

**THE LITERARY AND CULTURAL RESONANCES  
OF THE MYTH OF HENRY:  
*THE LUSIADS AND PILGRIMAGE***

**Maria Luísa de Castro Soares<sup>1,2</sup> and Maria João de Castro Soares<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>*Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro* and <sup>1,2</sup>*Universidade de Coimbra*

**Abstract.** Two thematic lines: the omnipresence of the theme of the maritime voyage in Portuguese culture – which António Quadros calls the ‘myth of Henry’, – and its inflections in literature, more specifically, in Camões’s *The Lusiads* (*Os Lusíadas*) and Fernão Mendes Pinto’s *Pilgrimage* (*Peregrinação*) were examined. Thus, we focus on the state of the art about the topic of *Henryism*/the maritime voyage, taking into account the perspective of today’s Portuguese scholars, and we look at how this theme is expressed in *The Lusiads* and *Pilgrimage*, thereby proving that these Renaissance works remain vital for the actual imaginary of the Portuguese people.

**Keywords:** *Pilgrimage*; *The Lusiads*; Luís de Camões; Fernão Mendes Pinto; Portuguese mythogenesis; Henry’s myth; maritime voyage; travel literature

**DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.3176/tr.2020.2.04>

### **1. The Portuguese mythogenesis and the myth of Henry**

The following transcriptions of the works of three Portuguese Poets are the motto of the present work:

“We seek nothing less than the impossible” (Vicente 1524).<sup>1</sup>

“The Sea, in the perpetual movement of its waves, is the realm of Desire. Here, the ecstatic spiritual recollection that wants to be the very thing remembered or evoked in the flesh. At sea, the spirit materializes itself for the Fight” (Pascoaes 1913).

---

<sup>1</sup> The original verse (verse 1115) – ‘Por lo imposible andamos: no por ál’ – is a Dom Duardos soliloquy, in the *Tragicomédia de Dom Duardos*, that was written in 1524 by Gil Vicente (Soares 2007).

“Old Seamen had a splendid phrase: “To sail is necessary; to live is unnecessary” (Pessoa 2013).<sup>2</sup>

Reflecting about oneself and asking what it means to be human are processes as old as humanity itself. Our capacity to think allows us to consider ourselves in our ‘operational closure’ (Maturana and Varela 2007) and our openness to the world. Human’s existence unfolds in a space between two poles, the *real* and the *possible*, and it is oriented by an existential, rational and mythic consciousness.

According to Manuel Antunes, a prominent Jesuit essayist, the mythic consciousness “expresses the essence of Man, because all the affirmations of transcendence arise from it, because it designates the supreme instance regulating the equilibrium of Man [...], in sum, because it allows reason to come into being” (Antunes 1966-1967: 87).

Myths and the Portuguese mythogenesis are associated with reason because they are ways of making sense of the world. As such, they have a ‘psychological and collective’ function as well as an important ‘compensatory function’, particularly in unfavourable historical moments. Thus, myths are created in a context of decadence through regenerative impulses, as true forms of resistance to adversity (Soares 2007). For example, the legend of the battle of Ourique and the sebastianic myth are examples of this. The “Portuguese mythogenesis contains its own energy, transcends historical events; even if it does not generate these events it may stimulate and nourish them” (Quadros 1989: 50).

António Quadros, a Portuguese philosopher of the 20th century, who defends the specificity of the Portuguese cultures and identity (Quadros 1983: 129-130; Quadros 1989: 50), postulated the existence of five myths that constitute the Portuguese mythogenesis. These have been recurrent themes throughout the history of Portuguese literature and culture, and they form the foundation of ‘Portuguese thought’ (Quadros 1983: 129-130). The existence of a *Portuguese thought* is fundamental for the identity of the Portuguese as a people and it implies a relation between *self* and *Other*, since identity can only be established when otherness is recognized. Thus, the construction of the identity is not a matter of closure but rather it implies certain openness to relativity, exoticism and difference, essential to a proper examination of the *self*. According to António Quadros, the *Portuguese being* is based on the following mythologems, which have always been present in the Portuguese literature: the *sublimation of women*, the *everlasting love*, the *providentialism of Portuguese history*, the *Hidden One* and the *Henryism* (Quadros 1983: 129-130).

---

<sup>2</sup> The sentence “*Navigare necesse, vivere non est necesse*” was firstly used by Pompey, a Roman general, to encourage the fearful sailors. Fernando Pessoa reused this sentence and stated: “I want the spirit of this phrase: To sail is necessary; to live is unnecessary” (Pessoa 2013: n.p.).

## 2. The myth of Henry in Portuguese culture: the role of the discoveries to its consolidation

The myth of Henry or *Henryism* relates to the theme of the journey in Portuguese literature and travel writing, from the age of discoveries, and it has oriented the axiological perspective of the Portuguese culture since then, being the object of constant study and discussion. The Orient was known only through stories of the silk-road and the narrative of the Venetian Marco Polo (Graça 1993), but the descriptions of Polo did not become a myth for his respective culture, as he was not a pioneer in the creation and circumstances of said route. Besides, it is unquestionable that the motif of the voyage is pervasive across western literature (some major figures come to mind like Christopher Columbus and Captain Cook). However, it is to Portugal that we owe the discovery of the maritime route from the West to the East. The Portuguese “were effectively the first of many European who grafted themselves onto a pre-existing Afro-Asian trading network” (Klein 2013: 163) and the description of discovery of the maritime road to India in *The Lusiads* (Camões 1880, 2000) contributed to the creation of the “collective, historical memory of Portugal as the head of Europe” (Blackmore 2009: 46-47). The discovery of the maritime road to India is the common designation for the first trip done from Europe to India via the Atlantic Ocean, under the command of Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama. Vasco da Gama’s fleet left Lisbon in July 1497 and arrived in Calicut in May 1498, as Camões explains in the epic poem *The Lusiads*, where the Cape of Storms (later called Cape of Good Hope) appears as the giant Adamastor (canto V), a symbol of ideology of maritime empire and also of geographical and nautical limits (Blackmore 2009: 144-46), of great dangers of the sea:

