

**From the mythical narrative to the construction of the collective Portuguese identity.
The paradigmatic case of Bandarra's Ballads.**

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The construction of collective identities is recorded in a historical process, from which the individuals rebuild the past to maintain and to create their own identities. History appears as basic support of this construction of the identity, allowing the affirmation and the reupdating of the past, and looking for a social sense for the present. Thus this construction is based on the opposition between “we” and “others”, the “I” and the “other”. Having recourse to past times represents the expression of a culture in which most of the times the individual becomes mixed up with the group and the past, presenting itself as a moral and cultural model in a sole and cohesive entity.

In the Portuguese inheritance is rooted the determination of kings and heroic characters who, through brave acts, established the nation in the miracle. With an esoteric spirit marked by prophetic and knightly influences, early Portugal impregnated its collective with the conscience of a Manifest Destiny defined by God, protected by the Mother and guaranteed by the men of honor and courage. In fact, the founding myth of the Portuguese nationality, a nation invested by Christ, is associated to the “Miracle of Ourique” where the Manifest Portuguese Destiny is announced, which would accompany the Portuguese identity along centuries, in its constant Demand, in an ecumenical mission of the faith and of the empire's expansion with the intention to establish a Universal Empire: the Fifth Empire.

Portugal stood out in the exuberant time of the Portuguese Discoveries, optimized the West-Orient connection and took possession of important commercial routes. Lisbon was an economical and intellectual centre and Sagres a scientific European centre. However, the economical and productive Portuguese systems benefited little from the riches deriving from overseas. The capital of the mercantile activity was not transferred to the agricultural activity not even to the industrial activity. On the other side, the autonomous bourgeoisie was weak, incapable of constituting itself as a cultural, economical or social reference, and continuing the nobility, not much cultured and enterprising, in the social ascendant, as well as the clergy.

The process of glorification of the origins of the Portuguese nation is nourished, therefore, by the rereading of the kingdom's history in the dazzling time of the Portuguese Discoveries and in the decadence of the providential purposes of Portugal. Thus the traumatic end of the XVIth century due to the disappearance of the King D. Sebastião, the loss of the independence for Spain and the collapse of the Portuguese empire constitute a prolific land for the messianic prophecies of Bandarra's Ballads, shoe-maker of Trancoso, which would become the “Gospel of the Sebastianism”.

We will try, in this communication, to do a brief theoretical conceptualization of the myth and, more specifically, of the myths of origin, after which we will analyse the paradigmatic case of the origins of the Portuguese identity. After that, we will contextualise Bandarra's Ballads in his historical space and we will try to interpret, by the light of its content, the process of construction of the historical memory and the collective identity that is implicit in it. We will see, finally, how Bandarra's Ballads influenced the “sebastianista” and messianic thought of the Priest António Vieira and of Fernando Pessoa.

THEORETICAL PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

1.1 Myth's Definition

A Fernando Pessoa's verse, in a poem dedicated to Ulisses, reflects the whole complexity and the ambiguous character that the concept of myth includes: "O mito é o nada que é tudo". Being a cultural reality extremely rich, the concept of myth assumes a multiplicity of functions and an infinity of materializations and of aspects, constituting a particular language of the man. Relying on a Fernando Pessoa's verse, Victor Jabouille affirms that:

O conceito de mito é tão vasto que nele se pode incluir praticamente toda a expressão cultural humana –é o tudo- ou tão restrito que se limita a um *corpus* específico e limitado, a um momento pontual e singular. É o *nada* que é *tudo*. (Jabouille, 1986: 15-16)

Materialized in different cultural spaces and diffuse chronologically, the myth, along time, becomes richer in its essence, specializes in its content and, simultaneously, extends its field of intervention. Before the difficulty - or impossibility – of characterizing the myth in an unanimous and consensual way, and face to the abundant existent literature on the subject, we will restrict ourselves, in the present study, to the definitions of two scholars.

Mircea Eliade characterizes the myth as an extremely complex cultural reality, which can be interpreted in multiple and complementary perspectives:

(...) o mito conta uma história sagrada, relata um acontecimento que teve lugar no tempo primordial, o tempo fabuloso dos *começos*. Noutros termos, o mito conta como, graças aos feitos dos Seres Sobrenaturais, uma realidade passou a existir, quer seja a realidade total, o Cosmos, quer apenas um fragmento: uma ilha, uma espécie vegetal, um comportamento humano, uma instituição. É sempre, portanto, a narração de uma *criação*: descreve-se como uma coisa foi produzida, como começou a *existir*. O mito só fala daquilo que realmente aconteceu, daquilo que se manifestou plenamente. As suas personagens são *Seres Sobrenaturais*, conhecidos sobretudo por aquilo que fizeram no tempo prestigioso dos *primórdios*. Os mitos revelam, pois, a sua actividade criadora e mostram a sacralidade (ou, simplesmente, a *sobrenaturalidade*) das suas obras. (ELIADE, 1963: 12-13)

