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Messianic Themes in Portuguese and Brazilian Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Carole A. Myscofski

Between 1819 and 1897, three messianic movements were launched in the north-eastern interior region of Brazil, in the states of Pernambuco and Bahia, drawing to their enclaves not only hundreds of backlanders but also extensive military repression. The three unsuccessful sects prophesied the imminence of the Last Days, of the End of the World in cosmic terms, and had as their extraordinary emissary of the final catastrophe neither Jesus nor any Christian saint but rather a short-lived but long-lamented Portuguese monarch of the sixteenth century. The nostalgia for Rei Dom Sebastião was, however, not limited to a cluster of fanatics or esoteric visionaries isolated from the religious mainstream but emerged in the doctrines of the three messianic movements because it had been a fundamental part of Luso-Brazilian Roman Catholicism, the dominant religious tradition conveyed to immigrants and native inhabitants alike since the early days of the Brazilian colony. It is the thesis of this essay that the messianism which made its brief and dramatic appearance in Serra do Rodeador in the 1820s, in Pedra Bonita in the late 1830s, and in Canudos in the 1870s and 1880s, was an integral component of the Portuguese religion and religious ideology of the sixteenth century. In the ordinary transmission of Roman Catholicism to the conquered and colonists of Brazil, messianism remained a significant and repeated theme. To demonstrate this contention, this essay will draw out the central messianic tradition of Portuguese religious legends and writings popular in the sixteenth century- the era of the conquest and occupation of the Brazilian territory by the Portuguese and Christian empire- eliciting examples from religious and nonreligious sources alike. The endeavor will continue through examination of the early religious literature of colonial Brazil, tracing the recurrence of the messianic themes in catechetical and teaching texts as well as in instructive plays, sermons and letters composed by missionaries working in the colony in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

PORTUGUESE LEGENDS

In order to understand the development of the strands of Portuguese belief supportive of the messianic tradition, one must be cognizant of the religious and historical context of the state and its people. Portugal of the sixteenth century drew on an already rich heritage of Christian and Jewish millennial visions, the conquest ideology of the crusading eras, European and Iberian legends of royal heroes and national destiny as well as Counter Reformation rhetoric of exaggerated exclusivity within defined religio-political boundaries. Before consideration of the literature of the messianic tradition in Portugal and Brazil, this heritage will be briefly surveyed.

The Western Christian Church experienced an apocalyptic revival in the centuries immediately before and after the millennium. Calculating the date of the accomplishment of God's kingdom on earth through the Second Coming of Jesus according to scriptural and more occult prophecies, Christian writers since the eighth century had marked the year 1000 for the intervention of the savior into world events and the precipitation of the end of the world and the final divine age. The expectation of the Last Days, and subsequent disappointment year after year, persisted through the fourteenth century in smaller millenarian groups across Europe, paralleling the renewal of Jewish hopes for a great religious leader and overlapping with the zeal which inspired the Crusades against Muslim kingdoms in the Middle East and the Reconquest of Iberia from its

Moorish rulers. Through these religious trends, Western Christianity had become more deeply attached to king and kingdom and more reliant upon a defensive polarization of communities into saved and damned. In other words, the Christian ideology at the time of the origins of the Portuguese state was perhaps more rigid in its insistence on internal orthodoxy (however temporarily defined) than it had been since its alliance with the Roman Imperial state in the fourth century.

Medieval Christianity painted in broad strokes the concerns for human history. Explanations emphasizing social anomie and mass psychosis aside, there is a remarkable consistency in the religious and socio-political movements: their dependence on the mainstream of Christian doctrine. Reduced to its simplest tenets, as indeed it was by medieval catechists, the core of Christian teaching centered upon the unfailingly evil nature of this earthly realm and its necessary redemption through the messiah Jesus. Natural disasters and social upheaval, interpreted in this light, were the watched-for signs of the end of the world, and even unlettered participants in medieval messianic movements understood their own role in the cosmic drama of sacred events. Portuguese Christians, although not as demonstrative as Christians in other parts of Europe, accepted the contemporary eschatological beliefs through parallel religious instruction, and their messianic beliefs did not vary substantially from those of other European Christians.

While the specifically religious beliefs in the return of Jesus and his personal reign in the community of saints on earth waned in the late Middle Ages, analogous secular legends concerning great ancient and contemporary monarchs emerged in cycles of popularity throughout Western Europe, recasting in the role of savior such notables as Charlemagne, England's King Arthur, and Frederick I, Barbarossa, as well as local champions; these legends tangled with the religious teachings of the Last Days and crusaders' rewards and encouraged not only the formation of several popular movements but also the claims of numerous imposters.¹ The heroes who rose to assume messianic stature were rulers of pivotal historical eras; their reigns, idealized in song and poem and through the passage of time, came to symbolize the power and fulfillment of thriving empires loyal to Christian doctrine. European heroes of folklore, whether taken as political saviors or as religious redeemers, played a significant role in the formation of the messianic tradition of Portugal and contributed to its persistence in colonial Brazil. Carried into Iberia by troubadours and by manuscript folios of romance-tales, these myths wielded a tremendous influence on Portuguese folk beliefs. The legend of Arthur serves as a striking example in the secular tradition: known in Iberia by 1170, portions of the Arthurian cycle were circulated widely through translations and the liberal borrowings by Portuguese authors from French sources.² Its influence extended from the plots and motifs in romantic literature, particularly in the twelfth century, to popular and political references to Merlin through the sixteenth century; the thematic parallels underscored the messianic tradition in Portugal.

In Iberia itself arose the legend of the hidden king, *el Encubierto* or *o Encoberto*. Strongly affiliated with the Arthurian legend, this mysterious monarch was first cited in the prophecies attributed to Isidore of Seville of the seventh century and in other manuscript prophecies which emerged around 1520 in Spain and Portugal.³ The "Hidden One" was a noble figure destined to rule a great empire who, after his temporary and penitential sojourn on a misty enchanted isle in the Atlantic (*ilha encantada* or *ilha encoberta*), would construct or claim his realm. The

Encoberto was variously identified as Charles V of Spain and, later, Sebastião I and João IV of Portugal.⁴

The legend of the Encoberto merged in the sixteenth century with the spiritual vision of Portuguese national identity, a vision shaped by the concepts of the divinely sanctioned monarchy, the Christian kingdom founded and guided by Providence and the transcendent destiny of the Portuguese people. The Portuguese monarchy was, in this vision, conceived as divinely established, uniting earthly and sacred powers in the person of its human representative. As the Old Testament writings had employed regal symbols to dramatize Yahweh's power and apocalyptic teachings portrayed Jesus as the savior-king, so the sagas of the Portuguese king conversely imbued the human character with divine majesty. The king supplanted Jesus in his role as messiah for the earthly realization of the kingdom of God in the golden age, and the power thus attributed to the monarchy refashioned the enemies of the crown into demons and Anti- Christs. Portugal was the new Israel, the seat of the divine throne and the locus of worldly transformation under the guiding hand of Providence. Economic and political expansion planned and executed under this vision, especially in the newly discovered or (re)conquered lands, bore the rhetoric of the fulfillment of prophecy or at least further progress in divine history. The consecration of king and kingdom implied that the Portuguese people themselves were a chosen people and significant players in what was naturally conceived as a messianic drama. Regional calamities such as the recurrent plague in Lisbon, the loss of ships at sea, and dire economic or political straits were interpreted as elements of the cosmic upheaval expected to presage the end of the world. Christian messianism was thus woven through the ideology of Portuguese Church and State, making that perspective on world or local history not deviant or even unusual but rather persistently part of the mainstream and inevitably transmitted from its homeland to Portuguese-dominated territories such as Brazil.

