. At this point, Gusmão makes a reservation about the importance of listening well to the preacher, who as a “doctor of the soul” promotes the knowledge of the soul and the healing of the diseases of the mind. Through the metaphor of the monstrous virgins found in the city of Nazareth (some with their ears on their chest and

others with their ears on various parts of the body), Gusmão highlights the importance of listening to the word heard in depth and therefore being something inherent to the heart. To carry “your ears to your heart” means to possess “the true intention and attention” (Gusmão 1685, p. 69).

Besides the process of disillusionment, other resources for soul therapy are provided by the two novels.

In Gusmão’s novel, the correct use of the external senses also depends on diligence and disposition, which can be acquired through three exercises, which are Lesson, Prayer, and Meditation. Gusmão’s commentary on the three exercises is peculiar and expressive of the Jesuitical charisma: “Although his own dwelling is in the other neighborhood, which they call Cloister, with everything also here in this neighborhood they are found, by those who know how to look for them” (Gusmão 1685, p. 73). In other words, it is a proposal of orthopraxis that is possible for all men who live in the middle of the world, and not only for religious who live gathered in convents.

Gusmão describes in detail each of the three practices and the resources inherent to them, representing them through topological metaphors and allegorical characters. The Lesson “applied to a whole spiritual book, it dwelt in a beautiful bookstore all of sacred, devout and honest books, and not a single book of comedies or novels was found there”. But books are not effective without the disposition of the reader: “And so that the Pilgrims, who entered there, might know how to treat and have the books of that bookshop, the words of Christ, *Quomodo legis*, were written above? How do you read? Do you read for profit, or for pastime? If it is for a hobby, it is a lost time; if it is for profit, it is great, what you will learn from the spiritual lesson” (Gusmão 1685, p. 73).

The reading of the texts is made possible by the use of special glasses, made by a crystal called Understanding, or Concept. The good use of these glasses demands the attitude of silence (represented by a “very quiet old man”, who introduces in a “cubicle called Retiro”) and prayer (represented by an “old talker called Prayer”). The Pilgrim is then led to another Palace, called Prayer. There he meets a very beautiful young woman, “dressed in canvas, to denote the fires of Divine Love”, with wings: her name is Mental Prayer. Her wings metaphorize “Pious Affection, and Devout Affection, to mean the essence and definition of Mental Prayer, which is an elevation of our mind to God, by devotee and pious affection” (Gusmão 1685, p. 78). The senses move in harmony with affections.

Another therapeutic resource proposed by Gusmão is the practice of the examination of conscience, whose function is the ordering of the person and the knowledge of himself, according to the Jesuit tradition. The examination of conscience is aimed at self-knowledge and goes through different stages: the private examination, the evaluation of intentions, the vision of oneself, sincere conversion, and dialogue with the spiritual doctor. Several psychic powers are mobilized by the realization of the examination: memory, consciousness, memory, desire. The exercise of these powers takes place in the face of a certain content that provides a comparison between the historical and concrete experience of the subject and the modeling experience provided by the “commandments of God,” a comparison “put into

remembrance. Some objects (the “books“, the candle, the image of Christ crucified) and a specific space (the “removed cubicle”) are elements of the external environment arranged to facilitate inner dynamism. At the same time, they are metaphors of the subject’s internal dispositions and indispensable for the examination to take place: remembrance, consciousness, memory, desire, and narrative of one’s own history and knowledge of divine commandments.

After understanding, affections are mobilized through the use of resources aimed at providing sensory effects: dark colors, images, tears, gestures: “They went to a chamber some as dark as a sign of feeling where they saw a beautiful and very honest maiden all dressed in mourning without ornament or affection, who was on her knees at the feet of a Crucifix like a Magdalene all bathed in tears, with one hand she beat her breasts with a stone, with the other she was trapped with the right hand of Christ, from whose eyes and mouth came out a ray of light that penetrated her heart, in which was written: *Tibi soli peccavi*, and under his feet had the globe of the world with this letter: *omnia*. “(Gusmão 1685, p. 202). The description evokes the image (transmitted by the narratives of the Gospels) of Mary Magdalene, the prostitute woman who was converted when she met Christ. This image has been taken up with great frequency by Christian iconography. In fact, in the tradition of Modern Age Catholicism, artistic resources accompanied religious practices such as sacred images, paintings, music, decorations (Ripa 1992). Their function was to provide devices to assist the subjective process of disillusion (Massimi 2012): stimulating the senses in order to mobilize affections.

After this process, destined to activate his psychic powers in function of spiritual growth, Predestined passes to the confessional room itself, where the confessor, that is, the authentic physician of the soul, provides him with the “medicamentos”, which are the spiritual remedies.⁵

At another moment in the novel, the Pilgrim is again commissioned to “a very experienced doctor and expert in the attacks of the spirit to whom they call the Spiritual Father, so that he would take care to apply to him the fruits, leaves, flowers as he asked for them. For him, the Predestined One had to “discover all his attacks, pains and illnesses, his natural complexion and inclinations in order to be cured of them according to the need of his present state. Gusmão commented that this “doctor” was so appreciated that “all the success of the Pilgrims who lived in this

⁵The use of all these resources for the ordination of personal life always presupposes the active presence of the spiritual doctor. Claudio Acquaviva (1543-1615), one of Ignatius’ successors in the direction of the Society of Jesus, was the author of the *Industriae ad curandos animi morbos* (Norms for the cure of illnesses of the spirit, 1600; ed. 1893), destined to all the Superiors for the orientation of the spiritual formation of his disciples. In this text, Acquaviva takes up the traditional analogy between sickness and healing of the body and diseases and therapy of the soul. He defines various types of spiritual illnesses and remedies for each illness and institutionalizes the function of the spiritual doctor. From Acquaviva, the label Medicine of the Soul appears systematically in Jesuit literature. It is a knowledge of the human being and his psychological dynamics aiming at his adaptation to the social context of insertion (the religious community and the environment in which it develops its mission in the world) (Acquaviva 1893).

neighborhood was deposited in him, that is, all the use of the beginners in the spiritual life” (Gusmão 1685, p. 265).

Then, in another room, the effect of this sacramental practice is reinforced by the examples of various saints. Again, the importance of example is placed on the construction of a model experience where to mirror and conform. The example refers to attitudes that concern the interior: the effectiveness of the sacrament depends on the sincerity of the knowledge of oneself and of the associated affections. The importance of the subjective disposition is placed in a clear way and we believe that this is one of the indications that the Jesuits contributed in an original way to introduce into the culture of the time the emphasis on the interior dimension, shaped by the spirit of the nascent modernity. According to Gusmão, penance, more than actions of repentance and gestures of great emotional intensity, consists in a way of life governed by the balance of virtues: “Just penance” is a “blessed Lady” who disposes in the existence of the person, means to order the senses and affections to their ultimate end. In fact, moderation is recommended by Loyola, inspired by the concept of prudence proper to Aristotelian-Thomistic ethics.

In the last part of the journey of spiritual formation, called the unitive way, Gusmão talks about the human heart and its identification with the divine heart: this union occurs in one of the final stages of the journey, that is, of the process of perfecting the human being in view of his Destiny. This union coincides with the health of the person. On the contrary, Precito ends up being definitely ill, because his heart is marked by vices: the yearning for riches, the spirit of revenge, sensual love, boredom to spiritual things, boredom to his brothers, etc. Vices make the heart “sick”.

In short, in Gusmão’s novel, pilgrimage must be understood not only in the perspective of the conceptual universe, but also in the universe of practices: pilgrimage is an orthopraxis that, using various rhetorical devices, aims at shaping a person’s experience so as to make it more orderly in order to realize his or her ideal destiny, and, therefore, the proper use of his or her freedom to achieve such an end. Gusmão proposes in the novel the perspective of the Jesuits, according to which the person achieves a healthy life through the good use of their dispositions. Among these dispositions, the life of the soul has a fundamental function of articulating between them the corporal and the spiritual dimension. The knowledge of the psychic life provides the practical objective of its ordination. The psychological knowledge in this context aims at the incorporation of the person to the whole, mobilizing, and exercising senses, affections, judgment and will, body and soul, according to a pedagogical path oriented to the accomplishment of the ultimate end and directed by the spiritual doctor.

6.9 The Practices of Care and Cure of the Psychic Apparatus in Pereira’s Novel

In Nuno Marques Pereira’s novel, the proposed therapy aims to restore man’s condition as being in the image and likeness of God. The remedies serve to reconstitute this original condition in the person.

When a resident asks the Pilgrim to indicate remedies for the soul, he answers: "Read the spiritual books, consult the confessors, who are our directors and you will see that they will advise you that at night, before or after you go to sleep, you should examine your conscience, bringing to mind all the sins, which you committed that day; and that you should then make an act of contrition?" (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 112).

These words summarize in a synthetic way the same resources proposed by Gusmão. Like him, Nuno Marques Pereira suggests through the mouth of one of the characters, tips for confession: in the first place, the examination of conscience about one's own conduct, "bringing to mind" thoughts, words, and actions. Secondly, Nuno, like Gusmão, highlights the importance of the spiritual doctor. He describes the function of the spiritual director: "may he be learned, prudent and virtuous, who knows how to distinguish, discern and know the diseases of your soul" (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, pp. 113–114). And he compares it with the physician of the body: "For if for the ailments of the body we seek the best Physician; and to make a dress, the best dressmaker; with greater reason for the sickness of the soul, we must seek the best Physician," who knows how to "examine and counsel. The confessor "must be like the doctor, the surgeon and the bleeder: he must not look at the melindre, or the greatness of the sick; but at the risk in which he is of the health of the soul" (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, pp. 115–118). In the third place, like Gusmão, he proposes the remedy of prayer according to its different modalities: oral, vocal, and mental. This way of distinguishing prayer in vocal and mental terms is a typical topical of Catholicism after the Council of Trent.

We saw that Pereira is especially interested in some specific diseases of the soul, like sadness. Some of the remedies suggested are as follows: the change of object of affection, good conversation, contact with nature, and listening to music: "And to remedy these sadnesses, take these warnings: when the hope for your good is lacking, seek something else, where you forget the present pain that penalizes you. Make it entertaining with discreet and joyful conversation, gentle smells, joyful fields, rivers, spacious sea, tuned instruments and sonorous music" (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, pp. 170-171).

Another practice of care is education, which implies the presence of a good Master. On this topic, the author highlights the importance of the choice made by parents. In dealing with the relationships between parents and children, the author recommends that the choice of a teacher for children follows the criterion of reason and not emotion: "It should be warned that many parents fall into these errors carried away by an affection, because they do not know how much is required to choose a good teacher for their children. The Master must be Christian, old, prudent, and conscientious in the art he teaches:" (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 177). The criteria regarding the cure of the education of children as the prevention of diseases of the soul also extend to slaves and other members of the family: "the parents of families must also take great care in the good education of their children and slaves, giving them the sustenance and the necessary to clothe themselves, besides the good doctrine and working to the contrary, they sin mortally in this precept. And above all, they must have great care and zeal in guarding their families, like jewels of precious

value, which God has entrusted to them and of which they must ask very narrowly if they let them lose” (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 177). On this point too, Pereira is inspired by a tradition that we have seen conveyed by the sources analyzed in previous chapters and which emphasizes the importance of the educational process in the formation of the human being. A singular aspect to highlight, however, is that in the above passage, Pereira also refers to the education of slaves, and not only of children.

Still with regard to the prevention of diseases of the spirit, the author warns of the necessary disillusionment against the diabolical temptations in the imagination that take men away from their good purposes. The process of disenchantment is taken as a form of psychomacy, that is, of a spiritual struggle between good and evil, conceived as two forces, a struggle in which the former must prevail over the latter. Disenchantment serves to free oneself from the blindness that prevents one from seeing reality. The result is an “interior joy, so great that even on the outside the contentment of the soul is spread” (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 192). For this to occur, it is necessary that the understanding be free, that is, not entertained by inadequate objects. For this, the *Compendium* indicates the aid of good readings and conversations with the doctors of the soul. It states that “it is in our hand to flee from evil thoughts, using the remedies we are taught spiritual books and the masters of the spirit” (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 218). Remember that the function of the spiritual doctor is often cited in the sources of different genres analyzed in this book.

As for the disease of disordered love, Pereira affirms that it is cured by the removal of the object causing the disorder and by a good confession: “You must know that to heal from love and from this disease it is necessary to be absent. Many illnesses are cured only by changing the air; but that of love is cured only with that of the earth. It is love like the Moon, which when it has half a moon, soon becomes eclipsed. This is the temporal remedy. But spiritually speaking, the most effective remedy is to make a general confession very well made, with a firm purpose, etc.” (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 232).

For the excesses of loving affection, the remedy indicated is marriage, defined as “a contract of two wills connected with love, which God communicates to them” (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 238). This union is realized under certain conditions. The first is “the equality of qualities, without which there are great dangers in life and irreparable displeasures, because we have never seen inequalities without restlessness. The second is “that the married couple are very much in conformity in their desires and inclinations: because they are these, still because of natural defects they can love each other perfectly“. This advice is justified by “the rule of Philosophy, that likeness is the cause of love and he of all peace and conformity, without which that state cannot be perfect“ (Pereira 1939, vol.1, p. 239). After giving this advice, Pereira starts to describe the condition of the “badly married“, pointing out the cause of it in the conflict between the pair’s wills. For such a description of the metaphor of a storm at sea is used: “These two natures meet with any wind of anger. The husband’s sea begins to fight against his wife’s rock. When it doesn’t surrender, everything is loud, shouting and roaring. And so they live in a continuous war and there is no one who can live there, nor live, because of the thunderings they make. But if one finds in this sea that it is the husband, a navigable vessel that is the

woman, even in a great storm, she follows all directions and winds, without noise or rumour. In fact, she lets herself be taken to where the sea takes her, until the storm breaks. Thus they make a safe journey to the port of salvation.” (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 239).

Finally, the author gives advice to wives and their husbands indicating the attitudes that favor harmonious relationships: “be busy with good exercises and don't be idle”; “be very prudent in looking for women of your equal (i.e. in generation and age) for not coming to experience the discounts of deceit and complaint of many years”; “run away from leading to the presence of your women young men”: “treat your wife with much love and respect, so as not to give her an occasion for just complaint”; “do not be an impertinent lover wanting to experience her: because the woman is like a sword that also has its hour”; “do not allow her to appear to all, making her a display cloth”; “let the husbands deny their wives some leave from certain visits, with prudence and dexterity” (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 296).

In *Compendium*, the particularity is that the healing of the soul is inseparable from the healing of the body. Much more than in Gusmão's novel, the *Compendium* is concerned with providing meticulous guidance also regarding the care of the body life, always pointing out the close unity between soul and body which leads to constant interference from one to the other, and vice versa. Chapter twenty-first of the book is itself a true compendium of medicine of soul and body, almost a compendium of psychosomatic medicine.

In a dialogue between a resident and the Pilgrim, the problem of “hypochondriac flats” is addressed, which is “the name given by modern doctors” but traditionally called “melancholic winds” from which the resident has suffered for eight years. What does this expression mean at the time? In books and documents of Lusitanian culture, there are many references to this disease which seems to have been widespread. King John V himself seems to have been afflicted by it.⁶ Apparently, this is the disease today called syphilis.⁷

⁶A document from the Convent of Mafra (Portugal) the Decree of September 26, 1711, declares textually a vow made by King John V: “I El-King make it known that, for just reasons, and for the special devotion I have to the glorious Saint Anthony, and for his honour. I have decided to grant permission for a convent dedicated to the same saint to be founded in the district of Vila de Mafra [...]”. This vow made by King John V is confirmed by an inscription on the foundation stone laid at the foundation of the main chapel of the Basilica on November 17, 1717. The reasons for this vow were revealed in 1737 in an account of the *Sacred Monument* of João de S. José do Prado, and by José de Jesus Maria in his *Chronicle of the Province of Santa Maria da Arrábida of the regular and closer observance of the Seraphic Patriarch Order of St. Francis*. According to the botanist Merveilleux (1726), the reason for the vow was “a great affliction”, which Francisco Xavier da Silva will call “hypochondriac flats”, and today we can identify with syphilis. Moreover, it is known from the *Memoirs* of Captain John Creighton (edited by Jonathan Swift) that he had a medical cousin, expressly sent to Lisbon to treat the Portuguese monarch of this venereal disease. Of course, it would be necessary to have great discretion and to camouflage a disease whose causes resulted from the king's free life and which could not be made public (at <http://www.cesdies.net/monumento-de-mafra-virtual/um-voto-enigmatico> accessed on 06/05/18).

⁷The disease is cited in the Pons, *Triunfo de la medicina: en un método racional, y eficacissimo para curar radicalmente las enfermedades internas, y externas del cuerpo humano, que en el vulgo*

The resident complains that “this illness has put me in such a state that with words I cannot mean what I feel. What penalizes me the most is to see how little you have taken advantage of the many remedies that have been applied to me, with so much expenditure of my money. “For this cause I procrastinate in complaints, impatient against myself.” “What I feel above all is that it does not give me a chance to do penance for my sins, for the great elders with whom I am afflicted in my heart and more members of my body. Finally, the sick person asks the Pilgrim “for some medicine to get rid of so many complaints and inconveniences, both for my bodily and spiritual health. (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 311). The Pilgrim’s answer is that this illness is in the field of the medicine of the soul. Such medicine is the competence of doctors based on a long tradition of knowledge. But in Brazil it is exercised by ordinary men who know the nature of the country and the remedies that God himself has placed in it: “Let us suppose that it is not my profession to advise in such cases. However, I trust in what a modern writer has said: that no one should despise the advice of the old. I have also read that before there were these Galenaeans, Hippocrates and Avicennae, men were cured more by experience than by the sciences and arts of medicine. And even today we are observing it in many parts and places of the world, and mainly in this State of Brazil, in the parts where doctors, surgeons, and botics are not found. Besides, it seems to me that God, as the author of nature, wanted to show us that he did not put the virtue of medicines in the words of men, but in stones, metals, plants, waters, etc... That is why I will now dare to tell you how I feel about your aches. But I warn you that it is not my intention to dissuade medical professors from consulting on illnesses, because I know that this is one of the great sciences there is for what I have read and seen working when the Doctor or Surgeon is aware and works with that zeal that he owes to the profession of his science and art”. (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 311).

What are the elements of the regiment based on “experience” and the “advice of the old” for the aches and pains caused by this illness, which the Pilgrim suggests to the resident? The first norm is to abstain from excesses in food: “Speaking now of your complaint, it has shown the wide experience that many in similar illnesses, for wanting to heal and refine their health, came to lose their lives; and that others,

llama incurables (Triumph of Medicine: in a rational and effective way to radically cure the internal and external diseases of the human body) of Gaspar Pons; and in Barbosa, *Considerações médicas sobre o método de conhecer, curar, e preservar as epidemias, ou febres malinas, podres, pestilenciaes, contagiosas, e todas as mais que se compreendem no título de agudas* (Medical Considerations on the method of knowing, curing, and preserving epidemics, or malignant fevers, rotten, pestilent, contagious, and all the more that are understood in the title of acute) of John Mendez Saquet Barboza. The expression “melancholic winds” appears in *Memorial de vários simples que da Índia oriental, da América & de outras partes do mundo vem ao nosso reyno para remédio de muytas doenças, no qual se acharão as virtudes de cada hum, & o modo com que se devem usar* (Memorial of several simples that from Eastern India, America & other parts of the world come to our reyno for medicine of muytas doenças, in which will be found the virtues of each hum, & the way they should be used) of João Curvo Semedo, pioneer of chemical medicine in Portugal (Lisbon, 1727, in the Workshop of Antonio Pedrozo Galram).

using only the good regiment, lived long years by observing parsimony, more eating to live than living to eat, as they say” (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 312).

To prove this rule, the Pilgrim reports to his interlocutor cases of gluttony killings: “there is no shortage of those who claim that more people have killed gluttony, than the military campaigns. And from this it follows that many people have their own farm and riches to finish the course of life more quickly, because of the many and superfluous pleasures with which they live” (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 313). The Pilgrim warns, however, that when one hears the sound in excess during meals this has negative influences by stimulating the appetite even more. For this reason, he reproves the “modern custom of having instruments and musicians sing and play during the banquets,” “so that if they flatter the taste, they will give themselves more to the delicacies.

The reason why, according to the Pilgrim, it is recommended to avoid “wide suppers and flatulent eating” is that “the many delicacies usually make bad cooking in the stomach. This is why many people die suddenly, because their vital spirits are suffocated by lack of nutrition and they cannot digest the much they eat” (Pereira 1939, vol.1, p. 314).

In the dialogue, the inhabitant quotes a saying of Avicenas: have little dinner and supper more. And the Pilgrim answers that the precept of the Arab doctor was misinterpreted: Avicenas wanted to say: “have little dinner and supper more, id est, more little”. He also introduces another argument to interpret this saying, based on the differences in body complexion, based on the hypocratic-galenic medicine of temperaments: “besides that, we must also consider that not all natures will be regulated by a single regiment. In fact, there are men who, if they dine well, do better to supper; and this does not happen to them badly. And so understand that not everything is good for everyone, not everyone is good for everything”. Nuno's curious “accommodation”, which aims to reconcile a multiplicity of originally conflicting interpretative possibilities, seems an example of the typical syncretism of the Brazilian way of building culture (Sanchis 2012).

The second norm is to avoid excessive sleep and vigilance. According to the Pilgrim, too much meridian sleep “makes the humours from which many illnesses come more dense” (Pereira 1939, vol.1, p. 314). At the same time, long vigils produce damage to health. And he quotes, to prove it, an aphorism of Hippocrates “*Somnus atque vigil, utrumque sine modo excitat malum*”.

The third norm is to avoid excesses of any kind. For example: the excess of sweets because “it has shown the wide experience that anything that sweetens your mouth makes your stomach bitter” (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 314). He also condemns the excesses in eating fruit and drinking water, “because water is supposed to be one of the best liqueurs there is for the food of life, so it is cold and humid, it is very harmful and an enemy of nature, according to that sentence of Galeno when he said: *frigus inimicum est naturae*” (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 315).

The Pilgrim pays particular attention to wine consumption. He points out that if the wine is “taken in good order” and “the use is moderate”, it has “great utility”. He describes the beneficial effects of wine taken in moderation. It is a drink that “sustains and repairs lost forces faster than eating it, as that aphorism of Hippocrates

says: *facilius est refici potu, quam cibo*". It also "makes good cooking for nutrition and causes sweat and urine". And "it's juice for old people, as Galen says: *Quod animi mores capit*". It also "conciliates sleep, revives the spirits, favors blood, cheers the heart, causes placid customs"; "it excites natural warmth, not only to the old, but to the melancholic"; "it tempers the humours, banishes sorrows"; "it is the only remedy for the shy because it makes them stronger and even makes women fertile". On the other hand, if the wine is taken in excess, it causes much damage and becomes "the beginning and origin of all the illnesses of the rational body and soul. The harmful effects are described in detail and confirmed by several examples: "as for the body: it deprives it of so much of its senses that it is worse than a brute, because of the effects it causes it to work"; as for the soul, "it remains a creature that God made in his image and likeness, forsaken from the use of reason and therefore working brutally. For having obscured his understanding, he comes to fall into enormous and ugly sins," including murders (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, pp. 315–316).

Fourth, proceeding from the list of the good remedies for the psychic and spiritual life of the person taken as a whole, the Pilgrim recommends the use of cordial and balms. If the person feels "old ladies and heat waves", a "piece of red silk or scarlet cochineal, in which water from the flower or the Queen of Hungary has been sprinkled" should be placed on top of it.

Very interesting is the recommendation about water conservation: "preserve the springs". And the recommendation about the healthy enjoyment of the natural elements: "flee the serene of the night", "seek the fresh of the morning for the summer". The Compendium also stresses the importance of moderate sports practice: "Do moderate exercise, because according to a rule of Philosophy, movement causes heat: *motus est causam caloris*. In this way, superfluity, bad body moods are worn out and natural heat is distributed to the limbs to give them being and strength. Says Galen: (lib. 6 of *Locis a fl.*) *Proprii officii exercitatio robur partis corporis adauget*: that is, exercise on body parts adds strength. This truth is well shown in the rustic exercises at work. On the other hand, the rich people, for lack of exercise, come to fall into various illnesses. (...) Exercise in time is beneficial to health. I say in due time, because when it is excessive, it is harmful to the bodies and makes them fall into many ailments" (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 316).

In listing these resources, the Pilgrim appeals to the Aristotelian matrix rule of the "middle term": "in all things, as in manual work as in intellectual work, one must seek the middle, by which virtue consists. And so I conclude that sublunar bodies should not be so excessive in work, nor so left to idleness that by one they may lose perfect health and by the other salvation" (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 317).

In this sense, it is also important to take good care of the use of time: "do not gather so late that you lack the time to take care of your soul. It is also important to be educated in the virtue of patience: to suffer the illnesses and the crossings of the time of life "conforming to the divine will "(Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 320). Pereira cites examples of the practice of this virtue from the religious, but also philosophical, realm: "says Seneca who called Democritus life without tribulation: dead sea, in which there is often greater danger than when the waves change "(Pereira 1939, vol.1, p. 322). Finally, Pilgrim suggests, once again, the path of disillusionment, already proposed in Gusmão's novel:" To consider that life respects eternity as an

instant. Every rational creature wants to live in this life for a long time with health and contentment, but it is incompatible to enjoy this in this world and to want to save himself without atonement for the sins committed against God“. It is necessary to “rule and govern the movements of our appetite, walking each day fighting against our own vices and evil inclinations and always denying ourselves to our own will and judgment; overcoming anger, repressing anger and impatience, restraining gluttony and all its senses and movements. (...) Let us consider, finally, that we are pilgrims, and that we are walking to our homeland which is Heaven“. This “is not reached by chance but by diligence and work”. (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 324).

Finalizing the long list of remedies for the health of soul and body, the author warns that “if you do not take my advice and warnings, you will lose three things: time, health, and salvation” (Pereira 1939, vol. 1, p. 413).

At another point in the Compendium, Nuno addresses a topic to which he devotes considerable interest, namely, the therapeutic value of music. In one of his wanderings, Peregrino comes across a character called “Mistress of Solfa”, with whom he talks about the excellence of music and its therapeutic effects: “Music, according to Plato (De Rep. Diálogos 3, 7 e 8), composes the spirit to follow the virtues, instructs the spirit for the consonance of life, regulates the measures for the government of the Republic. St. Augustine says that he favors the sciences, renewing the forces of understanding for study” (Pereira 1939, vol. 2, p. 41).

To explain the causes of such effects, Pilgrim refers to the Pythagorean theory about music as a representation of the structure of the world (“by its compass outside the created world”). Therefore, “the four elements” (water, air, fire, earth) which, according to Greek philosophy and medicine form the matter of the world, would be structured according to musical forms: “use the consonance of music and serve music for bodily health. The music of the four elements has the form of the harmony of the sound of the waves of the sea and the running of the rivers, the sound of the winds, the stones, and the roaring of the sails.

The emphasis on the importance of music for “bodily” and psychic health is based on the tradition of Greek and Roman medicine and Sacred Scripture: “Music is what makes the brain and heart most happy, because it is a kind of spiritual contentment, which makes the soul happy. For this reason it is united with a recreational affection of the spirit, so much so that with music one heals the damage that makes the poison. It is known that remedy with which the bites of those spiders of the Province of Puglia called tarantulas are cured, which has so much venom and poison. The person they bite, just singing and shooting, gets rid of the danger. Galen, after having dedicated himself to the study of medicine, learned music, recognizing how much it was necessary to use it for health. This is proven by what the Ecclesiasticus says, 40, 20 speaking of music where he says it also benefits the body's health. Asclepiades writes that the frantic enjoy listening to music. Also Ismenia, a Tebanic doctor, cured many pains and other illnesses with music. Teofrasto and Aulogelio say that music mitigates sciatica and gout pains. Other illnesses are greatly relieved by listening to the harmony of music. It also serves the melancholic and afflicted of heart, as one is experiencing at every step. We see that the workers are relieved from their work by singing. The prisoners and the afflicted only singing amuses their penalties and afflictions” (Pereira 1939, vol. 2, pp. 44–45).

Finally, the knowledge of truth by the study of Philosophy also has a therapeutic function. In the meeting with the Mistress of Philosophy, considered “the art of arts”, Peregrino affirms that this “knowledge gives true relationship of human and divine things, with full knowledge of the truth; taking from here the good and virtuous living” (Pereira 1939, vol. 2. p. 37). In fact, “this science has such force in persuasion that it transforms and yields to the vicious into the virtuous, changing the end of the object it loved and coming in the true knowledge of the highest truth” (Pereira 1939, vol.2, p. 38). In short, philosophy also provides disenchantment, but it can be used in a misleading way with the opposite effect (Pereira 1939, Vol. 2, p. 78). In fact, “the philosophers who misdirected their knowledge (Luther, Calvin, Julian Apostate) were the ones who, having perfect understandings, had depraved the wills”.

In fact, knowledge of the truth requires the disposition of some virtues: “to work well, and virtuously, prudence is necessary for man to enlighten his understanding; justice to regulate his will; fortitude to take away his fear; and temperance to moderate the ardor of delightful concupiscence” (Pereira 1939, vol.2, p. 80).