According to the author, the myth is considered a sacred story and, therefore, a “true story”, because it always alludes to “realities”. It is precisely this invasion of the sacred that really establishes the World, becoming it the exemplary model of all human significant activities:

Os mitos relatam não só a origem do Mundo, dos animais, das plantas e do homem, mas também todos os acontecimentos primordiais em consequência dos quais o homem se transformou naquilo que é hoje, ou seja um ser mortal, sexuado, organizado em sociedade, obrigado a trabalhar para viver, e trabalhando segundo determinadas regras. (ELIADE, 1963: 17)

For Victor Jabouille, the concept of myth varies from “story” to “narrative of gods' acts”, besides considering it as synonym of "invention". So, it is understandable the difficulty in delimiting it with exactness and the necessity of defining it under several angles, as it does the author:

Nesta segunda metade do século XX d. C., o mito é, mais que nunca, esse *nada que é tudo*,

que não sabemos definir, porque é tão vasto que engloba quase tudo o que o Imaginário humano produziu ao longo dos séculos. Existe, ninguém duvida. Para o homem contemporâneo pode ser uma narrativa, uma ideia, uma imagem até; para o estudioso da mitologia antiga optaremos, sem dificuldade, por uma definição como *narrativa dos feitos dos Deuses e dos heróis da antiguidade*, considerando, pois, um sentido global, sem recorrer à distinção mito-lenda-conto popular, mais necessária para épocas posteriores. Se [...] existem limites formais para o MITO, os limites substanciais são difusos ou, mesmo, inexistentes. O mito, como diz R. Barthes, integra-se num sistema semiológico. Assim, *nada que é tudo*, o mito é código e, ao mesmo tempo, mensagem. (JABOUILLE, 1986: 49)

As a cultural referent, the myth gets updated and remains alive. Victor Jabouille affirms that his analysis allows, besides the apprehension of the individualized man, his comprehension as a gregarious creature, that is, as society. He adds that the acting myths in different periods are the ones that specify the knowledge of the society. Myths can be materialized in literature, in painting, in sculpture, in popular tradition or in everyday life, being that way a cultural reality that assumes itself as a Man's way “to know oneself”.

1.2 Myth's functions

The legitimation of the imaginary in human studies takes place due to the contribution of History. The imaginary feeds and takes Man to act, assuming itself as a collective, social and historical phenomenon. No human activity can be conceived without the cooperation of the imaginary and of the symbolic that is associated to it. On the other side, the imaginary is a product of the mythical thought, which determines space and time perceptions, the material and institutional constructions, the mythologies and the ideologies, the knowledge and the collective behaviours. Mythology allows us to show up the imaginary, constant and inseparable structures that contributed to the religious function of the man and his re-connection to an absolute Other. In this way, myths were the ones that presided at the erection of all knowledge, including the scientific one.

The myth has three main functions: 1. To explain – the present is explained by some action that happened in the past, whose effects were not put out by time; 2. To organize – the myth organizes the social relations, in way to legitimize and to determine a complex system of permissions and prohibitions; 3. To compensate – the myth tells something that happened and that is not possible to happen again, but that serves as much to compensate humans for some loss as to guarantee them that this mistake was corrected in the present.

According to Mircea Eliade, the myth's sovereign function is to reveal the exemplary models of all rites and of all human significant activities. Quoting Bronislaw Malinowski, he finishes by stating that, faced as something alive,

(...) o mito não é uma explicação destinada a satisfazer uma curiosidade científica, mas antes uma narrativa que faz reviver uma realidade original e que responde a uma profunda necessidade religiosa, a aspirações morais, a constrangimentos e a imperativos de ordem social e, até, a exigências práticas. (ELIADE, 1963: 24)

Far from being a fabled story, the myth is, on the contrary, an essential element of the human civilization, a live reality, a codification of the primitive religion and of the practical wisdom.

1.3 Myths of the Origin

As we saw previously, the myth assumes a historical dimension, allowing Man to recognize in him his origins and his traditions and this perspective may assume a national character. While meeting with the past, Man also meets him. In fact, all mythical story that reports the origin of any thing presupposes and extends the cosmogony. According to Mircea Eliade, from the structural point of view, the myths of origin can be ratified by the “cosmogonic” myth:

Todo o mito de origem narra e justifica *uma situação nova* –nova no sentido em que ela não existia *desde o princípio do Mundo*. Os mitos de origem prolongam e completam o mito cosmogónico: contam como o Mundo foi modificado, enriquecido ou empobrecido. (ELIADE, 1963: 25).