From this foundational sacred vision in Portugal developed a series of proto- nationalist myths, glorified histories of Imperial Portugal which not only created the archetypes for expected future triumphs but also informed the messianic tradition transmitted to the colony. The three legend cycles, focused on the first king, Afonso Henriques I, on João Prestes and on Sebastião I, differ in their details and plots but, as a group, convey the fundamental understanding that Portugal and its crown are the focus of the drama not only of national history but also divine destiny.

The first of the legend cycles involved Afonso Henriques, the first king of Portugal, who secured the independence of the County of Portugal from Castile and reigned from 1139 to 1185. Afonso served as the prototype for the great monarch for Portugal and the world. His legends reveal him to have been a blessed, foredestined child and the recipient of a prophetic apparition of Jesus revealing both the divine bestowal of the Portuguese crown and the establishment of the path of its sacred history. Afonso's unique role was articulated by the noted royal chronicler Fernão Lopes; the legends themselves came to light in the fifteenth century and were increasingly popular during the period of Spanish control of the Portuguese throne (1580-1640). Promulgated by published versions in the early seventeenth century and repeated in the era of the restoration of the throne to Portuguese rule under João IV, this cycle cast the Portuguese as the elect and their imperial line as surpassing local import.⁵

The second cycle of legends in Portugal centered on João Prestes, also called Presbyter or Prester John.⁶ João Prestes, a mythical figure thought to be the bishop and monarch of a vastly wealthy Christian nation beyond the Moorish realm, was sought by Portuguese explorers in India, Persia

and the coasts of Africa. The Portuguese kings João II and Manuel I, apparently hopeful of an ally against the Islamic powers, included this legend in justification of their more mercenary quests. The kingdom of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) was eventually accepted as the home of that Christian ruler, but the extraordinary stories of João Prestes remained to become associated with the hidden king, the Encoberto.

The third and by far the most significant Portuguese legend is in the cycle of myths surrounding Sebastião I, king of Portugal from 1557 to 1578. This cycle, as a whole designated Sebastianism, encompasses literature and legend antedating the birth and reign of Sebastião and persisting through later history, cropping up in times of political upheaval to the present day.

Even before his birth, João III's heir was called *o desejado*, "the desired one," for the child represented the last hope for the continuance of the Portuguese dynastic line.⁷ The actual reign of Sebastião I disappointed the great expectations of his subjects. Succeeding to the throne in 1557, Sebastião, himself well versed in the imperial dreams of Portugal by his Jesuit tutors, launched a new and unsuccessful Crusade in 1578 against the Moors who held Morocco; the king died with most of his army and allies in the rout. The devastation felt by his dramatic death was heightened by the loss of the Portuguese throne to Spain between 1580 and 1640. Immediately after his death, however, Sebastião joined the ranks of legend and was believed by many to be not dead, but hidden. Difficulties in the certain identification of his body and a ruse employed by fleeing Portuguese soldiers encouraged the popular belief which persists through the twentieth century in the imminent emergence of Sebastião, unscathed, to reunite and glorify Portugal (and Brazil).⁸

During the period of the Spanish reign, the myth crystallized to tell of the penitent Sebastião, hidden in a misty island and atoning for his foolhardy venture; he was to return in a cloud, riding a white horse.⁹ This popular version persisted beyond the limit of years of Sebastião's normal life-expectancy, for it rendered Sebastião a figure immune to natural laws and within the realm of spiritual powers like his antecedents, Afonso Henriques and João Prestes.

The three legend cycles of Afonso Henriques, João Prestes and Sebastião articulated the religious and political visions generated from the medieval outbursts of apocalyptic hopes and constituted in new Portuguese contexts. By the late sixteenth century, Afonso Henriques and João Prestes had faded into mere shadows while Sebastião remained as the signal figure of the Portuguese messianic tradition. As such, the lost king represented not only the tragedy but also the triumph of the sacred Portuguese destiny and bore the standard of the tradition in its transmission to Brazil.

PORTUGUESE LITERATURE

Supportive of these legend cycles and of their transmission to Brazil was a small but influential body of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century prophetic literature which formulated the link between apocalypics and the popular tradition. The most notable of these were the *Trovas* of Bandarra; other important sources were the poems of Camões, the *Life of Simão Gomes*, composed and published in 1625 by the Jesuit Manuel da Veiga, and the *Anacephaleosis da monarquia lusitanan* written by Manuel Bocarro and also dated to around 1624.

Between 1525 and 1531 a shoemaker and New Christian in the Portuguese village of Trancoso wrote a lengthy manuscript of oracular verses.¹⁰ The poet, Gonçalo Annes, called o Bandarra,

"the doodler," gave voice to the popular and prophetic view that the society of contemporary urban Portugal was corrupt and the nation's redemption was to be accomplished in the arrival of a great and just ruler. Annes was reputed to be a biblical scholar as well as hidden Jew; his verses, directed to the common folk as well as to people of learning, were divulged rapidly: by 1531, when he travelled to Lisbon from Trancoso, he was sought after for explanations of his cryptic prophecies.¹¹

Through the Trovas, Bandarra predicted "a messianic regeneration of a Portugal not yet restored to glory" in the waning days of the age of explorers.¹² Drawing imagery from Iberian and Portuguese folklore and, to a lesser degree, from Jewish and Roman Catholic messianic themes, the poem is a complicated, often witty, nearly always obscure apocalyptic vision of a glorified Portuguese empire. The earliest version (1603) contained 107 verses, while later editions (from 1644 on) inserted thirty-five additional lines in one segment of the poem and added verses to the end.