“These words I ended not, when saw we rise /  
a shape in air, enormous, sore the view o’it: /  
a form disform of a giant size; /  
frowned its face; the long beard squalid grew o’it /  
its mien dire menacing: its cavern’d eyes /  
glared ghastly’ mid the mouldy muddy hue o’it; /  
stained a clayey load its crispy hair /  
and coal-black lips its yellow tusks lay bare” (V. 39.1-8) (Camões 1880).  
(*Não acabava, quando ùa figura / Se nos mostra no ar, robusta e válida,  
/ De disforme e grandíssima estatura; / O rosto carregado, a barba  
esquálida, / Os olhos encovados, e a postura / Medonha e má e a cor  
terrena e pálida / Cheios de terra e crespos os cabelos, / A boca negra,  
os dentes amarelos*) (V. 39.1-8) (Camões 2000).

In fact, the overcoming of the physical obstacles that sea travel entails is the central topic of the *Carta a El-Rei Dom Manuel Sobre o Achamento do Brasil* (published in the 15th century, in the year of 1500) (Caminha 1974), *The Lusiads* (published in the 16th century, in 1572), *Pilgrimage* (published in the 17th century)

(Pinto 2001), and the *História Trágico-Marítima* (published in the 18th century). We can say that the sea journey (Henryism) has influenced the collective subconscious of the Portuguese, perhaps because “Portugal created the first global empire” (Crowley 2016), as *The Lusiads* make plain by bookending its tale with claims on how the Portuguese were pioneers of the sea. Therefore, this idea is insistently repeated throughout *The Lusiads*, from its beginning to the end, from canto I [e.g., canto I. 1.: “Who o’er the waters ne’er by seaman crost” (*Por mares nunca de antes navegados*); canto I. 27.3: By paths unused, and holding nought in fear (*Por vias nunca usadas, não temendo*)] to canto X (e.g., X. 138.3: “That opened Ocean-portals patent-free”; e.g. *Abrindo [os portugueses] a porta ao vasto mar patente*).

The mythologem of Henry had already been outlined in the Celtic legends, gained a concrete expression with the Portuguese Discoveries, the *naval and transoceanic experience*, incarnated in the figure of the Henry *The Navigator* (also named the Infant of Sagres) (Russel 2000), and has been recurrently been given new life until now via the motif of the *journey*, such as the emigration and the diastole-systole movement of “seeking who we are / at a distance from us”, described by Fernando Pessoa in “Night”, a poem from *The Message* about “Maritime and aquatic imagination” (Mendes n.d.: 299). This mythologem unfolds alongside the themes of *nostalgic vocation of the impossible* (Durand 1986: 9-21) and *Nostalgia (Saudade)*, inseparable from the concept of distance, which the notion of the journey naturally evokes.

The theme of the journey, or Henryism, assumes importance in terms of Portuguese identity and the threads with which this identity was woven were spun during the golden period of Portuguese culture, in the 15th–16th centuries, during the period of the Discoveries and Maritime Expansion. The mill that spun this yarn can be located in the spirit of the crusades and in the desire to propagate the faith upon which political, social and cultural actors sought to build the Portuguese empire.

If the spirit that animated the crusades was at work in the Reconquest and was given new life by the first expeditions to Africa during the kingdom of Dom João I, the exploration of the African coast by the Infant Dom Henrique culminated in the imperial project initiated by Dom João II of Portugal, that is, in the construction of the Empire of the Orient and Brazil’s colonization.

Portugal in the fifteenth century assumed a singular role and made a decisive contribution to the change of the cultural and scientific paradigm, emerging as “the nation that reveals to Europe that Man is made up of many men, many races, many colours, creeds, habits, and thus undermining the prevailing unitary view of the world” (Real 2011: 77)<sup>3</sup>. We cannot help transcribing the medieval *Imago Mundi* that the French cardinal Pierre d’Ailly composed about the peoples of Asia, which evidences a clear lack of communication with and ignorance of the *Other*:

<sup>3</sup> Miguel Real divides Portuguese culture into four streams of thought that have developed diachronically: The messianist, the rationalist, the modernist and the spiritualist. In his opinion the first period, from Dinis of Portugal to the end of epic Discoveries, corresponds to the moment when the main characteristics of Portuguese culture were given shape and crystallized (Real 2011: 77).

“In the Mountains of the Orient, beyond the *oikoumenê* [inhabited world], live the pygmies, men that are two cubits tall and dedicate themselves to hunting cranes. These people have a gestation period of three years and die when they are eight [...]. The macrobes can also found be in these regions, men that are twelve cubits tall and fight griffins. We also come across Barbarians who kill their old parents and eat them. Those who refuse to abide by this custom are seen as impious. Others eat raw fish and drink saltwater from the sea. The feet of some of these human monsters face backwards and they have eight fingers; others have dog heads, the skin of beasts and they bark like dogs. There are women in these places who breed only once, and the children, white at birth, become black in old age, which does not last more than a summer. There are others who are pregnant five times, but whose children do not live more than eight years. There are men with only one eye, called arimaspians, and cynocephalus called cyclops. With only one foot, however, they run as fast as the breeze [...], and when they sit on the ground, they protect themselves from the sun raising the sole of the foot [...]. Near the source of the Ganges, there are men who live by smelling the scent of a certain fruit, which they carry with them when they travel; If they smell a bad odour, they immediately die” (Dias 1982: 153-154).