Myths remember constantly which great events had place on Earth and the possibility of recovering this “glorious past”. According to the author, the imitation of paradigmatic gestures, that is, of rites, takes Man to transcend his limits and conditioning, obliging him to lift up at the level of the Gods and of the mythical Heroes.

The historian José Eduardo Franco wrote, on the other hand, that the “mythification” of the first origins of a people, of a nation or even of an institution derives from an aim of enlargement and legitimation of the reality as a phenomenon, that is described in a process of construction of the historical memory. It is essentially after the XVIth century that a sort of “European market” of the national imaginary or of national mythologies starts developing. From this historical literature it is possible to analyse and to distinguish a typology of the myths of the nation's origins that, at that time, were outlined to a great extent in the cultural circles of most of the European countries, of which we know comparatively interesting examples, particularly in Spain, France, Germany, in the Netherlands, Hungary and in Russia, between others. The recent states and kingdoms acquire, then, the conviction that they have a very ancient origin registered in the origins of humanity. Therefore, they figure an age of gold that distinguishes in excellence the first age of nations. In this process a dichotomy is established between this flashing past and the current history. This dichotomy is demarcated by the optimism that characterizes the vision of the origins and the pessimism in view of the conditions' evaluation of the present. The conscience of the fragility of the present conditions in terms of identity and safeguard of the nation's integrity, at bottom a presentiment or even a confirmation of the imminent danger of decadence or ruin, cause this process of “mitification” of the past as genesis.

Through the writing of the remote history and through an intelligently orientated interpretation, the historian formulates his criticism regarding the present and warns his contemporaries, almost in a prophetic tone, about the risks of the future. But this nostalgia is not closed in itself. It turns into an instrument of combat, of criticism, opening to the sense of hope regarding future. The historian not only makes history functional to criticize the inaccessible processes of the present state of affairs, but also uses it to express his future expectations regarding his nation, expectations constituted ideologically in utopia, as points out the historian Jacques Le Goff:

A História seria não só a projecção que o homem faz do presente no passado, mas a projecção da parte mais imaginária do seu presente, a projecção no passado do futuro que ele escolheu, uma história ficção, uma história desejo às avessas. (Le Goff, 1997:165-166).

Besides a history-appear, a history-position, it becomes a history-wish and a history-prophecy, cemented in a well defined patriotic or institutional ideal.

1.4 Origins of the Portuguese Identity

For José Eduardo Franco a culture, to be national, has to include a process of “mitification”/idealization at least quadridimensional: first of its origins; secondly, the configuration and exaltation of an age of gold; third, singing an epic poem that normally is on the basis of that mentioned age of gold turned mythical; and in fourth place the projection of a utopian destination based on a determined idea of collective mission of the nation as a human community recorded in time and in the history of humanity.

The “mitification” of the origins of the Portuguese identity is a paradigmatic case in the context of the cultural European production of myths of the nationalities' origin; we can find several examples in the national history to prove it. Gilbert Durand wrote that “Portugal possui em abundância todos os mitos da Europa”. In fact, after the XVIth century in Portugal develops, as we have said, a “European market” of the imaginary or of national mythologies. Due to its mythical origins Portugal gets surpassed and due to its drowsiness Portugal becomes decadent and forgets its providential mission "announced" by Christ in Ourique to D. Afonso Henriques, founder of the nationality. Reinforced by the history of Inês de Castro, with which Portugal gained faith in a destiny of the size of the world, because only love gives men and the nations the sense of freedom and adventure, but it was with D. Sebastian that Portugal realized that his destiny besides great was also immortal, an eternal child.

The process of enlargement of the origins of the Portuguese nation is, therefore, unleashed by the rereading of the kingdom's history in the exuberant time of the Portuguese Discoveries and accentuated by the conscience of fragility, of ruin and of non-accomplishment of Portugal's providential purposes, consolidated in the loss of the independence on behalf of Castela in the period of the so called Dual Union. Mythographers, columnists, historians, philosophers, novelists, theologians operate a reconstitutive rereading of the kingdom's past, cutting out in it a primordial age of gold and exalting an intermediate age of gold, that of the historical feat of the maritime Portuguese travels, which would be the prelude of a bigger glorification of the kingdom put into practice in teleological terms in the utopian realization of the World's Fifth Empire. André de Resende, João de Barros, Amador Arrais, Luís de Camões, Fernando Oliveira, Friar Bernardo de Brito, D. João de Castro, Gabriel Pereira de Castro, Sousa de Macedo, Friar Sebastião de Paiva, Priest António Vieira, between others, tried to reread the past history, by deepening and dignifying the origins as a way to cement the Portuguese identity in prestigious foundations. Some made the kingdom of Portugal go back to the time of the biblical patriarchs, others to the time of the Greek navigator, Ulisses, others to the brave tribe called Lusitanos, mighty opponent of the Roman expansion in the Iberian Peninsula. This effort of valuation of the first roots is oriented towards the dispute of a determined Portuguese primacy, or towards a re-projection of the future for the overcoming of the present decadence.