The Trovas begins with a lengthy prologue directed to Bandarra's sponsor which describes the author, his shoemaking and, especially, his writing ambition. Relying on the analogy of creating useful beauty in leather, the poet suggests that his prophetic visions, too, are a valuable and necessary art.¹³ Bandarra assures his reader of the reliability of his craft, claiming it to be one that "is very secure" which "endures/And not superficially."¹⁴

With these words to the sensible who heed the meaning of the verses, he introduces his critical assessment of contemporary Portuguese society. Bandarra indicts the limits of justice, the "devices" of lawyers and clerks who labor for payment rather than truth, the decay and tyrannies in the churches and the false aristocracies created by liars. Those who suffer the injustices of the "already cursed" order include women whose gentility is challenged and the "poor lepers" of the impoverished nobility. As Bandarra hints in this prologue that he has the answer to mockers' questions, he morbidly concludes that chaos reigns: "I see such a jumble/Without a chief to command."¹⁵

The most significant portion of the Trovas is the section of the dream. In these verses, Bandarra describes the coming of a great king who will reclaim his lost house and, like an "enraged" shepherd, will drive out the wolfpack.¹⁶ This new king must have "a new name," as his coming will leave many dead in his wake; he will strengthen the name of the kingdom of Portugal and extend its power through his unblemished victories under the crest of the five wounds of the Savior Jesus. Bandarra notes that the portents of his arrival may already have been seen in the heirs of old and true nobility.¹⁷

This long middle section of the Trovas contains an extended dialogue between the Head Shepherd and several other speakers about the restlessness of the herds and a dance in which all should join. These passages may only be understood as allegory, referring to Portugal, its dynastic houses and its allies and enemies. In the ensuing dialogues, the suffering of the realm is acknowledged and numerological allusions are connected with the "desired time."¹⁸

The last section of the Trovas repeats the prophecies on the coming of the redeemer-king. This king, "a great Lion," will come to overthrow the African (Muslim) kingdoms and to destroy all enemies within and without the realm. Corrupt leaders will be expelled and the rich subordinated. This "good hidden King" will triumph in peace, guarding the true law. Bandarra

reminds the reader of the Scriptural prophecies from Jeremiah and Daniel, whose fulfillment would soon occur in Portugal.¹⁹

The exact date of the first manuscript of these verses is impossible to determine. Well known by 1537, when Heitor Lopes of Trancoso requested a replacement copy from Bandarra,²⁰ the Trovas were first circulated in manuscript in the sixteenth century and then in printed editions of 1603, 1644, 1812 and 1886. The popular prophetic epic was opposed by the Holy Office of the Portuguese Inquisition; in 1545, Bandarra was silenced after an auto da fé in Lisbon. The Mesa da Consciência attempt to suppress the Trovas and it was listed twice among the banned books of the Index Expurgatório, in 1581 and 1665.²¹

Although the believers in the prophetic visions of Bandarra were not the majority of the Portuguese populace at first, the work and the legend became familiar within a very short time. The theme of Bandarra's poetry caught and expanded the spirit of Portuguese nationalism in the sixteenth century to such a degree that when Sebastião I, heir to D. João III, was born in 1554, his name was immediately linked with the legend of the expected great Prince, the Encoberto redefined by Bandarra in the Trovas.

In the reconstruction of the messianic literary tradition, one cannot ignore the contribution of *Os Lusíadas*, written by Camões in 1572. While it is not possible to ascertain whether the poem was indeed read by Sebastião or support the claim that its author was "the greatest of the Sebastianists,"²² echoes of Bandarra's motifs of the threatened destiny of Portugal and its messianic and imperial future may be found in its verses. In its dedicatory prologue, Sebastião is addressed as the newest branch of the royal line descended from Afonso Henriques, most beloved by Christ and destined to fulfill providential plans to expand the Christian realm throughout the world. In the epilogue the poet, while noting that the king rules "in furtherance of divine will," challenges the monarch to restore order and virtue to Portugal and awaits the day of his full triumph.²³ The anticipation of glory to be realized through the young king was not based on that ruler's own virtues or talents, but instead stemmed from the Portuguese national myth, urgently repeated by the poet in an era of economic and political instability.

During the Spanish control of the Portuguese empire and in the wave of nationalism which followed the Restoration of autonomy to the crown, Portuguese messianic beliefs signified or paralleled political doctrines. From 1580 to the mid-seventeenth century, there was an understandable expansion in the Sebastianist and prophetic writings published or circulated in Portugal; as a group, these works mourned the loss of Sebastião and the throne and looked to the swift demise of all things Spanish. Clerics in Lisbon and Évora were known to be supporters of Sebastianism, and several of these wrote poems or essays on their beliefs. Of the numerous pamphlets circulating in Portugal, two were popular enough to have been brought to Brazil: the *Anacephaleosis da monarquia lusitana* and the *Life of Simão Gomes*.

The Portuguese mathematician and astronomer, Manuel Bocarro Francês, wrote in 1624 a four-part poem entitled, *Anacephaleosis da monarquia lusitana* ("Summary History of the Portuguese Monarchy"), dedicated to Philip IV (III of Portugal), in which he recounted the glories of Portugal. Bocarro saw the return of Sebastião not in a mystical return of the man himself, but in the restoration of Portuguese autonomy with a ruler embodying Sebastião's nationalist and religious fervor; the basis for his concept was a review of the achievement expected of Sebastião but left uncompleted at his untimely death. The only published part of the poem the section

entitled "Estado astrologico" advised that Sebastianists look to others of the Portuguese noble line for a national redeemer and that the Encoberto was a mere human not yet ruling. Bocarro later suggested Teodósio Duke of Bragaça (coincidentally father to the future João IV) as a likely candidate and 1653 the one-hundred-year anniversary of Sebastião's birth as the date of fulfillment. Bocarro was imprisoned for his treasonous writings and activities and, when released, travelled to Italy to continue his work.²⁴

In 1625 the Jesuit Manuel da Veiga, a known adversary of Castile, wrote and published the Life of Simão Gomes on the prophet known as the Shoemaker of São Roque. Gomes, a lay brother, had been a contemporary of Sebastião and, briefly, his astrological advisor in Évora. He had predicted even then the loss of the kingdom of Portugal and its later restoration. The publication and popularity of The Life of Simão Gomes raised this shoemaker to a status equivalent to that of Bandarra.²⁵

The durability of these legends is illustrated by the appearance of a collection of predictions found in an anonymous document dated 1710. Written as an elaborate discussion of the possibility of Sebastião's return, the text recalls and examines prophecies ascribed to Iberian saints, leaders, poets and priests. Among the sources spanning a millennium of hope are Bandarra and several Jesuit fathers.²⁶

TRANSMISSION TO BRAZIL

Given the explicit rhetoric of Christian conquest expounded by the Portuguese king at the establishment of the Brazilian colony, it is not surprising that the ecclesiastical literature of the earlier colonial era resonated with motifs of imperial destiny and messianism. There was, however, a significant change in the focus of the tradition as it was transmitted from Portugal to its American colony. As emphasized above, the messianic tradition was not an autonomous religious philosophy, but rather developed and remained woven through the fabric of Portuguese cultural identity. In Portugal, the religio-political ideology functioned as an ongoing expression of social experience, but the direct identification with king and kingdom, the bond with the Christian monarchy so dramatically felt there, was not sustained as a dynamic principle in the transmission to Brazil. The colony's inhabitants whether exiles, ultramontane Jesuits, hidden Jews, adventurers, enslaved Brazilindians or their mixed descendants could not perpetuate the collective support for the personification of the hero in their monarch; they were, quite simply, not in Portugal, not in that chosen realm under that symbolic king. The difficulties of the overseas venture, moreover, generated new military themes of conquest in the political and ecclesiastical rhetoric of the signs of salvation. The vision of the victorious messianic king became attenuated in the colony and, finally, was permanently attached only to the figure of the paradigmatic ruler that the legends of Sebastião had created.