The Discoveries and their navigation experience allowed Portuguese seamen and men of science to debunk these and other legends and to correct the falsities of ancient knowledge by verifying the truth that they dared to proclaim (Saraiva 1983a: 47-57; Saraiva and Lopes 2007: 166). This was the aim of Duarte Pacheco Pereira, a knight, navigator and cosmographer of the time of D. João II of Portugal, who states, in his *Esmeraldo de situ orbis*:

“Neither our olden ancestors, nor others, much older, from other stranger generations, would before believe that there would come the time when our Occident could know the Orient and India as it does now. Because the writers who have spoken of these parts of the world wrote so many fables about them, whereby it seemed impossible to all that the Indian seas and lands could be navigated by our Occident (...)” (Pereira 1954: 196).

Later, after acknowledging the errors of our ‘olden ancestors’, Duarte Pacheco Pereira concludes: “All of this is false. And since the experience is the mother of things, through it we known the radical truth” (Pereira 1954: 96).

It is this experiential knowledge we find in reports or travel relations, an example of which is the description of the customs and native people of Brazil by the fleet of Pedro Álvares Cabral:

“Their features are those of brown men, somewhat reddish, with fine-looking faces and well-shaped noses. They walk around naked, without any clothes, and it does not cross their minds to cover or show their private parts. And they are in this matter as innocent as they are about showing their faces. Both of them had pierced their lower lips, and inserted white bones through the holes, as long as the palm of a hand, as thick as a cotton spindle and as sharp as a drill. They insert them through the inner part of the lip and what is left between the lip and the teeth looks like a tower from chess. It fits so perfectly that it does not hurt them, does not obstruct their speech and does not prevent them from eating or drinking. They have straight hair, cut high, over the comb, with decent size and shaved over the ears. And one of them had under his rim, from both temples to the back of the head, a kind of wig of yellow feathers, that must have been as long as a wing, very thick and dense, which covered the nape and ears, and which softly stuck to his hair, feather by feather, almost as wax although it was not that, the hair was very round, very thick and very regular, that it was not necessary to wash it to make it rise” (Caminha 1974: 37).

Caminha’s letter acknowledges the *Other* and human diversity. In it, the author promises not to describe anything as more beautiful or uglier than it really was, declaring that he was reporting only what he saw: “There is nothing more to mention here than what I saw and so appeared to me” (Caminha 1974: 31).

In fact, the Discoveries were the great Portuguese contribution to the Renaissance, because, through observation and experience, they contributed to the enlargement of knowledge about the world and the human being. Portuguese mariners proved that the Indian Ocean was navigable, that the torrid region was habitable, that the world was not flat and that it had different regions. New climates, faunas, floras, landscapes, customs were uncovered, and the human horizon was exposed to the exotic and the relative. The existence of the antipodes was proved; the diversity of languages, of races and the uniformity of the humankind were recognized. A new philosophy of knowledge was founded, making possible a quantitative and qualitative leap, to wit: to know more in a different way.

In Portugal, when compared to the rest of Europe, the sixteenth century presented a special physiognomy. The great Portuguese contribution to the Renaissance – the Discoveries – extended the knowledge about the world and mankind, and ostensibly showed the primacy of observation and verification over bookish knowledge. Whereas in Western Europe the cult of antiquity prevailed, Portuguese men of science affirmed the superiority of the modern thinkers through the certainty of experimental knowledge.



### 3. The myth of Henry and the Portuguese collective identity: The *Lusiads* of Camões and the *Pilgrimage* Fernão Mendes Pinto's

The contribution of Portuguese figures to Portuguese culture and European humanism was vast. We must mention the contribution of several actors of the sixteenth century, such as, for example, João de Barros, André de Resende, Diogo de Teive, Pedro Nunes, Garcia da Horta, Francisco Sanches, Duarte Pacheco Pereira, as well as fundamental books like the marine cosmography *Esmeraldo of Situ Orbis*, the *Summa orientalis* of Tomé Pires, and the *Colóquio dos Simples e das Drogas he Cousas Medicinaias da Índia* of Garcia da Horta.

But poets and their literary works made the most significant mark in the collective memory and they best illustrate the identity of their people. In what concerns the national language, Camões is Portugal's highest authority, considered the founder of the cultured Portuguese language, a position he has maintained until this day. His epic, *The Lusiads*, displays what Eduardo Lourenço called 'the spirit of Portugal' (Lourenço 2010: 152).

In fact, the Portuguese in *The Lusiads* are shown as a chosen people, blessed by a glorious past and predestined to accomplish great deeds (Soares 2007). The impact of *The Lusiads* was so great that it has nurtured many utopian dreams about Portugal's destiny until this day, irrevocably defining its national identity. In Eduardo Lourenço words, "Camões conferred on us [Portuguese people], collectively, an epic existence and we have never again recovered from this sublime insolation" (Lourenço 2010: 151). *The Lusiads* continue to have a noticeable influence today, since "the national consciousness is therein featured with such glow and presence that it evokes in us [Portuguese people] a feeling of nostalgia" (Lourenço 2010: 156).