6.10 Conclusion

The orientation of personal dynamism and the healing of mental deviations, through writing and reading, are objectives common to both novels. The cause of these deviations is pointed out in the unbalanced functioning of the appetites (sensitive and intellectual). Therefore, the cure, or therapy, occurs through the action of cognitive processes and will and is defined as disenchantment. Disenchantment is the correction of deception derived from excesses, or defects, in the functioning of the senses and sensitive appetites, which produce a deceptive representation of objects and also misleadingly orient the appetites toward them (the disordered affections). The psychic dimension is placed at the interface between corporeality (characterized by the presence of humors) and spiritual life. The written text aims at stimulating the process of disenchantment through reading, through the use of rhetorical devices and the proposition of anthropological knowledge coming from the tradition of classical and Christian culture.

The novels act in the reader by the resource of the written word ornate by metaphors, allegories, and examples. Anthropological knowledge (whose field includes philosophy, literature, theology, spirituality, medicine) converges in delineating a vision of the human being and his historical existence synthesized in the Judeo-Christian figure of *homo viator*. This figure will print deeply in the core of Brazilian popular culture as we have seen documented by woodcuts, verses from string literature, texts from music and will inspire literary works, and will shape the imaginary of important popular and community movements (Sater and Teixeira 1990; Suassuna 2017; Vasconcelos 2018). The awareness that “the road I am”, that is, a person in constant process of formation in search of a final destiny, pervades a certain way of being Brazilian (Sanchis 2012).

The most significant contribution of these sources to the history of psychological knowledge is the conception that the very dynamic quality of human experience makes it permeable to transformation. The person is a being in whose scope development, change, and healing become possible, but also involution, regression, illness. These are the different trajectories of Predestined and Precito. They are the various possibilities of outcome of the stories told by the residents found by the Pilgrim of America.

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Chapter 7

Word, True Pharmacon of Bodies and Souls



7.1 The Psychological Dimension of the Word

The therapeutic function of the word is one of the pillars of the psychologist's intervention and as such is a very important aspect of his training. Freud puts in a 1905 text that “psychic treatment means treatment that departs from the soul, by the means that act, in the first place and in a direct way, on what is soul in the human being. One of these means is above all the word, and words are also the essential tool of psychic treatment” (Freud 1996, p. 271).

The discovery of the therapeutic function of the word clearly marked by Freud is, in turn, the fruit of a historical process. In the conception of philosophers and doctors of classical antiquity, the healing of the soul by philosophy brought about its submission to reason transmitted by discourse (in Greek *logos* it means: reason, rational discourse, word). The healing of the soul—conceived as an inner formation of the soul—implied the use of the word in the dialogue, which could be interior with itself, or with an external interlocutor. According to Augustine, “words have obtained among men the principal place for the expression of any thought, whenever someone wants to manifest it” (Augustine 1991, p. 96). In the Modern Age, confidence in the power of the word as an instrument of persuasion and modification of behavior was based on the knowledge and practice of rhetorical art and its influences on psychic dynamism, provided by Aristotelian-Thomistic philosophical psychology.

In Brazilian culture, especially in the colonial period, the practice of sacred oratory was a privileged means of using the word to evangelize listeners and for cultural transmission. Among others, the sacred oratorio conveys psychological knowledge. At the same time, it had acted in the field of persuasive communication using the resources of rhetorical art and influencing, through them, the psychic dynamism of the listeners. By the force of the word, concepts, practices, and beliefs from the classical, medieval, and Western Renaissance tradition were communicated

to the Brazilian population, aiming to induce changes in the habits and mentality of individuals and social groups. In Brazil since the mid-sixteenth century, confidence in the power of the word as an instrument of persuasion and modification of conduct was reinforced by the information we saw conveyed in the letters from the missionaries, which highlighted the importance assumed by the word and speech in the cultural tradition of the Brazilian Indians.

In this chapter, we will address the process of transmitting theoretical concepts and practical care regarding individual and social psychosomatic life, through the survey of sermons preached in several small and large cities in Brazil from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century. These sermons were printed and are preserved in several collections and localities in the country. This documentary material is practically unknown (with the exception of Antônio Vieira's sermons) and constitutes a true gem of sources of our history. It must be considered, however, that only a small part of the sermons preached were printed. The cost of transcribing and printing the preached texts was too high compared to the purchasing power of the population. But, as we will see, several sources found in Brazilian archives document the extensive practice of preaching in the national territory over the centuries. In fact, the importance of preaching in the religious and social life of the urban centers of colonial Brazil is evidenced by historical documents that allow us to map the main centers of this activity and reconstruct the most relevant manifestations.

We can trace a panorama, although fragmented and partial, which points out, with clear evidence, the importance, frequency and great scope of the preaching activities in the context of Brazil from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century. The accounts of contemporaries (in many cases spectators), local historians, the text of the sermons printed containing news of the place and date of the preaching, show that the city of Salvador was the most important center of dissemination of sacred oratory in the Colony. The practice of preaching was not only aimed at catechesis and indoctrination of listeners, but also aimed at a comprehensive reform of customs, involving all the personal, social, and political reality of the speakers and the recipients of their words.

This allows us to glimpse the implication of these oratory activities with regard to the field of psychological and anthropological knowledge of the time. The transmission of contents and practices related to the field of sacred oratory brought with it the need for a precise knowledge of the psychological dynamism responsible for the emission of the word and its reception. In fact, the efficacy of the word depends on an adequate knowledge of the effects and modalities of its action on the human psyche. The "moving" of souls and behaviors will only be possible through a precise and rigorous knowledge about the causes and effects of the movements of the soul in its relations with the word.

The choice of the appropriate means to efficiently carry out the process of persuasion implies a deep intersection between the domain of rhetorical art and the knowledge of individual differences on the psychosomatic, cultural, and political levels. For this reason, the activities of sacred oratory practiced in a considerable part of the Brazilian territory, despite respecting common models, norms, and objectives established by the religious and ecclesiastical nature of their function, take on

peculiar and diversified connotations in different places, according to specific demands and local characteristics.

Preaching in Brazil, in a time continuum of long duration, can be considered as a dynamic and complex relationship of exchange between preachers and recipients: a “shared practice” (Chartier 1988, p. 134) of meeting between the popular culture of the recipients and the literate culture of the speakers and writers of the sermons.

On the one hand, they sought to accommodate their words to the circumstances proper to the world of life of the listeners. It should be considered that a first level of ownership is achieved by the preacher himself. The preacher himself uses rhetorical methods and doctrinal contents learned by the studies and received by the cultural tradition of belonging, in a creative process that begins with the elaboration of the text, or of the structure of the sermon and ends at the occasion of its presentation before the public. Such appropriation depends, on the one hand, on the personality and formation of each speaker, on the other, on his or her belonging to religious, sociocultural, and political communities. On the other hand, presumably the sermons passed through various levels of appropriation by the listeners. According to Chartier, there is room for the “creative invention of the addressees at the very heart of the reception procedures” (Chartier 1988, p. 136). Of course, the possibility of words, cultural goods, texts, and ideas received, being submitted to diverse interpretations and jobs, depends on the modality of reception acted by the community of recipients as a whole, or by the diverse groups that compose it. In the colonial period, the ordering of the social body obeyed several principles, based on various relationships of belonging. This implies special attention to the recipients and to the places and circumstances in which the preaching took place. In any case, the uses and representations induced by the preaching in the listeners should never be univocally reduced to the objectives and motivations of the authors of the oratory pieces, or to the contents transmitted. A creative process always takes place whose actors are the listeners themselves.

In the modalities of constructing the sermon and carrying out the oratory practice, the preacher considers the existence of diverse social belonging of the listeners. He makes a first choice regarding two different types of preaching: the erudite, aimed at literate listeners, and the popular, aimed at illiterate listeners, or those coming from very different sociocultural contexts. Since sermons associate word, writing, and gestures, the practice of preaching also implies an imbrication between forms derived from various genres: oral and gestural forms (used, above all, in the field of popular preaching) and written forms (manuscript and printed). Printed pieces are made up of texts, whose purpose is not so much to codify a written discourse as to remain available as models and inspiration for future uses in the field of orality.

In any case, the sermons aim to produce, in practice, behaviors, or conducts, considered legitimate, useful, “edifying”. The main purpose of a sermon is to persuade listeners. By word and theatricality, it is intended to touch the intelligence of the listeners, in order to reach the will, according to the path of Aristotelian-Tomistic Gnosiology. The objective is to reach intellectual understanding, in a path that reaches the spirit and the action, passing through the sensitivity of the soul.

Therefore, the intellectual coherence of discourse is required, as well as an order to be followed, both in the uttering of words and in the gestures that accompany them.

The articulation between *delectare, movere et docere* that defines the objective of ancient and modern rhetoric implies a conception of the use of the word directed to the formation of man and, therefore, a close connection between rhetorical art and the art of educating. This competence has been widely valued and updated by Humanism, in order to constitute important foundations of the cultural universe of the Modern Age. In the sixteenth century, the link between rhetoric and preaching was based on the doctrine exposed by Augustine, in the work *De Doctrina Christiana* (Augustine 1991). Based on these foundations, the Council of Trent (1545) attributed to the ministry of the word an important function in the renewal of the Church as a whole. The study of rhetoric spread in Europe, through various works of this kind. In Europe between 1500 and 1700, some 200 works dedicated to sacred rhetoric were published, but this knowledge will also be determinant in what concerns the practice of preaching in Latin America and notably in Brazil, where several of these treatises are present in ecclesiastical libraries and religious orders (Pawling 2004).

In the conception of classical and modern rhetorical art, in order for the word to be capable of changing the listeners' judgments and attitudes, it must reach and mobilize their psychic dynamism. Such dynamism is conceived in terms of the philosophical psychologies formulated by Aristotle, Thomas, and Augustine. We have already seen that in these, the psychic world is structured in senses (external and internal senses), affections (sensory appetites), cognitive, and volitive powers (intellectual appetites). The word mobilizes as it reaches such powers. Because of the unity of soul and body that characterizes the person, the prerational sphere of appetites and affections profoundly interferes with either knowledge or free will. In this process, the role of the inner senses is fundamental: persuasion goes through their mobilization.

The role of the inner senses is evident in the use of rhetoric by Jesuit preachers. In the Jesuit tradition, the education of the inner senses takes place through the "*Spiritual Exercises*" (1982/1542), above all through the proposal of the *loci compositio* method. Ignatius of Loyola (1982/1542) proposes the *compositio loci* in the second week of the *Spiritual Exercises*: through this complex psychic operation, the subject is led to form within himself through the internal senses, the representation of a "place" where it is possible to be involved in the first person with the object or scene represented by the spoken or written words, an involvement that becomes a space of prayer and contemplation. Ignatius thus takes up some aspects of the medieval tradition in order to elaborate a model spiritual experience based on the mobilization of the internal senses, where the images assume the function of instruments of elevation from the visible and earthly to the invisible and the spiritual (Bergamo 1991; Bolzoni 2000; Bolzoni 2002; Carruthers 2006).

7.2 A Successful Process of Cultural Hybridization

The use of the word “oral” as a vehicle for transmitting ideas and as a “therapeutic” means was the first point of convergence between the indigenous tradition and the actions of the Jesuits in colonial Brazil. In fact, the word was widely valued in its connotation of communication, government, and healing, within the indigenous cultural tradition: since the sixteenth century, the accounts and missives of travelers and missionaries highlight the important role attributed to it by the natives (Massimi 2005). One of the oldest pieces of information about it appears in a narrative from 1593, already cited, written by the visiting priest of the Society of Jesus, the Portuguese Fernão Cardim (1548–1625). The account highlights the peculiarities of indigenous rhetoric and stresses the great propensity of the natives to practice the word. Cardim relates that in the village of Espírito Santo, after the reception by the “principal” (an expression used in the missionary accounts of the time to indicate the political authorities of the native populations), he together with the other two visitors (Father Cristóvão de Gouveia and Brother Barnabé Telho) were taken in procession to the Church by the Indians with dances and flute music. He writes as follows: “When they had prayed, the priest sent them to speak in the language, and they were very comforted and satisfied. That night the main Indians, great orators, preached about the life of the missionary priest in their own way. The way is as follows: they start preaching at dawn lying on the net for half an hour. Then they get up and walk all over the village, foot to foot very slowly. And the preaching is also paused, phlegmatic, and slow; they often repeat the words with gravity. In these sermons they tell of all the works, storms, dangers of death that the priest suffered, coming from so far to visit them, and to console. Together they begin to praise God for the mercy received and ask the people to bring their gifts to the priest, in gratitude. It was to see them come with their things, etc., ducks, chickens, piglets, flour, kisses with some roots and vegetables from the earth.” (Cardim 1980, p. 146). The chiefs of the tribe, appropriating the missionary preacher’s discourse, translated it into their own language to transmit it to the community. In this way, they legitimized the presence of the missionary and, at the same time, placed themselves as irreplaceable mediators between him and the people. In the same document, Cardim provides information about the value of preaching with the Indians. He tells us that in each “oca,” there lived a principal, whose authority was exercised mainly by the use of the word: he exhorted them to work, excited them to war, and was very respected by all. These exhortations, initially, were made inside the “oca”, “by way of preaching”, “which he does out loud, very slowly, repeating the words many times” (Cardim 1980, p. 146). Cardim’s account tells that among the main Indians and preachers, “there are some old men of great name and authority among them, who have fame all over the sertão, three hundred and four hundred leagues, and more”. He states that the natives esteem so much “a good speaker that they call him the lord of speech. In his hand he has death and life, and he will take them wherever he wants without opposition”. When the Indians want to test whether an individual possesses this ability, “many come together to see if they can tire him out, speaking

heavily with him every night. They stay like this sometimes two, three days, without getting bored” (Cardim 1980, pp. 152–153).

This description of Cardim, also analyzed in the chapter on epistolary correspondence, reveals the surprise of the Portuguese religious in view of the importance attributed to the use of the word by Brazilian Indians. It is an unexpected point of convergence between the culture of these populations, unknown to the missionaries, and the immense effort to communicate the European culture of the time, evident in the creation of new instruments such as the press, in the search for contacts and knowledge of new peoples, new cultures, and new languages, and in the great development of rhetorical art and its infinite possibilities as a pedagogical and doctrinal means.

The function of the word in the sermons addressed to the indigenous people, as a means of arousing affection and leading to a change in customs, is also highlighted by the French Capuchin D’Abbeville, author of an account of the mission of these religious in the lands of Maranhão, in which he himself participated in 1614. He writes as follows: “With such attention the Indians heard these words that the emotion that was in their soul transpired in their physiognomies” (Abbeville 1975, p. 72).

Cultural hybridization refers to a set of processes that have provided exchanges and blends of cultures (Canclini 2001). Our hypothesis is that the use of words, images, gestures, in oratory practices, may have constituted a common and fertile ground for such processes, favoring the dialogue between different identities. This dialogue led to finding points of convergence and to making “porous” the boundaries that demarcated the various sociocultural components involved in the cultural practice of preaching. As stated in the introductory chapter, the “porosity of identities” is an expression used by anthropologist Pierre Sanchis (2012) to describe peculiar characteristics of the process of formation of Brazilian culture. The diverse and different sociocultural positions present at the same time and in the same territory “were not lost by mixing, but neither were they opposed to each other, nor approached by simple juxtaposition or parallelism”. On the contrary, they “become porous with each other, enriching each other creatively, reinterpreting each other within their own being, while affirming their differences” (Sanchis 2012, p. 45). In our view, this “porosity” would have, among its genetic factors, the constant use made by preachers, of the norm of classical rhetoric, called ‘accommodation’, which we will soon address.

7.3 The Dissemination of Preaching Practice in Brazilian Territory and Its Actors

The practice of sacred oratory took place practically throughout the territory of colonial Brazil, with secular clergy as actors, but especially members of various religious orders employing specific styles and methods (Massimi 2005). The decrees

of the Council of Trent (1545–1563) on preaching preserved for the preachers of religious orders the privilege of exemption from the control and authority of bishops, a fact that strengthened in Brazil the monopoly of public preaching of religious orders.

The recognition of the great importance and effectiveness of preaching to the population has led the ecclesiastical authorities to order this practice to the priority objectives of the Church and to control its actors, through specific legislation. The normatization of preaching in Brazil according to the dictates of the Council of Trent is found in the *First Constitutions* of the Archbishopric of Bahia of 1707 (Da Vide 1720). The Constitutions established the need to evaluate the preparation of preachers in the face of frequent abuses.

The Society of Jesus was the most active in preaching in Brazil: the ministry of the word absorbed a great part of its missionary activities, beginning in Salvador and later extending to other regions of the country: São Vicente, Espírito Santo, Pernambuco, Maranhão, Amazônia, Ceará, Piauí, Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba, Sergipe, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, Goiás, Mato Grosso, São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul. The model of Jesuit preaching was strictly faithful to the methods of the Catholic tradition and to the Tridentine decrees and is condensed in the compendium prepared by the Portuguese Jesuit Cipriano Soares and used for the rhetorical formation in the schools of the Company, from the end of the sixteenth century (Soares 1562).

In a correspondence of 1562, Father Torres relates the participation of the Indians in the activities of sacred oratory: “there is a little Indian from Bahia, who was created here, will now be from 12 to 14 years old, very skilled for everything, preached last year the Passion in Portuguese to the people outside, with such fervor and devotion, that moved the listeners a lot” (Navarro 1988, p. 364).

The religious of the Order of St. Francis who arrived in Brazil in 1585 followed a model of preaching based mainly on the treatises of the Franciscan Francesco Panigarola, inspired by the Tridentine decrees (Panigarola 1584). The Franciscan style was especially suited to preaching in the popular milieu, according to the example of Friar Bernardino da Siena (1380–1444). The recourse to popular preaching was widespread both in Europe and in Latin America: in popular missions, promoted by the Franciscans in the rural environment, the preaching was carried out in the context of public ceremonies, with great emotion and accompanied by various sacramental practices and the catechesis of children and adults. The methods of preaching took on original connotations, with the predominant scenic element (Majorana 2001). The Capuchins, great protagonists of popular preaching in modern Europe, acted in Brazil sporadically: they arrived from France in 1612 and settled in Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro and the hinterland of the São Francisco River, from 1646.

Carmelites arrived with the armada of Frutuoso Barbosa in 1580 and settled in Olinda, where, from 1596, they created courses in Tupi language theology and also dedicated themselves to preaching. They founded residences in Pernambuco, Paraíba, Maranhão, Pará and Amazonas, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, Santos, Santa Catarina, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais. Connected to the Order of Mount Carmel

are also several fraternities active, especially in the mining regions: among them, the Brotherhood of the Venerable Third Order of Mount Carmel of Sabará stands out. During the celebrations, the practice of the sermon was common and widely documented (Trindade 1955, vol. 2). Most of the time, preaching was accompanied by the display of sacred images and processions through the streets of the cities.

The Benedictines arrived in Bahia in 1581, in Rio de Janeiro in 1586, in 1592 in Olinda, in 1596 in Salvador, in 1643 in São Vicente, Parnaíba, and other places in São Paulo territory. During the Dutch invasion, their abbeys in Olinda and Paraíba were destroyed (Hoornaert 1979). Among them, there were preachers who were also writers of sermon texts and contributed to the diffusion of models of sacred rhetoric. In fact, the activities of the Benedictines in Brazil, besides the liturgical service, also involved the mission with the Indians, as indicated in their first Constitutions, and for this, it was necessary to learn the “language of the land” (Endres 1980, p. 124).

According to the mentality of the time, the qualities considered essential for the preacher were two: talent (defined as all qualities of intellect, judgment, prudence); and the correspondence of the word to the experience of the preacher. Preaching should be an exemplary act that coincides with the works and the speaker’s speech should identify with his biography. Preachers were also required to have some specific psychosomatic characteristics. The importance of a good physical complexion, a beautiful presence, a temperament, if possible choleric, good or great ingenuity, good or great judgment, good or great prudence, and a reasonable “experience of things” was evident—as can be seen from the Triennial Catalogues of the Society of Jesus and also from the biographies of the speakers, such as that of Francesco Panigarola. With regard to formation, a good theological and moral formation was required, as well as a discreet knowledge of languages, not only the Latin language, but also the languages of the places for which preaching was intended. In the case of Brazil, for example, it was important to know the indigenous languages. The formation of preachers in most cases was carried out in convents and especially in the colleges of the Society of Jesus. Later it was also held in the first episcopal seminary of Brazil, in Mariana, in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Constant presence on the Brazilian scene from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, preachers had very diverse life stories. They belonged to several social classes, many born from supplied families, or noblemen. They were members of various religious communities (parishes, orders, etc.). Some were born in Portugal and emigrants in Brazil as children, and others were Brazilians by birth: both transited between the two worlds of the colony and the metropolis, and in some cases also in Rome. There were among them those born on the sea journey between Portugal and Brazil. Most of them were people who entered religious life from an early age, but there were also adult vocations, and some of them had other professions, such as advocacy, or military life.

The task of preaching was arduous, for those who performed it had to learn how to deal with very different circumstances and audiences and to submit to criticism and demands from listeners. If the preacher taught and asked for conversion and

reform of customs, on the other hand, he could be watched by his listeners about the orthodoxy of his statements, and if they were very bothered by his exhortations, they could even denounce him to the tribunal of the Holy Inquisition! The work of preparing the sermon was very difficult, requiring hours of study and reading. In many cases, it was difficult to go to the place of preaching, especially when it concerned the sertão, the indigenous villages, or the villages along the coast. The displacement was mostly on foot, by mule, or by boat. The exposure of the sermon required proper body posture, good physical energy, attention always alert to capture any reaction of approval or rejection of the audience. It is not surprising that, in carrying out this task, some preachers even lost their health or their lives. On the other hand, the power of the preacher's word was extensive, capable of reaching with its force established social and political circumstances and of rapidly changing them. For the threat of eternal punishment had for those who listened a real consistency and a dimension that extended from the temporal to eternity.

7.4 Preaching and Psychological Knowledge: A Laboratory of Experimentation of the Power of the Word in Brazil

7.4.1 The Preacher as Doctor of the Soul

The famous Luso-Brazilian Jesuit Antônio Vieira (1608–1697) in a sermon in 1669, given before the Royal Chapel of Lisbon, presents the preacher as the true physician of the wounds of the spiritual body and the social and political body. He claims to be “the obligation of this chair (which is the medicine of souls) to dispute the illness, and to prescribe the remedy. And if it is proven, and not costly, it will be easy to apply” (Vieira 2001, p. 101). This function corresponds to the anthropological vision in which Vieira is inspired, according to which the individual, community, and political dimensions are expressions of the unitary dynamism of the human person.

The frequent use of the term “physician of souls”, to nickname the preacher, and the analogies between states of mind and body states in the preacher sermons in colonial Brazil highlights the appropriation, articulation, and transmission of a long tradition. We have already seen that the Medicine of the Soul is a set of knowledge that aims to provide a healthy life and the use of the word as a resource to reach this objective. Health is conceived as a quality of personal life, in its integrity. The association between word and the health of soul and body was already found in the texts of the Greek physician-philosophers and was made explicit by Plato in the *Timaeus* dialogue. Consolidated by the Greek physician Hippocrates and later by the Roman physician Galen, it was applied by the speakers and philosophers (Cicero 1991; Cicero 1996) and (Seneca 1980; Seneca 1994). It spread throughout the Middle Ages and was resumed and expanded in Humanism and the Renaissance. According

to Cicero (106aC–43aC), the task of the speaker conceived as a physician of the soul is to know the characteristics of the human soul. In the work *Tusculanae*, Cicero proposes to use the written word to advise his interlocutor (Brutus) and his readers to the care and cure of the diseases of the soul. Adhering to the vision of stoicism that the soul is sick by the predominance of false ideas that divert the will, Cicero states that “just like the corruption of the blood, the excess of humor or of biles makes the diseases of the body and the malaise appear. The disorder that accompanies incorrect opinions and the contradiction of opinions, strips the soul of its health and disturbs it through sickness (Cicero 1996, p. 221). Cicero defines psychic illness as “a tenacious idea, fixed and deeply rooted in us, which determines a strong desire for an object that should not be desired”, or “which determines a movement of repulsion towards an object that should not be avoided” (Cicero 1996, p. 309). It is the task of philosophy and rhetoric “to take away the false ideas and the affections of these arising” (Cicero 1996, p. 281). The method which associates the philosophical exercise of the care of the soul with the use of the rhetorically ordered word to delight, move and teach the interlocutor, is appropriate and reinterpreted in Christian times by Augustine of Hippo (354–430). The philosopher takes up in a Christian key Cicero’s vision in the treatise on *Nature and Grace* (426/1989), when he affirms that human nature corrupted by original sin—an act of free will—needs the physician because it is no longer healthy: because the vice obscured the gifts that it naturally received from God, making it in need of illumination and healing. In his *Confessions* (414/1987), Augustine refers several times to the medicine of the soul, in analogy, but also as a complement and overcoming of the medicine of the body. In several sermons, Augustine uses the terms medicine of the soul and doctor of the soul to indicate divine action. In the sixteenth century, the treatise *Examen de Ingenios para las Ciencias* (1574/1989) by the Spanish physician Huarte de San Juan, from the University of Alcalá, establishes a close correspondence between the medicine of the body, the medicine of the soul and the political and social construction of society, based on the model of the platonic “Republic” (San Juan 1989). Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615), one of Ignatius’ successors in leading the Society of Jesus, was the author of *Norms for the cure of illnesses of the spirit: the Industriae ad curandos animi morbos*, destined to the Superiors of the Society to guide the spiritual formation of his disciples (Acquaviva 1893b). Acquaviva takes up the traditional analogy between diseases (and healing) of the body and diseases (and therapy) of the soul, defining the various types of spiritual illnesses and the necessary remedies for each one, drawing inspiration from the monastic and patristic tradition. From Acquaviva, the expression “Medicine of the Soul” appears systematically in Jesuit literature: it is about a knowledge of the human being and his psychological dynamics aiming at his adaptation to the social context of insertion (the religious community and the environment where he develops his mission in the world).

The preacher possesses these skills, so that it is up to him to provide the population with the orientation to the completeness of health that includes the level of individual well-being and the level of belonging to the social and political body. In this way, he contributes to the well-being of the *res publica*.

7.5 The Psychic Apparatus and the Body (Individual and Political): Humors and Temperaments

The preacher's word is action, insofar as they intervene to articulate the construction of the social and religious body. He does this following the model offered by the divine Creator himself through the admirable physiology of the human body. The vision of the body understood in multiple dimensions, as an individual, social, and cosmic psychosomatic unit, goes back to Plato (especially in the works *Timaeus* and *Republic*) and Aristotle (*Politics*) (Reale 2002). The structure of the architecture of society by bodies also finds its foundation in biblical texts, which affirm the ideal of fraternal relationships, in the organic form of a body. By this same Judeo-Christian tradition, the body—both individual and social—is conceived as the place of the manifestation of divine intervention in history. Man is the image and likeness of God, being modeled by Him as a composite of clay from the soil and divine breath.

In the tradition of Christianity, especially in the theological works of Paul of Tarsus, Justin (110–167), Tertullian (155–240), Irenaeus (140–200), the human being is defined as a compound of body (substance of man), soul (attribute), and spirit (attribute), being either psychic body (=natural) or pneumaticon (=spiritual). The body defines man in his concrete, historical existence and is destined to immortality. The choice of freedom defines whether human corporeality should remain in a purely psychic dimension or can become pneumatic. In the political texts of the lower Middle Ages, the presence of metaphors—which bring back the structure of the city to the structure of the human body—is recurrent (Lambertini 1995). The conception of society as a body and of the person as part of this social and political body characterizes the dynamism of social life even in Modern Age Europe. The body of society is seen as a mosaic of compact and cohesive bodies, a world organized into a plurality of bodies, or *universitates*. Associations (bodies) between them articulated by networks of connections constituted the structure of a society ordered in hierarchical form and at the same time functioned as a support point for individuals (Zardin 1998).

The reference to the human body as the place of manifestation of the Invisible shapes theological and scientific writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The body is a living model of that unity which, through the word, the preacher intends to recompose in individuals and in the social and political community. This perfect model, given to man, the preacher can constantly observe it in his own body, deriving from this observation, rules, and remedies for its healing and for the restoration and conservation of its health (Granada 1945). The soul body, which is both part of the political body and the mystical body, is the recipient of the preacher's word.

The analogy between the condition of political life and the state of health of the body is put by Vieira in the Sermon of the Visitation of Our Lady, 1640. Pointing out that the “origin” and the “original cause of the diseases of Brazil” are theft, greed, the interests of private gain, and convenience, which prevent the respect of justice and determine the perdition of the State, the Jesuit exclaims: “Brazil is lost, sir,

because some ministers of His Majesty do not come here to seek our good, they come here to seek our goods” (Vieira 1993, vol. 3, p. 1230). His recommended therapy is shaped in analogy with body medicine therapies: “Like medicine, says Philo Hebrew, it not only serves to purge the noxious moods, but to encourage and nourish the debilitated subject: Thus, an army and a republic are not satisfied with that part of justice which, with the vigor of punishment, nourishes them with vices and pernicious humors, but which is also necessary for the other part, which, with prizes proportionate to the deserving effort, sustains and animates the hope of men” (Vieira 1993, vol. 3, 1222).