Jesuit missionaries, in particular, consolidated the themes of conquest for Christ and the military expansion of the divine and messianic kingdom as they undertook, along with the first appointed colonial governor, the establishment of combined ecclesiastical and secular power in Brazil. Unlike earlier Franciscan missionaries whose intent was to persuade through example, the mission intent of the Society of Jesus was to launch a military enterprise whose success would institute, in a new setting, "the same social order which sent them."²⁷ Later at odds with Portuguese colonists and governors, the Jesuits initially cooperated in the extension of the Portuguese domain in the new world and contributed their own spiritual and economic weapons

in advancement of the vision of the spread of the divine kingdom on earth. The holy war began against enemies of the faith in Europe recommenced in Brazil, first against the native inhabitants who would be conquered, civilized and thus converted, and then against the immigrants themselves. Lamenting the lapsed morals of the Portuguese colonists, Jesuits attempted to reconquer their fellow Christians before engaging the Brazilian Indians on articles of faith.

The Jesuit mission to the Portuguese in Brazil was explicitly eschatological. Drawing on their experience in education in Europe and in missions abroad, Jesuit instructors simplified Christian doctrine to the singular but dramatic issues of salvation and damnation. In the recently settled villages, the Jesuits built the two edifices which served their purposes directly: the chapel and the school. From the pulpit, the preachers introduced at length below reminded their congregations of the benefits of compliance and the rewards of obedience. In schools for boys, the missionaries catechized according to the medieval standards, by rote memorization of the salient doctrine of good and evil, personalized in the as-yet unended battle between Jesus and Satan.

Two eminent Portuguese Jesuits, Manuel da Nóbrega and José de Anchieta, led the mission to Brazil in the mid-sixteenth century. Educated in Coimbra, as were all Portuguese Jesuits of the early colonial era, Nóbrega and Anchieta had the additional privilege of instruction under Simão Rodrigues, the founder of the Society of Jesus in Portugal. An early companion of Inácio de Loyola, Rodrigues centered the educational experience of his novices on extraordinary penitential practices, including elaborate humiliations and proclamations of the end of the world. From this extraordinary community, Manuel da Nóbrega travelled to Brazil in 1549 to launch the ambitious and aggressive campaign of the Jesuits to redeem the heathens and reclaim the sinful Portuguese. Appointed leader of the Brazilian Jesuit community, his work to "expand the frontiers of the faith and of the empire" had begun with preaching among his shipmates during this journey from Portugal. Once in the colony, Nóbrega's first task was to reform the Portuguese residents lapsed from Christian guidelines before turning to the enterprise of catechizing the Brazilindians.²⁸

Nóbrega's writings emphasizing salvation laid the groundwork for the more explicit messianism of the later Jesuits Anchieta and Antônio Vieira. His first writing, in fact the first literary creation in the colony, was a religious drama entitled, "Pregação Universal." This "Universal Preaching" was directed to immigrants and natives alike and composed in both colonial languages, Portuguese and Tupi. Most of the text has been lost, but its few extant verses and the references from contemporary sources indicate that its bilingual theme, the salvation of two sinners through the mercy of Mary, mother of Jesus, carries the apocalyptic message.²⁹

The themes of repentance and salvation and the warning of the approaching eschaton infused each writing that Nóbrega intended for the colonists, often at the expense of the canonical message designated for a particular religious feast-day. In 1552, for example, he sent a letter to "the inhabitants of Pernambuco," enjoining them to take to heart the example of the suffering and glorified Christ and to repent now for their later glory. He assured them that "in the eternal life all will be one with God." He warned them, though, of the limitations of God's mercy in those "last times"³⁰ Nóbrega's preachings contained only muted motifs of messianic beliefs; in this, he was representative of the normative doctrinal stance which the Jesuit order adopted in Brazil. However, his writings, combined with the efforts of many others, offered ecclesiastical support for belief in more radical eschatology.

The more influential and prolific writer of this period was Nóbrega's disciple, José de Anchieta. He became legendary during his own lifetime, as tales of miraculous conversions, cures and visions were collected by his Jesuit companions in proof of his holiness. Anchieta composed epic poetry, religious dramas and dramatic sermons in his role as apostolic missionary to the young colony. The letters which he wrote to his superiors and friends in Portugal echoed the religious sentiments that his literary works portrayed: that life, particularly in Brazil, was a continual struggle against the Devil and temptation in which only the true soldiers of the Christian Church might triumph.³¹

Anchieta strengthened the emphasis on the eschatological nature of salvation found in Nóbrega's writings. His earlier sermons instructed his listeners that the Church is the only means to salvation, and his letters to other colonial missionaries and the Jesuits in Portugal articulated the militant theme of the approaching conflagration of the end times and advocated preaching "with a sword and iron rod."³²

In the 1580s, Anchieta wrote a trilogy of religious plays collectively known as *Na vila da Vitória*, that is, "In the village of Vitória." The plays were composed to substitute for secular entertainment and enjoyed great popularity in the late sixteenth century in Brazil. As a literary whole, the plays gave dramatic presence to Anchieta's version of the messianic paradigm: the world of colonial Brazil was corrupt, ruled by the Devil himself and on the brink of the Last Days yet the conquering salvific force of God, in the persons of two popular saints, Santa Ursula and São Maurício, would soon overthrow the evil and begin a New Age.³³

The first play, also called *Na vila de Vitória*, sets a demonic plan for the temptation of São Maurício in the Brazilian village of Vitória. Satanás and his master Lucifer, who had already lost an earlier round to the one "whom they called the Messiah," confront Maurício but lose him to his chosen path of salvation. The village of Vitória herself then updates the biblical stories of sin and redemption, naming the rampant evils of the colony pride, wrath, guile, lewdness, and greed and concludes that all souls are lost. Her companions, "Fear of God" and "Love of God," reply with instructions for repentance.³⁴

After a one-hundred-line poem praising the martyrdom of São Maurício, the third play, *Quando, no Espírito Santo, se recebeu uma relíquia das onze mil virgens* ("When, in Espírito Santo, a relic of the eleven thousand virgins was received") resumes the battle over the village of Vitória.