2. BANDARRA'S BALLADS

2.1 Who was Bandarra?

Gonçalo Anes (or António Gonçalves) was a popular poet of the town of Trancoso, shoe-maker of profession, who dedicated to the diffusion in verses of prophecies of messianic character and who was nicknamed Bandarra by his contemporaries.

Little is known today about this curious character. He may have lived between a date still ignored and 1545 (or 1556, according to another version). With his prophetic vein he did not gain anything and he died poor, supported by his two daughters. Probably he was born with a silver spoon in his mouth but, living up to the nickname (“Bandarra-bandurra-tunante”), he must have wasted his fortune. For that reason and in order to repair poverty he had early decided to choose the art of “shoe-maker of mail”, euphemism with the meaning of shoe manufacturer. In the meantime, he learned more and more as he started reading different things, namely the Bible in common language, because he wasn't able to read it in Latin. He started to write in verse and foretell, pleasing particularly to the Jews then pursued by the Inquisition in the Iberian Peninsula, who saw in these writings the arrival of the Messiah and the conclusion of His torment. They used to come to his poor workshop to consult him on the interpretation of the texts and the materialization of the prophecies.

2.2 Historical Contextualization and Content of the Ballads

After the death of D. Sebastião in Alcácer-Quibir, in 1578, the Portuguese nation fell under the Castilian power. The literature cried as the excessive hopes crumbled away, the ruin of a people that, some time before, had dazzled the world with the Discoveries and the creation of a great Empire.

It was then that “sebastianism” appeared as an instinctive reaction and which would turn into a myth. People believed that only visionary faith could save the nation. In the first half of the XVIth century, several pretended prophets, challenging the rigidity of the Inquisition, had enticed followers, namely new Christians. Between those “prophets” was Gonçalo Anes, known as Bandarra, a man whose Ballads, widely spread, would become “the Gospel of the Sebastianism”. Bandarra had been inspired by the Bible to reprove the corruption of the time and to do obscure predictions, between which were the ones related to the conquest of Morocco, the defeat of the Turks and the Fifth Empire.

Bandarra's Ballads were written in the middle of the XVIth century during the reign of D. João III. In his prophecies, the poet affirms that in the future only one Sir will be served, Jesus Christ (Ballad CLVII). Nevertheless, his texts are enthusiastically spread by the overcast Jews of the Beira Interior. The quality of the text is an enigma, holding a symbolic and cryptographic style which has an obvious parallel in the work of Nostradamus and allowing, consequently, several interpretations. Other ballads seem to refer to the present time and to its predictable ecological catastrophe (CXLII; CXLIII; CXLV; CLIII; XI; XV).

2.3 Bandarra's Ballads: Fortunes and Misfortunes of a Book.

The first publication of the Ballads was printed in Paris in 1603 and an entire edition was made, for the first time, in 1644. The Ballads came out as a prophetic and messianic text, and it was in the Beira that they were better spread, according to the scholar Lúcio d'Azevedo, “.....”. The Jews spread Bandarra's good fame, being the first copy transferred by someone called Heitor Lopes. But

it was precisely the spread of the work that brought disgrace to the author: one of the subsequent copies ended in Afonso de Medina's hands, chief judge of the Table of the Conscience. Bandarra was imprisoned and brought to Lisbon and his Ballads were included in the Catalog of Prohibited Books.

Initially suspect of Judaism, he was considered free from guilt later. Even so, he was taken to court by the Inquisition, during which he renounced his "mistakes" and promised to never again write, read or spread topics referring to the Bible. From that time on (we are in the year of 1545), Gonçalo Anes returns to the anonymity and disappears, apparently, from the public scene until his death, which took place in the same year, according to his epitaph.

However, the seeds sowed by the Ballads would fruit abundantly during the apogee of the Sebastianism, in other words, in the period that precedes the restoration of the independence. Above all literature, prevails the prestige of the Ballads and of his author, considered a "national prophet". To such a point that in the day of the solemn acclamation of D. João IV, Bandarra's image was exposed in an altar of the Cathedral, with the permission of the archbishop and before the silence of the same Holy Office that had condemned him around one century before.

As we can see, hundred years after his condemnation, Bandarra and his Ballads had conquered glory, in spite of the Inquisition and the influence of his enemies. But Gonçalo Anes was dead and buried. Badly buried, so it seems, since his bones were transferred from Trancoso's cemetery to a tomb more appropriate to his dignity of "prophet", in his birthplace. It was one of his descendants, Miguel Dias Bandarra, who benefited more (and in life) from the glory of his illustrious ancestor: the king granted him the grace of a chapel's administration.