The Portuguese philosopher Miguel Real expanded upon this idea, claiming that there are three works that characterize the golden period of the Portuguese culture, namely *The Lusiads* of Luís de Camões, the *Pilgrimage* (*Peregrinação*) of Fernão Mendes Pinto and the *História Trágico-Marítima*, compiled by Gomes de Brito (Real 2011: 114). The three theses that were outlined in them help flesh out the Portuguese personality: *The Lusiads* described its mythical character, *Pilgrimage* expressed its pragmatism; the *História Trágico-Marítima* displayed its fatalism. In summary, Henry's maritime myth is expressed in these three works, as the apologetic and patriotic perspective on the voyage we find in *The Lusiads*, the anti-stereotypical perspective of the *Pilgrimage*, or the perspective of the *História Trágico-Marítima*, which draws upon travel reports to highlight the human losses, the material costs and tragic side of the Discoveries. The psycho-ideological implications of the maritime voyage for the present are addressed in José Cândido de Oliveira Martins' essay "The tragic-maritime literature and the contemporary literature" (Martins, n.d.).

The imaginary around the maritime voyage (myth of Henry) has, as lapidary works, the *The Lusiads* and the *Pilgrimage*. They are two works written in the 16th century representing two different perspectives – and our purpose in the present work is to focus on the specificity of *Pilgrimage* of Fernão Mendes Pinto, without losing track of the aspects it shares with *The Lusiads*. It has often been said that

the *Pilgrimage* presents the reverse values of those expressed in *The Lusíads* or, in other words, the inverse of the prevailing ideology of that time. We do not agree at all with this idea. Analysed, until very recently, from a strictly historical perspective that privileged verisimilitude, and prisoner to “a hagiography that, only at times exceeds the apologetic stage” (Lourenço 1989a: 1053), *Pilgrimage* has been considered personal, “not only because the author is a character, and fully aware of it, but because the whole narrative is traversed by a clear intention” (Lourenço 1989a: 1055). We also should not forget the contrasting opinion of João David Pinto Correia, who argues that the narrative in *Pilgrimage* revolves around a ‘self’, but claims that the latter gradually acquires the shape of a collective entity, since

“the book invokes the paths of the collectives that involve the central speaking figure: on the one hand, the Portuguese themselves, companions in wayfaring and adventure, and, on the other hand, the foreigners, in whose group the *self*, with or without his compatriots, is integrated during much of the diegetic time” (Correia 1999: 172).

Considering the preceding, there are evident similarities between *Pilgrimage* and *The Lusíads*. Both works have a collective entity, the main character: the Portuguese people, their journey to the Orient and their stay there, enjoying moments of glory.

Both these literary works also display an awareness of human dejection and precariousness (they foreshadow the sense of disenchantment that became pervasive during the Baroque). However, while *The Lusíads*

“stimulate our [the Portuguese] *superego* [*ideal ego*] [...] Fernão Mendes Pinto and his *Pilgrimage* constitute, after all, our [the Portuguese] alien, destitute and despised *ego* [...] resentments about bizarre statements of self-affirmation, in a wild pursuit for “external symbols of wealth”, an obvious symptom of interior poverty” (Baptista 1983: 4).

Eduardo Lourenço goes even farther, arguing that the text of *Pilgrimage* does not contain a very different ‘message’ much less an ‘opposite’ message to that of the *The Lusíads*; in effect, the spirit of one is not the foil of the other. The world mentally and vitally traversed by both authors was the same. But, Fernão Mendes Pinto was neither a humanist nor did he see life in the Orient through the screen of Virgil or Ariosto (Lourenço 1989b: 1049). In the same article, Eduardo Lourenço points out that

“*Pilgrimage* is and will continue to be the most faithful mirror of the Portuguese in their colonizing, imperialist, militant hour, seen as a mission to be carried out by a people who knew what it was doing in the world, there being no other way to understand this enigmatic pilgrimage, where the saviour and the loser were inextricably mingled, than as the “service of God” (Lourenço 1989b: 1049).



An identical position is defended by Hernâni Cidade, who stated that “Camões and Fernão Mendes Pinto admirably completed each other. They composed the most human and Rembrandtesque picture of our [the Portuguese] overseas expansion, complete with flashes of glory and the blackness of human misery” (Cidade 1968: 191).

Thus, in *The Lusiads* we find a heroic saga with its epic side, whereas in *Pilgrimage* the maritime expansion is presented in a plebeian and anti-epic form.

The author of *Pilgrimage*, far from being a braggart, calls himself a ‘miserable’ (*pobre de mim*) (e.g., Pinto 2001: 25, 35), and his book explores an anti-classical conception of man. But in spite of this negative perspective, throughout we notice that Portuguese self-esteem is high, as evidenced by this passage in which the narrator estimates his value as a slave:

“[...] saying so, they made how as though they would be gone; whereupon we besought them again weeping, that they would take us for slaves, and go sell us where they pleased; hereunto I added, how they might have any ransom, for me they would require, as having the honor to appertain very nearly unto the captain of *Malaca*” (Pinto 1653: 30).

(“E [...] com mostra de quererem ir embora, lhes tornámos a pedir, chorando, que nos tomassem como seus cativos e nos fossem vender onde quisessem, porque para mim que era português lhe dariam em toda a parte o que pedisse”) (Pinto 2001: 84).

In *Pilgrimage*, baroque language sits beside oral language, the crusading tone, that can also be heard in *The Lusiads*, is challenged by the gentiles [which can be considered an indirect cultural critique], and, it contains a ‘picaro’ or anti-hero according to António José Saraiva (Saraiva n. d.: 71). In truth, during his travels the character took several jobs, which were not always heroic: he was a servant, a soldier, a trader, an ambassador, a slave, a corsair, and even a Jesuit. As stated in the book: he was “thirteen times a captive, and seventeen times sold in the Indiaes, Ethiopia, in Arabia, in Chine, in Tartaria, in Madagascar, in Sumatra [...]” (Pinto 1653: 1). (*treze vezes cativo, e dezassete vendido nas partes da Índia, Etiópia, Arábia Feliz, China, Tartária, Macáçar, Samatra [...]*) (Pinto 2001: 23).