The Devil challenges the approaching Santa Ursula and her accompanying army of eleven thousand virgins, insisting that the capitania of Bahia is his without opposition.³⁵ After the Diabo has fled before the powerful women, the village of Vitória speaks again, praising the triumphant martyrdom of the patron, Santa Ursula. The martyr São Maurício joins Santa Ursula in her church, announcing to the "happy captaincy" that divine grace brings deliverance to them since "human forces are not enough." Yet he praises those mortals who are "in perpetual war" against the "mortal vices" which have a stranglehold on the colony. As Ursula is enthroned in her shrine, she announces that increased devotion to her, "spouse of the highest king" Jesus, would bring not only spiritual but also political benefit in their dealings with England and France.³⁶

Through these three plays, Anchieta dramatized a recognizable apocalyptic situation. The Brazilian world had so lapsed from the true course that the Christian persona of evil, the Devil, was its sovereign. Recovery of this world was only to be achieved by a savior, in this case, the

princess-martyr Santa Ursula. The story not only suggested the remoteness of Jesus himself from the popular religious tradition but also continued the substitution of a human ruler as the messiah. The three plays emphasized the communal nature of salvation, the intertwining of religious and political power in the Christian empire, and the applicability of the messianic paradigm to local history. These crucial points were communicated to the audiences and reinforced the continuance of their imported ideologies.

While Jose de Anchieta himself creatively expanded the foundation of the messianic tradition through his dramas, sermons and letters, the visions and teachings attributed to him lent substantial support to the growth of Sebastianism in Brazil. One legend circulating during his lifetime simply recounted that Anchieta announced the arrival of Sebastião in Africa on the day it occurred, a fact substantiated later through ship-borne news. Other versions added the details of a vision of the death of Sebastião on the battlefield, or an announcement by Anchieta that the king's battle had been lost. These stories concluded with proof that Anchieta's vision did indeed coincide with the hour of the death of Sebastiao.³⁷

A second legend established not only Anchieta's visionary powers but also the possibility of Sebastião's return. According to the shorter version, Anchieta told his companions on a mournful day in Bertioga that, "On this day great things are occurring in the world." When that date had been verified as the day of the fall of Sebastião in Africa, Anchieta admitted that the defeat of Sebastião had been revealed to him. Upon questioning, Anchieta revealed that Sebastião had not actually died in the battle but refused to explain further, proclaiming that these are "the secrets that the Lord keeps to himself." A fuller version adds that Anchieta assured his listener that Sebastião would reign again.³⁸

While the historicity of these episodes cannot be confirmed, their popularity and credibility were certainly enhanced by the presence of the respected religious teacher and leader as the protagonist. Their circulation in the time following Sebastião's death undoubtedly strengthened the legitimacy of belief in Sebastianism, for they suggested that even among the spiritual elite, the Jesuit Provincials, the death of Sebastião was not accepted and that his return to power was expected.

Other literature created by the Society of Jesus in the early colonial period, such as new teaching texts and dictionaries, also bore the themes of messianism in the New World; while quite different from the directed sermons and legends cited thus far, such texts extended the reach of the more radical messianic statements and provided the orthodox support which guaranteed their persistence. The earliest and most important of new missionary texts in Brazil was the *Doutrina Christã*, written by Jesuit Marcos Jorge and redacted by his contemporary Inácio Martins. This catechism, also known as the "Cartilha de Mestre Inácio" ("Little book of Master Inácio"), was used extensively after its first edition appeared in 1564 and was translated into Tupí for Brazilindians and African languages.³⁹ Designed for elementary instruction, it presented the simplified

Roman Catholic doctrine which the missionaries offered to Portuguese colonists and Brazilindians alike. Through its dialogue format, the student was taught that one is Christian not by one's own merit but through the redemption by Jesus the messiah, the King over all kings. A non-Christian is the "son of a curse, slave of the devil, and disinherited of heaven." Christ crucified, who saved all from captivity, will come again at the end of the world in Judgement;

that future, threateningly near, holds death, judgement, and hell for the sinner, or paradise for the saved.⁴⁰ Given its weight as an official document, the Doutrina Christa in this important point reinforced the messianic teachings available from other sources in the sixteenth and following centuries.

The most widely known messianic writings and sermons of seventeenth-century Brazil were those of the Jesuit Antônio Vieira. His actions and beliefs were considered controversial and even heretical during his own lifetime, but he wielded significant political and religious influence, both in Portugal and in its colony. Born in Portugal but raised and educated in Brazil, Antônio Vieira attended the Jesuit College in Salvador, the colonial capital. In 1623 he entered the Jesuit novitiate and was ordained in 1634. Two years later he was appointed Professor of Theology and had already secured a reputation as the finest religious orator in Brazil. Vieira was a member of the Brazilian ambassadorial party to the Lisbon court following the Restoration and, owing to his eloquence and boldness, immediately became a favorite of João IV.

Vieira exercised tremendous influence in Portuguese political affairs for over a decade, consulting with Joao on all matters of state and serving as messenger to The Hague, Paris and Rome. João IV called Vieira "the greatest man of the world."⁴¹ The Jesuit's skill as a preacher won him numerous followers during this time and throughout his career, but his contentious support of free Brazilindians and the "new Christians" together with his novel interpretation of Sebastianism encountered powerful enemies in Lisbon and Brazil.

In 1652 he returned to Brazil and continued extensive missionary work in Maranhao. He remained there until 1661, when the local plantation owners, faced with increasing shortages of Indian slaves because of the humanitarian intervention of the Jesuits, constrained the government to expel all members of that order from the region. Upon his return to Lisbon, Vieira was brought before the Inquisition for his heretical messianic statements. From there, following a seven-year exile in Rome, Vieira returned to Brazil.

Vieira's sermons reverberated with the controversial subjects of messianism, Sebastianism, the role of João IV as the Encoberto, and that of Portugal as the ultimate World Empire. Vieira was opposed to Sebastianism in its usual form, holding that Sebastião, long dead, would not return and could not be the prophesied Encoberton or Hidden King. One of his earliest sermons satirized the belief in the return of King Sebastião which was evidently held by many inhabitants of Salvador, the colonial capital. Sebastião, he mockingly suggested, might only be considered the Encoberto because he had been hidden "under the illusion of death."⁴² Later sermons also assumed familiarity with and belief in the prophecies of Bandarra, and referred to the special span of "forty years" which had passed since the loss of Sebastião as well as to the omens prophesied by Bandarra which were believed to be manifest in the colony; he carried his own messianic theme further by comparing the city of Salvador, rescued from the hand of the Dutch, to a new Jerusalem.⁴³