3. THE INFLUENCE OF BANDARRA'S BALLADS IN THE SEBASTIANIST AND MESSIANIC THOUGHT OF THE PRIEST ANTÓNIO VIEIRA AND OF FERNANDO PESSOA.

3.1 The Priest António Vieira

Alive or dead, Bandarra always had numerous admirers and defenders of the value and of the "prophetic" quality of his work. Two strong defenders stood out for his importance: D. João de Castro and the priest António Vieira. We will refer, in the context of this work, only to the influence that Bandarra had on the priest António Vieira.

António Vieira was born in 1608 in Lisbon, but he went to Brazil when he was still a boy, where he lived most of the time, having died in Bahia in 1697. Grandson of mixed race, defender of the Jews, teacher, Jesuit, courtier, apostle of the Blacks and of the Indians, diplomat, politician, prophet, missionary, all of this was Vieira; however, above all, he was the biggest orator of the Portuguese language. The scholar António da Silva Neves wrote:

Vieira acreditava em fé, em vida e em Deus. Mas também queria acreditar na Pátria. E teria de pôr Deus acima da Pátria. [...] A Pátria, desconsiderada como valor face a Deus, também tinha um profeta: Bandarra. Havia também que valorizá-lo. E Vieira acreditou através do Bandarra, Bandarra feito Verbo da esperança portuguesa. [...] A Pátria, então, era o Reino. No Reino dominava o rei espanhol: isto era o colectivo feito, aceitável. O homem, sozinho,

individualista, sonhava com um rei português, o que, no colectivo estabelecido, não tinha razão de ser. (NEVES, 2022: 38)

Though the priest António Vieira could distinguish between a limpid narrative without disguises and another one considered dark and enigmatic, he had a strong belief in this prophetic and visionary narrative, whether it was religious-erudite or popular and superstitious. Therefore, besides the visionary saints of the church like Daniel, Ezequiel, Isaías and Jeremias, he held Gonçalo Anes de Bandarra in great esteem.

According to the historian Joel Serrão, the appearance of this prophetic-mystic current would be related to several cultural factors of the second half of the XVIth century, namely the trauma caused by the annexation to Spain, to the triumph of the nobility in this dramatic conjuncture and to the circulation of Bandarra's Ballads. That's why the sebastianist myth was adopted and which, coming from the past after the disappearance of D. Sebastião and the fall of the monarchy of Bragança, was recovered and adapted to the reality of 1640, the "Covered Up" being now D. João IV. Consequently, the History of the Future was the story of an optimistic prophecy which was returning to Portugal after the political crisis. From here, as Vieira used to say, in the "immense sea" of "confusing waves", of "thick clouds", in a "dark night", we could again unfurl the "sails to the wind" and dream that Portugal, with its Empire intact and its king on the throne, would exercise again an intense influence upon people and territories of the several continents of this World.

It is worthwhile to consult the volume VI of the *Chosen Works*, which contains the text " Hopes of Portugal, Fifth Empire of the World ", as well as the pieces of his process in the Inquisition, in which he affirms his faith again in the "prophecies" of Bandarra. He writes:

Bandarra foi verdadeiro profeta, pois profetizou e escreveu tantos anos antes tantas cousas, tão exactas, tão miúdas e tão particulares, que vimos todas cumpridas com nossos olhos"; "não só profetizou Bandarra as cousas que haviam de ser, e o tempo em que haviam de ser, senão também os tempos e conjunções em que não haviam de ser"; "as quais profecias já cumpridas, se bem se distinguirem e contarem, achar-se-á que são mais de cinquenta, afora infinitas outras cousas que delas dependem e com elas se envolvem. E todas conheceu e anteviu Bandarra"; "por nenhuma ciência, nem humana, nem diabólica, nem angélica, podia conjecturar Bandarra a mínima parte do que disse, quanto mais afirmá-lo com tanta certeza, escrevê-lo com tanta verdade e individuá-lo com tanta nitidez"; "Foi logo lume sobrenatural, profético e divino, o que alumiu o entendimento deste homem idiota e humilde"; "É certo que só Deus podia dizer e revelar ao Bandarra todos estes futuros e qualquer deles, e com a mesma certeza se deve ter e afirmar que foi o Bandarra verdadeiro profeta"; "tão grande intérprete das Escrituras", "e as ditas 'Trovas' combinam grandemente com as profecias dos santos e opinião dos doutores acima referidos.