Although the hero of *Pilgrimage* has some traits of the picaro, for being astute and audacious, and for going up and down the social ladder, doing a bit of everything to survive, one should not mistake the character for the work itself.

In fact, placing *Pilgrimage* in the context of picaresque literature is debatable. João Palma Ferreira claims that the picaro usually emerges in “times of crisis and disenchantment, here and there, as a figure with a unique and inevitable character” (Ferreira 1981: 9), and which traverses several periods. For this author, the ‘picaro’ already foreshadows the Baroque’s *forma mentis*, pregnant with disenchantment and unclear socio-ideological boundaries, the latter being amplified by the Counter-Reformation, whose ideology was nourished by ‘three basic ingredients’: sententious

dogmatism, a near absence of sentimental concerns and insensitivity towards the nature (Ferreira 1981: 16).

Without denying the ‘picaresque aspects’ of *Pilgrimage* in its essence, Rebecca Catz opposes herself to António José Saraiva, claiming that “*Pilgrimage* has, in fact, certain picaresque aspects but it is not a picaresque satire, as considered by Saraiva. Not at all. The most important aspect of the picaresque literature is the absence of the moral norm. Hence, the *Pilgrimage* is a book of moral and religious philosophy” (Catz 1983: 3).

If a priori it seems that there are no major divergences between the perspectives of António José Saraiva and Rebecca Catz, they do nonetheless exist, since the former talks about ideology and the second emphasizes that in Fernão Mendes Pinto “what counts is the ideal, not the ideology. Pinto says that the ideal has fallen into decay” (Catz 1983: 3).

The perspective of Alfredo Margarido’s even is more extreme, since he denies the existence of the picaresque in *Pilgrimage*:

“F. M. Pinto is a dignified man, who would not demean himself before his family. Mendes Pinto [in *Pilgrimage*] delineates an ex-vow, where the moments of affliction and misery are kept to show the extent to which he was protected by God’s complacency. But he never, at any moment, had thought he would put on the trappings of the picaro” (Margarido 1991: 1001).

An identical position is adopted by Jorge de Sena (1982: 370) and Amadeu Torres who think that

“*Pilgrimage* is a serious book, not the farce of a fool or a Sancho Panza, not a picaresque novel [...] I myself taught it as such [...] until a direct analysis of the Castilian models and a confrontation of *Pilgrimage* with the *Odyssey* shook me with the fragility of such theory, which had given to Mendes Pinto the complexion of a anti-hero and a confrere in roguish revelries” (Torres 1998: 328).

In our opinion the *Pilgrimage* really has many of the traits of the picaresque novel, such as the autobiographical form, the world filtered through the character’s eyes, the hero’s low social status, his weak family lineage, which, according to the Eloísa Álvarez and António Apolinário Lourenço, should, imperiously, be mentioned in the first chapter (as they are in *Pilgrimage*), the existence of several lords, or even the “satisfaction of primary needs, especially hunger, as the supreme life motive” (Álvarez and Lourenço 1994: 150-156). However, in our opinion, *Pilgrimage* departs from the picaresque novel in the moralizing tone that pervades most of its 226 chapters.

There are still some similarities between *Pilgrimage* and *The Lusíads*, as well as other literary texts of that time. The “Old Man of Belem” also alludes to the

‘craving of the command’ (*glória de mandar*) and to the vain desire ‘of vainest vanity man miscalled fame’ (*vã cobiça desta vaidade, a que chamamos fama*) (IV. 95.1-2) (Camões 1880, 2000), to the mercantilist motives of imperial expansion (Blackmoore 2009: 127), which are evident in the Portuguese seamen of *Pilgrimage*. A few analogies can be drawn between *Pilgrimage* and the words of the (husband) figure in the Vincentian *Auto of India*: “We went to the river of Mecca; we fought and robbed, and we took a lot of risks” (*Fomos ao rio de Meca; pelejámos e roubámos e muito risco passámos*) (Vicente, n. d.: 20).

#### 4. The current debate of Portuguese scholars on the theme of the journey (*Henryism*) in Portuguese culture

The theme of the journey (*Henryism*) is a recurrent theme in the Portuguese culture, with expression in literature, and has remained until the present time at the centre debates of thinkers and essayists.

Jorge de Sena claims that *The Lusíads* as well as the *Pilgrimage* “share the structural quality of being a *utopia*, a critique of what Portugal and the Christian civilization were not”. *The Lusíads* “by pointing out what was wrong or would be dangerously wrong with imperial overseas expansion” and the *Pilgrimage* “by denouncing the extent to which the Occident imperial aspirations were misguided and contrasted with their moral behaviour in the Far East” (Sena 1982: 370).

In our opinion, another common aspect to all 16th century travel literature, still present in the genre today, is described by Eduardo Lourenço as a problem of hyper identity. Portugal has a hyper identity because it has a deficit in its real identity. That is why it tries to compensate for it on the imaginary plane (Lourenço 1988: 10). This means that Portuguese identity is split between reality (concrete) and imagination (abstract), which is where the confrontation with the harshness reality leads the Portuguese, being not infrequently characterized by bipolar tendencies (Soares 1995: 281-298), that tend either toward

“a feeling of self-submersion in their [Portuguese] ancestral roots as evangelizing crusaders and explorers [...], emerging later as an enlightened people, or toward a self-humbling civilizational comparison to the standing achieved by other peoples, declaring themselves to be decadent and worthless” (Real 1998: 152).