Vieira dramatically revised the contemporary vision of Sebastianism when, in his New Year's Sermon in the Capela Real in Lisbon in 1642, he acclaimed João IV, the living king, as the true Encoberto promised by Bandarra and other seers.⁴⁴ Recalling the tradition of the divine kingship of Portuguese monarchs, Vieira explicitly correlated passages from the Old and New Testaments with the victory of João IV and the Restoration. He introduced the new king of Portugal as Sarah's unexpected child, come after a long and sterile wait, and described him as the savior of

Portugal which had, with his rule, escaped the clutches of Spain after "a captivity so hard and so unjust!"⁴⁵ Vieira cited Frei Gil, a Dominican and a renowned visionary of Sebastianism in Portugal, as the source of his incontrovertible proof that João, not Sebastião, was the promised redeemer-king. Frei Gil had indeed looked beyond Sebastião in his prophecy that "Portugal will be redeemed unexpectedly by an unexpected king." João was, like Christ unrecognized by Mary Magdalene on the day of the Resurrection, an unrecognized, unexpected ruler. Vieira concluded with the assurance that many of the prophecies were yet unfulfilled, and Portugal could look forward to a glorious future under the new ruler.⁴⁶

Through his close association with the King, Vieira seemed to become obsessed with his belief in João IV as the messiah of Portugal and the world. In 1644, Vieira informed another audience in the Capela Real that João IV, then King of Portugal, would shortly become the King of the Universe.⁴⁷ João, however, did not live up to the extensive prophecies concerning the redeemer-king and fell ill around the time that Vieira returned to Brazil. There, during a service for the monarch's health, Vieira asserted that Joao would surely not succumb to his illness, for the prophecies especially those concerning the rout of the Moors and the conquest of Africa had not all been accomplished.⁴⁸

After the death of João IV in 1656, Vieira clung to his neo-Sebastianist beliefs, reaffirming the validity of the prophecies of Bandarra, Frei Gil, and other visionaries and the applicability of biblical prophecies to Portuguese history. Vieira wrote to members of his order and to other noble and religious elites that João IV would soon come back to life to fulfill the remaining prophecies. Vieira even expressed this belief during the memorial services for the monarch held in Maranhao. Later writings, including *Esperança de Portugal*, *Quinto Império do Mundo* (Hope of Portugal, the Fifth World Empire) in 1659, *História do Futuro* (History of the Future) completed in 1665, and *Clavis Prophetarum* in 1677, continued these themes.

Esperança de Portugal was originally composed for the Bishop of Japan, Jesuit Andre Fernandes, who expected the return of Sebastião. Vieira wrote to Fernandes in order to persuade him of the upcoming resurrection of João IV and of the suitability of Bandarra's prophecies with relation to Joao. He argued that Bandarra, a "true prophet," had indeed foreseen critical events in Portuguese history, and in his *Trovas*, João is directly named (with the crucial change of "F" to "J") as the Hidden King.⁴⁹ Vieira insisted that the king would be revived as had others in Christian history, and that the prophecies left unfulfilled by his death necessitated his return. Vieira concludes with a lengthy argument against Sebastianism and an intricate numerological calculation of the possible date of João's resurrection.⁵⁰

Sent to Bishop Fernandes in Lisbon and subsequently circulated there, *Esperança de Portugal* led to the censuring of Vieira by the Inquisition. The proceedings began in 1663, and in 1667 the Santo Ofício in Coimbra silenced António Vieira and confined him to the Jesuit residence. Vieira, by way of defense, pleaded that the document had been intended as consolation for the King's widow.

In the meantime, Vieira had written additions to a related work, the *História do Futuro*, whose purpose was consonant with the Portuguese Christian ideology of divine destiny. It argued that Portugal, the Fifth Empire of the World, was successor to the four ancient empires described in the biblical book of Daniel and was thus the ultimate Christian Empire.⁵¹ Wielding unassailable Baroque rhetoric, Vieira concluded that since the Kingdom of Christ was to be temporal, it was

realized in the monarchy of Portugal. The plan for this unfinished treatise indicates that the remainder of the book was to have focused on the fateful roles of Iberia, Portugal, the House of Braganca and finally João IV.⁵²

Clavis Prophetarum, which Vieira conceived as his ultimate work, was finished during his stay in Rome around the year 1677 and circulated in Brazil after 1682. This writing concerns the Kingdom of Jesus as the fulfillment of the Old Testament prophets and as witnessed in the New Testament. Vieira also discusses aspects of the future Kingdom and who will be saved in it.⁵³

The period during which Vieira lived and wrote witnessed an upsurge of Portuguese messianism and of Sebastianism in Brazil as well as in Portugal. The messianic beliefs which Vieira espoused, specifically, that King João IV was the Encoberto heralded by Bandarra and that João would be revived years after his death, became increasingly marginal with respect to contemporary beliefs after João's death. Vieira was, however, greatly respected as a religious orator and theologian, and his sermons and later publications were extremely popular. His preoccupation with João IV did not detract from his popularity outside the elite circles of Lisbon; although he was satirized by several writers,⁵⁴ Vieira continued to receive the admiration and support of the Portuguese colonists in Brazil.

His writings and sermons form, therefore, the primary source for the messianic tradition in Brazil in the seventeenth century. On the one hand, he gives ample record of the widespread Brazilian belief in Sebastianism, particularly in his sermons preached in Salvador. On the other hand, his own beliefs, expressed in the published and orated sermons and circulated writings, contributed substantially to the content and continuation of the messianic beliefs in Brazil. In his *Esperança de Portugal*, for example, he not only expounded his own interpretation at length, but he also cited numerous verses of the *Trovas* so that the readers might consider the prophetic text for themselves. However, his peculiar belief in the resurrection of João was barely accepted even in Brazil: those who had acclaimed João IV as the foreseen Encoberto in 1641 generally returned to belief in Sebastião after 1656, the year of João's death.

Vieira's writings and the numerous sermons which he gave in Bahia on messianic themes which include many not discussed here gave what may be considered the decisive impetus to the continuation of messianism and Sebastianism in Brazil, as may be seen in the sermons of his contemporaries and disciples for the next two centuries. Thus, the writer and missionary was not alone in his consistent and dramatic use of messianic themes in his sermons during the seventeenth century. The orator Eusebio de Mattos (1629-1692) not only was a student of Vieira but also perpetuated his focus on imminent eschatology. Mattos, part of the Jesuit community in Salvador after 1644, temporarily replaced Vieira in the pulpit before leaving the Society to join the Carmelites. Mattos continued as a popular preacher, and his sermons, distinguished by an exuberant style as well as by extraordinary length, were generally commended for their moral content.