The psychosomatic complexion of the human being and the action of the preacher’s word on it is focused on the Sermon of the Fourth Domingo after Easter, preached in São Luís do Maranhão, where Vieira addresses the question of sadness. In portraying the experience of the disciples after Christ’s death, he describes them as affected by sadness: “They were astonished and out of their minds, and penetrated by a sadness so profound that together they were all speechless” (Vieira 1993, vol. 2, p. 762). Vieira promises, by the sermon, to reveal “a very certain art, very useful, very pleasant and very brief, which is the art of not being sad”. The importance of this art is highlighted by the affirmation that sadness is “the most universal disease, which suffers in this world human weakness” and “not only more contrary to the health of the bodies, but also the most dangerous for the salvation of souls” (Vieira 1993, vol. 2, p. 763). The universality of this sickness depends on the fact that there is no earth “so healthy and with airs so benign and pure that it is not free from this contagion and no man so well-complexed with all the humors that it is almost normally not subject to the sad accidents of melancholy. In this way, Vieira explains the hippocratic-galenic matrix of his theory on sadness: the imbalance between the elements of nature and the humors of the human body.

The symptom of the universality of sadness is crying, a symptom that every human being presents at birth. But already at this point, Vieira overcomes the medical imprint of this vision by placing the etiology of sadness not on the level of “nature, but of guilt”. And also, immediately afterward, in treating the harmful effects of sadness on the health of bodies, he declares that he will not prove them by “the aphorisms of Hippocrates or Galenus, but with texts expressed all by the Holy Spirit,” that is, by the sacred scripture. In doing this, of course, he seeks to overcome the humoralist determinism present in various positions of the medicine of his time and to attribute to the art of preaching the competence of the care of man in its totality (Vieira 1993, vol. 2, p. 764). Vieira points out that the pathological somatic effects of sadness are described in chapter seventeenth of the book of Proverbs, where it is said that sadness dries up the bones, these being the most solid, interior, and hard parts of the “human building”. So that, affected by sadness, it has no way of sustaining itself, because the necessary humidity for vital heat is dried out. And again, quoting the sacred scriptures (above all texts of the Apocalypse and the Ecclesiastic), Vieira describes the clinical picture of a subject who suffers the physical and psychological effects of “poisonous and hidden melancholy, which in hasty steps leads the sad to death”: “Pale, pale, emaciated, shriveled; his cheeks are faded, his eyes are dimmed, his eyebrows are fallen, his head is bowed to the ground and

his whole body is curved, shy, diminished. And if he were to let himself be seen inside the house, or grave, where he lives as enchanted, you would see him fleeing from the people, and hiding in the light, closing the doors to his friends, and the windows in the sun, with boredom and universal boredom to all that he sees, hears, or imagines can taste” (Vieira 1993, vol. 2, p. 765).

The melancholy, when deposited in excess in the heart, causes him innumerable wounds. Vieira takes up without quoting the author, the galenical theory that the heart is the central organ of the human organism from which “all vital spirits that are distributed in the members of the body come out” (Vieira 1993, vol. 2, p. 766). In this way, it is possible to explain why sadness leads to death. In fact, the deadly poisons of melancholy are carried by the vital spirits that come out of the heart to the whole body and in all its parts produce wounds that gradually become lethal. These “wounds injure the head and disturb the brain and confuse your judgment. They wound their ears and make their voices dissonant. They wound the taste, and make the sweetness of flavors bitter. They hurt his eyes, and make his sight darker. They hurt his tongue, and make his speech mute. They hurt his arms, and break them. They wound his hands and his feet, and numb him. And wounding one by one all the members of the body, there is none who will not be sick of that evil” (Vieira 1993, vol. 2, p. 766).

The most serious effects of melancholy, however, occur on the soul level and the death it brings to the soul is the very separation from its life, that is, from God. It achieves this effect by creating a predisposition to sin. Quoting the doctrine of the Fathers of the Church, the theologians Basilio and John Chrysostom, Vieira explains that “this very strong and dark passion drowns the mud. Just as those who suffer dizziness in their heads fall, so it causes men to fall into sin for lack of judgment and counsel” (Vieira 1993, vol. 3, p. 727). In fact, sadness impedes the good functioning of understanding and will, thus causing disorder in all psychic dynamism. So that, even in the natural search for the remedy, the individual affected by sadness does not know how to judge what is offered to him as such, and for this reason it is easier to target the temptations of the devil. The value of objects is distorted and so is the evaluation of one’s own abilities. Thus, in the search for relief, the individual uses resources that worsen his condition and builds images that do not correspond to reality, creating illusions.

The “art of never being sad” remedies suggested by Vieira are all placed on the spiritual-spiritual plane and are condensed in man’s reflective capacity about his destiny. Vieira says: “In these two words: Quo vadis?, in this very brief question and in this single maxim or precept consists the art of never being sad” (Vieira 1993, vol. 2, p. 772). The man who asks himself this question and “sees that with the steps of time, which never stops (...), he puts under his feet everything that usually saddens those who do not consider this” (Vieira 1993, vol. 2, p. 774).

The perspective with which Antônio Vieira considers the phenomenon of sadness bears great resemblance to the description and interpretation proposed by Dom Duarte in the *Leal Conselheiro* (Loyal Councilor, 1458/1998). The text, written by the Portuguese sovereign Dom Duarte (1391–1438) between the years 1435 and 1438, is permeated by the vein of Christian stoicism and focuses on the problem of

sadness, alerting that it is the effect of a madness of the will, caused among others by the melancholic complexity. Duarte relates his personal experience of illness and intends to contribute to the hope of the sick as to the possibility of cure.

In fact, it was seen as according to the humoral doctrine, the excesses of melancholic humor are caused by several factors accentuated by the intemperance of habits. In this way, the moderation that springs from the disillusionment of human vanity practiced daily having “before the eyes” the very mortal condition is true medicine. Thus, the individual acquires the knowledge of himself: “Understand the souls who are souls and that the end to which they have been created and towards which they walk is heaven” (Vieira 1993, vol. 2, p. 790). In this sense, Vieira’s attempt to return psychosomatic deviations to ontological and ethical roots is clear, thus shifting the field of the Medicine of the Soul to those areas of competence of a spiritual and psychological nature that belong properly to preachers. These are the true “doctors of the soul”. The soul-corporal complexity can be controlled by the spiritual dimension: it is in this perspective that self-knowledge is necessary.

The use of preaching as an exhortation to this knowledge as an organizer of the psychosomatic balance of the person finds its model in a set of Sermons by Antônio Vieira, which will even constitute a frame of reference for other Brazilian preachers when they approach the subject. It is the set of sermons “*The Five Stones of the Sling of David in Five Moral Discourses*”, prepared in 1676. In the first of the speeches, Vieira shows the importance of knowing oneself. He affirms that, in a different way from the common opinion, by which “works are daughters of thought or ideas, with which one conceives and knows the same works, in this rational world of man, the first motive of all our actions is the knowledge of ourselves”. And he repeats: “I say that they are daughters of the thought and idea, with which each one conceives and knows himself. The knowledge of oneself, and the concept that each one makes of oneself, is a powerful force over one’s own actions” (Vieira 1993, vol. 2, p. 607). This knowledge reveals the nature of the human being: “Man is a little less than chimerical compound formed of two parts as distant as slime and divinity, or at least a breath from it” (Vieira 1993, vol. 2, p. 612).

True self-knowledge is that which is capable of recognizing the essence of man’s being, which differentiates him from other living and animated beings. In this sense, he affirms that “it is to know and persuade one’s self that he is his soul. The soul corresponds to the immutable substance of the human being: “I am the soul, because I was, I will be, because I am” (Vieira 1993, vol. 2, p. 607). For this reason, this is for the human being, the best mirror of himself. To consider only the human body part means to reduce it to the mere animal dimension. This vision does not imply a denial of corporeality as a constitutive element of the person. According to the point of view of the Aristotelian-Tomist philosophy that inspires Vieira, the essence of each being corresponds to what is peculiar about other beings. In the case of the human being, the soul is “what distinguishes and ennobles him over all creatures on earth,” whereas the body does not specify the being of man, the human body being substantially similar to the body of other animals.

7.6 Sensory Apparatus

In the conception of the rhetoric of the time, the word is *Vox*, that is, it is not mere sound, but it is a blow of air that carries within itself a sense, which is given by movement of the imagination (Góis 1602). The word reaches the ears that perceive it unequivocally, the sound being the proper object of hearing. It is then elaborated by the internal senses: after passing through the *sensus communis*, the word reaches the phantasy, or *vis imaginative*: the imagination activates the images corresponding to it stored in memory. In turn, the cogitative/estimative power perceives the species or *intentiones* and can evaluate the danger or profit, resulting from it, thus making a rational calculation at the level of specific cases. And, finally, the result of the process is stored in the memory. In this way, the word is able to mobilize the entire sensory apparatus of the recipient, that is, external senses and internal senses.

7.6.1 *External Senses and Words*

In the sermons in the space-time context of colonial Brazil, the sensory experience plays an important role. It was seen that these are constructed according to the methods of classical rhetoric (Aristotle, Cicero, Augustine) and in accordance with the dictates of the corresponding Gnosiological theory. The sensory experience is awakened not only by the word, but also by the use of verbal images, or metaphors. These have the function of impressing the listeners by referring them to experiences of their daily life (according to the rhetorical principle of accommodation) and awaken the elaboration of knowledge. According to the Aristotelian-Tomist matrix, knowledge has a sensorial foundation.

The process of knowledge and persuasion begins at the level of the external senses. The analysis of some oratorical plays elaborated by preachers active in colonial Brazil shows the presence of images and metaphors used to evoke sensorial experiences: acoustic (sounds, musical elements), visual (light and dark, colors), olfactory, tactile, and referring to the palate.

In the Sermon of the Sixtieth, preached in the Royal Chapel of Lisbon in 1655, Antônio Vieira exposes his conception of the art of preaching. The author, having as his theme the evangelical analogy between the verb of God and the seed, states that the word spoken is destined for the human being in all its dimensions, that is, the rational nature, the sensitive, the vegetative, and also the insensitive matter, but in all these levels, it meets resistance. In indicating which elements define the effectiveness of the preached word, Vieira takes up the synthetic expression of classical rhetoric: the word must delight, teach, and move (*delectare, docere et movere*) (Granada 1945).

The action of the external senses is about delight. In order to delight, it occurs to mobilize the sensory powers, among which the external sense of sight: “Words are heard; deeds are seen; words enter through the ears; deeds enter through the eyes,

and our soul surrenders much more through the eyes than through the ears. (...) What enters through the ears is believed, what enters through the eyes obliges us” (Vieira 1993, vol. 4, pp. 83–84). The evidence is provided by sight as the Greek and Christian philosophical traditions had already emphasized, by privileging “seeing” over other sensory acts.

Vieira provides an ‘experimental’ demonstration of this fact, a practical test for his listeners: the effects asserted by the use of sacred representation to accompany the preaching of Holy Week. He says: “A preacher goes preaching the Passion, arrives at Pilate’s praetorium, tells how Christ was made king of mockery, says they took a purple and put it on his shoulders, hears the audience very attentive. He says that they wove a crown of thorns and nailed it to his head, they all listen with the same attention. He also says that they tied his hands and put a reed in them for a sceptre, the same silence and the same suspension in the listeners continues. A curtain is drawn in this step, the image of *Ecce Homo* appears, they are all lying on the ground, they are all beating their breasts, they are weeping, they are shouting, they are shouting, they are slapping, what is this? What has appeared again in this church? Everything that discovered that curtain, the preacher had already said. He had already said of that purple, he had already said of that crown and those thorns, he had already said of that scepter and that reed. For if this did not shake at all, how is it now so? For then it was *Ecce homo* heard, and now it is *Ecce Homo* seen: the relation of the preacher entered through the ears, the representation of that figure entered through the eyes. Do you know, preacher priest, why our sermons do not shake much? Why don’t we preach to the eyes, we preach only to the ears” (Vieira 1993, vol. 4, p. 84). In fact, as Vieira informs us, the preachers used images as resources to enhance the use of the word. Carved or painted images were used to stimulate vision and touch, according to a long tradition that goes back to Franciscan spirituality. Several speakers used to move the listeners on Good Friday not only with words, but also with the representation and presentation of objects such as the instruments of the Passion, especially the cross, until they even hit the carnations on the wood with the hammer to mobilize the emotion of the listeners.

The visual perception of colors is often evoked by preachers’ words. The use of black is a sensitive resource to mean mourning and pain, as declared by the Franciscan Gervásio de Rosário in the narrative of the funeral ceremonies that took place in Olinda (Pernambuco) at the death of Dom João V: “The feeling was inculcated in the blackness of the beats with which the tombs were covered and mourned” (Rosario 1755, p. 5).

In Rosario’s sermon, the most effective sensory impression is that awakened by the low lights, symbolizing the fading of human glory and the turning off of the King’s life. Other decorative elements associated with colors, used in the ceremony and cited by the narrator, are destined to evoke sensory images that stimulate affections of sadness and loss. Among them, there are the cypresses for the dark green color (through which, “nature gave them as a representation the melancholy”) and for the long form that reminded them of the Egyptian tombs (the pyramids) “in which the pain recorded its effects”. In short, “by the funereal ornament of the tombs one could discover the intense and excessive feeling” (Rosario 1755, p. 6).

On the other hand, because they are royal and Christian funerals, the ceremony could not disregard the sovereignty exercised by the deceased and the immortal destiny of human existence. These meanings are introduced by material elements destined to evoke the representation of royalty and immortality. Visual stimulation is obtained by the impression of strength given by ephemeral constructions, by the light of gold and silver of decorations, by the great quantity and refined quality of materials used in decoration. The use of metal or precious gems to decorate sacred places, objects, and images has an important evocative function: sensory pleasure opens to the contemplation of transcendent realities (Massimi and Santos 2005).

Analogous conception of the “sensitive as access to the rational” is found in the funeral sermon of Manoel Ângelo de Almeida, preacher of the Order of Carmo, in 1742. On the occasion of the funeral of the Bishop of Pernambuco, José Fialho, celebrated in Olinda, Friar Manoel Ângelo used the image of the sun evoking the effects of the intensity of its light to refer to the spiritual brightness of the life of the deceased. In the argument that justifies the use of this metaphor, the preacher emphasizes the fact that, in the process of knowledge, there is no solution of continuity between the sensory, affective, and rational levels, in a clear reference to the Aristotelian-Tomist doctrine: “they must be sensitive and rational, because they must see, they must hear, they must examine, they must feel, and many times they must feel themselves” (Almeida 1742, p. 14).

In short, the eyes and their sensory function as well as the stimuli provided by particularly luminous objects (sun, moon, stars, torches, lamps, etc...) give rise to metaphors that exemplify important moments in existence and, above all, express the paradoxical and bipolar quality of the human condition and its dialectic dynamism. The importance given to vision in the sermons analyzed finds support in the conception of the sacred oratory of Louis of Granada. According to him, vision, the main of the external senses, allows “this whole visible world, how great you are, to enter our soul through this door of our eyes” (Granada 1945, p. 258). Granada explains the visual process by the Aristotelian theory of the species: “all visible things, which are those that have colour or light, produce by themselves in the air their images and figures, which philosophers call species. They represent very appropriately the same things that are images” (Granada 1945, p. 258). The visible images produce in the air the species (images, or figures, of the objects present in the visual field) that reach the eyes and represent there the things to be seen. Granada describes the process of vision at the level of the nervous system: from the brain (where common sense is located), animal spirits descend through the nerves to the eyes which are thus “informed” by those species and images of things. The anatomical characteristics of the eyes provide the physiology of vision: the three moods (crystalline, purple mood, and blue mood) contained in them allow to store in the pupil of the eye the species and images coming from external objects. Along this path, species and images of external things enter through the nerves reaching common sense.

In the narrative of Friar Gervásio do Rosário of the obsequies for the death of the sovereign Dom João V, the communication of the struggling news to the city is carried out by auditory appeals. The ringing of the bells announces the death of the

king. The “hard life” of the bronze is more emphatic in the communication than the explanations of the speeches: “the tolls of the bells will continue for the following three days with their usual intervals, namely, at five o’clock in the morning, at nine o’clock, and twelve o’clock in the day, at three o’clock in the afternoon, and at seven o’clock in the evening” (Rosario 1755, p. 4). The ear is the second sensory power often evoked in the baroque scenography of the luttose, or joyful, ceremonies of colonial Brazil. Granada in its treatise on ecclesiastical rhetoric defines the ear as the second external sense in order of relevance. It describes the physiology of acoustic sensation and the anatomy of the ear perfectly ordered to its functions as receiver and storehouse of the air moved by sound (Granada 1945). Granada’s conception is in accordance with that of J. Fernel (1497–1558), author of *De naturali parte medicinae* (1542), and *Universa Medicina*. He states that the main instrument of the ear is a certain type of very subtle air contained in the ears from birth and wrapped in a membrane located at the bottom of the organ to which the auditory nerves coming from the brain arrive. The air circulates through them transmitting to the brain the acoustic stimulus received (Fernel 2001).

The sense of smell is also focused on the sermons. The sermon given in the city of Salvador in 1716 by Friar Manoel da Madre de Deus Bulhões, Provincial of the Order of Mount Carmel, is built on the verse of the Song of Songs: “the flourishing vineyards gave their smell” (Bulhões 1717, p. 5). The image of the vine and the vine is used throughout the sermon in a metaphorical sense. The sermon is structured in three parts, each dealing with the specific smell of a certain type of vine from the three that make up the vine and aims to demonstrate that each smell is a metaphor of some spiritual reality. The calls to smell are very strong in the Baroque: among the five senses, it is the most uncertain and doubtful as to the capture of stimuli and for this reason, it is considered more apt to refine sensitive contemplation and excite imaginative power and memory. According to a seventeenth century Italian scientist, Lorenzo Magalotti, the olfactory experience involves the active part of the rational soul that mobilizes the sense in the direction of what it itself chooses. The association between olfactory sensory qualities and spiritual virtues that characterizes Bulhões’ sermon is an application of Magalotti’s thesis that the olfactory experience by its indeterminacy is the most apt to refer to spiritual and mystical meanings (Jori 1998). Such meanings are evoked without the mediation of affections but through the work of the internal senses of imagination and memory. In short, this is what Husserl had already defined as the hyletic dimension in the twentieth century, that is, the fact that sensitive data constitute matters for intentional formations (Bello 2004). Luís de Granada describes in detail the anatomy and physiology of smell: “Two other nerves come from the same source of common sense and arrive in the noses [...]. Arriving here, the air that brings with it the species of odorous things provokes the act of smelling them” (Granada 1945, p. 258).

In the funeral arrangements of colonial Brazil, the sense of touch is mobilized and coupled with the sense of sight by the use of certain fabrics such as black velvet, with the aim of arousing sadness (Rosario 1755). Bulhões, in the sermon of 1716,

refers to the tactile qualities (hardness, firmness) inherent to the image of the stone, to explain the origin of the name of the first apostle, Pedro. Bulhões takes up the apocalyptic image of Peter seated on a throne and of a color similar to two precious stones: the Sardinian (variety of chalcedony stone) and the jasper, symbols of the Church. Bulhões relates the two stones to significant figures: he states that “jasper represents St. Peter” (Bulhões 1717, p. 25). An image referring to elements of the material world (in this case, precious stones) is used in discourse, to evoke sensory qualities (strength, solidity), which in turn refer to qualities and spiritual effects (faithfulness to the authority of Peter and his successors, the Popes, in the Catholic Church). Doctors consider touch to be the foundation of the knowledge of the psychosomatic complexion of human beings: in fact, it is through touch that one perceives heat and cold, humidity, and dryness, determining characteristics of the four temperaments. In addition, as Granada states, “through this [ndr: of touch] we also feel the hard and the soft, the rough and the smooth. It does not occupy a specific place, but extends over the whole body” (Granada 1945, p. 259).

The appeal to the palate can be found in the sermon *Merenda eucarística*, by the Jesuit Manoel Craveiro preached in Salvador in 1665. In it, the Eucharistic sacrament is metaphorized by the meats to be consumed at the meal: “This Lord is called in the Divine Letters metaphorically Chicken, Quail, Partridge, Veal, Lamb, Kid, Deer, Eagle” (Craveiro 1665, p. 3). The preacher provides a description of different types of meats prepared in the form of different dishes aiming at the body conditions of the consumers. The chicken meat dish is recommended for the sick, because “the chicken meat (says Galeno) is seasoned, of good taste, of better nutrition, and as a salutary, it always generates good humours” (Craveiro 1665, p. 4). Craveiro suggests seasoning it to make it tastier with “saffron, and coriander”. Saffron, which must be ground and crushed, symbolizes mortification and patience. Coriander means forgetfulness (of the world), because it makes you lose your memory if you eat too much (Craveiro 1665, p. 5). For other types of meat, Craveiro recommends specific spices that enhance the flavors and also metaphorize virtues.

Granada refers to the taste as the sense by which we detect the tastes of things, due to two nerves located in the middle of the tongue and which branch out and extend throughout it (Granada 1945). It describes the tongue as being humid and full of pores: through these, all kinds of flavors that stimulate the nerves and cause the taste enter it.

In short, the data received by the external senses are transmitted to the internal senses that make up the sensitive soul (common sense, imagination and fantasy, memory, cogitative faculty). Thus, a process is triggered that implies the cognitive elaboration of the data received: in the first place, a distinction is made between the various stimuli and the evaluation and apprehension of their meaning. The latter are obtained by retaining the sensory impressions, which enables the formation of representative images and their storage in memory. This process also implies the movement of affections and the positioning of will.

7.6.2 *Inner Feelings and Words*

According to the precepts of rhetorical art, besides delighting, preaching must teach (docere) and move the listeners: for this function, it is very important the performance of the internal senses.

We have seen that the theory of knowledge that underlies the rhetorical project of the Jesuits is that of Thomas Aquinas: according to this, “*nihil est in intellectu quod prius non fuerit in sensu*”, that is, man can only know from the sensitive data obtained by the external senses. Then, perception is processed by the internal senses (fantasy or imagination, cogitative power, memory, common sense) as phantasm (representation). Following this conception, preachers construct their discourses in such a way that the contents to be presented to the listeners can be understood, through the mediation of the internal senses, whose role becomes decisive (in the first place, that of imagination and memory).

Antônio Vieira describes the dynamism of the imagination and its role in the process of cognition, in the “Sermon of the Dumb Devil” preached in Portugal in 1661. He states: “within our fantasy, or imaginative power, which resides in the brain, are kept, as in secret treasure, the images of all things that have entered us through the senses, which philosophers call species” (Vieira 1993, vol. 1, p. 1173). The devil uses those species that are infinite, “ordering them and composing them as they best serve him; he paints and represents inwardly to our imagination what can most incline, affirm and attract the appetite. And in this way, he tempts us mutely, he persuades us mutely, and he deceives us mutely” (Vieira 1993, vol. 1, p. 1173). On the contrary, the ordering and composition of images must be governed by judgment, namely, understanding guided by a criterion, a guideline. In fact, if this operation of the imagination is given over to the dynamism of sensory appetites, it may occur that the images preserved in the memory are composed in a misleading way.

Another internal sense whose mobilization enhances the persuasive effect of the word is the cogitative power, or the esteem, capable of apprehending in the objects a ratio particularis or a first vestige of meaning. The action of this power is evoked in the Sermon of the Easter Octave of 1656, preached by Antônio Vieira, in the Mother Church of Belém do Pará, in an arduous circumstance: the news of the failure of the gold and silver search expedition in that region. In a letter of 1657, to King Alfonso VI, Vieira reports that this mission, nicknamed the Gold Entrance, “had the end that it was so badly named” (Vieira 2008, p. 342). Forty Portuguese and two hundred Indians participated in this mission, most of whom died of hunger and overwork. In commenting on these deaths, Vieira puts in the letter a judgment that is also the key theme of the sermon of 1656: to seek gold as a priority scope for the benefit of the Kingdom is a mistake, since gold itself can also be associated with greed, mistreatment, suffering. In Vieira’s sermon, he sought to activate the cogitative power of the listeners, so that they would recognize what their eyes and ears

insisted on not perceiving by the mistake of the appetite to take gold as a value in itself, a source of great benefit for the Kingdom.¹

The deception refers not so much to the gold itself as to the association between the search for gold and the violence against the other that had characterized the early Modern Age. The Spanish and Portuguese colonizers took on oppressive and violent conduct against the indigenous people because of the urgency of obtaining gold as an unquestionable priority. As Unali points out, “the attitude that prevailed in those circumstances, compared to the analogous experiences of the past, highlighted an aspect of humanity that was an unprecedented phenomenon, but which nevertheless became a constant in successive colonization (Unali 2006, p. 77). The correction that Vieira is aiming at, therefore, reaches not the desire for gold for itself, but the fact that, lacking a just evaluation of it, the metal has become a determining need not only economic but also psychological.

The acts of free will depend on reason as a capacity of judgment. The capacity to judge depends on the correct functioning of the internal senses. When the orderly use of this power is weakened, the person ends up becoming the slave of some object that determines him in his conduct and ends. For this reason, in the sermon, Vieira appeals to the power of the word as a persuasive resource capable of acting on a radical transformation of the listeners, so that they may become “alive” the truth, that is, they may experience the disenchantment through the good use of the internal senses. Disenchantment is the liberation from the possible deception implicit in the appearance of things (Pécora 1994). Deceit is born from a false knowledge of reality, which occurs precisely at the level of imaginative power. It is at the level of this power combined with the action of the a-estimate power that the mistake must be corrected by the action of the preached word. The dynamism that leads to correction (called disenchantment) takes as its starting point the affections experienced by the audience for the defeat of the expedition (disappointment, sadness, despair). Then, it reaches understanding: it formulates a misleading evaluation about gold (as a value for itself, for the people, for the state). The process of disillusionment shows (in the literal sense of the evidence) that the failure of the search for gold is part of a providential design that points to a greater value, this time a real value, to be sought: the value of the human person. The preached word acts in the sense of a sudden and radical change of scenery in the theater of the world. It presents to the senses (external and internal) the scene of hellish work in the gold mines, reconstructed through descriptive examples taken from the present, and paints the scene of the mines in such a way as to cause “not only amazement, but horror”. Vieira builds images that mobilize the external senses (touch, sight, hearing, smell) in order to evoke affection in the recipients: “in those very deep concavities, or

¹It would not be convenient for the Jesuit mental and conceptual universe to despise this precious metal that since the beginning of mankind represented an almost mythical goal to be achieved involving adventures, travels, new knowledge, and new experiences and that has become an object of exchange among peoples. Gold has also assumed a symbolic value in the religious realm being used even in religious cults to indicate the beauty and splendor of the divine mysteries (Unali 2006; Santos and Massimi 2005).

hells, where no sunbeam has ever entered, those unfortunate Cyclops are malignantly illuminated only with the scarce and counterfeited light of some artificial fires, whose breath, smoke and burning steam take their breath, and often drown them. And here men disfigured as moles, live under the earth, without eyes to see the light, and as bats flee from the sun and day, and go more buried than live in that dark and perpetual night. (...) some like moles with their feet and hands on the ground, they dig it, revolve it and change it continuously, and others like bats suspended in the air, they sting the stones, and bleed their veins with their bodies, and with the life hanging from a rope” (Vieira 1993, vol. 1, p. 704).

This representation induces affections such as pain, etc., and a reconsideration by cogitative power/esteem about the value “gold”. Such reconsideration leads to a change of judgment: gold is an evil for you, for society, for the kingdom. At the same time, an inversion of value is made: the metal gold is replaced by another object, the true gold, which are souls and their salvation. The “discovery” of true value changes affections before the circumstance that happens in hope, gratitude, joy, and consolation and changes the disposition of the will regarding the decision to act according to this end (salvation of souls).

Besides imagination and cogitative power, another very important inner sense in psychic dynamism is that of memory. In a passage from the Sermon of Our Lady of the Rosary, 1654, Vieira highlights the power of memory. This would be, in an Augustinian perspective, the “stomach of the soul”: “St. Augustine, an excellent philosopher of memory has taught us, and already before him had defined Plato: *Memoria est animae ventriculus*. The stomach of the soul is memory; because just as in the stomach of the body one receives and retains body food, and there one makes the first decoction, so this power is the first that will receive and gather within itself the divine Sacrament, remembering not in passing, but very slowly (as it is done in the body) and representing to the soul what is present in that mystery, and the very high mysteries that are enclosed in it. (...) The memory, whose property is to make present the absent things” (Vieira 1993, vol. 1, p. 789).

An interesting description of how memory works is given in a Sermon preached by Antônio Vieira in 1642. He points out the function of memory in the hearing of sound and especially in the perception of the consonance and dissonance: “Since consonance, concord of sound, and dissonance, discord; and sound being a successive movement, which loses one part when it acquires others; it is certain that when the part that sounds and exists in the ear, is heard, the part that has passed is no longer heard, because it no longer exists, nor does it sound: how can it be then, that of what is heard, and of what is not heard if consonance or dissonance is formed? How, or natural way of this philosophy, is that the part of the sound that has passed away, although it no longer sounds, nor does it exist in the ear, does exist and persevere in the memory: and from the part of the sound that has passed away, which perseveres in the memory, together with the part of the sound that is present, which continues in the ear, results between the ear and the memory the consonance or dissonance of the voices (Vieira 1993, vol. 1, p. 547).

Vieira points out the need for a comparison between the sound you hear now and the one that has been lost in space-time. In this case, the comparison can only be

made through a re-updating of the perceived phenomenon. And at this point, the action of memory intervenes. The memory power rescues in its bulge the phantom (image, or representation) of the sound captured: its representation devoid of notions of time and space. In other words, it revives the sensitive species initially apprehended through the proper sense of hearing. The sensitive species picked up by the imagination and stored in memory is again restored to the imagination. Guided by reason, the memory searches in its archive the due reminiscence for a term of comparison. Present and past can relate thanks to the two powers of imagination and memory. Their action allows the constitution of a judgment, an understanding—dissonance or concordance—at the cognitive level.