As José Gil made plain, even today, this bipolarization causes a permanent oscillation between ‘I am the greatest’ or the ‘megalomania’ and ‘I am nobody’ (Gil 2005: 13-16). Maria Cruzeiro also explores the bipolarization of the Portuguese collective identity and considers that the Portuguese are constrained by “centralization and the decentralization, maintaining a relation filled with tension, intrinsically inseparable at the level of thought”. She also considers that “there is a kind of lack in terms of real identities that is compensated at the symbolic level with a feeling of

symbolic identity, which rests (...) referents of the mythical order, on the founding myths” (Cruzeiro 1997: 73-74).

Put differently, despite the different nomenclatures, the above descriptions suggest that Portuguese identity is marked by “a kind of emptiness that can only be satisfied via the desire for what is outside, and this desire for the other”, for the “in outside”, “can take the form of a desire to return to the forms of the past, which are considered sublime” (Real 1998: 172).

Nevertheless, the ‘in outside’ does not relate only to the physical and geographic space of catharsis. Although the Portuguese feel a basic desire for spatial escape, to fulfil their emptiness, they are not always successful in mitigating their inner pain. On the contrary, they ‘become self-absorbed’ and, in Eduardo Lourenço’s opinion, they materialize this pain as a search ‘for a symbolic, unthinkable space’ (Lourenço 2004: 162). As a consequence of this ambulatory process, many Portuguese experience a feeling of isolation and closure, which, preserves the roots of ‘Portugueseness’ and keeps the ‘outside’ within the interior world (Lourenço 2004: 166).

In other words, the Portuguese complex and double nature – which Agostinho da Silva expressed through the dyad of concrete and abstract positioning –, rather than splitting them, it acts as a vehicle of ethnic miscegenation and self-discovery.

“I still think [that Camões] does not sing [at the Island of Love] the discovery of the route to India by sea, he uses the narrative to say that the important thing to discover is not the place from where pepper and the velvet come from, that the important thing that the Portuguese have to discover is a kind of life that allows them to at the same time be in plane of abstraction without neglecting the concrete, and here the Portuguese have an obligation to be double [...] and that perhaps this duplicity [...] could be an ideal for every man” (Silva 1998: 81).

*Pilgrimage* also exemplifies this idea, portraying the culture of the five-hundreds as a mix merged of historicity (concrete) and allegory (abstract), as Matthias Langendorf argues in the following passage:

“in *Pilgrimage* there are two complementary principles of representation; one is the principle of fidelity to historical and anthropological representation, and the other is the allegorical principle [that is] the use of the world of the Other as an allegory for the world of the “we”, and the critical view of the world of the “we” through the gaze of the Other originates a dialectic that tends towards a form of universalism, which draws attention to the common ground that exists between different cultures and customs. A universalism that is mainly related to issues of morality and justice” (Langendorf 1999: 126-139).

In *Pilgrimage*, the *ego*’s (Portuguese people *ego*) emptiness is filled by a cathartic voyage of initiation. This voyage is dialectically divided between myth and utopia

and distance acts as a means of connection, “an eagerness for the purification and regeneration of the other which, in other periods, had more to do with the salvation of oneself through the reconversion of the other (the Moor, the Indian) than a plasmatic openness to the other”. It is relevant to relate what Chevalier and Gheerbrant wrote concerning the theme of travel: “the travel expresses a deep desire for inner change, a need for new experiences more than an actual displacement. Most of the time [the travel is] an escape from oneself [and] the only valid journey is that which a man performs to his own interiority” (Chevalier and Gheerbrant n.d.: 691).

Without diverging too much from the perspective of the aforementioned authors, António Quadros ascribed a broader and collective meaning to the maritime voyage. In his opinion,

“It is by embarking or sailing that death can be overcome and the stony symbolism of the tomb can be transcended. But the boat does not imply the voyage or via. [...] Keeping alive the sense of discovery is keeping in mind the awareness of the precariousness of the knowledge, and the urgency of constantly bending a new Cape, in the search of a new India” (Quadros 1967: 77-78).

Claude Lévi-Strauss conferred to travel an anthropological matrix, emphasizing that “a long journey exists simultaneously in space, time and in the social hierarchy” and therefore, “our impressions must be related to each of these three [...]” (Lévi-Strauss 1961: 89-90). Moreover, he considered that travel usually causes a transformation in the situation of the traveller, ‘for better or for worse’, bringing him up or down in the steps of the social ladder, and “the feeling and flavour of the places he visits will be inseparable in his mind from the exact position in the social scale which he will have occupied there” (Lévi-Strauss 1961: 89-90).

Jacinto do Prado Coelho, in his work entitled “Distance Nurtures the Imagination”, emphasizes that “without travel and risk, long separations, emigration and exile, Portuguese culture would be depleted, its specific features erased, its universality compromised” (Coelho 1984: 21).

The perspective of Luís Filipe Barreto follows the same line of thinking. He argues that

“any journey must be voluntary in order to cause pleasure, requiring a situation to be abandoned willingly or at least without pain. A forced volunteer: this is the paradoxical nature of the new traveller [...] in the search of a civilizational adventure that satisfies his material and spiritual desires and hopes. [...] The free or forced journey [...] implies a traveller, a mix of pleasure and pain but, above all, a man who seeks an unhappy break with his cradle, hoping for a happy eternal/tender return” (Barreto 1983: 59-60).

In fact, despite all the crudeness of some episodes, there is in *Pilgrimage* an ethnic miscegenation which is superbly summarized by the expression ‘they became natives’. This expression used to explain the relationships between Portuguese, and Gentiles was applied by foreign writers, such as, for example, the British Richard Zimler, in *O Último Cabalista de Lisboa*, in *Meia-Noite ou O Princípio do Mundo* and in *Tornar Francisco Xavier Santo é um Escândalo*, and in an interview conducted by Ana Marques Gastão and published in *Diário de Notícias* journal (Gastão 2005: 36-37).