Obviously all these affirmations would bring inevitable problems to the priest António Vieira, who was in trouble with the Inquisition. This idea of associating Bandarra's myth of the wished D. Sebastião to another myth, the one of the king D. João IV, wasn't accepted by the fundamentalists of D. Sebastião nor between the Dominicans, men of the Inquisition, because a respectable element of the Company of Jesus stated that "Bandarra was a true prophet". It wasn't acceptable that a member of the institution which was looking after the good religion and the defense of the honor of the reformed Church could utter such thing about this provincial shoe-maker. Even later, Marquês de Pombal ordered the destruction by fire (since he could not tell António Vieira to do it himself) of the *Echo of the Longing Voices*, which included the "Apologetic Letter to the Priest Isquafigo", in

which the author referred to Bandarra, calling him prophet once again.

In the XVIIth century, Priest António Vieira did the transposition of the messianic prophecies to this New World that was Brazil, using an anthropological interpretation that read the Indian of Brazil as a primitive inhabitant of the new paradise. To the Priest António Vieira, the utopia of the “Fifth Empire” or “Empire of Christ” or “Empire of the Holy Spirit” was then centered on the Brazilian scenery and on the immaculate Indian, still not touched by the original sin. For this reason, he was the christian of the future, appearing this way as an extension of Portugal and of the Portuguese in an utopian and spiritual beyond. His work *Hopes of Portugal, Fifth Empire of the World* by chance an outline of his *History of the Future*, published posthumously in 1718, and which cost him the pursuit of the Holy Office, inserts him, clearly, in the millennial thought of a Joaquim de Flora and, this way, in the Hebraic messianic tradition. In his last work written in secret, priest António Vieira prophesied, in the person of the king D. João IV, the realization of a longed-for dream: to give Portugal its ancient empire's greatness and, just like the other more important four of the History of the Humanity (Assyrians, Medians, Persians and Romans), all the kingdoms would join under the scepter with the diadem of the “Christ's Cross”. He weaved several considerations on the paper of Portugal in the History and on how it is possible to write starting in the future towards the present. This relevant futuristic present time of the narrator made his writing full of an allegorical hope, in a time when excesses of the religious and political intolerance almost destroyed it with the satire of the censorship. Vieira described then what could be read in his patriotic writing and apologetic of hazardous and prophetic exploits that consecrated Portugal as a country predestined to make the universal kingdom of Christ real in the World.

The utopia of the Fifth Empire will invade the Portuguese philosophical, political and aesthetic thought as a theme, myth or metaphor, and will have in the XXth century a well-known herald – Fernando Pessoa - notwithstanding, in the XVIIth century and especially in the XVIIIth century, there were fierce opponents like Marquês de Pombal, all the illuminist and neoclassical thought of the XVIIIth century and several rationalisms until the XXth century.

3.2 Fernando Pessoa

“O Bandarra, símbolo eterno do que o Povo pensa de Portugal”. This statement is from António da Silva Neves, who stood out the influence of the shoe-maker-prophet in the Priest António Vieira and in Fernando Pessoa. For the author, Bandarra represented, above all, the nationalization of the poet's thought: “O que houve de religioso em Bandarra fundiu-se e cativou Vieira. O que houve de poeta em Bandarra fundiu-se e cativou Pessoa. O que houve de profeta em Bandarra fundiu-se e cativou Vieira e Pessoa.” (NEVES, 2002: 56)

António da Silva Neves enumerates the three essential points of Bandarra's prophecy for the poet: the Fifth Empire, the departure and return of El-Rei D. Sebastião and Portugal's destinies. But, for the author, the Fifth Empire of Pessoa is not, certainly, the Fifth Empire of Vieira. Bandarra represents the Portuguese collective, as the poet emphasizes:

É Bandarra um nome colectivo, e designa, não só um homem, o primeiro português que teve a visão profética dos destinos do país, senão também aqueles outros, que se lhe seguiram, e que, servindo-se do seu tipo de visão e da sua forma literária, buscaram legitimamente o anonimato designando as suas trovas como sendo do Bandarra também. A identidade do

tema, a semelhança dos processos, proféticos como literários, a perfeita continuidade espiritual dos sequazes com aquele a quem seguiram, justificam que aceitemos, para a simplicidade da alusão, a designação *Bandarra* como distintiva do autor destas profecias.

In this order of ideas, Fernando Pessoa itself a prophet was also, according to António da Silva Neves, a certain collective *Bandarra*, who does not recognize that Vieira went so far as Pessoa in his convictions. In fact, the poet sees in *Bandarra* the master of the national soul, one of the reasons for Portugal's independence and someone who propelled the imperial Portuguese feeling. Let's quote, with respect to this, a paragraph of Paul Loução's book, *The Secret Soul of Portugal*, in which is transcribed an excerpt of a Fernando Pessoa's interview to António Alves Martins, published in the *Portuguese Magazine* in October of 1923, and in which the poet, in the quality of "prophet" of the Fifth Empire in the XXth century, says:

(...) Só duas nações – a Grécia passada e Portugal futuro – receberam dos deuses a concessão de serem não só elas mas também todas as outras. (...)