7.7 Appetites (Sensitive and Intelligible)

The second action of the word ordered by rhetoric is to move the sensitive and intelligible appetites of the listeners, guiding them to conversion, to change life. By making the truth itself beautiful, through the pleasing, the word stimulates the appetite and asks for adhesion. In order for the word to fulfill its ethical function, in the sense of persuading to change behavior, it must mobilize the will. How does this mobilization happen? On two levels, firstly by mobilizing sensitive appetites, i.e., emotions, and secondly by mobilizing intelligible appetites, i.e., volition.

The preachers' knowledge of the psychology of sensitive appetites, or affections, or passions (in modern terms, emotions), is based on a long theological, medical, and philosophical tradition, in many cases, explicitly documented and cited.² We have seen that the psychosomatic tomist theory about passions seems to be the main foundation of the Jesuit vision. This theory is mainly formulated in the *Suma Theologica* and the *De veritate* treatise (in the disputed Questions). There is also the influence of the stoic conception, especially that of Cicero and Seneca (Cicero 1991; Seneca 1980; Seneca 1994).

In the Sermons of Antonio Vieira, there are several references to emotions (Cicero 1991; Seneca 1980; Seneca 1994). They are described as fundamental motors of human, individual, and social behavior. For Vieira, the study of emotions, which when intense are called passions, is on the level of self-knowledge. The preaching seeks to act according to the Ignatian perspective of the ordering of disordered affections. Disorder occurs when these are subtracted from the guide of the intellect, according to the vision of the philosophical psychology in force in the Society of Jesus.

²These are classical or medieval texts, such as the *Ethics to Nicomac* and *Rhetoric* (second book) of Aristotle, the *Republic*, the *Timaeus* and other works of Plato, the medical treatises of Galen and Hippocrates, the *City of God* of Augustine of Hippo, the *Suma Teológica* de Tomás de Aquino, but also texts produced by humanist and Renaissance culture, such as *De Vita triplici* (1475) and the *Platonic Theology* of Marsilio Ficino, *De Anima et Vita Libri Tres* (1538) by Luís Vives, among others.

In a sermon of 1665, he states that “The passions of the human heart, as divided and numbered by Aristotle, are eleven; but they are all reduced to two capitals: love and hate. And these two blind affections are the two poles in which the world is resolved, therefore so badly governed. They are the ones who give the merits, they are the ones who evaluate the gifts, they are the ones who share the fortunes. They are the ones who adorn or decompose. They are the ones who make, or annihilate. They are the ones who paint or paint the objects, giving and taking away at their will the color, the figure, the measure, and yet the same being and substance, without any other distinction, or judgment, that annoys or loves. If the eyes come with love, the raven is white; if with hatred, the swan is black. If with love, the Pygmy is giant; if with hate, the Giant is Pygmy. If with love, what is not, has to be; if with hatred, what has to be and is right, is not, nor will it ever be” (Vieira 1993, vol. 4, p. 111).

Among the affections, love is the most talked about. The Sermons of the Mandate preached between 1644 and 1670 are dedicated to the description of the phenomenal manifestations of love: “Love is essentially union,” declares Vieira, taking up the platonic theory and the more it unites or seeks to unite those who love each other, the greater the effects it has” (Vieira 1993, vol. 5, p. 7). However, when it is excessively intense, it becomes harmful, producing an effect contrary to union, that is, restlessness and death.

For this reason, adopting the perspective of the Medicine of the Soul, Vieira suggests remedies for excessive love, basing himself, as he himself states, on the texts of Galen and Sacred Scripture: “In this way Galen wrote eruditely of human love, in the books he entitled *De Remedio Amoris*, whose aphorisms (...) will enter without text and without name, as one who does not come to authorize, but to serve. (...) The most powerful and effective remedies of love, which until now have discovered nature, approved experience, and prescribed art, are these four: time, absence, ingratitude, and, above all, the improvement of the object” (Vieira 1993, vol. 5, p. 7).

Benedictine Mateus da Encarnação Pinna, in a sermon preached at the Monastery of Rio de Janeiro in 1712, discusses the nature of love and the involvement, in this affection, of other powers of the soul. According to him, intense love opposes understanding, “for never knowing it was a good condition to love” (Pinna 1730, p. 5). In fact, “to keep in the understanding wisdom, and together love in the will”, is something very difficult (Pinna 1730, p. 6). The complementarity between intellectual power and will, postulated by the Tomist doctrine, according to which “understanding and will are inseparable”, is interpreted by Pinna in a different way: “with such a close union, the understanding was left free to understand, when to love, the will was captivated”—that is, the full exercise of understanding depends on the moderation of the will. On the contrary, when the will is taken by loving affection, it happens that “just as at the beginning of the night the day ends, so the light of knowledge ends”. In fact, the nature of love is such that it is born by sensory knowledge (“a sight” of the eyes) and “death comes to it by intellectual knowledge. It is not, therefore, a question of a balance in the functioning of the two powers, but of establishing a relationship of polarity between them. The conception of a stoic matrix that opposes affection and reason thus seems to prevail over the Aristotelian-Tomist viewpoint, which seeks to make them compatible.

The importance of sensory knowledge in the dynamism of love is also evidenced by Pinna in the Sermon of Soledade, preached in the Church of Santa Cruz in Rio de Janeiro in 1716, where he takes up the same theme: “In the Geometry of love, (...) one measures the long ones by the sight. The distance of the beloved becomes too much when he does not reach the view” (Pinna 1730, p. 339). The distance from the sight creates a distance between the lover and the beloved, so that “in the same close instituted long distances, so that with more force the absence, when it was expected the deception of the presence” (Pinna 1730, p. 339). The distance from the view creates a distance between the lover and the beloved. In the experience of love, therefore, distance is measured by sight. Pinna also discusses the reasons for the analogy between the distance between lovers and death, based on the similarity between the relationship of the soul of the body and the relationship between lovers. He states that if in natural death the soul departs from the body, in the “loving death” caused by distance when the lover is absent from his beloved, the body departs from the soul, the beloved being the soul of his lover. Thus, as the exhalation of the soul is death for the living being, so the separation among lovers corresponds to death for the one who loves.

In the context of the knowledge of the dynamics of sensitive appetites, the affection of pain is one of the most talked about themes. The affection of pain is described in detail in the sermons of Eusebio de Mattos on Good Friday (Mattos 1694). Through the words, the preacher tries to give “wounds to see”, that is, to represent the experience of Christ’s pain, through the description of the details of physical suffering during the Passion. For “when the heart is not moved by the ears, it will move by the eyes”. The lack of words that express the feeling in an appropriate way can be supplied by the “sorrowful sight” (Mattos 1694, p. 3). To this end, the display of a statue of Christ which portrays him scourged and crucified comes to the aid of the speaker’s words, to move the hearts of the listeners so that they too may experience the affection of pain.

Benedict of the Trinity dedicates many of his sermons to portraying the passion and death of Jesus in order to arouse in his listeners an affection for pain, using the rhetorical resource of representing the Gospel scene through narration. The preacher then becomes witness and narrator of a spectacle that unfolds before his eyes, so that the listeners may also be made partakers of this sacred representation. Trinity puts himself again as a spectator at the foot of the Cross. He uses the rhetorical artifice to portray the scene of the sacrifice in such a way as to arouse the affection of pain in his listeners. Affection is described in its happening from its sensory evidence: “What fright makes me freeze the blood, and suffocate the voice inside my chest? What terrors combat my spirit?! What ghosts trouble me, and land me?!” (Trindade 1841, p. 144). The affections of fright and terror stimulate the imagination by creating disturbing images, to introduce the elaborations of understanding: “What does this blood, which offers itself everywhere to my idea, and the sad scaffold, which accompanies my disturbance through everything, want to tell me?” (Trindade 1841, p. 144). This process leads the preacher-spectator to ask the fundamental questions about his own existence: “Where am I? What fate leads me?” (Trindade 1841, p. 144). The preacher’s words mirror the affection that she herself

provoked in the listeners: “You yourselves who listen to me, you are mumbling in your bitter sorrow! Faint and pain are painted on your face” (Trindade 1841, p. 144). Through the words, the Trinity succeeded in creating an affective experience shared between him and his listeners: “You undoubtedly share my feelings. Let us all kneel at the feet of Jesus Christ in common feelings of pain and compunction” (Trindade 1841, p. 154). The movements of intellectual appetites are essential for the attainment of the preaching objective: however, the moving, the second precept of rhetorical art, does not refer only to affections, but also to persuasion and the reform of conduct. It is, therefore, directed to the realization of the third precept: to teach.

At this point, the preached word must provide the disenchantment, which is made possible by the mobilization of intellectual appetites, notably will and free will. Disenchantment consists in the knowledge of the truth, that is, it is liberation from possible mistake, implicit in the appearance of things, and movement toward reality (Pécora 1994). In this process, the function of free will is placed: the reality experienced by the person can be wrongly interpreted, according to the satisfaction of appetites, thus producing a mistake in the level of knowledge. The knowledge of reality is thus under dramatic strain because of the role that freedom plays in the course of reason.

7.8 The Cognitive Powers

Therefore, knowledge education becomes fundamental. The third precept of rhetorical art is to teach. This action refers to the ability to mobilize the cognitive powers especially in their dimensions of judgment and understanding.

7.8.1 Reason and Judgment

The sermon should educate listeners to the use of reason, which is, in the first place, the evaluation about the reasonableness of actions and behaviors. Vieira claims to follow the model of “the oldest preacher in the world, Heaven,” whose “words are the stars, the sermons are their composition, order, harmony and course. The sermons should provide listeners with a possible knowledge for all, even those who do not have a science: “such can be the sermon: stars that all see” (Vieira 1993, vol. 1, pp. 87–88). Therefore, it is necessary that the sermon be ordered and develop the discourse around a single matter stimulating in its listeners the use of reason: “(the preacher) will define it so that it may be known, will divide it so that it may be distinguished, will prove it with Scripture, will declare it with reason, will confirm it with example, will amplify it with causes, with effects, with circumstances, with conveniences that will follow, with the inconveniences to be avoided, the doubts must be answered, the difficulties must be satisfied, the opposing arguments must be challenged and refuted with all the forces of eloquence, and after that, the argu-

ments must be gathered, pressed, concluded, persuaded and ended” (Vieira 1993, vol. 1, p. 90). Therefore, the sermon, in order to achieve persuasive effects, must follow an understandable order for the reason of the listeners: “Preaching is not reciting. The very reasons are born of understanding, (...) What is born of judgment, penetrates and convinces understanding” (Vieira 1993, vol. 1, p. 93).

What is the modality of the sermon to provide the act of judgment in the listeners? Vieira points out that besides the deception of appetites, which we have described above, there is also the deception which refers to the judgment of oneself. In this, he distorts his own image through self-love, forgetting his own human condition subject to all vicissitudes, fragile, and mortal. In this way, a distance is created between what men really are and what they say about themselves: “When men bear witness to themselves, one thing is what they are, and another is what they say” (Vieira 1993, vol. 1, p. 256).

The possibility of man lying to himself shows the deception of his own judgment. The mismatch between the image of oneself, built up by the deception of judgment, and the authentic knowledge of oneself, produces sickness: “by all the elements one falls ill with melancholy; because no one is content to grow within his species: the swallow wants to climb the eagle; the rudder wants to grow the whale; the ant wants to swell the elephant” (Vieira 1993, vol. 1, p. 256).

Self-love impedes a coherent judgment of oneself: “The blindness of self-judgment, which is self-love, is much greater than the blindness of the eyes. Blindness of the eyes makes us not see things. The blindness of self-love makes us see things differently than they are, which is much greater blindness” (Vieira 1993, vol. 1, p. 316). The difficulty of having a correct judgment about oneself makes us “never finish knowing ourselves”: “Because we look at ourselves with the eyes of someone more blind than the blind, with some eyes that always see one thing for another, and the small ones seem big to them. We are little bigger than herbs, and we pretend to be as big as trees; we are the most inconstant thing in the world, and we think that we have roots; if winter has taken away our leaves, we imagine that it will give us summer again; that we will always flourish, that we will last forever. This we are, and this we take care of” (Vieira 1993, vol. 1, p. 316). It is not clear and easy for man to know himself: “We bring men no more forgotten and unknown, no more behind us than we bring ourselves” (Vieira 1993, vol. 1, pp. 316–317).

To correct this distortion, Vieira recommends religious practices such as spiritual direction and confession. The frequency of such practices, “take the veil from his eyes, to put a mirror in his hand”. At first, man is frightened by his own image. Often, because he cannot bear it, he runs away from himself, recognizing himself as a rational brute, that is, a man who possesses reason in himself but is deprived of it, deceived by blindness, caused by self-love (diverted from the scope the right love for oneself by affections and appetites not ordered to the right end). Referring to the Greek myth of Narcissus, Vieira proposes the image of the “rational brute” who looks at the water mirror of the river, a metaphor of judgment. When a person manages to look at and know himself, he becomes a judge of himself: he evokes in his memory the way he is conducting life, he can prognosticate his future according to his conduct, or change it, through the will to amend his habits.

Circumstances and times are the parameters within which knowledge of oneself happens in sermons. Notably, some important circumstances—such as health recovery and death—constitute “founding events” of man’s identity, understood not as a philosophical entity, but as a person, in his individual and particular character. The subjective dimension of time (temporality), pointed out by Augustine in the *Confessions*, is highlighted in the practices of Brazilian preachers. The knowledge of oneself is constituted in the perspective of a temporality directed toward the future destiny that signals the end of time, rooted in an original, mythical past, which refers to the beginning of time (creation) and that illuminates the present of action giving it universal criteria of which the preacher, in his sermon, makes himself the spokesman.

7.8.2 *Understanding*

Another dimension of cognitive power is understanding. The importance of the good use of understanding is evidenced in the sermon preached by the carioca Carmelite João Álvares (Alvares 1739). The preacher gives hints to guide the good use of understanding as to the examination of oneself: “Reflect well on the various inclinations you feel, already for pride, already for ambition, for cholera, for lewdness, and for any other vice. The point is that this view, or this foresight, produces in your minds the effect of not falling into the dangers that you recognize (Alvares 1739, p. 12). We must “anticipate the dominion of appetites with the predominance of reason” (Alvares 1739, p. 20). For the unbridled will becomes for the person a “domestic enemy”.

Eusebio de Mattos, in a sermon preached in the city of Salvador on the occasion of the feast of canonization of Magdalene of Pazzi, describing the mystical union between the saint and Christ, states that the understanding of Magdalene is “outside of herself. In fact, it was applied entirely to the contemplative knowledge of the divine Loving Object. This kind of knowledge is, therefore, an expression of an election and an affective giving. According to the preacher, “the nobility of understanding is not to be gathered by the best discourse, but by the best job” (Mattos 1694, p. 365). It is, therefore, a pre-Cartesian Gnosiological universe that derives the value of knowledge from its object and not from its method: true knowledge corresponds to the use of all understanding in the object that best corresponds to it. On the good use of understanding depends the realization of human destiny.

In short, the good functioning of the psychic power of understanding depends on its relation with the adequate object. The psychological dimension is always realized on a plane that transcends it.

An understanding endowed with perspicacity and versatility defines inventiveness. Perspicacity is synonymous with sharpness, or analytical intelligence, capable of penetrating into the most hidden and detailed aspects of each subject. Versatility is the ability to quickly compare things. To perform these operations, the inventiveness needs the support of imaginative power that collects in itself all the images of

the objects offered by the senses: these, stored in memory, provide materials for the creation of new images and for metaphorical exercise. Therefore, the inventiveness involves the sensorial power.

In Modern Age culture, the term inventiveness denotes a new cognitive modality, “which consists in bringing things closer together, with a kind of circle that provokes an increase in knowledge and the delight derived from surprise”. This “triggers a double process of watching and unveiling that forces the recipient to participate in the same inventive happiness of the issuer, experiencing the pleasure of deciphering by the inventiveness itself what was created by the inventiveness of another” (Battistini 2000, pp. 131–132). In a world resulting from the fragmentation of the medieval universe, such as that of the first Modern Age, the inventiveness seems to be the most apt capacity to find relationships of meaning and combat the loss of unity between senses and reason that had been introduced at the beginning of modern philosophy.

In preaching, the use of inventiveness by the preacher causes him to apply the rhetorical precepts in order to enhance the function of discourse and increase its effectiveness. This brings concepts closer to the listeners’ understanding and moves and excites them for the practice of virtue. According to Vieira, an argument used with inventiveness becomes evident “because it descends from speculation to practice, from reason to experience and from discourse to the eye” (Vieira 1993, vol. 1, p. 204).

7.9 Conclusion

All the dimensions of the psychic dynamism proposed and active in the genre of sacred oratory developed in Brazil of the Modern Age work in relation to objects transcendent to them. In fact, the psychism is conceived as integrated to the totality of personal dynamism: the psyche intermediates between body and spirit. The good functioning of the psychic dimension depends on this interrelationship. Because of this, the preacher presents himself as the authentic physician of the soul, understanding it as the psychic dimension and the spiritual dimension of the human being, both always intertwined with corporeality. Thus, psychological knowledge cannot be understood in an autonomous sphere, as will happen with the constitution of modern psychology in the nineteenth century.

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Chapter 8

Psychological Knowledge in Autobiographical Works and Essays by Brazilian Authors



8.1 The Genres of Autobiographical Writing

Diaries, autobiographical accounts, essays, and moral discourses are very important genres in terms of the knowledge of oneself and of the other, within the scope of the worldview of the time. In them, writing is used as a way of expression and communication of inner or social experiences and as a space for reflection on them.

Georg Misch (1878–1965) defines autobiography as any description (graph) of the life (bios) of an individual written by himself (auto) (Misch 1950). This literary genre is present in different societies and in different periods of time. In the history of the West, Augustine (354–430) is the point of reference: this author inaugurated, in *Confessions* (397–398), this peculiar method for self-knowledge: he analyzed in detail the internal structure of the cognitive act that allows man to self-reflect and reported the results obtained in a narrative elaborated in the first person.

What is the relationship between these sources and psychological knowledge? From a phenomenological perspective, Binswanger defines autobiography as an account of personal history where the author, in carrying out the written narrative, elaborates his experiences. The autobiography takes place to the extent that, in the face of vital events, the author assumes a position (Binswanger 2007). According to Edith Stein, the autobiographical texts interpret the events narrated based on two types of orders. The first is the causal order of the necessary connections: for example, the natural laws inherent to the environment and the body of the person, or the determining circumstances of historical nature. The second is the order of individual sense connections: for example, affective experiences, or personal motivations (Stein 2000; Stein 2001). In this, second aspect resides the strictly psychological character of the sources that we will address here.

Therefore, autobiography constitutes an important resource for the apprehension of multiple ways of elaborating the (own) experience throughout cultural history. (Massimi 2010; Massimi and Mahfoud 2007; Massimi 2018).

Within the genres of autobiography, there are several types of documents that can be highlighted: the diaries, i.e., the notes about events in daily life; the memories, namely, retrospective texts based on the exercise of the author's personal memory; the autobiography itself, which is the retrospective reconstruction made by the author about the path of his own life in its entirety; the confession, exposure of oneself by the writing made before the real or imaginary presence of another and intended for reading (e.g., Augustine); the letters (already treated in another chapter); the reflections and essays, which are texts written by an author about himself or herself and having as recipient himself (Montaigne, Rousseau) or that aims through the writing to communicate his critical reflections on the sociocultural environment that surrounds him (La Rochefoucauld).

In the context of these genres, some internationally renowned thinkers have influenced the writing of Brazilian authors. With regard to the philosophical essay as a textual genre with an autobiographical content, Jean Michel Isquem Seigneur de Montaigne (1533–1592) stands out. In 1580, in his work *Essays*, he claims to have written for himself with the aim of portraying traces of his character and his ideas in order to preserve over time the knowledge of his person through writing (Montaigne 2010). The autobiographical goal of writing is revealed by Montaigne in his Prologue to the reader: “I want to be seen here in my simple, natural and current way, without posture or artifice: for it is to me that I portray. My defects, my imperfections, my natural way of being will be read live” (Montaigne 2010, p. 37). Starting from the conception that “every man brings the whole form of the human condition,” he proposes to present this condition as it is shown in a particular life, the life itself: “others form man, I report it”; “I do not teach, I report it” (Montaigne 2010, pp. 347–348).

François de La Rochefoucauld (1613–1680) is another French moralist writer who has had profound influences in the Luso-Brazilian context. After intense military and political activity, he began to dedicate himself to literature and to attend literary salons. He was one of the introducers of the genre of maxims (succinct expressions of observations and reflections about the social universe) and epigrams (poetic compositions that end with an ingenious or satirical thought). La Rochefoucauld published two works: *Memories* (1624/1632), an autobiography in which he recounts the historical events he witnessed in France, and *Maxims and Moral Reflections* (1664), marked by disenchantment with the moral weakness of the human being and by deep pessimism.

Teresa de Cepeda and Ahumada, better known by the name of Teresa de Ávila (1515–1582), points out the presence of female authorship in the autobiographical gender (Ávila 2010). A Carmelite religious and reformer of this Order (founder of the Reformed or Barefoot Carmelites), Teresa was a prominent figure in Catholic theology and Spanish culture. She is the author of an autobiography written to respond to the request of her spiritual director and which admittedly represents a decisive phase in the foundation of modern subjectivity: the *Book of Life* (1575).

And finally, considerable was the influence on the Brazilian authors of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778). For Rousseau, writing works as a mirror where the author consigns his image so that others can see him. It thus inaugurates the style of

confession proper to Romanticism. Rousseau seeks to describe the state of his soul, rather than narrate the events of his life: “I write less the story of the events of my life than the story of my soul as they occurred” (Rousseau 2009, p. 94).

The following Brazilian writers were inspired by these authors to compose their own narratives. In addition, they are based on the long tradition of moral discourses that has seen them compose the field of the “Medicine of the Soul”, enriched by medieval prescriptions and “health gardens”, Humanism and the Renaissance. This type of literature, born at the intersection of philosophy, medicine, and moral theology, states that happiness, or well-being, or perfection of spirit, coincides with the true power of man. This power consists in the capacity to control oneself, nature, and other human beings, through action and social coexistence, and an educational path is necessary to achieve these objectives. (Massimi 2016). From this perspective, the type of writing called moral discourse seeks to provide, through its advice, an educational journey and suggest norms for personal and social well-being.

Finally, it is necessary to differentiate between two modalities of autobiographical writing throughout the cultural history of the West. The oldest is the tradition of Augustinian writings widely spread throughout the Middle Ages: it aims at the construction of an anthropology and those who write have the objective of knowing themselves within a horizon of totality. The autobiographical writing of modern authors renounces this horizon: writing to communicate their inner experiences without the concern to propose a rigorous method of knowledge of subjectivity universally accepted by philosophy and science (Courcelle 2001). The Luso-Brazilian authors approached here go through both modalities, as they belong to a historical period where a transition between them still takes place: both ancient and modern influences are evident in their writings.

8.2 The Evils of the Soul and the Writing as a Remedy in the Texts of Two Siblings Matias Aires Ramos da Silva de Eça and Teresa Margarida da Silva and Orta

The first two authors we propose here are two siblings, Matias Aires and Teresa Margarida, both born in the city of São Paulo, sons of José Ramos da Silva, the richest man in the city, great palace owner, and owner of gold and diamond lands in Minas Gerais; and Catharina Orta, daughter of a noble and rich family from São Paulo.

Matias was born in 1705 and attended the Jesuit school until he was eleven years old, when the family decided to move to Portugal, where he continued his studies at the Jesuit school in Lisbon. He later enrolled in the University of Coimbra in 1722. At that time, the university was conservative and oblivious to the development of modern science, basing itself on the scholastic tradition. Matias was dissatisfied with Coimbra’s cultural climate, interrupted his studies and in 1728 migrated to Galicia and then to Paris, where he stayed for five years attending the Sorbonne.

There he became interested in the study of natural sciences and Enlightenment ideas. He graduated in law, civil and canon law, but also studied Hebrew, mathematics, chemistry, and physics. He returned to Portugal in 1733. In 1743, due to the death of his father, Matias occupied his position as the Mint's Ombudsman in Lisbon and the direction of the foundry houses of Portugal and Brazil.

Aires lived long periods of life far from the city, in a house in Agualva, dedicating himself exclusively to meditation and studies. In 1761, Aires moved completely away from his duties without known reasons. He was never married but left two natural children. He died in Lisbon on December 10, 1763.

Teresa was born in São Paulo in 1712, and when family moved to Lisbon, she was less than five years old. She studied in Portugal at Convento das Trinas, receiving an exquisite education that opened her up to interests in politics, literature, and science. When she left school, she married at the age of sixteen, against her father's wishes, to the Spanish nobleman Pedro Jansen Moler. After their marriage, the two were accused of stealing their father's riches and Teresa was disinherited and removed from family ties, including with her brother, until her husband's death (1753). After the reconciliation, the two siblings began to live in the same house in Lisbon. Teresa was greatly influenced by Matias, in her interest in science and politics. She performed important political functions, having been secret advisor to D. José I and entertained epistolary correspondence with prominent characters of the Portuguese political world. Teresa Margarida was part of the Luso-Brazilian group of intellectuals linked to Enlightenment ideas, known as "foreigners". She was the probable author of a famous anti-Jesuitical libel, "*Relação abreviada*" (1757) (Teixeira 2011). Teresa actively participated in the pombaline campaign against the Society of Jesus. In 1770, when she was already a widow and grandmother, her personal and social life suffered a setback: Pombal sentenced her to seven years in prison on the charge of lying to King Joseph I. In prison, for about seven years, Teresa Margaret wrote memoirs and poems. Released in 1777, she died in Lisbon in 1793.

8.2.1 The Evil of the Spirit and the Distortions of the Psychic and Spiritual Balance of the Person According to Matias Aires

The cultural production of Matias Aires expresses a new state of mind in Luso-Brazilian society, marked by the transition between the policy of João V and that of José I. It radically changed the cultural climate, introducing rationalism, anti-Jesuitism, and the beginnings of liberal thinking. The most important works of Matias Aires are as follows: *Reflexões sobre a vaidade dos homens, ou, discursos morais sobre os efeitos da vaidade oferecidos a El-Rei Nosso Senhor D. José I* (1752) (Reflections on the vanity of men, or, moral discourses on the effects of vanity offered to Our Lord King Joseph I); *Problema de architectura civil. A saber,*

porque razão os edifícios antigos tinham, e tem mais duração do que os modernos? e estes porque razão rezistem menos ao movimento da terra quando treme. (1770) (Problem of civil architecture. That is, why do the ancient buildings have so much, and have more duration than the modern ones? and why they resist less the movement of the earth when it trembles. *Discurso congratulatório pela felicíssima convalescença, e real vida de El Rey D. Joze I. nosso senhor; consagrado com hum dia festivo de ação de graças a Deos no Mosteiro de São Bento da Saúde desta cidade aos 19 de janeiro de 1759* (1759) (A congratulatory speech for the very happy convalescence, and real life of El Rey D. Joze I. Our Lord; consecrated with a festive day of thanksgiving to Deos at the Monastery of St. Benedict of the Health of this city on January 19, 1759).

The *Reflections on the Vanity of Men* (1752) is inspired by the *Essais* of Montaigne (Lima, p. 15). Like the *Essais*, Aires wants to rescue the value of a philosophy linked to life and return to those exemplary models, Socratic and Augustinian, through which the reflection on the world begins by knowing oneself. It composes an essay, a set of reflections that do not have the purpose of exhausting a subject but of instigating discussion. The ideas are freely proposed, although they are based on the studies developed. The way of elaboration is peculiar: following a logic of discussion in the order of the subjects treated, the author also uses numerous metaphorical resources and other rhetorical devices in the construction of discourse, aiming at persuading readers. In the *Reflections*, the encyclopedic culture of Aires emerges as follows: Jesuitical studies, civil and canon law, arts, dance, music, horse riding, architecture, chemistry.

The aim of the book of Aires is similar to that of Montaigne's essays: to provide disenchantment to the readers, but first of all to itself. Starting from the realization that the world is a theater where men play roles, Aires intends to discuss human deceit. These consist in prioritizing wealth and immediate pleasures to the detriment of ethical and moral values and virtues. In doing so, the author questions fundamental aspects of the Lusitanian cultural tradition. The mistake is denoted by a recurrent word on every page of the book: vanity. The *Reflections* of Aires seem to document the transition in the experience of temporality that Hartog defined as the passage to a new regime of historicity: the Modern Regime. The rise of the bourgeoisie that questions the absolute power of the monarchs and the nobility promotes not only a revolution in the society of the time, but also in the conception of time and history. The old regime of historicity was marked by the overlap of the past with the future: history was regulated by reference to past events. It was the conception of *Historia Magistra* that valued tradition and the reading of ancient writers as important resources for achieving criteria for living the present. (Hartog 2003). In the period of transition, a critical awareness of the classical sense of tradition and history is manifested as a way to perpetuate the memory of heroes and great events. The Modern Regime, which will culminate in the French Revolution, focuses on time as a process, where events do not take place only in it but through it: time itself becomes an actor, an "entity". The sense of modernity is marked by an "experience of acceleration of time": time is felt as "short" and the look on the flow of time will no longer start from the past but from the future. (Hartog 2003, p. 107) The future is

feared as something promising and glorious and the past is considered obsolete and obscurantist, as evidenced by utopian thought. The Modern Regime of historicity is demarcated by the advances of the Natural Sciences, which bring about the valorization of scientific knowledge emphasizing its progressive character.