Mattos repeatedly spoke of salvation of the means to secure it, of the significance of the sufferings in the life of Jesus, of the glorious Second Coming of the Messiah and of the imminence of the Last Days. In his famous sermon on *Ecce Homo* of 1677, Mattos explained: "You the faithful have understood that we are touching on the point of greatest importance that can be brought to the pulpits, because here it touches on the entire subject of our salvation: that there is no salvation without divine help."⁵⁵ Yet in these sermons, the central themes of the

Passion of Jesus are reinterpreted in the historical circumstances of the Brazilian colonists. Nearly every one of the numerous sermons which Mattos preached and circulated in printed form in Brazil included extensive exegesis on passages from the canonical Apocalypse of John, explained in light of the persistent ideology of Portuguese messianic destiny, now actualized in the Brazilian colony. Mattos assessed the turmoils of the colony as the signs of the eschaton, and the declining influence of Catholic doctrine as the cataclysm which was to herald the Second Coming. He spoke of the New World as the new earth and of the need for uncommon measures to prepare for the accomplishment of the kingdom of God on earth.⁵⁶

While his sermons lack the radical appeal of those of the Jesuit Vieira, Mattos' passionate style of preaching insured consistently large audiences for his sermons in Salvador. Mattos reinforced, in perhaps a more orthodox manner than his mentor, the messianic beliefs of the colonists through a sermonic style particularly appropriate to these topics that of the baroque sermon. The baroque style of literature, combining neologisms, double entendres, revivals of ancient poetic forms and abstracted Latin and Spanish terms with unconventional word order and complicated grammatical structures, developed in Portugal under the influence of the style of Spanish gongorism; it flourished in Brazilian letters between 1650 and 1750. The baroque "conceptism" adopted for religious expression in sermons relied upon the use of antitheses and para-doxes with obscure classical and mythological references to dramatize the exegesis of a selected biblical text; this rhetorical form characteristically emphasized a strict dichotomy between heaven and hell and illuminated the means to salvation in elaborate and vehement terms.⁵⁷ Portraying mundane problems in a metaphysical context, these sermons proved an appropriate vehicle for the communication of the messianic themes which were often the favored subjects for Brazilian preachers such as Mattos, as well as for António de Sá, Affonso do Vale, Angelo dos Reis and Bento da Trindade.

CONCLUSION

In Brazil as in Portugal, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw the extraordinary development of a durable messianic tradition. From medieval religious and legendary narrative articulating belief in the imminence of universal change at the hands of an unearthly savior grew the fundamental Portuguese cultural identity centered upon a divinely chosen and guided Christian king. Legends created or recreated in the sixteenth century repeated the salvific religious and political role of the Portuguese monarch in realms beyond Portugal and, permeating the literary as well as folk traditions, found expression in the writings of visionaries such as Bandarra, Camões, Bocarro and da Veiga.

The transmission of the messianic tradition to Brazil refocussed its core beliefs in two dimensions. First, as the Portuguese missionaries faced unexpected resistance in proselytization among the Indians as well as among the immigrants, the eschatological image of the triumphant kingdom of God was replaced with military themes reminiscent of the Crusaders' legends. Second, the identification of the living ruler as the legendary Encoberto or royal messiah ceased after the death of João IV. Thus, from 1580 and especially after 1656, the attribution of the messianic role to the actual Portuguese monarch ended and the epic figure of Sebastião was perpetuated as the monarch who would miraculously redeem Brazil. This latter development the establishment of Sebastião as the sole regal symbol of the redemptive hero accounts for the otherwise peculiar beliefs of the nineteenth-century movements in Brazil: they were not resurrecting a long-dead legend, but continuing the Brazilian version of the messianic doctrine.

While it has been the express purpose of this essay to demonstrate the strength of the messianic traditions through the Luso-Brazilian literature of the 1600s and 1700s, it is not the complete account of the impetus for the nineteenth- (or even twentieth-) century uprisings. Belief alone did not impel the messianic movements of the Brazilian Northeast; rather a combination of supportive factors was necessarily involved. Among these was the religious matrix long established in the Northeast composed of the persistent messianic belief, the lay religious infrastructure, related penitential practices and the upsurgent and unorthodox local religious leaders together with increased laicization in the region after 1760 and incipient religious and social change. Thus the movements in the Northeast were the products of a religious worldview and are best understood with the complexities of their context rather than severed from it; the depiction of those complexities is, however, beyond the scope of the present work.

NOTES

¹Theophilo Braga, *O Povo português nos seus costumes, crenças e tradições* (Lisbon: Livraria Ferreira Editora, 1885), 2: 239; Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 72-74, 111-112.

²María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, "Arthurian Literature in Spain and Portugal," in *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*, ed. Roger Sherman Loomis (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 406.

³João Lúcio de Azevedo, *A Evolução do sebastianismo*, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Livraria Classica Editora, 1947), 18-19.

⁴Braga, *O Povo português*, 2: 239-240.

⁵Hernani Cidade, *A Literatura autonomista sob os Filipes* (Lisbon: Editora Livraria Sa da Costa, n.d.), 162-163; Riolando Azzi, *A Crisandade colonial* (Sao Paulo: Edicoes Paulina, 1987), 53; Sebastiao de Rocha Pita, *História da América portuguesa* (Lisbon: n.p., 1730; reprint ed., Sao Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1976), 135, 137.

⁶C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire: 1415-1825* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1969), 19-20, 33-35. See also H. V. Livermore, *A New History of Portugal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 127-129.

⁷J. M. de Queiroz Velloso, *D. Sebastião*, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1935), 5-6.

⁸The corpse, apparently stripped of its battle armor, was first interred in Africa and later transferred to Portugal. When finally sepulchred in 1682, Sebastiao's tomb was marked by this suggestive epitaph:

In this tomb is kept, if the report is true, Sebastião
Whom premature death took on the plains of Libya
Do not say that those who believe that the king lives are wrong,
According to the law, death is like life, for the dead man.

The phrase *si vera est fama* ("if the report is true") supported belief in Sebastião's survival for several decades. António Belard da Fonseca, *D. Sebastião*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: n.p., 1978), particularly 1: 165- 175. The sepulchre itself is shown in that volume, fig. 1, facing page 20. The ruse involved the insistence by soldiers seeking refuge after the defeat in a nearby fort that the king was among them; the rumor-eventually denied-spread back to Portugal. Cf. Velloso, *D. Sebastião*, 403-404.

⁹Braga, *O Povo português*, 2: 242.

¹⁰The earliest publication was a verse-by-verse explanation by D. Joam João] de Castro in *Paraphrase et concordância de algumas profecias de Bandarra*, (apateiro de Trancoso ([Paris]: n.p., 1603; facsimile reprint, Porto: Officina Typographica de A. F. Vasconcelos, 1901); additional verses appeared in the edition of 1866, [Goncalo Annes Bandarra], *Trovas do Bandarra*, new ed. (Porto: Imprensa Popular de J. L. Sousa, 1866).

¹¹Innocêncio Francisco da Silva, *Dicionario bibliographico português* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1859), 3:151; Braga, *O Povo português*) 2: 244.