O Quinto Império. O futuro de Portugal – que não calculo, mas sei – está escrito, para quem saiba lê-lo, nas trovas do *Bandarra*, e também nas quadras de Nostradamus. Esse futuro é sermos tudo. (LOUÇÃO, 2002: 210)

In brief, *Bandarra* is the voice of the Portuguese people; thence Pessoa's famous sentence: “O verdadeiro patrono do nosso País é esse sapateiro *Bandarra*. Abandonemos Fátima por Trancoso.”

This theory of a Fifth spiritual Empire was also proposed by António Quadros, a scholar of Pessoa, who writes in 1992:

[...] o seu Quinto Império não é já de modo algum um Império Terrestre cristão, é antes um Império Intelectual, um Império do Espírito, o dos dois lados da Sabedoria, o da reunião final da Ciência e da Mística, da Razão e da Intuição, parecendo deste modo afeiçoar singularmente a nossa tradição mítica do Quinto Império à também nossa e anterior tradição profético-escatológica do Império do Espírito Santo. (QUADROS, 1992:126)

According to António Quadros, in the Ballads of *Bandarra* and Nostradamus, even in the course of the Lusitanian history, Pessoa looks incessantly for a confirmation of the prophecy about the return of D. Sebastião. This search culminates, in 28th March 1930, in the poem “O *Bandarra*”. In this poem Pessoa refers to Gonçalo Anes, the shoe-maker of Trancoso who wrote, as we have seen, verses of prophetic aspect in the time of D. João III. In them some see the foresight of the period of Philippine dominion, the Restoration and a subsequent imperial expansion that is close to the origin of the Priest António Vieira's conviction of the advent of a Fifth Portuguese Empire, that would have been destined by God (“por Deus mesmo visto”). This one that “Deus sagrou com o seu sinal” - this one, to whom God gave the gift of prophecy.

In the “Terceiro Aviso”, the only poem of *Mensagem* that has no name, Fernando Pessoa speaks as *Bandarra* and Priest António Vieira's successor: he also announces the good news, the advent of the King that will lead Portugal to the Fifth Empire. He announces it, not as an anointed prophet (that only *Bandarra* would have been, since Vieira derived his conclusions from his predecessor's ballads and from the Scriptures) but as a Man of Reason who knows and waits (and despairs, as he stresses). If it had name, the poem would be called “Fernando Pessoa”, therefore it doesn't have one! By quoting António Quadros, the writer António da Silva Neves states:

Esta religião ou mito do Encoberto teve os seus *Avisos* correspondentes aos três poemas da segunda parte do que chamámos o *terceiro andamento* da *Mensagem*, ditados pelos três profetas de Portugal: o Bandarra, *este cujo coração foi/ Não português, mas Portugal*; o P.^o António Vieira, *Imperador da língua portuguesa*, visionário da *madrugada irreal do Quinto Império*; e ele próprio, Fernando Pessoa, no poema que por isso mesmo não tem nem título, momento de comovente lirismo, muito mais interrogativo do que vaticinante, que principia *Screvo o meu livro à beira-mágoa./ Meu coração não tem que ver. / Tenho meus olhos quentes de água. / Só tu, Senhor, me dás viver.* (NEVES, 2002: 65-66)

Fernando Pessoa is situated in the line of the idealistic overcoming of positivism. The poetry is spiritual elevation to the pure state of the creation, to the universal. Therefore, the apology for the national particularity does not mean concentration, but rather planetary conscience. In fact, the Modernism doesn't accept to be confined by a narrow nationalist vision. Pessoa considers himself the interpreter of a national culture in a disconcerting way: “Uma literatura original, tipicamente portuguesa, não o pode ser porque os portugueses típicos nunca são portugueses” (Pessoa, 1986: 84). He doesn't accept to be catalogued in any philosophical-aesthetic or political current unless, and even so in a very special way, it would be in the universal Modernism. Modern art, in his point of view, assumes that has no nationality and is the place of all arts. So, the more denationalized and universal the Portuguese culture is, the more Portuguese it becomes. As we have already told, Pessoa does not share the vision of the Quinto Império Sebastianista of the “Sidonismo”; his Fifth Empire is immaterial and not physical. The poet is in fact closer to the universal Nostalgia of Pascoais than to the nationalist Catholicism. His Fifth Empire is the one of Poetry, of the Word, of the Portuguese Language (as it is for Camões and for António Vieira). From Camões up to Pessoa and the Modernism there is a consciousness of the Portuguese empire's implacable decadence and of the necessity of the language and culture's affirmation in the world.