This miscegenation might be a consequence of the concretization of the senses, but it was also officially promoted by a policy of interracial marriages that had begun during Albuquerque’s government (1510). We must say that albeit the Portuguese a priori do not display an overt posture of superiority, they implicitly considered themselves to be at a higher level than the “Gentiles”, as Boaventura de Sousa Santos makes plain:

“given that the discovery is a relation of power and knowledge, the discoverer is the one who has the most power and knowledge [...] Thus, all discovery contains an imperial element, an action of control and of submission [...] The discovery does not merely posit this inferiority; it legitimizes and deepens it (The imperial discovery does not recognize equality, rights or dignity to the discovered)” (Santos 1999: 49).

Rui Loureiro also considers that the Portuguese of the sixteenth century unequivocally had an attitude of superiority towards other peoples, probably based on obvious inequality of the available technical and military means (Loureiro 1982: 34).

To illustrate the attitude of Portuguese superiority of this period, we mention the dedication Camões produced to Dom Sebastião in the *The Lusíads*, where the poet exhorts the young king to listen the description of the great feats of the Portuguese, telling him (using a hyperbole) that he could considered himself happier as Lord of ‘that people’ (*tal gente*) than as king of the whole world:

“- Hear; thou shalt see the great names greater grown /  
of Vavasors who hail the Lord Supernal: /  
So shalt thou judge which were the higher station, /  
King of the world or Lord of such nation” (I. 10.5-8) (Camões 1880)  
 (“- *Ouvi: vereis o nome engrandecido / Daqueles de quem sois senhor  
superno, / E julgareis qual é mais excelente, / Se ser do mundo Rei, se  
de tal gente*”) (I. 10.5-8) (Camões 2000).



## 5. Conclusion

In sum, in *Pilgrimage* and *The Lusiads* we find the world view of the Portuguese man of the sixteenth century and in our opinion of the man of today and, thus, these literary works are timeless and enable multiple approaches. We agree with the perspective of João Maria André, who stated that the “Renaissance is perhaps the period that has most in common with our time, therefore, we [the Portuguese] privilege it for a confrontation with the present time in order to illuminate our answers and our projects [...] [in the Renaissance] one feels the vertigo of the infinite greatness of the universe in which man is no more than a point, travelling in the silence of sidereal spaces, which can be beautiful for the mystics and terrifying for those with geometric and rational leanings” (André 2005: 72). Thus, *Pilgrimage* and *The Lusiads* are timeless and enable multiple approaches. This world view is encapsulated in the dyad of telluric roots *versus* adventure, which, in turn, converges in a dialectical desire of to “be where we are not”, since, the Portuguese are impelled by an “unrealistic hyper identity and ...resignation” (Real 1998: 180).

In contrast to the dominant opinion, adopted by many authors, in our view, some aspects set *Pilgrimage* apart from all other books of travel literature, namely its verisimilitude or impression of authenticity and the capacity to capture a specific moment of the Portuguese history, a temporal moment that was ripe with contradictions and inaccuracies.

Mukarovsky considers that many works of travel literature usually depart from the real and progress towards the fictional, oscillate between these two poles and “what really matters is whether their theme was conceived as a real or a fictitious one” (Coelho 1984: 21). In this regard, *The Lusiads* as well as *Pilgrimage* both departed from a real world model (ortho-model world) and progress towards the fictional, carrying with them a specific understanding of the journey as a sacred, exciting and heroic mission, inseparable from the providentialism (Soares 2007: 88-114) (as observed in *The Lusiads*) and the notion that the Portuguese imperialism is “precarious and ambiguous [...], a maritime empire, geographically sparse and difficult to control (fleshed out in *Pilgrimage*)” (Loução 2004: 387). In short, *Pilgrimage* presents some aspects of the Discoveries that are often opposed to the central and imperialist ideology of its time. This is mainly due to the centrality of the anti-hero (the picaro), as incarnated by the character of António Faria. This figure presents a double attitude throughout the book, which sometimes converges with the ideology of the crusade, the Gamic ideal of expansion (Loução 2004: 387), which are also found and in the epic of Camões. Sometimes António de Faria brutally fights against the Moors,

“He (Antonio de Faria) issued out from under the hatches with some forty soldiers, and invoking Saint James our Patron, he fell so courageously upon them, that in a short time he killed them almost all” (Pinto 1653: 47).

(*António de Faria saiu então do toldo onde estava, com obra de*

*quarenta soldados, e bradando por Santiago, deu neles com tanto ímpeto e esforço que em muito pequeno espaço foram quase todos mortos*) (Pinto 2001: 126).

At other times he mixes his ideal of expanding the faith with the greed of trading:

“He returned towards the South Coast, where he took some Prizes, which were of good value, and well gotten as we thought, for it was the main intention of this Captain deal with the Pyrat, who frequent this Coast of Ainan, as they before had done with divers Christians in depriving them of their lives and goods” (Pinto 1653: 60).

*(Nunca foi seu intento roubar senão corsários que tinham dado a morte e roubado as fazendas a muitos cristãos que frequentavam esta costa de Ainão.)* (Pinto 2001: 157).

Later, invoking the name of Christ he said: “I cannot be persuaded but this is that Dog Coia Acem, who I hope this day shall pay for all the wrong he hath done us” (Pinto 1653: 61). *(Com o nome de Cristo, havemos de saber o que isto é, porque a mim me dá na ideia que é este perro de Coja Acém, e quiçá que nos pagará hoje bem nossa fazendas)* (Pinto 2001: 159).