The text from Aires expresses some of the characteristics of the crisis of the old regime of historicity that mark the advent of the 'modern' sense of temporality. In the first place, Aires states that for the men of his time, there is a loss of the value of the past felt as already distant, a malaise before the present and a turning to the future: "We miss the time that has passed; we wait for what will come with eagerness and for the present we look with disgust. It should be so, because the time that has passed is no longer ours; what is to come we do not know if it will be; and only the present, because it is ours, annoys us" (Aires 2011, pp. 99–100). Man, bored by the present, turns to the future: "We do not live this way, we expect life" (Eça 2011, p. 48). A second aspect is the loss of memory of what happened: "Our ancestors have come and gone; and we will soon be ancestors of those who will come. The ages are renewed, the figure of the world is always changing, the living and the dead continually succeed each other, nothing remains, everything is used, everything ends". (Eça 2011, pp. 40–41). Fast and merciless time erases the duration of memories.

Social and cultural behaviors inspired by traditional values are reproved by Aires for revealing a misleading awareness of human time (which it defines as vanity). Among them: the search to eternalize human life through memory, the exercise of weapons and the study of letters (as ways to seek the immortality of the name itself, that is, fame), the memories of warriors, heroes, monuments, documents, great facts, or writings made by men. In fact, everything ends: "Heroes end and so do memories of their actions; bronzes are annihilated, in which fights are recorded; marbles are corrupted, in which triumphs are carved. Despite the miracles of the print, the cadences of prose also fade. (...). Even stones, symbols of strength and permanence, languish". (Eça 2011, p. 47). Many historical facts celebrated as glorious when well investigated, reveal to be the fruit of deception: "Actions that are illustrious in themselves are rare. (...). The most amazing things are because they are not known; together with them there is a rich veil that covers them: we see a brilliant exterior, which often serves to hide a horrible abyss" (Eça 2011, p. 70). The author puts into discussion the traditional value of the memory of people, facts, and gestures: their memory is not eternal. Like everything in life, memory has its end: "all in the world are shadows that pass away" (Eça 2011, p. 42). All the pillars of the old regime of historicity are questioned: the heroes, the nobility, and the memorable events. The social and economic position occupied by Aires and his family in the Luso-Brazilian universe allowed him to be situated in a privileged place to observe the dynamics of the crisis and cultural change that were going through that universe. Possibly, the detachment from the life of the metropolis, which in his biography we saw characterizing the years of his maturity spent in Agualva (despite his important role as Mint Ombudsman in Lisbon), enabled him to reflect acutely and disenchantedly on the writing that inspired him. From a psychological point of view, the

awareness of a person's temporality and fragility induces a new awareness of himself.

The exercise of disenchantment that the book intends to provide is not, however, directed to society as a whole, or to specific components of it, but to the individual. Already in the prologue of "Reflections on the vanity of men", Matias Aires writes that the intention of writing the book is more for his own instruction than to indoctrinate others with the subtleties and complexity of speculative language, because the book is focused on the understanding of ordinary readers. The author's concern is to propose a philosophy close to life, as it was in its origins.

Let us now address the key concept of *Reflections*, vanity. In what sense is this an evil of the spirit capable of producing the psychic imbalance?

The motto that leads Matthias to write *Reflections on the Vanity of Men* is the well-known verse 2 of Chapter 1 of *Ecclesiastes*: *vanitas vanitatum, et omnia vanitas*. The theme of the biblical verse is the core of the work, although Aires proposes a complex concept of vanity, somewhat different from the biblical vision. The vanity portrayed by Aires is configured as an evil of the spirit, related to the social and cultural climate of its time: "Vanity is in us, like a double spirit that animates us" (Eça 2011, p. 39). In fact, vanity is conceived not as a sensitive appetite, affection of the body, according to the Aristotelian-Tomist perspective, but as a vice of the rational soul. It affects the understanding, before the will, because it depends on the discourse that the function of the will is to conform to the discourse of understanding. For this reason, the most intense of all vanities is that resulting from knowledge. This vice arises from the contagion contracted from the relationships and conversations of men. Therefore, it is an evil related to the sociocultural universe of a given historical period, since understanding is easily affected by one's own and others' opinions. Moreover, the dynamism of the person is crossed by a conflict between two opposing wills. The dominant will is the one that follows the vanity party: "We have one will ready to know and hate addiction; but we also have another to embrace it. One will inclines us, the other drags us" (Eça 2011, p. 61).

In its psychological component, vanity is an expression of the concupiscible rational appetite. As such, it can be dominated by the higher levels of psychic dynamism and not by the lower ones: "Vanity is a kind of concupiscence, it is not resisted with the forces of the body, with those of the spirit yes; the flesh is not fragile by one principle alone, but by many, and vanity is not the least of them" (Eça 2011, p. 61).

It is important to emphasize, in the conception of Aires, a deep relationship that exists between the concept of vanity formulated by him and the psychological sense of time, or temporality. Man is considered to be characterized by his inherence in time, and therefore by his mortality; however, taken by vanity, a disregarded affection for himself caused by a distortion of the cognitive powers, especially judgment and will, intends to be able to transcend time. The vanity thus feared is, therefore, an evil of the spirit related to the sense of temporality. The illusion of immortality leads man to conceive himself in a misleading way. Thus, the psychological experience of a false perception of temporality characterizes his existential condition.

According to Aires, vanity as a distortion of man's psychic and spiritual dynamism has a temporal extension throughout the whole arc of existence, even at the

moment of death. This omnipresence is thus portrayed: “vanity belongs to the whole world, to all time, to all professions and to all states” (Eça 2011, p. 60). It manifests itself from childhood, even if not explicitly: “in the first state of innocence it lives in us as hidden”. Then, time makes her move and dilate. “The increase of vanity is imperceptible but constant”: our soul is willing to receive and concentrate on itself the impressions of vanity. This insensibly forms from what we see, hear and even from what we imagine. When it grows in us, it is imperceptible, just as light grows imperceptibly, and only the elevation of the waters is distinguished” (Eça 2011, p. 38).

The omnipresence of vanity in all times of human existence leads Matias Aires to consider it as the only element of the soul life that is preserved in the course of time: “only vanity is constant in us. (...) With time and the use of reason we have seen losing a great part of the sensitivity in the exercise of passions. But the exercise of vanity is not lost with reason, nor with time” (Eça 2011, p. 79).

In the different phases of life, however, vanity acquires different features: “With the years we change from one vanity to another; not because we want to change vanity, but because some are in certain years incompatible, and only take place in others” (Eça 2011, p. 56). In this way, in every age of life, the human being is affected by the effects of vanity.

The false perception of oneself contrasts with the evidence of the ephemerality of life, which is the subject of constant change, the perpetual transformation of everything. However, although the human instant takes place within an eternal horizon and is thus submitted to the divine judgment, this evidence is not recognized by the envious understanding of men. The deception consists precisely in this: “men take little care that there is an eternity, and that the duration of the world is but an instant” (Eça 2011, p. 174). In this evocation of the divine judgment of human time, so frequent in the sermons we analyzed earlier, there remains an element proper to the traditional Christian vision of the world that in some way Aires still shares. Due to vanity, we fall into the mistake that deprives us of the time that is “ours”: the longing to acquire honors, leads the individual to make future plans, ignoring the present and mobilizing the imagination toward the time to come. The author uses the metaphor of the mirror to portray the deceit in the perception of time: “because in time there is also a point of perspective, where as in a mirror all objects grow and, in reaching a certain term, disappear” (Eça 2011, p. 48). So that, taken by this distorted vision: “vanity makes us look at the time that has passed with indifference, because it already remains in it without action; it makes us see the present with contempt, because it never lives satisfied; and it makes us contemplate the future with hope, because it is always based on what is to come. And so we esteem only what we no longer have; we make little use of what we possess; and we take care of what we do not know we will have” (Eça 2011, p. 56). The appearance of deceptive permanence mirrored by vanity must be confronted with the real transience of existence and human history. Despite our perception, “the fatal revolution of time and its rapid course, which nothing stops or suspends, drags everything and takes everything with it to the depths of an eternity”. (Eça 2011, p. 56).

Besides vanity, Aires also deals with other affections, mixing the perspectives outlined by Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, the Jesuit philosophers, Descartes, Spinoza, the Enlightenment philosophers: “Passions are a kind of living in us, whose life and existence, similar to ours, also has a certain and limited time; and so they live and end up in us in the same way that we live in the world and end up in it”. (Eça 2011, p. 31). The definition of passions in Aires seems to be in accord with that of Thomas Aquinas: for both, passions are phenomena inherent in the psychosomatic nature of man and influence his actions. Like the Aristotelian-Tomist tradition updated by the Jesuits, Aires takes up the theme of the physiological location at the heart of the passions: “In the heart live the passions, then more concentrated and therefore more vigorous and stronger” (Eça 2011, p. 44). Possibly, there are also influences of Descartes (1596–1650) in the thought of Aires. As is well known, Descartes developed a definition for the passion of the soul in his treatise of passions (*Les Passions de l’âme* 1649) and defines them as perceptions, or feelings, or emotions caused, maintained and strengthened by some movement of vital spirits. According to Aires, vanity is the passion of the soul that gives rise to other passions. The analysis about the passions of Matias Aires is also close to the philosophy of Baruc Spinoza (1632–1677). For Spinoza, the passions in man belong to the order of nature and should not be stigmatized and censored, but rather explained and understood, like all other natural phenomena (*Ética* 1677). Good “and” evil “are” ways of thinking “and notions that man forms by comparing things among themselves and referring to himself. Consequently”, virtue “is evidenced as the achievement of the useful, of the good, and” vice would be its opposite. This is also true for Aires: passions are inherent to human life from birth. Vanity does not imply judgments about good or evil, for good and evil are only defined according to the intention of use.

Vanity intensifies the effects of other affections: “with all passions vanity is united; with many it serves as the main origin, for it is born with all of them, and is the last that ends” (Eça 2011, p. 31). And again: “the vanity which governs all passions, in some increases activity, in others decreases, and all receive the value that vanity gives them” (Eça 2011, p. 85). Among the affections, Aires emphasizes love, which distinguishes in two types: the mediocre and the sublime. The first is a sensitive appetite, and the second is an intellectual appetite, because it feeds on the contemplation of the loved object, approaching the divine love. Mediocre love is inconstant and dominated by vanity, reducing itself to one of its manifestations; sublime love leads us to care for the created world and to contemplate its beauty as the work of God and is permanent.

Besides intensifying the force of affections, vanity influences reason, imagination, will, so as to make impossible the process of disenchantment as conceived by tradition and used in preaching. For Aires, the fact that the two psychic processes involved in disenchantment (reason and imagination) are affected by vanity makes its proper use impossible: “Reason does not strengthen us against the evils that result from vanity (...) because induced by the same vanity only shows us that we should feel, without talking about the quality of feeling” (Eça 2011, p. 36). Reason, responsible for our judgments and discourses, is also governed by vanity: “reason in man is like a precious liquor in a pure vessel; the liquor is always contaminated with

the infection of the vessel; this in us is vanity” (Eça 2011, p. 69). Understanding itself becomes a reflection of our vanity: this “gives our concept the form it seems: understanding is like a print, which is allowed to appear and which easily receives the figure printed on it” (Eça 2011, p.80). Thus, the deception caused by vanity also reaches the cognitive powers, eliminating the possibility of knowing things and people the way they really are: “our whole ingenuity strives to put things in such a perspective that, seen in a certain way, they look like what we want them to be, and not what they are” (Eça 2011, p. 113).

We have also seen that in the author analyzed above, rational reflection on the mortal condition of man would limit the effects of deception. Aires, however, states that even the thought of death can be an act of vanity, when in the imagination we place desires as we would like the funeral to be. “We live in vanity and we die in vanity, taking away our last sighs, we are disposing of our funeral pomp, as if in such a fatal hour dying were not enough for occupation: in that hour, when we are about to leave the world, or when the world is about to leave us, we enter into composing, ordering our accompaniment and funeral assistance; and with early vain-glory we set out to foresee that ceremony, which nations call the last honors, but must call it ultimate vanity” (Eça 2011, p. 29). Not even the memory of death (a typical figure in the post-Tridentine Catholic tradition) is configured as an act of disenchantment.

The desire for the good of the will does not have the strength to move to disenchantment and change either: “in brief days and hours the reason for the novelty, which made us want, that pleasure, which had induced us to desire, fades away” (Eça 2011, p. 78). Thus, desire gives way to indifference: “we lose things, first, because of our indifference (...); second, because the taste ends in us (...)”. (Eça 2011, p. 79). Finally, the dominant force of vanity in human dynamism also reduces the possibility of living the virtues. These virtues are also brought back into play by the natural determinisms that condition human beings. This can evoke in the contemporary reader the Freudian idea of the defense mechanisms of reactive formation, sublimation and rationalization: “human virtues are often composed of melancholy and a harsh retreat. More often than not, humor is what we think is right; temperament is what we call disenchantment; and sickness is what we think is virtue” (Eça 2011, p. 83). Getting used to vices is easier, for in the exercise of evil we find a kind of sweetness and naturalness.

In short, the deception provided by vanity influences the whole dynamism of the person, in its psychic and spiritual aspects, reaching the level of discernment between vices and virtues. What would be the effective possibility of disenchantment?

At this point, the function of the essay is to provide reflection about oneself and one’s dynamism. According to Aires, this would be the only possible form of disenchantment: the text works as a mirror so that the person can recognize his/her own authentic image. If the individual does not recognize his own vanity, he is not able to know himself. Therefore, the purpose of the writing of Aires is to provide the reader with an awareness of his human condition deeply affected by this spiritual evil on both the individual and social levels. Reading helps the person to overcome

the tendency that would lead him/her to censor the memory of intense and negative affections, a memory that, on the contrary, can be recovered by the help of the narrative.

8.2.2 *Writing as a Remedy for the Ills of the Soul in Teresa Margarida da Silva and Orta's texts*

The text by Teresa Margarida da Silva and Orta (*Epic-Tragic Poem and Adventure by Diófanes*) is marked by a strong autobiographical nuance. In the first pages of the book, the author refers to the education she herself received when portraying the biography of Beraniza, the main character of the novel: “Beraniza (...) so much gave herself over to the dominant passion of studies, that in tasty conversation of good books and astronomical observations passed insensitively the days, and many nights” (Silva e Orta 2012, p. 212).

What is the purpose of the work? The writing of personal disagreements provides the author with consolation and relief from suffering. Furthermore, it contributes to the public rescue of her dignity offended by false accusations, persuading readers about her innocence. In fact, the manuscript poem was written by Teresa Margarida on the occasion of her forced cloistering at the Monastery of Ferreira de Aves in the province of Beira and is a long narrative of her sufferings as a result of the injustices suffered. The aim of Teresa Margarida's writing is to retrace in poetic form in the epic-tragic genre (according to the title: “with husky voice and dissonant lyre”) her misfortunes: “my woes I will sing, which the unjust fate against me has raised, with a mighty hand”. The author intends to present her existence as an exemplar despite having been the target of unjust accusations and punishments: “I will give an unsung exemplar of mortal and inconstant fortune”; and to persuade the readers of her innocence. (Silva e Orta 2012, p. 17). The play is divided into five parts called *Prantos* (tragedies) (Prants).

In “*Pranto Primeiro*”, Teresa Margarida creates an allegorical figure that enters the poem witnessing her smoothness: Innocence. In a “cold night”, in which “in my evils I was meditating”, crying and invoking the intervention of divine justice, the breath comes from something that occurs in her own conscience: “I was encouraged by the innocence that made me see my own conscience. In her, a woman dressed in light and with a” placid countenance “appears to him, who shows herself to her” sad soul “and encourages her with her words”: You never deceived your August King; those who advised him deceived him (Silva e Orta 2012, pp. 18–20).

In “*Pranto segundo*”, Teresa Margarida describes the scene of her imprisonment by order of the King, the crying of her relatives, the cruel treatment she was given, the two days she was detained in a private house unaware of her fate, and then the long journey with a “bad chariot”, along “bad roads” in the company of her jailers to the monastery, where she would be detained for a long time (Silva e Orta 2012, p. 31). And again he refers to the King, the ruler of these cruelties, and reaffirms the

awareness of his innocence: “How much you will feel in Eternity who for so many evils competed; but when you hear the noise of death, in this state you will see that I am stronger” (Silva e Orta 2012, p.27).

After seven years of recollection, once freed, Teresa Margarida writes the allegorical novel, *The Adventures of Diophanes*. In the Prologue, the author writes in the first person, proclaiming her authorial intention to write a novel guided by the ethical and persuasive objective: “the ardent desire with which I seek to infuse in the souls of those for whom I must answer, the love of honor, the horror of guilt, the inclination to the sciences, the forgiveness of enemies, the compassion of poverty, and constancy in works” (Silva e Orta 2012, p. 56). At the same time, she confesses that the writing of the novel was for her “a remedy for amusing cares that began to weaken me by suffering with all sorts of setbacks. For this reason, the memory had to contradict the will, which was fed by melancholic apprehensions”. The author receives “relief, flowing in works”. Although the novel was published anonymously, the author reveals herself to her readers as “woman” and “foreigner”, with a great experience of life (“having seen a lot”). She still says of herself: “I live in a shanty near the Serra da Estrela, where no news from the court arrives” (Silva e Orta 2012, pp. 56–58).

Although the text follows the genre of the fiction novel, there are frequent autobiographical references, such as the above-mentioned passages that refer to the life of the Court and highlight the author’s critical judgment with respect to the Sovereign and the courtiers, and describe her condition of remoteness.

The author identifies herself through various characters in the novel. Teresa puts these words in the mouth of one of the characters in the narrative, Antionor: “keeping the best law, poor and barefoot, I will live in peace, which is always changing in the Court’s concerns. Oh, how much better to hear what goes on there than to live in it! In fact, those who cannot be worthwhile are forgotten; those who are very worthwhile are persecuted” (Silva e Orta 2012, p.78). The King’s sycophants prevent him from seeing reality and therefore oppose the truth; which is why Antionor/Teresa Margarida’s option is to “bury himself in oblivion” (Silva e Orta 2012, p.78).

In another chapter, portraying the hiding place of another character, Climinéia, who six years ago lived in a brenha, the author again refers to the condition of her forced enclosure. Climinea/Teresa Margherita says: “The passage of time has spent in me the horror of the grave in which I live; the fear of the living, who accompany me; and the fear of those who persecuted me; the hunger, the cold, the crudeness of the food, and the roughness of the bed, I already tolerate without work. But the strength of the longing with which I lament the absence of my own every day has never diminished in me. (...) To the pitiful sound of my inflamed sighs sprout crystalline tears, which run away murmuring from my sad miseries” (Silva e Orta 2012, p. 84).

The affections of pain and sorrow experienced placed in the mouths of his fantastic characters thus demonstrate to remain alive in the memory of the writer and, at the same time, to find in the writing his expression and his breath.

In short, the novelty of Teresa Margarida’s writing is the use of the various genres of the poem and the allegorical novel as resources to narrate oneself. The autobio-

graphical focus runs through her texts and portrays her suffering life history as well as elements that mark the decadence of the life of the court and of Portuguese society of her time. The relevance of her texts to the history of psychological knowledge lies in the fact that the written narrative is configured as a form of therapy of the evils experienced, including its soul components. The intensity of affections is softened by the act of transposing them into text.

8.3 Writing as a Means of Transmitting Knowledge and Advice for Good Living in Feliciano Joaquim de Sousa Nunes' *Moral-Political Discourses*

Feliciano Joaquim de Sousa Nunes was a Brazilian author “in general unattended and hastily arranged as another representative of traditional Catholic morality” (Teixeira 2006, p. 11). On the contrary, his work documents “the line of renewal and intellectual and reflective openness of the Joanine period, advancing boldly critical proposals of the social value system of the mid eighteenth century” (Teixeira 2006, p. 11). The incomprehension and lack of consideration as to the value of the cultural contribution of this author may be related to aspects of his biography. Sousa Nunes was born in Rio de Janeiro in 1730 and lived there until his death, at the age of 78, in 1808. He held prominent positions in the colonial administration and cultural life of the future metropolis. He founded the Seletos Academy in Rio, which would bring together the local intellectuals during the period of so-called literary arcadism. The Academy, founded in Rio de Janeiro (RJ) in late 1751 or early 1752, established the first printing company in Brazil. This typography was short-lived because, following orders from the government of Portugal, it was destroyed and burned. Thus, no literary works were published in Brazil. Nunes wrote two works: *Discursos políticos-morais* (Political and Moral Discourses 1778), the *Política Brasílica* (1781) which is manuscript in the Biblioteca do Porto, and two small booklets. As the author of the *Discursos*, Nunes had a serious disagreement with the powerful Marques de Pombal. After writing, he submitted the Discourses to the evaluation of the intellectual and ecclesiastical world of Rio, as can be seen from the letters placed at the beginning of the book that praise the text and encourage its rapid printing and dissemination. After getting their approval, Nunes took his work to Portugal for printing, in 1758, dedicating the Discourses to Marques de Pombal, who, however, reproved them for their contents and had all copies of the printed book burned, determining the immediate return to Brazil of the author, under the justification of the text containing “anarchist doctrines” and of Nunes not having requested their approval before printing. The unsuccessful author saved some copies of the work that made possible the post-mortem re-edition, in 1851; and later, in 1931.

Nunes' authorial conscience is affirmed in the introduction of his *Political and Moral Discourses* (1778/2006): “How is Philosophy defined? Isn't its definition a knowledge of things as they are? It certainly is. So, let us conclude, if this knowl-

edge can have a man of good speech and clear understanding, even if he has not studied it, it is clear that, without learning it, one can know Philosophy” (Nunes 2006, pp. 29–30). The author claims his dignity as a self-taught intellectual and linked to the sociocultural context of belonging: “with what reason can one deny that he is not a philosopher and a good philosopher, one to whom God has participated in a shrewd and not vulgar understanding, even if he does not have the slightest light of the Platonic and Aristotelian sciences?”

Nunes’ defense of being an autodidact is based on the decisive function of understanding, which “is the most sublime carat gold that nature deposits in the upper part of man” that the Arts and study determine, but cannot produce. (Nunes 2006, p. 41). Nunes’ autodidacticism is based on a profound erudition and detailed knowledge of ancient and modern writers who throughout the text are cited to confirm their theses. According to Nunes, the foundation of intellectual work is study, and the basis of study is learning that mobilizes “judgment and understanding”. (Nunes 2006, p. 36). Therefore, to possess good judgment and understanding is an essential condition of good thinking. The natural acquisition of knowledge by “good judgment and better understanding” is worth as much as and more than good teaching. In another work, manuscript of 1781, *Política Brasileira*, Nunes, reaffirming his dignity before the detractors who contributed to the censorship of his Discourses, solemnly declares that intellectual capacity is a gift of human nature and not the fruit of favorable economic, social and political circumstances: “Is do not live as poor as they care for; for I still preserve, the most precious thing I have had: that if in the state of beggarhood men have put me, they can only do what they can and never can as much as they want; their jurisdiction is but forfeit; and understanding is the power of the soul, which, being immortal, belongs to the Eternal Forum, and of this, only God is judge, and Supreme Lord”. (Nunes 1781, p. 10)

The text still in manuscript preserved in Biblioteca do Porto, *Política Brasileira* (1781), is a set of instructions on various topics of a moral or religious nature. The perspective proposed by Nunes is marked by a pessimistic ethic, where the Aristotelian and counter-reformist view is interpreted in a stoic and fatalistic tonic. It is about submitting to the immutable hierarchical order of things and the traditional Aristotelian-Tomist vision is questioned. Prudence—virtue par excellence in the Aristotelian-Tomist approach—does not guarantee happiness: “it is not in your hand to avoid misfortunes. For this reason, conformity has more power to make the wretch happy than prudence to make him happy” (Nunes 1781, p. 83). Likewise, the notion of the close correspondence between moral and physical hygiene, proper to Aristotelian theory and temperament theory, is rejected: “Persuade the discourse that the conservation of health hangs from the good regulation of customs. But see how the paralytic ends up, even if he is well morigated: see how this robust one lives, despite his intemperance”. (Nunes 1781, p. 83).

The *Discursos* published by Feliciano Joaquim de Sousa Nunes, in 1758, convey knowledge and advice aimed at promoting individual and social well-being, based on consideration of the problems inherent to Brazil at the time, especially the environment of Rio de Janeiro where the author lived most of his life. In this sense, Nunes’ intellectual position reflected in this work seems to have a certain commit-

ment to the space-time reality to which he belongs. This involvement was also the reason for the censorship of the text. Nunes addresses several themes: the evils of excessive wealth and its remedies; the recipes for a good marriage and the importance of education to work; the education of women and the apology of their cognitive abilities; the relations of affiliation and friendship. The author seeks to promote, through writing, the exercise of disenchantment in his readers. The persuasive effect is obtained by the proposition of numerous examples derived from sacred history and profane history, as well as from contemporary history. The legacy that the author wants to leave to his readers is a set of advice for good living based on knowledge inherited from the Western cultural tradition, but also fruits of his own experience. And in fact, throughout the text, there are several statements written in the first person: “this is how much it makes me understand and warn my experience without the need of others” (Nunes 2006, p. 130).

The advice and precepts of moral content of the text reach in the man’s vision of the Lusitanian cultural tradition, especially the Aristotelian-Tomist doctrine but shaped by the conceptions of stoic Latin moral philosophers like Cicero and Seneca. Nunes also dialogues and cites several Lusitanian writers. However, the choice of topics seems to derive from the author’s insertion in the space-time reality in which he lives, the Brazil of the time with its contradictions. Unlike the two previous authors, Matias Aires and Margarida Teresa, who were active protagonists of Portuguese society and politics, but alien to the Brazilian reality, Nunes’ insertion context is Brazil and, as we will see, his writing intends to polemicize, persuade, correct readers who belong to that context. Together with the anthropological vision mentioned, psychological knowledge inspired the elaboration of advice and precepts proposed by the author.

8.3.1 Wealth Excesses and Personal Dynamism Disorders

The Aristotelian-Tomist conception of man seems to inspire the first discourse about riches. Already in the title, “Excessive wealth is consummate poverty: everything has those who have enough of it; everything loses those who want to have more than what is necessary”. Nunes puts the Aristotelian norm of moderation as a presupposition: every excess is pernicious. Taking up medical knowledge as well, he states that “all excess produces opposite effects” (Nunes 2006, p. 79). The dissatisfaction for what is necessary already possessed, makes what is necessary to be lost in the search of the excess. Thus, “the same treasures guard the incentives of the violence they suffer” (Nunes 2006, p. 83). What is questioned is not the value of things for themselves, but the human attitude of lack of moderation in their possession. In fact, things that “without excess are known to be good” become pernicious in “too much excess” (Nunes 2006, p. 84).

Feliciano presents to prove the “terrible effects of the great abundance of gold and extraordinary riches”, examples taken from the biblical and mythological tradition. They are as follows: King Midas, the prodigal son of the Gospel, and Judas. He

also brings some observations derived from his own experience and that of others in his world of life, such as the question of the search for gold. (Nunes 2006, p. 86). Nunes brings numerous stories: one of them refers to the Indians of Peru and Mexico, whose bodies were burned and mutilated by the Spaniards for their great riches. (Nunes 2006, p. 88). In particular, Nunes rebukes those who “think they can be regenerated by gold,” namely, those who by the “shadows” of acquired possessions “intend to deny the shadows of their births, because they understand that wealth can communicate a new origin to them” (Nunes 2006, p. 88).

What kind of wealth is Nunes referring to? Brazilian society in the eighteenth century was composed of slaves and landowners, and a multitude of other groups that “included craftsmen and artisans in urban crafts, traders, troopers, animal breeders, small food producers for the domestic market, slave traders, financiers, militiamen, builders, feitors, small landowners producing for themselves” (Cardoso 2008, p. 75). In this context, “slavery was particularly cruel and predatory: the owner could make any decision regarding the life of his slave, according to his will. If you considered that a slave threatened you, you could have his feet cut off, blind him, beg him with lashings or kill him” (Cardoso 2008, p. 81). From this social climate, there were harmful effects such as: “the perception of manual labor itself as a degraded activity, applicable only to degraded beings; the encashment of the economic elite in their positions of power, fearful of the dispossessed (and unarmed) majorities, seen as potential enemies and treated with excessive violence when they asserted themselves in the public arena; the permanence of a structure of domination that lowered the expectations of rewarding the poorest to vital minimums, in an environment where widespread poverty was the parameter of all reward” (Cardoso 2008, p. 81, 86). In this universe is placed the phenomenon described by Nunes: the enrichment and the search for economic and social ascension for the possession of gold. In fact, in eighteenth-century Brazil, gold is the first source of economic income: news of the first auriferous discoveries probably made between 1693 and 1695 quickly spread throughout the Colony. The huge population movement thus triggered is reported by a contemporary: “The insatiable thirst for gold has stimulated so many to leave their lands and go down paths as rough as those of the mines. It is hard to know how many people are there today” (Andreoni 1982). The auriferous discoveries, at the turn of the seventeenth century to the eighteenth, expanded geographically: the attraction as to the possibility of rapid enrichment on the metropolitan and colonial population was immense, leading to the displacement of large masses to the region of the mines. Moreover, these discoveries led to an increase in the volume of transatlantic slave trade to Portuguese America, which was already the largest in the New World and doubled in the first half of the century: “Between 1701 and 1720, about 292,000 enslaved Africans landed in Brazilian ports, most of them destined for gold mines. Between 1720 and 1741, a new increase: 312,400 individuals. In the following two decades, the traffic reached its peak: 354 thousand enslaved Africans were introduced in Portuguese America between 1741 and 1760”. (Marchese 2006, p. 114). The economic activities in Brazil at that time were geared to the areas of livestock farming, food production, tobacco production, sugar plantations. They were all based on the slave labor of the Indians and, above all, of

Africans. At the same time, the settlers grew greedy, the unbridled desire to possess more and more and to any condition. However, the displacement of populations in search of gold caused great food shortages and violent conflicts between the first discoverers and settlers (Paulistas) of the mines and the adventitious, both of the Colony and the Kingdom.