¹²Antônio Quadros, *Poesia e filosofia do mito sebastianista* (Lisbon: Guimaraes e Ca., Editores, 1982), 1: 24.

¹³Castro, *Paraphrase*, folios 7-11. In this and following quotes, I have rendered a literal rather than poetic translation of the verses.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, folio 9v.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, folios 12-20v.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, folios 22v-29-

¹⁷*Ibid.*, folios 34v-51.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, folios 55-73v.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, folios 78-126.

²⁰Braga, *O Povo português*, 2: 244.

²¹Azevedo, *Sebastianismo*, 76, 88, 123-134; Braga, *O Povo português*, 2: 245-246.

²²Quadros, *Mito sebastianista*, 1: 40.

²³Luis Vaz de Camoes, *The Lusiads*, trans. William C. Atkinson (New York: Viking Penguin, 1952), 40-42, 247-249.

²⁴Azevedo, *Sebastianismo*, 54-59; José Pereira de Sampaio, *O Encoberto* (Porto: Livraria Moreira Editora, 1904), 276-278.

²⁵Azevedo, *Sebastianismo*, 63-64.

²⁶Published by A. Monteiro da Fonseca, ed., in *Sobre o sebastianismo* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editores, Ltda., 1959).

²⁷José Maria de Paiva, *Colonizacao e catequese, 1549-1600* (Sao Paulo: Autores Associados/Cortez, 1982), 56.

²⁸José Carlos Sebe Bom Meihy, "A Presença do Brasil na Companhia de Jesus: 1549-1649" (Ph.D. diss., Universidade de São Paulo, 1975), 84; Riolando Azzi, "As Romarias no Brasil," *Revista de Cultura Vozes* 73 (1979): 39.

²⁹Simão de Vasconcellos, *Vida do veneravel Padre José de Anchieta* (Lisbon: Oficina de Joao da Costa, 1672; reprint ed., Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1943), 1: 55-58; Richard Preto-Rodas, "Anchieta and Vieira: Drama as Sermon, Sermon as Drama," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 7 (1970): 97.

³⁰Manuel da Nóbrega, *Cartas e mais escritos*, ed. Serafim Leite (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1955), 106-108.

³¹Preto-Rodas, "Anchieta and Vieira," 96.

³²Cited in Leite, *Companhia*, 2: 8; José de Anchieta, "Sermão do Padre José d' Anchieta: In die conversionis S. Pauli, 1568, Piratininga," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 65 (1891): 120; Vasconcellos, *Vida de Anchieta* 2: 104-105.

³³José de Anchieta, *Na vila de Vitotria e Na visitafao de Santa Isabeln* ed. M.L. de Paula Martins, *Documentação Linguística*, no. 3 (Sao Paulo: Museu Paulista, 1950). The plays, apparently intended for the immigrant audiences, are in both Castilian and Portuguese; the devils speak Castil-ian.

³⁴José de Anchieta, "Na vila de Vit ória," in *Na vila d Vitona*, Act 1, lines 28-32, 333-335; Act 2, lines 575-580, 769-771, 1442-1654.

³⁵José de Anchieta, "Quando, no Espirito Santo, se recebeu uma reliquia das onze mil virgens," in *Na vila de Vitoria*, Act 1, lines 6-28.

³⁶*Ibid.*, Act 3, lines 151-161, 185-186, 228-232.

³⁷Vasconcellos, *Vida de Anchieta*, 2: 156; Rocha Pita, *América portuguesa*, 94.

³⁸Vasconcellos, *Vida de Anchieta*, 2: 55-56; Azevedo, *Sebastianismo*, 64.

³⁹Valdomiro Pires Martins, *Catecismo Romano: verão fiel da edição autêntica de 1566* (Petropolis: Editora Vozes Ltda., 1962), 22; Francisco Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal* (Porto: "Apostolado de Imprensa" Editora, 1938), 2, Pt. 1: 459.

⁴⁰Marcos Jorge, *Doutrina Christa*, rev. by Inácio Martins (Lisbon: Geraldo da Vinha, 1624), folios 2-2v, 4v-5, 32.

⁴¹Thomas R. Graham, *The Jesuit António Vieira and his Plans for the Economic Rehabilitation of Seventeenth-Century Portugal*, *Coleção Monografias*, no. 1 (Sao Paulo: Secretaria da Cultura, Ciencia e Tecnologia, 1978), 26.

⁴²António Vieira, *Sermoes* (Lisbon: J. M. C. Seabra and T. Q; Antunes, 1854-1856), 9: 220ff., quoted in Joao Lúcio de Azevedo, *História de António Vieira*, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Livraria Classica Editora de A. M. Texeira and Ca., 1931), 1: 40.

⁴³António Vieira, "Sermão do Dia de Reis (1641)" in *Por Brasil e Portugal*, ed. Pedro Calmon (So Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1938), 167, 204.

⁴⁴António Vieira, *Obras escolhidas*, ed. António Sergio and Hernani Cidade (Lisbon: Livraria Sa da Costa Editora, 1954), 10: 158.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 160, 164

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 165-168, 182-183.

⁴⁷Azevedo, *História de Vieira*, 1: 97.

⁴⁸Azevedo, *Sebastianismo*, 81.

⁴⁹António Vieira, *Cartas do Padre António Vieira*, ed. João Lúcio de Azevedo, 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1970), 468-473. The alteration of initial letters was the cornerstone for belief in João IV as the Hidden King described in the poem by Bandarra and was further supported by an earlier reference to a King João.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 483-525. 1666 was the favored date for the resurrection of João because of the significance of the number 666 in the canonical book of Revelation.

⁵¹*Ivieira*, *Obras escolhidas*, 9: 1-160.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 161-170

⁵³*Clavis Prophetarum* has not yet been published, but a Latin summary of it (from 1715) and later Portuguese translation is contained in *Obras Escolhidas*, 9: 173-267.

⁵⁴Gregório de Mattos, a satirical writer of seventeenth-century Brazil, wrote of Vieira:

The Sebastianists listen
To the prophet of Bahia
The highest astrology
Of all the gymnosophist sages
.....
As I create clarity
I say in the literal sense
That the king promised by God
Is: who? His Majesty.

Taken from Obras de Gregório de Mattos, cited in Vieira, Por Brasil e Portugal, 132.

⁵⁵Eusébio de Mattos, *Ecce Homo: Práticas prégadas no Collégio da Bahia às sextas feiras à noite, mostrando se em todas o Ecce Homo* (Lisbon: Ioam de Costa, 1677), 8.

⁵⁶Eusébio de Mattos, *Sermoens do Pe. Mestre Fr. Eusébio de Mattos* (Lisbon: Miguel Deslandes, 1694), 41.

⁵⁷Afrânio Coutinho, *An Introduction to Literature in Brazil*, trans. Gregory Rabassa (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 75-110.