In his work *Memórias das Origens, Saudades do Futuro. Valores, mitos, arquétipos, ideias*, António Quadros reflects on the fictitious names of Fernando Pessoa's poetry. When the poet exclaims “Eu hei-de criar, criar, sinto-o em mim” or “Desejo ser um criador de mitos, que é mistério maior do que pode obrar alguém da humanidade”, António Quadros says that it's not just a simple poetic creation but that it is, at the same time, a creation or a re-creation of myths, the myth being considered here in the sense of a myth creator of the existence and of the man. The poet appears, then, as a creator of myths and creator of the new man, using the myth's ritualistic language, assuming it with all its enchanting, magical and alchemical power, whether it was in the poetry of fictitious names, whether in initiation poems, whether in the chants to Portugal, the *Mensagem*, o *Quinto Império*, o *King Sebastian* or the ode *À Memória do Presidente-Rei Sidónio Pais*. Let's quote again António Quadros: “Caeiro, Campos, Reis, Soares, por fim Fernando Pessoa, o heterónimo primeiro e último, são os vate-heróis de narrativas míticas, cada uma das quais, hierarquicamente, nos desvenda uma página do enigma ontológico e antropológico do homem.” (QUADROS, 1992: 122). As we have already said, the myths of the “Quinto Império” and of the “Encoberto” in Fernando Pessoa are like gnostic fictitious names of the same myths in his understanding of the Renaissance (Camões) and of the Baroque (Vieira). To António Quadros, the genius of Pessoa consisted, this time, in preserving their names in order to better inflect its content in the sense he wanted. However, he alerts for a change of perspective during the poet's life:

Mas se, através dos heterónimos, o poeta se desdobra em identificações dos fragmentos do seu *eu* como mitos subjectivos, entre si diferentes e por isso multimodamente vividos e assumidos, mitos em que o poeta é sempre o protagonista, num teatro de um só actor, que é ao mesmo tempo o autor, pondo e tirando constantemente novas máscaras, e

alterando por sua conta constantemente o texto mítico de base, contudo na fase mais madura da sua vida, Fernando Pessoa entende passar do *estádio dramático* ao *estádio épico*, como forma de agir psiquicamente sobre a pátria portuguesa, na sua dupla dimensão nacional e universal.

Tal implicava por um lado privilegiar agora os mitos nacionais, os mitos fundadores, os mitos dinâmicos do ser português; e por outro lado, reduzir, reduzir radicalmente o lugar da sua subjectividade, da sua preocupação com a própria identidade, da obsessiva exploração do seu mundo interior, dividido num teatro em gente, mitificado a outro nível. (QUADROS, 1992: 125)

Conclusion

Myth and utopia, feeling and speech, wish and dream are elements that weave the history of a people's imaginary, giving it consistency in terms of his identity and national feeling, and that make it possible to orientate its trajectory in space and time. In his article “A Lusofonia como Promessa e o seu Equívoco Lusocêntrico”, Martins Moisés de Lemos says:

(...) o mito dá forma à história, ou seja, [que] o mito enche a história de existência concreta, de memória viva, enfim, de sentido humano. A Cultura, entendida como mito, como imaginação simbólica, é deste modo vida imaginária partilhada e caminho construído em comum. (MARTINS: 2006: 81)

A large part of Portugal's historiography confirms that the conservation and the historical glorification of the country are based on an idealizing vision of its past. With respect to this, Eduardo Lourenço wrote that History, in the strict sense of the “knowledge of what can be studied by history”, is the horizon where we can better realize what is or is not a national reality, adding that the minute study of our historiography reveals “o irrealismo prodigioso da imagem que os Portugueses se fazem de si mesmo”.

In fact, history is for society as memory is for the individual: if he loses memory, he loses the consciousness of his identity, the sense of the present and the capacity of idealizing the future, because he doesn't possess the gnosiologic support (resulting from the experience, intellectual, affective) that allows him to make a connection between time, history and his sources of wisdom, so as to read and recreate his existential situation.

Once again relying on Eduardo Lourenço, we can conclude that the consistency and the coherence of our feeling of identity are closely connected with the experience of a precise space-time, set up by the language, by history, by culture and by religion, in other words, of a deep fixture in the past of Portugal. The same author also states that “um grupo ou uma nação só são sujeito como metáfora do indivíduo que simbolicamente e por analogia constituem.”. For “subject”, the author means “memory” and “reactualização incessante do que fomos ontem em função do que somos hoje ou queremos ser amanhã”.

Thus, history is for society this fundamental surplus value, whose interpretation is not indifferent, on the contrary it activates the present's dynamic and puts into perspective the expectations expressed regarding future.

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