Faced with this discouraging panorama, Nunes intends, with his Discours, to provide the disillusion: for the wealth, men will not be able to become better, nor to improve the quality of their lives. He appealed to the wisdom of philosophers like Augustine and Seneca to affirm an inversion of criteria of judgment: “rich is the one who enjoys and desires less wealth”. In fact, “the greatest wealth that man can achieve is salvation, freedom and life; with excessive wealth, salvation is at risk, freedom is lost, and life is spoiled”. He uses the dynamism of inversion among the opposites, commonplace in the culture of the time, to affirm that “excessive wealth is the most certain prognosis of the greatest need and misery” (Nunes 2006, p. 91).

Let us remember that in the Aristotelian-Tomist perspective, the greed for some object is a vice that is rooted in a disordered affection, an excess in the concupiscible intellectual appetite. It is therefore a disorder in the dynamism of the person, whose reflexes affect social and political life. The evidence of the vice of greed spreading in Brazil inspires in Nunes an intense polemic against excessive wealth, which also extends to the Discourse II of the treaty. As the title implies, “Wealth does not confer nobility on men; those who understand that it had its origin are mistaken. In the difference of actions is the distinction of men: those who distinguish them are those who diversify them” (Nunes 2006, p. 93). Nunes opposes the evaluation of people by their possessions to the evaluation by their actions. And he affirms a concept of nobility based on “actions and virtues” (Nunes 2006, p. 94), while “nobility without merit, without virtues and without actions is, as a modern doctor says, a superstition introduced in men”. (Nunes 2006, p. 95). The “modern doctor” mentioned is precisely Matias Aires Ramos da Silva de Eça, as Nunes states in a footnote. Nobility depends on personal responsibility: “it is only born from one’s own actions; it only stems from one’s own virtues” (Nunes 2006, p. 95). According to Nunes, the authentic definition of nobility aggregates several dimensions of the psychic and spiritual dynamism of the person. In the first place, nobility involves the cognitive function: “it is a way to be adjusted to the laws of understanding and discourse; it is a way to perform actions in accordance with the dictates of prudence and reason. And, secondly, nobility involves the appetizing function: it is finally a contempt and flatness of vices and an inseparable love of moral and political virtues”. (Nunes 2006, p. 106).

Nunes’ polemic is more understandable when we consider the historical situation in which it takes place. In the Hispanic and Iberian world of the time, nobility (traditionally structured in hereditary nobility of noblemen and civil nobility, or politics constituted by individuals ennobled by the sovereign for their merits and services) became “supported by wealth, by the mixture of services and purchase of securities” (Raminelli 2013, p. 89). In the eighteenth century, such a process found support in the policy of the Portuguese Crown, which sought financial support to meet its needs. As a result, in Brazil, “the lords of ingenuity saw themselves as

noble, acting essentially as an aristocracy based on wealth and power". The "nobility of the land was a self-denomination", self-promotion, a mechanism found by the colonial elites to exercise a role of command similar to that of the European nobility. (Raminelli 2013, p. 105). In this universe, Nunes' controversial discourse acquires the function of disillusioning readers about the dysfunction of the social and political body, which leads to considering nobility as the effect of wealth, and not of actions carried out by persons ordained in their psycho-spiritual dynamism. From Nunes' perspective, psychological knowledge is articulated with moral rules and is aimed at the formation of individuals who are good citizens and build a just society.

8.3.2 Family Relationships and Good Ordering of Personal Psychic Dynamism

Three discourses are dedicated to the theme of the family. In the first one, Nunes points out that good advice comes from an ordered mobilization of the psychic powers: "Let us call to advice the three noblest powers: before memory and will, discourse on understanding. The prioritization of understanding will make it possible that, in making decisions", "it is not taste but discourse that advises us in this matter"; "it is not love but reason"; "let us not listen to insatiable ambition but consult prudential convenience" (Nunes 2006, p. 111).

The discourse aims to prove the thesis that "a true wife is beneficial and useful to the consort in all states, or let us consider him elevated to the height of bliss, or precipitated into the deepest abyss of misfortune." (Nunes 2006, p. 111). In the context of this discussion, Nunes also considers aspects that are strictly psychological. Vanity, as already pointed out by Matias Aires in his Reflections, is an unruly affection that can lead to psychic illness, to madness. The fact that pathological phenomena associated to vanity may occur in the female sex is demonstrated by Nunes, at the end of the Discourse, by the reference to the history of "Milanese maidens", who "wounds of a rapt and furious contagion" would have sought collective suicide, taken by "such a frenzied tyrant", without "the dikes of medicine, nor the rigorous punishments, nor the pain of families, could contain the phenomenon". Nunes here refers to a story told by the Roman author Gellio (Nunes 2006, p. 126). Again, in this discourse there appears the statement that the virtue of moderation is very important to ensure the psychosomatic balance necessary for the well-being of the woman and her family.

The other discourses deals with children and family care in education and instruction. With regard to psychological concepts, Nunes emphasizes that professional training must take into account the inclination of children to specific skills and abilities. He also defends the need to introduce new generations into the habit of work, the mechanical arts or the liberal arts. It insists on the importance of educating them to an awareness of the honesty of work, in a context where the belief is tacitly incul-

cated that mechanical crafts would be inferior and stigma of servile condition. On the contrary, it affirms that such arts are goods that will never be lacking in children, even in the absence of parents. Therefore, endowing them with such goods is proof of true parental love.

The emphasis of the two discourses, focused on the family and children, highlights the author's intention to point out the value of family and work as resources for the construction of society. From the perspective of psychological knowledge, we find in both discourses the emphasis on the social importance of the family, today an important object of study in psychology, and the affirmation of the educational importance of work as a human action, expressive of the person more than the possession and consumption of goods.

Discours VI is also dedicated to the family by addressing the question of the relationship between brothers: "superiority among brothers is in capacity and not in years. The greatest is the one who is best. The wisest, the most prudent and the most virtuous is the one who must be superior to the other brothers. The greatest among them is in ability, not in age" (Nunes 2006, p. 163). The discourse is based on the concept of "merit," a criterion that is not respected to the extent that privileges are granted to children according to the order of their birth. According to Nunes, older children have traditionally been attributed more merit because they believe that, through the exercise and experience acquired, their understanding would be better able. However, to the extent that the younger son shows a greater degree of understanding and judgment than the older, it would be appropriate to recognize his superiority. This thesis is proved by examples from sacred and profane history which show the superiority of the youngest over the oldest. In this, the author follows a legal tendency of his time in favor of diminishing the privileges linked to the right of first generation, seeking to overcome this concept of feudal origin.

8.3.3 *Women's Cognitive Abilities*

Discourse V deals with a particularly controversial subject in the panorama of the time: the question of the cognitive capacities of the female sex as pointed out by the long title: "The understanding of every rational creature is necessary and very useful: in this the greatest defect is ignorance. They are not women defective in the organization of the brain, as some have mistakenly understood: they are more capable of intellectual acts than others understand. There is no denial in them for the arts and sciences. The parents of families would experience great utilities if they applied them to them". (Nunes 2006, p. 143).

The novelty and critical content of this discourse, which will possibly induce Pombal to censor the whole work, become evident if we consider that Nunes wrote it in 1758. In 1759, the Portuguese author Ribeiro Sanchez published the book "Cartas sobre a educação da mocidade" (Letters about the education of youth), which was considered an innovative book, but only alluded to the need to instruct Portuguese women (Sanchez 2003). Texts with a misogynistic content circulated in

Portugal: the moralist João de Barros in “Mirror of the Married” (1540) declared the intellectual and moral inferiority of the female sex (Barros 1540). Francisco Xavier de Oliveira in “Amusement Periodique” (1751) stated that female figures highlighted on the intellectual level were rare (Oliveira 1922). It is also very late the date of the creation of the first school for female education in Portugal: 1782 (Santos 1981).

Nunes’ discourse, therefore, stands as an innovative contribution to the current debate on women’s education. From the point of view of the history of psychological knowledge, it is important to emphasize that one of the fundamental arguments used to defend the thesis of the right to female education concerns the psychic apparatus and, in a special way, the cognitive powers, possessed, in equal measure, by both sexes. This theme, as we will see, was widely discussed at the time, and several illustrious intellectuals and physicians positioned themselves in favor of the thesis of female intellectual inferiority. In his discourse, Nunes praises the importance of understanding among the other psychic powers. He defines it as “prince of all powers and sovereign monarch of the rational compound”; and “absolute prince of all human actions”. Taking up a Platonic theme, he compares the “bodily form of the rational creature” to a “marvelous republic,” whose function assigned by the Creator is to dominate the entire universe; “lord who rules, who governs, and who subjects all rational creatures, without difference of sex or quality of person, in all their heroic actions, just procedures, and commendable operations” (Nunes 2006, pp. 143–144).

Nunes disapproves of the opinion of “many learned men, who perhaps because they follow the opinion of others, or because they do not depart from the common applause of the world, have understood, or have written that there are also rational creatures in whom ignorance is more profitable than understanding. They did not doubt to say that these being the women”, it would be inappropriate to take care of their instruction”. (Nunes 2006, p. 144).

Nunes develops extensive argumentation showing that, throughout sacred and profane history, the contribution of duly educated female figures was decisive, some of whom even ruled empires. And he concludes by stating that such experiences demonstrate that “women have the same capacity as men for the exercise of understanding and discourse”. He further states that “women would make the same progress as men in the sciences and arts if they did not deny them the teaching of the sciences and arts, with the same violence that they offer to their children”. In support of his thesis, he cites the example of women scholars in the sciences, from ancient Greece to the present. Thus concludes the reasoning: “if this admirable sex is so fruitful in the productions of understanding”, “it is capable of the same progress and operations of understanding that men are capable of”. However, if women are denied instruction, they will always appear “with the greatest discredited” (Nunes 2006, pp. 147–148). Nunes specifies that the fact that the economic government of the house is often carried out by the female sex testifies in favor of its intellectual capacity.

Since women are equal to men “in the intellectual and discursive part”, the “puerility” sometimes observed in them has its origin, “not in the inequality or imperfection of the brain, as some understood, but in the lack of application and use

of understanding, as shown by experience and the very sweet Feijó”. References to the Spanish Benedictine, author of the work “Teatro crítico” (1726), are frequent in the speeches of Nunes, who also calls him “ingenious author” (Feijó 1746). It is known that Feijó’s work was widely spread in Europe at the time. If women began to “exercise themselves in the classes of understanding”, it is evident that they were “erudite, discreet and scientific”. (Nunes 2006, p. 149). This is proven by several examples of eminent female figures in political and intellectual life taken from Luso-Brazilian history.

In a more detailed way, Nunes narrates the trajectory of the Carioca intellectual to him contemporary and a member together with him of the Academy of the Select, Ângela do Amaral, “a woman who from her early years blinded, could make this Rio de Janeiro stop in pasmos absorbed in the contemplation of such an admirable understanding” (Nunes 2006, p. 151). Ângela do Amaral Rangel was born in Rio in 1725, where she was a poet and journalist: some of her poems were included in the *Júbilos da América* anthology of the Seletos Academy, published in 1754 in Lisbon. (Coelho 2002; Cavalcanti 2004). Nunes refers to Angela’s biography showing that she “without other arts than her own understanding, without other masters more than her own speech, without other classes more than her natural understanding, separated from the commerce of men, living in the retreat of the hills, our heroine wins in such a way not only the lack of sight, but all these failures of application. This proves how natural the lights of discourse are in his sex and the progress of his understanding shine, still without the need for arts” (Nunes 2006, pp. 151–152). According to the author, the example of the carioca intellectual evidences that, even excluded of the public instruction, the women can reach great capacities of understanding. According to Nunes, this fact proves the falsity of the thesis of the famous Spanish doctor Huarte de San Juan, who considered women as “incapable of acts of understanding, due to the disorder of the organic composition of the brain” (Nunes 2006, p. 152).¹

Nunes refutes such arguments, since they are based on the assumption that there would be human creatures devoid of the understanding that “it is the main power of the soul” (Nunes 2006, p. 153). He uses the past as a source of examples to correct the false opinions of the present. In a rapid journey through the history of humanity, it highlights the presence of male sex characters whose actions have proved to be harmful because they were inspired by lack, or loss of understanding.

At the end of the discourse, Nunes reiterates: “attentive to the fact that I must speak free of passions and subject to the truth, I will never, never cease to follow my

¹“Juan Huarte declares in the second proem of the Exame of the Wits”: “And that, according to the difference of ingenuity that each one has, one science is infused and not another, or more or less of each one of them, is something that is understood in the same example of our first parents; in fact, God filled both of them with wisdom, it is a verified conclusion that there was less room for Eve, for which reason the theologians say that the devil dared to deceive her and did not dare to tempt the man fearing his much wisdom. The reason for this is, as we will later prove, that the natural composure that women have in their brains is not capable of much intelligence or wisdom” (HUARTE DE SAN JUAN. Juan. Examen de ingenios para las ciencias. *Electroneurobiología* vol. 3 (2), pp. 1–322, 1996. p. 25.).

opinion in this part”, even if it is contrary to that of “so many giants of the literary orb”. In short, “not only do women have the same aptitude and capacity for understanding and discourse as men, but they would incomparably exceed them if they applied them to the arts and sciences”, to which men ordinarily apply (Nunes 2006, p. 158). In this way, the more useful and admirable the more educated the female sex could be.

The author concludes his apology for the instruction of women, deconstructing the theological argument of female inferiority. This argument is based on the biblical figure of Eve, wife of Adam, who, vulnerable to the seductions of the devil, would have first consumed the pomo prohibited by God. Nunes argues that the devil, in the serpent’s features, tempted Eve in the first place, by engaging the greatest forces “where she warns that she will find the greatest resistance” (Nunes 2006, p. 159). She ends her speech by stating that “if the causes for the effects are known,” “they are women endowed with a perfect organization of the brain and as capable as men of taking advantage of all acts of understanding” (Nunes 2006, p. 161). Thus, Nunes, in his *Speeches*, proposes a knowledge constituted in the evidence of the facts and in the refutation of false opinions spread in the literature of his time.

8.3.4 *Friendship*

The seventh and last discourse is dedicated to friendship: “The true friend is life’s greatest treasure; the pretended and false the worst executioner of it. Many are the goods that come to us from a good friend; much more are the evils that come to us than, without being, persuade us that he is. Seek him who is virtuous, wise, and equal, whoever will find him perfect” (Nunes 2006, p. 183). The theme of friendship is a commonplace in the political culture of the time. There is enormous interest for the topics of friendship and love in modern times, in various genres of knowledge, from theology to law. Many theologians wrote about love and friendship, “underlining its omnipresence in the various moments of human life”: they portrayed love as a natural property of men, an innate inclination for collaboration and community life, working together to achieve the common good, in a context in which the good of one’s self and the individual counted for little (Cardim 1999).

The conceptions about friendship formulated by Church Fathers such as Cassiodoro and Bernardo are cited by Nunes. In the Lusitanian cultural panorama, the contribution of the Portuguese humanist monk Heitor Pinto (1528–1584), who dedicated a chapter of his work “Image of the Christian life”, written in 1563 (Pinto 1940–1941), stands out. Throughout the seventeenth century, there are numerous moral essays discussing the theme of friendship, written by important names in Portuguese literature, and they also deal with sermons.

The beginning of Nunes’ discourse has a personal and pessimistic tone: “the good of having a friend in all truth seemed to me to be all imaginary. I had achieved that it was speculative; but I understood that it was not practical”. However, he corrects this negative view “was temerity of my speech”; and he recounts that he was

disillusioned with this initial opinion by reading Sacred Scripture and the ancient authors. (Nunes 2006, p. 183). Referring to the ninth Epistle of Seneca, Nunes begins his reasoning by stating that “a friend is so necessary that even if he does not find it, man does what he must in search of it”. Although he is not in his power to find him, “the search for him is his duty”. Since finding an authentic friend is an action of fortune, the search for him will always be a “performance of understanding”. Besides Seneca, Nunes mentions other classical authors: Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Plutarch, Seneca, Cicero, Marco Aurelio. He quotes Cicero and the biblical text of the Ecclesiasticus (chap. 6; ver. 16). He proves the value of friendship, defining it as the “medicine of life” and the “action that most distinguishes men”. It refers to examples of great friendships in sacred and profane history. (Nunes 2006, pp. 183–184).

The use of exemplary models fits in with the culture of the time. One of the best known examples is the biblical friendship between David and Jonathan, a model still in vogue in the early Modern Age, presented as a model to imitate. According to Cardim, these exemplary writings form a kind of repository of “stories and images destined to be inscribed in the minds of readers” (Cardim 1999, p. 27).

Nunes starts to analyze what friendship would be: the search for it is the work of understanding, but its action involves another psychic power: the will. In fact, for friendship to happen, it is required that two people “feel like the same”. In other words, the movements of the will of one must be the inclinations of another (Nunes 2006, p. 186). At the time, the texts on friendship used to talk about the affections mobilized in this type of social bond and, in general, about the psychic processes involved, sometimes analyzing in detail the emotional phenomena that corresponded to the states of mind associated with the experience of friendship. In short, the affections linked to the experience of friendship and the related psychological processes were given great attention in the texts on the subject, elaborated within the different literary genres of the time.

According to Nunes, insofar as the bond between friends is established, “man offers himself by the laws of friendship to what he chooses for a friend, passes and transfers to him the dominion and freedom that he had in himself”; and “remains less his than his friend’s”. The characteristics of true friendship derive from this act of adherence to the will. They are as follows: “not to attend to one’s own greed, but to the usefulness of others”; “to conserve one’s friend’s goods, even if they harm his own”; “defending his life, even if he risks his own”; “recovering his fame, even if he risks death” (Nunes 2006, pp. 187–188).

In the second part of the discours, Nunes analyses the damage done by pretended friends and puts as criteria for discerning authentic friendship, the distrust of words and trust in the actions of those who offer themselves as friends. For “true friendship does not consist in saying feigned things, but in working with them”. The duration in time and in the variation of circumstances is another sign of authentic friendship. The friend is one who “at all times loves his friend equally, without his torment overcoming him, without his work loosing him, without his wealth changing him and without any other love deterring him” (Nunes 2006, p. 191, 193).

And finally, the friend must be “virtuous, wise and equal”. Without virtue, there is no useful friend; without wisdom, it will not be profitable; without equality, friendship cannot be lasting and can change in adulation. Nunes concludes by stating that “if you find it so, esteem it as the best treasure in the world, and never leave it” (Nunes 2006, p. 193).

Nunes’ discourse is inspired by the contents of the compendiums of precepts and warnings, elaborated by the moralists of the time, where the topic of friendship is approached as a lasting bond of fidelity, founder of community life. These taken from “commonplaces of good will”, compiled in “true summaries of standardized behavior”, were destined to be repeated “as a mnemonic expedient”, aimed at “inscribing such models in the memory of readers” (Nunes 2006, pp. 27–28).

In conclusion, Nunes, in his Discourses, expresses the full awareness of the dignity and usefulness of his role as a self-taught and cultured writer, attentive to the reality that surrounds him, capable of promoting, through writing, the exercise of disillusionment, necessary for the improvement of individuals and the society to which he belongs. The proof of the theses exposed in his discourses by tradition through examples, quotations, stories from the past, does not diminish the contemporaneity and the decisive interest of the themes he faces for Brazil. The controversial tone of his propositions will even cost him censorship. Nunes’ lucid and concrete look glimpses perspectives that could negatively mark the country’s future, coming from evils characteristic of Portuguese society and present in the Brazilian context. Among them, there are as follows: the unmeasured greed for riches and especially gold, together with a sick use of them due to avarice and individualism, slavery and contempt for work; the stigma against women and the veto to their instruction; the promotion of an artificial social rise based on the acquisition of false nobility titles. On the other hand, Nunes points out alternative paths that in his perspective could contribute to the construction of Brazil, since the constitution of a society based on family relations and solidarity of friendship, of a system of economic growth based on human action, especially work, of a social and cultural advance based on the equal right to education of men and women and on the affirmation of the value of merit (as opposed to birth and enrichment) for the consolidation of worthy social, professional, and political roles.

In this narrative, psychological knowledge is intertwined. We have seen that the plot of the Discourses contains a conception of psychological knowledge based on the Aristotelian-Tomist tradition and of a practical nature, aimed at providing, through the proposed advice, directions for personal and social well-being.

The relevance of Feliciano Joaquim de Sousa Nunes’ contribution is not so much the history of psychological knowledge in Brazilian culture as the discussion of significant themes for the Brazilian space-time context and the polemic and critical content with which the author reflects about the directions of society. For this reason, we wanted to put him in this text because of the importance that, in our opinion, this contribution assumes in the context of the history of Brazilian culture. In fact, Nunes, in his position as a self-taught and erudite scholar, whether in the western cultural tradition, especially the Aristotelian-Tomist, or in the cultural world of Rio de Janeiro, would deserve to be rediscovered by his fellow countrymen.

8.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have presented three authors who, despite their contemporaries, have highlighted very different intellectual positions among themselves. Sousa Nunes' psychological knowledge repropose the Aristotelian-Tomist conception no longer as a philosophical doctrine but as practical guidelines for good living. Matias Aires and his sister Teresa Margarida reflect the new illuminist and questioning spirit of that same tradition. Anyway, all of them seek to provide, through the reading of their books, the disenchantment of their readers, but each of them has conceived this disillusionment in a different way. An important detail of the biography of the three authors is that Sousa Nunes and Aires demonstrated traces of their Jesuitical formation; on the contrary, Teresa Margarida declared herself contrary, in fact, an enemy of that Jesuitical tradition. As seen, she was possibly the author of the abbreviated relationship, a powerful weapon used to denigrate the Company in the process of its expulsion from the Luso-Brazilian territories and extinction.

One more question to emphasize is the different position of the three in relation to Brazil. Matias Aires and Teresa da Orta, despite being born in Brazil, lived a great part of their existence in Portugal: in this sense, their points of reference are based more on the Lusitanian context than the Brazilian one. Anyway, as they are natives of Brazil and their texts are diffused in this country, we chose to put them in our history. The third author, Feliciano Joaquim, on the contrary, has Brazil as a context of reference and his texts address significant aspects of this universe.

Beyond these differences, however, the three authors have remained close by the choice of literary genres in which the authorial and autobiographical position is valued as a source of knowledge and by a lucid awareness of being experiencing a time of deep cultural and social crisis, being the function of the intellectual and writer to portray the present picture and suggest paths for the future.

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Chapter 9

Psychological Knowledge and Cultural Practices



The psychological knowledge conveyed and elaborated in colonial Brazil was used in cultural practices that allowed the rooting and transmission of such knowledge in the long term. Among these practices, this chapter will deal with celebrations and play. These practices are especially valued in Brazilian society and take on original forms in the different regions of the country. In their construction, rhetorical resources capable of mobilizing the psychic dynamism of the participants are employed: for example, allegories, images, ephemeral architectures, words.

The celebration is a collective practice present in the daily life of all human societies, capable of promoting and strengthening identities through the affirmation of a sense shared by the participants. According to Guarinello, “the celebration is always a collective action, which takes place in a defined and special time and place, implying the concentration of affections and emotions around an object that is celebrated. Its main product is the symbolization of the unity of the participants in the sphere of a certain identity. Party is a point of confluence of social actions whose end is the active gathering of its participants” (Guarinello, in Jancsó and Kantor 2001, p. 972).

Play is the practice of all cultures and represents ways for human beings (especially children) to understand and apprehend the world (Carvalho 1999).

Celebrations and play refer to the universe of orality and express the effects of the dynamism of collective memory in popular culture. It transmits such festive practices through the generations and, at the same time, transforms them over time through the creativity of succeeding generations. In fact, as pointed out by De Certeau, the universe of practices has a longer temporal duration than the universe of concepts due to its capacity to assimilate transformations while preserving original traces (De Certeau 2000).

Celebrations and play are collective actions studied with great attention by psychology, especially cultural psychology. According to Bruner, culture has great importance for the constitution of psychology, for providing symbolic systems capable of creating meaning in people’s experiences and influencing their psychic

dynamism in several ways (Bruner et al. 1976). Celebrations and play are therefore cultural practices of great interest to cultural psychology.

In Brazil, celebrations and play are part of a plural universe of practices, partly coming from various parts of the world and partly developed by indigenous peoples. This plurality is provided by the form of colonization suffered, with the arrival of Portuguese, slaves, and later immigrants from various countries (Straub 2010). Traditional Brazilian celebrations and plays come from the vestiges of novels, tales, religious, and mystical rituals of various cultural traditions. The memory of many of these still lingers, as they have been passed down through generations and are performed in the present. Such practices are carried out by mobilizing the person of the participants, in all their dimensions, including the psychism. Such mobilization happens through the use of rhetorical and communicative devices employed in the construction of these practices. In this way, through them, psychological knowledge acts in the constitution of *ways of being* peculiar to the Brazilian cultural universe. In this chapter, the detailed description of the structures of these practices is necessary for the understanding of the psychological effects achieved by such devices and communications used in the organization of festive practices. The profusion of such devices is related to the effectiveness of festive events as regards the mobilization of the participants' psychic devices.

9.1 Celebrations, Plays, and Blending of Indigenous, Portuguese, and African Traditions

When they came to Brazil, the Portuguese colonizers disseminated songs and jokes typical of their tradition (Bernardes 2006). At the same time, the Jesuits were in charge of promoting the process of mixing the different components of the social body of the colony, through various practices aimed mainly at the education of children. Thus, parties and games were employed in such a perspective, as can be seen from the accounts of the authors of the Society.

Descriptions of these cultural practices present in the cultures of Brazilian Indians and of the blends that took place with the European tradition, especially the Lusitanian and Spanish, on the occasion of the colonization and Christianization of Brazil, can be found in the sources prepared by the Jesuit missionaries. The original manuscripts from these sources are preserved in the Archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome and have been later reproduced in modern editions. They are predominantly letters and reports. As we have already emphasized in analyzing the letters, these narratives bring the filter of the observers and writers who elaborated them; the evangelizing objectives are evident in them.

According to the Aristotelian-Tomist psychological knowledge, on which the Jesuit evangelizing action is based, people's experiences gain intensity as senses are provoked, sensations and affections are awakened, and understandings are mobilized. Affections of joy and pleasure are linked to sensations stimulated in the senses

of sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch. The mobilization of this dynamism contributes to the formation of understandings and motivations that promote the integration of the social, political, and religious body. This is the social function of festive practices.

The epistolary narrative, elaborated in 1590, by Fernão Cardim, about the trip and Jesuit mission of the visiting priest Cristóvão de Gouvêa through the regions of Bahia, Ilhéus, Porto Seguro, Pernambuco, Espírito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, São Vicente, etc., between the year 1583 and 1590, describes festive practices of various kinds developed in those territories (Cardim 1980). These are reception parties, celebrations (called “spiritual festivals”) of a religious nature (mass, baptisms, weddings), and finally, dinners and parties in the indigenous fashion.

An example is the reception received by visitors when they arrive at the village of São João, near the city of Salvador. Cardim reports that when the Jesuits approached by sea, through a “path of large fields and deserts, before the village more than a mile, came the main Indians. They took turns to take the priest in a net, and because the path was already short, at each step they took turns so that none of them remained without taking the priest. They were very happy to have that as a great honor and favor. We were received with many feasts”. After this ceremonial reception, the Jesuits carried out their religious practices with the indigenous community (baptisms, Eucharist, solemn masses). The Indians, “after the spiritual feasts, had another dinner according to their tradition and all afternoon they dedicated to their feasts” (Cardim 1980, p. 155). In another section, Cardin refers to three feasts that were celebrated by the Indians in an effusive way. All of them are festivals of Christian tradition, brought to Brazil by the Portuguese and then by the Jesuits: “The first is the bonfires of St. John: on this occasion, his villagers burn in fires. They jump over the bonfires without bothering to burn their clothes. (...) The second is the feast of Palm Sunday: it’s beautiful to see, the words, flowers and decorations they use (...). The third one that everyone celebrates the most is Ash Wednesday: on this one, no one is missing, and comes from far away to participate and receive the ashes on his forehead in the form of a cross. (...) If it happens that the priest doesn’t go to the mildew, they give the ashes to each other, as it happened to an old lady who, lacking the priest, called all the residents of the mildew to the church and gave them the ashes, saying that this is how the Abarés, sc. and that they would not remain in such a solemnity without ashes” (Cardin 1980, p. 156).

The rootedness and permanence of the Lusitanian festival of Saint John in the Brazilian territory is the object of Camara Cascudo’s research. He brings accounts of two authors, a traveling foreigner and a Brazilian, who participated and described the feast of St. John in the nineteenth century, in different places in Brazil. The first, Francis Burton, visiting Brazil, witnessed the bonfires of St. John in Minas Gerais and reported other elements of the feast, such as sympathies for marriage, songs to St. John and rockets that are thrown to celebrate the saint. The second, Pereira da Costa, relates the occurrence of the same party in Pernambuco, also bringing information about it and emphasizing the significance of the bonfires in the popular mentality: these would have special virtues: “they are an oracle ... their embers do not burn ... are sacred! (Cascudo 2003/1999, p. 318). The fire element and its light

have the capacity to influence the psychic dynamism of people and to sharpen their psychic powers, that is, their sensations, affections, understandings, and motivations.

Cardim describes the playful activities of the indigenous children that involve strong interaction with the natural and social environment, the ritual of the lagging greeting to the visitors that was given to them by the indigenous community of the village of São João, the religious celebration of Palm Day and the orange festival.

The orange festival is marked by gestures of symbolic exchange, a type of relationship marked by the anthropologist M. Mauss as a fundamental element of aggregation and strengthening of social ties in indigenous societies. Here is the story: “The following day we went to the look-out for St. John, half a league for water, for a very fresh and graceful river, with so many woods and trees that one could not see the earth, and scarcely the sky. The children of the dahi had made some traps in the river, the ones swimming, bursting at certain steps with great screams and roars, and played other games and parties in the water in their own very graceful way, sometimes having the canoe, other times shaking underneath. Coming out on the ground, all with their hands up, they said: Praise Jesus Christ!—and came to take the priest’s blessing. The princes gave their “Ereiupe“, speaking about the coming of the priest with great fervor. We arrived at the church accompanied by the Indians, and the children and the women with palms in their hands, and other bouquets of flowers. All this represented the live reception of Christ in Jerusalem on Palm Day...At the end of the reception there was another feast, the feast of the oranges. They do not lack oranges, nor other similar fruits with which they make them. Soon they began with their gifts, and so free that it seems to them that they do nothing but give as much as they have. And it’s a great insult to them not to accept it. When they donate their gifts, they say nothing, but put turkeys, chickens, piglets, parrots, frogs, etc., at the feet of the priest and say goodbye soon” (Cardim 1980, p. 167).

The letter of 1556 sent from Bahia do Salvador, to “Our Father Inacio”, by the Jesuit Antonio Blasquez, emphasizes the great affective force exerted by “music and songs” among the indigenous population. He narrates that “around the church, the children said a song, and the other chorus responded with the flutes. It was something very beautiful, maximum for happening among these Indians, who in extreme are attached to music and singing. Even the wizards who call them saints among them, use this way when they want to catch some stuff” (in: Navarro et al. 1988, p. 188).

The letter written by Father Antônio Pires in 1560 describes the visit of Father Luiz da Grã in Bahia, to the village of Espírito Santo, and refers to a reception with “folia de tamboris” (tambourine folia) (in Navarro et al. 1988, p. 302). Another letter from Antonio Blasquez relates festivals and jokes that accompanied the visits of Father Provincial in Bahia: among others, he says that “some gentlemen (Portuguese settlers), to rejoice more in the feast, after eating the “ring (argolinha) rung” in the village and the Indians also did their dances and dances, each and every one in his own way” (in: Navarro et al. 1988, p. 437). The “*argolinha*” (little ring) race, repeatedly mentioned in the letters, or horseback riding, is still popular in the interior of

Brazil and in Portugal: it consists in taking, with the spearhead, on horseback, a little ring suspended from a foliage arch. According to Cascudo, the competition game appeared in the Middle Ages and was very widespread in Portugal. With colonization, the game was brought to Brazil and since the sixteenth century, the practice is common in the country. An account of the French traveler Francis Castelnau, who was in Brazil in the nineteenth century, provides a face-to-face description of the game of *argolinha* (Cascudo 1999). This description of the author is very similar to the one in the cited letter of the Jesuit Antonio Blasquez, showing that the game has been preserved in various times and places in the country (Bizinelli and Massimi 2017).

In general, the narratives of parties and jokes present in the Jesuit letters show the occurrence of a successful mixture of festive traditions, the indigenous and the Lusitanian, in a clear communicative effort to persuade the readers about the success of the missionary activities: “all this night, not only on the part of the Indians, with their dances and dances, but also on the part of the Whites, with their drum and revelry, the party was celebrated with great pleasure and joy” (Navarro et al. 1988, p. 446). And further: “finally, in the middle of this procession there were dances, drums, with their flag, revelry, not only on the part of the Indians but also of the Christians, who were not little rejoicing and rejoicing at the feast. With this order and manner, they went around the village with great satisfaction of all” (Navarro et al. 1988, p. 452). The procession is interspersed with dances, drums, revelry, and the presence of the flag; all elements still present today in Brazilian religious and playful traditions.

In the Information from the Province of Brazil to the Father General of the Society of Jesus, written in 1585 by José de Anchieta, among the news reported about the missionary context, the author describes the villages of Bahia and some feasts and jokes that occur there. In the “festivals” of the Indian children, he reports the joint presence of elements of the Portuguese ludic tradition (“they do their dances to the Portuguese with tamborins and violas, with much grace as if they were Portuguese children”) and elements of the indigenous playful tradition (“and when they do these dances they put some diadems on the head of feathers of birds of various colours and of this luck they also make the bows, warp and paint the body, and thus painted and very gallant, in their own way make their parties very enjoyable”) (Anchieta 1988, p. 412; 417). The use of the tambourine at parties is common in Brazil: it is a small drum that is easy to execute and build. Together with the bagpipe, it was one of the first European instruments to come to Brazil. There are reports of the tamborim enchanting the Tupiniquim Indians since the beginning of colonization. Anchieta uses the account of these practices to prove the conclusive argument: these children “are already made political and Christian men”. The festive and playful practices are, therefore, a significant element of the Jesuit project of acculturation and Christianization of the natives.

In short, the feasts organized by the missionaries in the early days of their presence in Brazil, in the indigenous villages, had the objective of promoting cultural miscegenation, arousing the participation of all the social actors present and aiming at persuasion with regard to the evangelizing objectives. In this way, they sought to

stimulate the process of formation of colonial society, which included Indians, Portuguese, and Africans, forming the so-called “Christian social body”. The festive and playful practices were aimed at promoting communicative and persuasive processes and, as we have already said, were built on knowledge that articulated philosophical and rhetorical psychology, spread in the Western tradition and appropriated by the Jesuits in view of the evangelizing end. We have already seen that, according to the precepts of classical rhetoric interpreted in the Christian perspective from Augustine of Hippo, the processes of communication through words, images, gestures, aim to delight, move, convince through understanding, to the recipients (Augustine 1988). The delight experienced by the senses moves the affections, mobilizing the interest, the attention, the knowledge of those who participated in these practices. From this follows the importance of the emotional involvement observed by the authors of the letters. Expressions found in the letters, such as “they could not be happy”, or showed “extreme affection for music and singing”, reveal the importance and attention given by the narrators to the degree of emotional involvement of the villagers in the parties and games promoted.

The recognition of specific African influences in traditional festivals and games is hampered by the lack of documentation on the playful activities of black children in the Brazilian colonial period; however, it is known that through orality, tales, legends, myths, and stories of the homeland were transmitted from black mothers to children (Bernardes 2006).

As slaves, Africans sought to put gestures to remember their roots: the tales, the music; the dance; and the *congada*. About the ritual of the *Congada*, which includes the coronation of the King of Congo, a traveler, Koster, observes the character of affirmation of identity, for “it is on the days of this feast that they display their superiority and power”. The traveler Castelnau comments referring to the coronation of the King of Congo he had witnessed in Sabará in 1840: “the scene was very curious, singularly mixing the reminiscences of the African coast with Brazilian customs and religious ceremonies”.

More recently, Brandão states that the coronation that the blacks of Rosário de Oliveira make of themselves during the party “is a creative and direct way for people to remember that they are not a people, but descendants of peoples, of nations” (Brandão 1986, p. 3). According to Brandão, this is the preservation of “a very rich repertoire of gestures and exchange ceremonies that occurs there. The transmission and the encounter with an “ancestral tradition” is possible through the permanence “in the memories and in the hearts”, of the most dense and original sense of that celebration. The accounts of the participants, collected by the researcher, show that this permanence is the product of the work of memory carried out by them during the celebration of the Congo.

The interviewees report: “having gathered everything I knew, what I had already learned from my father” (Capitão Pedrinha); at the same time, they say they reinvented the process: “I learned part of it from my father (...) but we have to invent it too” (Capitão Pipita) (Brandão 1986, p. 8). Captain João Bosco summarizes the value of the practice of the *Congada*, as a transmission of the heritage received by the ancestors, to the new generations: “This all comes from the time of the old. We

are not eternal. You have to leave someone to tell the story of the past, from grandfather to son. And we go on following the story forward. This is a very old party that hates until it changes, but should not die.” (Brandão 1986, p. 9).

According to Cascudo, the Congadas remember fights and the person of “Queen Njinga Nbandi, Queen of Angola deceased in 1663 (...) defending the autonomy of her reign against the Portuguese” (1988, p. 243). The observation that these records never existed in African territory highlights the fact that this ritual is the product of the elaboration of the collective memory by the African community deported in Brazil, by the regime of slavery.

9.2 Religious and Civil Festivals and Choreographies in Colonial Brazil

In colonial Brazil, in the context of the great religious and civic festivals, artistic representations were performed, in accordance with the theatrical and spectacular character of baroque culture. These festivals were where the ostentation of the richness and creativity of colonial society was paramount, through manifestations such as: horseback riding, bullfighting, games, and theatrical representation of comedies or tragedies. The importance of these cultural events was linked to playful and persuasive purposes. Resources, modalities, and techniques aimed at mobilizing the interest and adherence of the public were used for their realization.

The agglutinating and integrating character of the party can be understood if we take into account the corporate conception of society and social relationships of the time. The feast as a whole and its development and internal articulation aims to highlight the body of civil society as a whole; the cohesion between the bodies of individuals who belong to it; and the cohesion between the social bodies within it. Hansen notes that the body, in this type of feast, assumes various forms: the body of the State, which is the political body; the population united in a single faith as a mystical body (the Body of Christ, in many cases in the form of the Eucharist); the personal body (physical, biological, mental and intentional) of each of the participants (Hansen 2001). In this context, the value of each body is transformed: it is no longer an individual body of each one but a figure, representation and part of the Mystical and Political Body, and there is no solution of continuity between the two. In this way, the celebration has the function of affirming the impossibility of an individual body to challenge or deny the power of the mystical-political Body. And, at the same time, it offers the possibility for each one to elevate himself and to participate in such power once he is united to the whole.

This conception is based on the possibility of the individual and social body to express in a metaphorical way its relations with all reality, as the choreographies and allegories used in the parties show. Such representations, in fact, do not have a mere fictional character, but present a social body, as we have seen in the festivals held in Brazil since the early years of the Jesuits’ presence, conceived as an impor-

tant means of missionary action, with the objective of participating and integrating the colonial society as a 'Christian social body' associating Indians, Portuguese, and Africans.

In the Portuguese court during the reigns of Dom João V to Dom Pedro I, the organization of the festivities became an important instrument used by the Crown, for political management and to obtain the ideological consensus of the subjects and the Colonies (Carvalho e Souza 2001). At the time, great ephemeral apparatuses were built, inspired by neoclassical art, and used to mean something that was not immediately present in a material way, but was present and alive in memory.

The festivities deeply marked the collective memory of the Brazilian population, interrupting the routine of common time. They began with a long preparation, from the official summons made by the Court or the city council. The distribution of functions and the organization of the festivities were carried out with great care, in a sequence similar to a ritual, which had its end at the end of the festivities, when everyone returned to common time. At the party, everyone worked and had fun for a common good, namely: the *res publica*. In this way, they intended to present, through these gestures, the image of a well integrated society. For this reason, metaphors of the world of life were often used, symbolizing unity and integration between the parts, such as the anthill and the hive. The great actor of these festivities was the social body (the participants of the feast), the mystical body (the whole Christian society, formed and founded by divine power), and the political body (kings, governors, chamber, and officers, etc.). Through the feast, civil society wanted to show its collective strength, its organizational capacity, and its dignity.

Through the celebration, the presence of royalty in colonial society was affirmed, even if not legally recognized: the royalty of the human person, of groups, minorities, and communities (work corporations, brotherhoods), ethnic groups, and peoples (as in the case of the kings of Congo in the brotherhood). In the civil festivities, the representation of sovereignty, of the central power of the Metropole, in the Colony, the place of the event, in a symbolic way, aimed at establishing bonds of authority, commitment, fidelity, and loyalty, between rulers and governed (Hansen 2001). Such imaginative approximation between monarch and vassal was seen as essential to dispel the widespread impression among the Brazilian population that the Colony was forgotten or underestimated by the metropolis, as it was considered only a place of exploitation of slave labor and extraction of material wealth. Thus, one of the objectives pursued by the festival was to obtain consensus and to prevent possible revolts in the Colony. To achieve these ends and to overcome the geographical distance, it also served the writing of the narratives of the festival containing detailed descriptions that could be printed and disseminated in Portugal. They were even read by the King, pleasing him and gaining his appreciation. Therefore, the written narrative is also part of the same celebration intention of the gesture, from the conception and the involvement of the participants, until the execution.

This political and celebratory intention of the party implied the mobilization of the psychic dynamism of the participants so as to encourage involvement, adherence, persuasion, modification of conduct. Those present should be involved and understand, feel and understand what is represented (Hansen 2001). The representa-

tion should be able to be kept in memory. The effects of mobilizing psychic dynamism were obtained by provoking the imagination of the spectators in order to form an inner image of the represented content. The means to reach the imagination is the evocation of affections. In this perspective, the representations aimed to mobilize the psychic dynamism of the spectators, which was also integrated hierarchically in the realization of the “common good” of both the person and the state. Such integration occurs through the use of free will. Subordination to the hierarchy of soul and politics would provide the “tranquillity of the soul” and the integration of the individual body with the social, mystical, and political body (Hansen 2001).

In addition, the festival represented an important link between the present and the memory, expressing in a playful and symbolic way something part of the spirit, the culture, but distant in time or space. The feast vivified traditions, beliefs, and important events, which would otherwise fall into oblivion. In this way, the festival intended to safeguard culture and transmit an inheritance from tradition, in an effective way, through its plasticity and multiplicity of meanings capable of representing and feeding the collective imaginary of its time.

Finally, the festivals were also an occasion for dialogue and mixing among different cultures that invited. The European celebrations took on a dynamic of their own in Brazil, extending even the meanings of the allegorical language used.

They will now be described as some of these events, whose traces could be known due to the written narratives elaborated about them.

Among all, the Eucharistic Triumph in Ouro Preto was especially rich. Its importance was increased by the existence of a contemporary chronicle that described it in detail, by Simão Ferreira Machado, published in Lisbon in 1734 (Machado 1734/1967). The ‘triumph’ is a form of homage that arose in the Roman Empire to honor emperors returning from a victorious battle: there was the parade of the victors through arches (the famous “arches of triumph”) and other manifestations of grandiosity. The Renaissance had resumed this tradition and destined it for special celebrations. In his narrative, Machado chose this word to classify the event of Ouro Preto in the list of this kind of event. This shows that the choreographic arrangement of the ensemble is the result of a celebratory tradition already codified and of a preparatory process standardized in a precise way indicated in the narrative document.

The celebration of the Eucharistic Triumph, which took place from May 24, 1733, in Ouro Preto (former Vila Rica), was a religious and at the same time profane event, held for several days. The objective was the translation of the Blessed Sacrament from the Church of Our Lady of the Rosary to the matrix of Our Lady of the Pillar. The event mobilized countless people, from the village, the colony, and the Portuguese kingdom. The celebration was the concluding event of a process that had begun three years before: the main church of Pilar, built in 1712 (one of the oldest temples in Vila Rica), was reformed and its entire structure remodeled. In order to continue the exercise of religious functions in the Mother Church, all the sacred objects of worship were transferred to the church of Our Lady of the Rosary in 1730. In 1733, the Mother Church was partially ready and able to perform its functions. For this reason, it received back its apparatus through this solemn and extremely sumptuous ceremony, with a repercussion and artistic richness never seen

elsewhere in the Colony. Vila Rica de Ouro Preto had, until this date, counted on a little more than thirty years of existence and an enormous urban and social development. The city, an economic source of supply for the Crown, supplied the metropolis with gold extracted in abundance.

See below the structure of the party according to Machado's narrative.

The announcement of the festive event took place from the end of April until the third of May, through stylized characters, represented by actors wearing masks. They traveled all over the city proclaiming the next celebration. These figures, apparently strange to the reality of the time and the place, date back to the traditions of medieval Europe and the Moorish courts. The masks they wore were reminiscent of the long tradition of theater. These figures were intended to attract the attention of the population and to pre-announce the grandeur of the event: "the masks were a pleasant object of sight because of the differences in dress" (Machado 1734/1967, p. 195).

On the last day of the proclamation of the feast, two flags representing Our Lady of the Pillar and the Rosary were placed in front of the two churches to mark the path of the processional choir.

The beginning of the festive celebration planned for May 23, 1733, was delayed by a sudden and abundant rain, which frustrated the plan and led to moving the beginning of the celebration to the following day. However, the feeling of momentary disappointment turned into joy. The people gathered, and there were the preachers' speeches interpreting the rain as a manifestation of contentment and thanksgiving from God for the homage and piety.

The procession began on May 23, solemnly led by the Blessed Sacrament, which was a great metaphor alluding to the fact that man is guided by Christ toward immortal destiny. The meaning of the allegorical language used in the construction of the choreographies of the procession is understandable in the context of the rhetoric and the use of metaphors that we have already seen as characteristic of the Luso-Brazilian culture of the time.

There followed a dance of Turks and Christians: thirty-two characters, divided into equal parts. They wore stylized military uniforms, representing the hierarchy of the courts, from emperor to soldier. They provided the memory of centuries-old conflicts between Christians and Muslims.

Then, two floats accompanied by musicians and dancers brought the enigmatic figures of a serpent, a knight, and a vault. In continuity with the procession, four figures personified the four winds, named by the four cardinal points. Mounted on horses richly stocked and dressed in luxurious and stylized clothing, each figure tried to express the "personality" of the winds through the colors of the props and gestures. They wore "cocaes" (= elegant Indian-style cocaes) and clothes embellished with precious stones, gold, and silver. The winds were presented in the following order: West, South, North, and East.

After the wind parade, two allegorical figures entered the scene, defined in the chronicle as the most majestic of the whole procession: one represented Fame and the other Ouro Preto: "The allegorical image of Fame was dressed (...) wearing a mask, which attributed to it a silhouette of mystery and severity. On his head lay a

headdress of diamond flowers and white feathers; on his chest, embroidered, in gold and stones and a diamond brooch; on his back he had two wings of white feathers and gold leaves” (Machado 1734/1967, p. 215). Fame rode a horse with gold and silver, accompanied by two valets who distributed leaflets to the population with poems dedicated to the solemnity. The figure of Ouro Preto was all covered with gold, like a turban of gold leaves and diamonds decorated with feathers; on his chest, he carried royal weapons and an embroidered inscription: *Viva Ouro Preto*. Then, the representations of the seven planets followed: in line with the medieval conception of astrology, the planets were attributed personality traits, stereotypes, and psychological influences.

The symbolic representation of the Cathedral ended the procession: this figure wore a blue cap embroidered with flowers and adorned with gold beads and diamonds, and a “coat” of white feathers. His blue dress was intertwined with fringes of gold and diamonds. The rider solemnly mounted a white horse adorned with crystal stars, blue velvet, and golden fringes and carried on his left arm a gold shield in which the cathedral was painted. The personification of the Cathedral was intended to represent the church which not only consisted of the extrinsic dimension of the temple but also assumed a personality of its own: Mystical Body, the living Church.

In short, the Eucharistic Triumph was intended to symbolize the power of Christian civilization in the face of poverty, paganism, and even death. The gold used lavishly in the props and ornaments throughout the procession represented the end of the years of poverty of the previous century. The figures of the pajens who wandered through the parade dressed “in Moorish attire” denounced the submission of the peoples of the East to Western Christianity. Finally, the metaphor of the procession of the Blessed Sacrament alluded to the magnificence of the social and mystical Christian body and its immortal destiny.

Similar celebrations took place in other religious centers of the Mines of the eighteenth century. In the city of Mariana, there are reports of preaching since its proclamation as an episcopal see. The text *Aureus Episcopal Throne*, an account of the feast of the inauguration of the first Bishop of Mariana, contains the description and explanation of the triumphal procession of the prelate’s entrance on November 28, 1748.

Still in the region of Minas Gerais, in Sabará, the *Book of Commitments* of the Venerable Third Order of Mount Carmel defined the form in which the procession of the Triumph on Sundays of Palm Sunday should be composed. This procession constitutes itself in a living preaching: theatricality of doctrinal truths, allegorically represented through the people of the participants transformed into characters. The Sabará chronicles report the frequent occurrence of parties following choreographic rituals. For example, on the occasion of the liturgical functions of Good Friday, there was the procession of the Burial of the Lord, after the preaching of the sermon and the liturgy of the adoration of the Cross. The “Burial Procession” followed the “Seven Steps of the Passion of Christ”, carrying the dead Lord in a skiff. It accompanied the Lutheran procession, the “*Andor da Soledade*”, with the image of Our

Lady carrying the holy Shroud in her hands (Book Archive Sabará. Cap. 40) (Passos 1942, p. 114).

News about similar parties can be found in another city in Minas Gerais, São João del Rey. There is a record from 1781 of how the procession was done. “In front was the Cross of Penance, with two coats of arms, one representing Christ and the other St. Francis of Assisi, taken to put a man dressed in a petticoat, with his face covered and a crown of rope wrapped. The penitents paraded in wings, among which were the figures,—one represented death, carrying an hourglass, symbol of life that passes and ends, and the traditional bent sickle; two others carried trays with a skull, bones and ashes. A tree of thorns was also carried, defoliated, with booklets, cylinders and disciplines (flogging). Two characters, representing Adam and Eve, dressed in skins and leaves with their eyes on the ground, were followed by a third—an angel armed with a flaming sword: another was followed by a tree with apple leaves and a curled serpent; other figurants symbolized contempt for vanities. Eight andores were part of the procession, preceded by the one bearing the image of Our Lady of the Conception and closed by the main one—the Christ of Monte Alverne” (Guimarães 1996, p. 87). The visual representation recalled the whole of Christian history, beginning with the creation of man in the Genesis.

In the city of Salvador, Bahia, two documents describe the party held on the occasion of the celebration by an illustrious wedding between Princess of Brazil Dona Isabel and Infante Dom Pedro. Both documents are preserved at the National Library of Rio de Janeiro: one was prepared by Father Manoel Cerqueira Torres in 1760, and the other by José Antônio de Sarre (1760) (Torres 1909; Sarre 1760). In both, a celebration structured in forms, figures, and effects is described. In the choreography of the ceremony, the following components stand out: the Triumph; the Procession; the Bullfight; the Cavalries; and the Dances. All of them take place in articulated and ordered sequence. The ensemble is at the same time formed by parts, each having its own choreography resulting in a unique and dynamic form, almost like the dance of a body in movement: a unitary choreography. In both narratives, the proposition of the ensemble is qualified by order: it was “well ordered” the presentation of the various corporations and brotherhoods, carefully organized in advance by the Chamber that had distributed roles and place of each one in the ensemble. The sequence of the sacred images was in accordance with a certain theologically defined and socially established norm: first, the Eucharistic Sacrament, then the statue of Our Lady of the Pillar, and then those of the patron saints of the city. The main actors in the choreography were the members of the social and religious body: they presented themselves in their respective groups of membership arranged in hierarchical order. They were as follows: the brotherhoods, the religious congregations, the craft corporations, the heads of the political and religious institutions, and the people in their various social states. This order was proposed to the spectators so that first they could see the whole, the movement, the choreography; then the highlights, the allegorical machines; and then the participants, the characters; to then visualize the details, clothes, jewels, decorations, and materials. The choreography of the ensemble presented an ordered hierarchy of functions articulated around two symbols: the cross—religious symbol—and the white

stick—symbol of political power. Each body of functions and crafts exhibited in the private dances in a set that was also ordered hierarchically, thus presenting a body formed by elements, creative and dynamic, but also subjects of the two powers represented by the Cross and the Rod. The parade of the fellowships before the clergy highlighted the priority importance attributed to them: the presence in the parade of the andor with the image of the patron saint of each fellowship was signifying that the saints also integrated this body, both visible and invisible, materialized in the present but also rooted in the past (Conde and Massimi 2008).

The machines used in the celebration were a few floats and an ephemeral fountain. In the narrative, the sense of the presence of these apparatuses is explicit: the ostentation of wealth and power and also the evocation of pleasurable sensations. For example, “the image of Our Lady of Conception was placed on a majestic car covered with the most exquisite silks, which, because of the diversity of colours (...) offered to the eyes a delicious object” (Torres 1909, p. 3). In the ephemeral trimming that embellished the cathedral, the work of the architect Paulo Franco da Silva, there was in the center a “throne illuminated with many candles, whose lights reflected those of many silver bouquets, which shaped it” (Torres 1909, p.2). Two great floats represented space (the continents of the world) and time (the seasons of nature). In the first, they featured: “Europe sitting on a bull richly dressed in tragic imperial crown and sceptre”; “America sitting on a bird of various colors, crowned with gallant and showy feathers girded with bow and arrow in hand and shining arrows on its shoulder”; “Africa sitting on a lion dressed in Moorish (...); and finally Asia richly dressed sitting on an elephant”. In the four corners of the second car, “there were four figures in men’s tragic robes; the first was the figure of summer, the second of spring, the third of autumn and the last of winter”. The representation of continents and climates was a common place in iconological treatises, such as that of Cesare Ripa, a treatise widely used for the invention of baroque festivals, including in Brazil (Ripa 1992; Hansen 2001).

The two narratives describe various types of dances performed during the festival: minuets, contradictions, Moorish. The minuet is a figure present in the court dances in the European tradition; the contradiction is dance of pairs (*vis-a vis*, or of the English: country dance); the Moorish are dances possibly created by the crusaders, or coming from ancient Celtic dances (linked to the tradition of Morris Dance) (Martins Monteiro 2001). The narratives also describe craft dances representing the corporations. For example, the sailors dressed in “crimson firecrackers, white garments in red with velvet belts of the same colour”, once an opening dance had taken place, made “a ship enter the square, which with its wide sails looked like it was sailing with winds in a low gear, followed by a well rehearsed and very visible contradiction of twelve figures dressed in English clothes” (Torres 1909, p. 3). The blacksmiths in their presentation evoked the mythological origin of their trade: the dance consisted of two figures, “in one was represented Hercules dressed in the tragic, in the other, the seven-headed Hydra. To the sound of well seasoned instruments he danced and cut off the heads of the Hydra, and when other heads were born again he also cut them off until he killed her” (Torres 1909, p. 6). Finally, “to the sound of harmonious instruments danced some popular dances”. The various

ances that make up the social body of the colony are represented: the mulattos and the blacks who “in both afternoons went to the square with many amusing dances, all very exquisite for the opulence with which they were dressed as for the ideas of the same dances” (Torres 1909, p. 11). The performance of black slaves, Indians, and mulattos in the dances makes the event a moment of administration of the social forces in tension. The incorporation of European dances was influenced and altered by the dances of the natives, and this medium was an important mode of integration between colonized and colonizers.

Psychological knowledge finds updating in these practices of communicative, persuasive, and associative content. The use of the rhetorical resources of allegories, ephemeral architectures, images, and words aims to achieve these objectives by mobilizing the psychic dynamism of the participants.

9.3 Psychological Knowledge and Festive Practices

9.3.1 *Senses and Feelings*

Participation in these celebrative events activated people’s psychic dynamism, primarily through sensory involvement. This was provided by the provision of sensory stimuli (such as lights, colors, sounds, smells, etc.) and by the presentation of figures (images, allegories, masked actors, etc.), movements (dances and gestures), and words.

From the perspective of psychological knowledge inspired by the Aristotelian-Tomist philosophy still in force at the time, the sensitive soul, responsible for sensitive knowledge, sensitive appetites and movement, has as its first function the sensation. The sensitive faculties are capable of receiving sensory stimuli, which are updated in sensations. Therefore, the ability to feel is only actuated when the personal and psychic organism is in relation to the sensory object and produces the sensation.

Among the five external senses, the sense of sight is especially stimulated. It has been seen that already in Jesuit accounts, on the occasion of the feast of St. John, villages burn with fire because of the bonfires: the light enchants and mobilizes people to jump over it. Hearing is another sense that is evident in the accounts of feasts and jokes. Like light, sound, connected to music, has the power to unite people and get them involved with the proposed cultural or religious practice. The instruments of the flute, tambourine, and viola, in addition to the songs and chants, are elements through which the sound is used in the mobilization of the participants, who because they have “extreme affection for music and chants” get involved intensely. One can also consider the importance of the senses of taste, smell, and touch in celebrations and games. In the orange fiesta, which according to the Jesuit document mentioned above was followed by a banquet (with turkeys, chickens, piglets, etc.) the aspect of taste and smell is highlighted. The dances, dances, running

rings, games in the water, the fur, the hoop, and the pawn show the importance of the body and touch in the activities of festivities and games. Sensations of pleasure, joy, and charm are awakened as diverse senses are explored, generating understanding and positioning in the participants.

In Simon Machado's account of the event of the Eucharistic Triumph, the numerous appeals provided by festive trimmings to stimulate sensitivity are highlighted. The narrator informs that in the six days preceding the event, there were smaller festivities, where music and dance were always present. Moreover, the city was permanently illuminated throughout the nights, "to dilate to the lights of the dark dominion". In the opening pages of the chronicle, the author describes the presence of light and dark sensory stimuli that highlight the traditional contrast and complementarity of baroque inspiration. The luminous stimuli are destined to arouse affections. Images are also used during the procession to promote sensory experiences that trigger affections. The same effect is intended to arouse in the festive wings of the procession, carriages, and allegorical figures, personified by actors or iconographic elements of ephemeral apparatus.

The ability of sensory stimulation to request also cognitive and motivational processes allows processions and parades to acquire for the participants the metaphorical features of the Christian social body. The strong symbolic character of the allegories present in all the celebrative events that were previously described made them similar to great "visual sermons" with a doctrinal dimension.

The accounts of Torres e Sarre of 1760, previously described, when narrating the important civic party that took place in the City of Salvador, on the occasion of the wedding of Infante Dom Pedro, show the construction of a representative universe destined to sharpen the psychic powers of the human being: the sensations, in the first place.

The narratives of the Bahian festival show that the entire choreography was destined to sharpen the capacities of the sensitive soul, since the whole apparatus of the party was intended to cause pleasurable sensations. In this way, attention is paid to using objects and details that make the eyes shine, salivate the mouth, dilate nostrils and eardrums, and caress the skin. They are lights that adorn the eyes, songs that please the ears, banquets that delight the palate, flowers that exhale, perfumes that numb the sense of smell and clothes, materials and fabrics that pinch and massage the skin, sharpening the tact of the participants of the great party.

The vision is awakened by the presence of the lights, the importance of which is already evident in the decree of convocation promulgated by the Governor, who "ordered everyone to light their windows with bright and bright lights" (Sarre 1760, p.1). The residents obeyed the order so effectively that "the stars of the sky looked like lamps of the earth, and the lamps of the earth affected them to be stars of the firmament". The rhetorical inversion of Sarre's narrative highlights that the effect of light was a kind of recreation of the world, extinguished by light, the differences between the earthly world and the celestial world, so that one opened access to the other. This effect manifests the effectiveness and creativity of the intervention of the "human inventiveness" because "the tenebrousness of the night made it necessary for them to light the whole yard with facades and torches, which was so bright, that

they did not need the brilliant shines of the sun” (Sarre 1760, p. 9). The effects of the sophisticated games of light provide different sensations (pleasure, joy, sadness, wonder): “they flattered the taste in the brilliance of their lights”, “they awakened the contentment of those who saw that going up with happy sparks, they came down with sad tears” (Sarre 1760, p. 9). When they caught fire, the gunpowder lamps “lit the mortars and the girandolas with violent impulses, creating figures in graceful disorder, which surrounded the highest part of the aerial element with the clarity of the flames that came out of them and with the bang they made” (Sarre 1760, p. 11).

The colors were also used for the same purpose. At various times, the texts refer to the variety of colors of dresses and trimmings and the sensory effects were raised: admiration, for example: “The rich of the galas, the excellence of the dresses, the variety of colors, certainly showed admiration” (Sarre 1760, p. 2). The effect of the chromatic variety increased as it acquired a dynamic character integrating the movement of the dance and as an “elegant proportion of the colors” was used in the decoration material (Torres 1909, p. 1).

The taste was stimulated in the banquet composed of delicious delicacies; the sense of smell was stimulated by the use of pleasant smells: “There were four boys (...) throwing flowers to the people of the palanques, carrying globes of fine golden clay with fragrant flowers” (Sarre 1760, p. 10).

In relation to listening, the narrative repeatedly records the presence of sound (such as instrumental music, bell ringing, noise, singing, etc.). Torres emphasizes in the ringing of the city bells the effect of mobilizing the psychism of the listeners: “the sacred bronzes wounding the air stimulated more festive affections. The ears are the ducts through which the souls were filled with species. All this caused them to give repeated thanks to God for so much happiness” (Torres 1909, p. 1). The inspiration in Aristotelian-Tomist philosophical psychology is evident in this reference to the theory of the species present in the narrator’s explanation.

The sound is destined to awaken pleasure and infuse feelings of joy: “in the streets one could hear only instrumental musicians (...); certainly he had neither the pleasure nor the judgment more than to admire. (...) The ringing of the bells of all the churches infused new joy” (Sarre 1760, p. 1). The sound is also used in the liturgical celebration: “There was a solemn Mass with music. The appeal to the sense of hearing is recurrent. At the beginning of the evening, “the most delicious serenade began, formed and complete with tuned instruments and concerted voices”. The tuning of the instruments and the tuning of the voices provides a “so full and adjusted harmony “that the narrator compares to the mythical music of Orpheus and is able to “move even the irrational and insensitive to the most reverent courtesies“ (Sarre 1760, p. 5). Once again the persuasive power of music is emphasized through the mobilization of the sensory dynamism of the listeners: “the sonorous music finished this egregious function with the same applause it had begun “. The narrator stresses that “ great admiration caused “ the combination of auditory stimuli with visual stimuli when “ to the sound of trumpets, charamelas, horns, atabaques began to run the rockets loose in the air giving many occasions for laughter, because pretending to fly without bad luck, wretched ícaros, were precipitated from the highest height (Sarre 1760, p. 10).

In short, all the participants' senses are activated in order to arouse their attention. The organizers of the party seem to be inspired by Aristotelian-Tomist philosophical psychology: according to this, from the sensation also comes the appetite, since this is the desire of the pleasant, and it is that which provides pleasure or pain. In turn, movement derives from appetite, since it is the desire for something that drives the being to move to the desired object. And this dynamism leads to the understanding of the inspiring meanings of celebration and their appropriation by will.

It is also important to emphasize that the internal senses are also mobilized: the choreographies, apparatuses, masks used in the party demanded in its construction the mobilization of the imagination of its craftsmen. To this same psychic power, these products appeal, when presented and properly disposed for the participants of the celebration. The participation in religious, or civil, celebrations activates the function of memory. Carruthers highlights that pilgrimages, feasts, and processions are activities of memory. In fact, their purpose is to awaken cognitive processes through places, gestures, and objects associated with mental images stored in memory. Such practices mirror the mental activity of the participants, and through them, networks and maps of memory, common to a certain group, are constituted. Maps, places, and objects of memory also have an affective dimension and arouse experiences of this nature in the participants. Carruthers gives the example of the processions, which we have seen very widespread in colonial Brazil: "The organized movement, typical of processions, is a basic element of memory. The subject is positioned individually within a community, at the same time as an imago agens is positioned within a place of memory. The principles that govern the processions have a strong mnemonic consistency. They are composed of images that circulate in places that are distinct but related, in order to leave a trace in the mind of the subject and to fix himself on it. Together, participants and spectators fabricate these events and keep a visceral memory of them that can never be cancelled, even if it can be moved" (Carruthers 2006. p. 84).

9.3.2 *The Appetites (Sensitive and Intelligible)*

In the procession of the Eucharistic Triumph reported by Machado, there is reference to the stimuli provided by the choreography aimed at requesting affections, such as jubilation and joy: "The clarity of the airs, the serenity of the time, the thunderous harmony of the bells, the artificial melody of the songs, the narrowness of the dances, the adornment of the figures, the beauty in the variety, the order in the crowd, generally infused in the hearts a joy of such soft joy, that the experience judged it foreign to nature, the judgment communicated from heaven (Machado 1734/1967, p. 97).

In the chronicles of the feast of Salvador, emphasis is also placed on the stimulation of affections, or emotions. According to the Aristotelian-Tomist philosophy in force at the time, these are inherent to the intellectual appetite and are proper to the

human being. In the accounts, there are several passages in which the experiences of affections are described: it is stated that the day of the feast “was one of the most joyful that Bahia enjoyed”; that the time of the feast day seemed “pleasant, joyful and laughing”; that the allegorical representations “will make everyone happy”; that the musical performance of the band and the dances left everyone “overjoyed, admired” (Sarre 1760, p. 2; p. 4). The sonata provided the listeners with “recreation to the moods”, arousing “contentment”, “pleasure”, “laughter” (Sarre 1760, p. 5).

The movement of these affections aims to achieve consensus, adherence to the social, political, and religious body represented there. In both celebrations, the proposed choreography aims at the participants experiencing feelings of satisfaction derived from recognizing themselves as members of that body.

9.3.3 *The Cognitive Powers*

In Machado’s account of the procession of the Eucharistic Triumph in Ouro Preto, it is reported that all the preparations, as well as the people’s moods, being ready for the event, on May 23, 1733, a sudden and abundant rain, frustrate the initiative, transferring it to the following day. The preaching that explains to the participants the significance of this unexpected event persuaded them about the providential character of the rain: “Nevertheless, the feeling of momentary disappointment turned into resigning joy. The population gathered and there were inflammatory speeches attributing to the rain manifestations of contentment and thanksgiving from God for the homage and piety. There was a discourse, which with lavish contemplation persuaded, that in the impediment of this day nature was used for the providence of a Mystery superior”. The rain was interpreted as “the mute voice of Heaven, anticipated expression of pleasure” (Machado 1734/1967, p. 199). The understanding gives the unforeseen climatic circumstance a new meaning, in the symbolic universe of the celebration.

In the narratives of Torres e Sarre about the celebration of the marriage of Infante Dom Pedro, which took place in Salvador in 1760, there are also references to the mobilization of the psychic powers of judgment and deliberation. The intellectual act is one of receiving or assimilating the intelligible species, and these are contained in power in the sensations and images of fantasy, but something is needed to translate them into act. Through symbols, allegories and choreographies, costumes, colors, and music, the understanding of each one could apprehend the underlying order with its norms and directions and give its consent. Torres states that all the trimmings of the feast “stimulated us to make grateful and plausible demonstrations for the celebration of such a desired marriage” and “caused them to give repeated thanks to God for so much happiness” (Torres 1909, p. 20). To achieve this goal, it is also very useful to resort to the word, as when, for example, the preacher during

the sermon given in the church “speaks angelically” about the meaning of that event (Torres 1909, p. 2).

9.4 Conclusion

If, according to Aristotle, all the actions of man seek an end, but all of them together seek an ultimate end, a supreme good, happiness, it is to this ideal that understanding and will must be guided. The perfection of the rational soul is called by Aristotle a dianetic virtue and has two dynamisms in its relationship with the world: that of turning to the world itself and to worldly things (wisdom) and that of looking at the supreme and necessary truths (wisdom) (Aristotle 1994, 2006).

In the narratives of the celebrations that took place in colonial Brazil and presented here, the celebrated object (the civil community gathered around the Eucharistic sacrament, the royal power, the social body of the city) is part of an order present in the world but that signals a transcendent order (the divine presence). In this way, a constant transition between the invisible and the visible is affirmed. In celebrations, what is presented are sensory stimuli and movement of ephemeral bodies and apparatuses, but what is experienced are sensations, feelings, thoughts, and positions that somehow realize in each one and in the social body the political, cultural, and religious effects targeted. And they refer the participants to the ultimate plan of invisible realities.

The psychism is the interface between the bodily and the spiritual dimension of the person. Thus, all the psychic powers of the participants in the celebrations are mobilized by the presentation of the worldly and ultramundane body which is the protagonist of the celebration, at the same time as their physical bodies are involved in the participation of the festive action taking place. The mobilization of the dynamism of the soul aims at capturing adhesion and integration, including at the spiritual level. In this way, each one becomes part of this material, soul and spiritual organism that is the society of colonial Brazil. To promote such adhesion and integration, understanding, judgment, and prudence are taught and persuaded through the ingenious creations of the party organizers.

The practices, therefore, translate into acts, gestures, representations, choreographies, etc. the conceptual universe available in the culture of colonial Brazil, exposed in previous chapters. And they convey these psychological knowledge in the time of the long duration and the extensive Brazilian territory. The effectiveness of this transmission is promoted by the action of a decisive psychic and cultural process: the collective memory (Halbwachs 1990).

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Chapter 10

Conclusion



The path proposed in this book had as its purpose the reconstruction of the psychological knowledge elaborated, appropriated, and diffused in the Brazilian territory in the historical period that intervened between the beginnings of the Portuguese colonization in the first decades of the sixteenth century until the end of the eighteenth century, a temporal arc called in Brazil the colonial period. The reconstruction was organized by the different literary genres of the documents in which such knowledge was conveyed. The first chapter presented the knowledge transmitted by the treatises of the Jesuit philosophers of Coimbra that were the foundation of the formation of the missionaries sent to Brazil, who introduced them into the Brazilian territory. The second and third chapters dealt with psychological knowledge and narratives of experiences in epistolary correspondence. The fourth chapter dealt with the “art of raising children well,” taught by treatises written by teachers and physicians. The fifth chapter highlighted the importance of the word, transmitted in the sermons, and taken as remedies for the maladjustments of the soul and the political, social, and individual bodies. The sixth chapter introduced the constitution of psychological knowledge in two allegorical novels, whose plot is life as a pilgrimage. The seventh chapter approached the constitution of psychological knowledge in the autobiographical genre and in essays. The eighth chapter discusses the practice of civil and religious festivals, while capable of mobilizing sensations, affections, and thoughts of the participants.

This knowledge, consolidated in the colonial period, has continued in recent centuries. It still exists in the fabric of contemporary popular culture.

The psychological knowledge that we have shown in our journey is grafted into the Brazilian culture, in its complex composition consisting of several layers sedimented according to different regimes of historicity. The persistence of these knowledge over time is due to the work of memory, especially to that phenomenon of cultural transmission that Maurice Halbwachs defines as collective memory. Collective memory “is the work of recognition and reconstruction that updates the social frameworks in which memories can remain and then articulate among

themselves” (Mahfoud 2003; Halbwachs 1990). This memory is, therefore, a heritage that is always preserved and always updated by social groups and manifests itself through cultural practices.

In Brazil, for this activity of building the collective memory that also embraces psychological knowledge, all present cultural traditions collaborate effectively, whose diversity converges paradoxically for a unitary purpose: to affirm and preserve one’s own identity. Indeed, in all cultural traditions, memory has psychological and cognitive functions (retentive and reminiscent) that are exercised through the places of memory and the practices to remember. Such practices aim to preserve one’s own culture. In Brazil, there is a close relationship between memory and the identity of the various ethnicities and cultures that, as we have seen, make up the social fabric of the country. Memory through narrative is constitutive of identity in indigenous communities. Memory condensed in gestures, songs, and rituals is the link that keeps alive the root of the identity of the African peoples deported at the time of slavery. Memory through gestures, songs, and celebrations keeps alive the belonging of the Lusitanian settlers to their land of origin.

The importance of memory in Brazil’s indigenous tradition is evidenced by the reports transmitted by witnesses about some cultural practices. Among them, we highlight the already mentioned ‘lagrimosa greeting’, a practice documented by various sources of travelers, missionaries, and anthropologists, from the sixteenth to twentieth centuries. Jean Lery (1534–1611), a Calvinist missionary who came to Brazil in 1555, describes this ritual in detail and provides a reconstruction in the Tupi-Guarani language of the colloquium held at the reception. Lery also refers to the great memory of the Tupinambás capable of “never forgetting the name, nor that they remain a hundred years without reviewing the person” (Lery 1980, p. 235). Similarly, the account written in 1615 by the French Capuchin priest Yves D’Evreux (1577–1632) on a mission to Maranhão with Claude D’Abbeville (-1632), together with the Tupinambás Indians, in 1613, highlights the power of the narrative memory of these peoples: “What surprised me the most was to see them narrate everything that has happened since time immemorial, only by tradition, because it is the custom of the old to tell in front of the young people who were their grandparents and ancestors, and what happened in their time” (Abbeville 1975, p. 66).

Sources on Brazilian oral cultures still highlight the presence of similar practices aimed at the work of memory. According to Cascudo, in several regions of Brazil (Amazonas, Pará, Mato Grosso, Goiás), those who visited indigenous villages witness the occurrence, after dinner, of meetings in the courtyard, around the bonfire, where the old indigenous people sit with the visitors (rubber tappers, small merchants, travelers, etc.) “to smoke and talk until sleep comes”, evoking memories (Cascudo 2006, p. 83). Cascudo also refers to the practice of Moacaretá Tupi-Guarani, or Council, a practice in force until the 1970s and currently in extinction: meetings of the old of the tribes which transmit to young people the language and cultural traditions. The oral memory of tradition is condensed into a narrative called *Poranduba*, or *Maranduba*, which each Indian must know how to decorate and transmit to his children and young generations. It is the “memory of the tribe, origins, genesis, principles, wrapped in astonishing myths” (Cascudo 2006, p. 83).

Recent research on indigenous historical memory, together with multilingual settlements in the Xingu River basin, in northern Mato Grosso, relates the central importance in these cultures of oral historical narrative, called *akiná*. These are accounts provided by the *akiná ótos*, that is, the owners of stories. The narratives of travelers who, upon arriving in the village, report events witnessed or heard also become part of the collective memory of these peoples. The value they attach to each narrative depends on its antiquity: “the older the historical ones are, the more they are truly and respectfully heard by the audience” (Franchetto 1992, pp. 342–343). The preservation of the “stories of the ancients”, the memory of the accounts of what “our ancestors said” give a people its social and historical identity.

African cultures also have ancestral narrative practices that transmit memory: narrators and storytellers have specific roles in African societies. The *akpalô* is the creator of the tales and the *arokin* the narrator who even walks from place to place to transmit them. In Brazil, this role was played by the slave-milk nannies and by women who walked the mills telling stories to the black women nannies. In his autobiographical novel *Menino de Engenho* (1932/2010), the writer José Lins de Rego portrays the figure of “old Totonha” in the first-person narrative of a boy. This “once in a while he used to hit the mill” and “lived from storytelling”, walking from mill to mill, “like a living edition of a thousand and one nights”. She was “a great artist to dramatize”, “with a voice that gave all the tones to the words” and “had a memory of prodigy”. In fact, “she recited whole tales in verses, interspersed from time to time with pieces of prose” (Rego 2010, p. 71). Totonha puts in her narratives a fusion of traditions, led by kings, queens, shipwrecks, executions and miracles, and the wanderings of Christ and the apostles. Rego stresses that one of the qualities of these tales was Totonha’s ability to recreate by his words the scene represented, so as to place it in the context of the life of his listeners, giving the narrative, even from distant events in space and time, a “local color”.

Recent research with participants in Afro-Brazilian cults, such as Umbanda and Candomblé, points out that the “collective remembrance of the historical experience of slavery” is condensed into the form of some mythical figures of ancestors of African and Afro-Brazilian origin, “and their respective life histories, trajectories and existential legacies” (Dias and Bairrão 2011, pp. 148–149). These “mythical narratives configured in the social memory of slavery form significant schemes for understanding and interpreting the needs, interests and expectations” of the present.

Similarly, the memory of the Lusitanian culture of the colonizers is still updated today through celebrations such as the Folia de reis and the cavalhadas. The cavalhadas are a representation of the struggles of Moors and Christians, baptized by the Moorish king and processions. The Folia de Reis is a feast of Portuguese origin linked to the celebrations of the Catholic cult of Christmas and Epiphany, representing the visit of the Magi to the child Jesus. The Folia de Reis, brought to Brazil at the beginning of the formation of the Brazilian cultural identity, is still alive today in the folkloric manifestations of many regions of the country.

Analyzing the Folia de Reis in Juréia-Itatins, Mahfoud comments that, from the accounts of the participants in the interviews, “learning the meaning of the party is making memory”: “Memory makes it possible to weave there the relationship with

the old; to weave the experience of relationships with so many others, without whom we would not have access to the events of a distant time. It makes it possible to regain relationships with which one can build a bridge with the distant, through which meaning can reach the present - something of value, something that really interests life” (Mahfoud 2003, p. 62).

It is because of this force of collective memory present in the constitutive cultures of the fabric of colonial Brazilian society that the psychological knowledge elaborated, received, appropriated, and sedimented in them is also transmitted.

Pickren and Rutherford pose the question of the possible mestizo character of Brazilian psychology (Pickren and Rutherford 2012). The historical reconstruction of psychological knowledge shows that the question is pertinent and points to possible paths to the mestizo constitution of psychology that arises in the cradle of Brazilian culture. As was said at the beginning of this book, it is not so much a question of science-based psychology as of that knowledge and practices proper to the worldview of the peoples present in Brazilian territory over time. Here, we put a hypothesis about the constitution of these mestizo knowledge. In the great Western culture mold of Greek-Jewish-Christian matrix, transmitted in Brazil by several actors, a peculiar process of cultural formation occurred. The anthropologist Pierre Sanchis called it “porosity of identities” (Sanchis 2012, p. 45). In this process, the various expressive cultural positions of the different ethnic and social groups present in the Brazilian territory and present to each other “have become porous to each other, enriching themselves creatively, reinterpreting each other within their own being, while affirming their differences”.

In our opinion, the Jesuitical practice of accommodation used in evangelization, which was described in this book, and the use of forms and methods suggested by rhetoric contributed to the occurrence of this process: among them, the practice of the ordained word (oral and written), the use of images, of choreographies in celebrations. These forms and methods were used to mobilize and activate the personal dynamism of the recipients. This process shaped knowledge linked to practices, in which psychic dynamism plays a fundamental role, configuring a certain way of being, (term used by Sanchis to define a culture), the Brazilian, where the differences are composed, coupled, and intertwined.

Finally, a question arises: why have these mestizo knowledge failed to consistently influence the development of Brazilian culture and academic psychology over time? And why only recently in various areas of psychology has the richness of this heritage begun to be regained?

It is necessary here to highlight an inherent mismatch in the history of Brazilian culture and society that does not only concern psychology. If, as we have seen, the collective memory was in charge of preserving the traces of this knowledge and practices in traditional popular culture, the same did not happen at the level of historical memory.

If, as we have seen, there is continuity as to the preservation of cultural heritage at the level of the traditional culture of communities and groups, there is, however, a profound discontinuity as to the institutionalized history of the country (social, political, intellectual history) proposed and shared by political and intellectual

elites. These elites took charge of building Brazil as a modern nation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. And as we saw, in the example of Francisco de Mello Franco, due to the absence of the university in Brazil, they went to Europe to study and there, in many cases, they also fixed their address and, above all, their place of observation: despite being Brazilians, they perceived themselves as foreigners in their country of origin.

These elites were linked to an economic power constituted over the colonial centuries according to the logic of extractivist and slave colonialism. They sought to dispose of the colonial and slave past without enacting a consistent self-criticism. We saw that isolated voices like that of Feliciano Joaquim de Souza Nunes, still in the eighteenth century, denounced the process of consolidation of a society where the values of work, family, and the just use of things were distorted by the practice of slavery, illicit and corrupt enrichment, interpersonal relations marked by exploitation and violence. We saw that Nuno Marques Pereira reported similar phenomena in his narrative pilgrimage from Bahia to the gold mines. We also heard the voices of some preachers who, like Antonio Vieira, declared before the Portuguese king that “Majesty, your ministers are not coming here to seek our good, but to seek our goods”. These are voices that remained largely unknown...

The lack of historical self-awareness in Brazilian intellectuals and politicians opened space for a modality of understanding and incarnating modernity which, despite rejecting the cultural heritage of the colonial period, was in fact deeply linked to colonialism and unfortunately tied to a persistent colonial practice and never sufficiently rejected. This practice still focuses today on social relations, is introjected by the population, and is always an active cause of the deep social inequality that continues to plague Brazil, even under the democratic regime. In this context, it is urgent to trigger an educational process of reconstitution of memory and historical consciousness, a process to which the historiography of psychological knowledge in Brazilian culture intends to offer a contribution.

What can help to build this educational process? An important contribution in this regard is found in Paul Ricoeur’s proposal (2007). The philosopher describes the event of the process of historical self-awareness in people, communities, and peoples, from a few key words. The words are as follows: remembrance, mourning, asking for forgiveness, and restoration of justice.

Remembrance is an act of reflection, of turning on oneself, to evoke in the present something absent from a past time, but inherent in one’s own history. Remembrance functions as the guardian of the identity of a person, or of a people, and has, according to Ricoeur, an authentic therapeutic function. Memory can play a therapeutic role in relation to the pathologies of the past, prevent the pathologies of the future, and also cure a much more serious illness, which is expressed not only by the symptom of the simple destruction of traces, but by the integral elimination of the singularity of personal or community life, of a person or a people. When considering the history of Brazil, let us think about the elimination that has occurred in relation to the histories of the indigenous ethnic groups, the violence of the flags, the betrayal of covenants of alliance and trust such as that which occurred with the Guarani ethnic groups by the destruction of the experience of the Reductions, the

uprooting of millions of African slaves, the violent repression of the struggle for land, such as, among others, that which occurred with the movement led by Antônio Conselheiro in Canudos in Belo Monte in the hinterland of Bahia at the end of the nineteenth century, the period of installation of the Republic, etc.. etc... In this book, we saw the importance of the contribution of the Society of Jesus to the cultural history of the country, especially with regard to educational action, through some of its exponents like José de Anchieta, Alexandre de Gusmão: the expulsion of the Jesuits from Brazil, led to the destruction of all this work and the dispersion of its vestiges: another example of rupture. All these dynamics that lead to discontinuities, uprooting, etc. end up repeating themselves, over time, for lack of remembrance. There is no therapy (and therefore no change) because the groups that preserve memory (including in the form of collective memory, as we saw above) do not have adequate space in institutional culture and the mainstream media. In Brazil today, of the scarce space granted to actors of cultural processes that promote remembrance process are increased by the biases of the technological and consumerist mentality of contemporary social life. In this mentality, objects have no memory, so once used and spent, they are disposable. Technological objects replace each other. They do not tend to keep their traces, but to look for the latest novelty that makes the precedent superfluous and annihilate it. There is, therefore, a conception of the replaceable and the disposable that further corrupts memory.

According to Ricoeur, in the face of destruction, death, loss, there is grief. Returning to Freud, in "*Mourning and Melancholy*," Ricoeur recalls that the work of mourning is similar to the work of remembering and opposes compulsion and repetition, characteristic of melancholy. In this sense, grief is liberating because it makes the self free and operates the passage from repetition to remembrance. On the contrary, melancholy leads to a loss of feeling of oneself. The self remains poor and desolate and ends up falling under the weight of its own devaluation. In this sense, remembrance protects identity and opens to the possibility of a reconciled and happy memory. From the pain of grief, a request for forgiveness is born.

The request for forgiveness comes from the recognition that we are in front of another that we have offended or hurt and from the perception that this offense has broken a relationship of trust and the possibility of creating a relationship of belonging (and therefore of creating a people). In Brazil's present, the lack of this request for forgiveness or the rejection of this request affects public policies. Education, health, and human rights imply a collective responsibility for the common good, linked to the recognition of a common belonging to a people. Awareness of belonging and responsibility for the common good are conditions for democratic and inclusive discourse to take effect through real practices.

The request for forgiveness leads to the need to restore justice. According to Ricoeur, the duty of remembrance is a question of justice: justice emerges as a meeting point of the work of remembrance and of mourning with the notion of duty. It is also the duty of justice to transform memory into a project, starting from the extraction of an exemplary value from wounded memories: "the duty of memory is the

duty to do justice, through remembrance, to someone other than yourself” (Ricoeur 2007, p. 101). Still linked to the duty of memory, Ricoeur puts the idea of debt as an inheritance: “we are indebted to part of what we are to those who have gone before us” (Ricoeur 2007, p. 101). Debt goes beyond the action of preserving the archives and the vestiges of the past: it presupposes the feeling of duty to those who preceded us. In the case of violence, for example, it implies the act of paying the debt to the victims. Thus, giving a voice to the silenced groups and their cultures in the public sphere gives space to their memories and the affirmation of their identities and at the same time contributes to the struggle for rights and for spaces in the public, institutionalized, and official memorial context. It calls for space, for example, the memory of indigenous peoples and deported African ethnic groups, a memory which, as we have seen, is a living dynamism that has enabled them to survive and create their own cultural spaces. Here, justice has the sense of reparation, for inserting in an “official history,” “memories that never fit,” so that they can “conquer space in the historical discourse and from a review of interpretations of the past, can appear in school books and textbooks. In this way, it is also possible to “repair the silence and invisibility that have often marked the life of these collectivities, and promote their integration into the history of the nation from a new perspective” (Heymann 2006, p. 3).

When remembrance, mourning, asking for forgiveness, the duty of justice do not permeate the social and political dynamics of a community or a society, the human person himself is put at risk.

And, one last aspect: the psychological knowledge in Brazilian culture, its stories and their memories are linked to the existence of concrete traditional communities that generated them.

Such communities make up the multicolored face of Brazilian society. They are the ones who preserve such knowledge and take care of its transmission throughout the generations. The social ties that unite the people who are members of these communities are ties of belonging. And belonging is what makes such a society. To value the presence and knowledge of these traditional communities means to promote the creation and extension of bonds of belonging among people. Such bonds rescue people from isolation and make them protagonists of constructive processes, for one’s own life and that of others.

Psychological science and psychological knowledge have as their object and objective the study and care of the person. So that in the face of the loss of the value of the person, psychology as human science is especially called to take a stand and to collaborate in the educational process of that community or society. From this perspective, we understand that the rescue of psychological knowledge spread in Brazilian society over time and elaborated, appropriated, and transmitted by the different ethnic and social actors that make up that society can contribute to this educational process and collaborate to the strengthening of the identity of these actors, at the same time that it can show that the *mestizaje* of psychology does not mean the homologation of the different voices, but, on the contrary, the sound of each one.

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