António de Faria does not have the heroic intentions of those virtuous and famed heroic men (*barões assinalados*) whom Camões extols (I. 1) (Camões 1880, 2000); what really interests him is to save his life, regardless of whether he has to go through humiliation and satire. In the light of the preceding, the rogue’s travel is, undoubtedly, the reverse of the ideal of maritime expansion. However, in our opinion, the anti-hero described by Fernão Mendes Pinto could also mirror a whole host of overseas armies that ‘wandered’ without directives, at a time when the power of the metropolis had been seriously shaken by the spirit of the Counter Reformation and where the spirit of intolerance had emerged as well as a new socio-economic (or mercantilist) framework.

In *The Lusiads*, the characterization of the character of Veloso, one of the sailors who went to India, seems to break the serenity of the heroic epic exaltation. In canto V, he is the protagonist in an episode of humour: ignoring the danger, in his arrogance, he believed that going to land coast is safe, but the adventurer is attacked by the natives and forced to return to the ship. Therefore, he has become the focus of his companions’ laughing stock and when he notices this, he maintains his attitude as a fearless hero and says: “But when so many curs afar I ken’d / packing, I hurried, for I’gan to doubt me / ill-luck might catch you were ye there without me” (*Mas, quando eu pera cá vi tantos vir / Daqueles cães, depressa um pouco vim, / Por me lembrar que estáveis cá sem mim.*) (V. 35.6-8) (Camões, 1980, 2000). The same sense of humour is again reaffirmed in canto IX. 70: The navigators have already landed on the Island of Loves, when Veloso raises an astonishment scream, advising others to follow the goddesses to verify if they are fantastic or true (*se fantásticas são, se verdadeiras*). Veloso also has the role of narrator in canto VI, by distracting/

entertaining his companions with the chivalric history of ‘the twelve of England’. Being also present in this character of *The Lusíadas* the instinct of self-preservation and personal interests, its characterization is more related to the humanization of the navigators and, as Klein refers (Klein 2013: 158-180), to the experiential nature of the first intercultural contacts, because the epic exaltation of the heroes and of the ideal of empire assumes centrality in the work.

Nevertheless, the rogue is only a theme among many that one can find in *Pilgrimage*, such as, the informative, the exotic (Vale 1985: 27), the utopian, the ethnic, and the religious, among others. In a different way these thematic lines are also present in *The Lusíadas*, assuming different focuses of the same reality, namely of that of the travel – which, as a recurrent thematic, is also a mythology.

In the epic of Camões, the travel and the Sea were synonymous with danger, but they were also celebrated as elements that impel the Man to the discovery of the *Other* (Klein 2013: 158-180) and of himself, namely when they overcome fears based on myths. The Sea and travel are seen positively as facilitating aspects of self-knowledge, which is acquired through the contemplation of the “Machine of the world” (X. 80.1-8) (Camões 1880, 2000, Soares 2007: 108) that is shown to Vasco da Gama (emissary of the Portuguese people) by Thetis:

“To the Supremest Wisdom guerdon gave, /  
 Baron! who hast behold with fleshly eyene /  
 What things the Future hath the pow’er to save /  
 From mortal’s petty pride and science vain.”  
 (*Faz-te mercê, barão, a Sapiência / Suprema de, cos olhos corporais,*  
*/ Veres o que não pode a vã ciência / Dos errados e míseros mortais.*)  
 (X. 76.1-4) (Camões 1880, 2000).

The contemplation of the ‘world machine’ (*máquina do mundo*) or access to knowledge about the universe represents the endpoint of the sea voyage which should be seen as a journey of initiation which culminates in the glorification of the hero, who is capable ‘to see what vain science cannot’.

In *Pilgrimage* the Sea is an attractive space for commercial exchange, but it is also a place of perdition and suffering and the lands of the Orient are seen as a space of struggle for survival. The *Pilgrimage* and *The Lusíadas*, which are different in form and in content, both polarize the proper ambivalence of the sea as an element and mythical-symbolic poles.

However, to conclude, it must be said that a purely Manichean classification of these two works would be reductive (Loureiro 1982: 34), since, taken as a whole, they may affirm what Seabra Pereira refers when exploring “the paradoxes of the precursor nation” (Pereira 1997: 167-180). Although they are separated forty years in respect to their reception (publication) – *The Lusíadas* in the time of Dom Sebastião and the *Pilgrimage* in the period of Castilian domination – being the dominant political ideology in these two different periods, these works are inseparable from their time of production.

Both works, through different modes of expression and the ideological stances of their authors, are not foils but complementary portraits of the same period. They both act as translators of the Portuguese historical myth(s), “a form of ghostly consciousness by which a people defines their position and their will in the world history” (Saraiva 1983b: 118). Both these literary works are ambivalently divided “between the crusade, the merchandize, and the evangelization, in a complex contradictory overlap (Godinho 1990: 95). They give expression to the ideas of adventure, risk, the Portuguese crusade, the latter being, due to the maritime expansion, compelled to live “in regions of a distant race”. “Forceful in perils and in battle-post / With more than promised force of mortal hand” (*Em perigos e guerras esforçados / Mais do que prometia a força humana*) (I. 1. 5-7) (Camões 1880, 2000).<sup>4</sup>

Therefore, the myth of Henry (maritime voyage) is a persistent thematic in Portuguese literature and the “literature plays a very important role in modelling the world and in co-validation of beliefs and values.” (Silva 2005: 23-30).<sup>5</sup> Jacinto do Prado Coelho claims that “The imaginary is nurtured by the distance” and “without travel and risk, long separations, emigration and exile” the Portuguese culture would be deprived of its characteristics (Coelho 1984: 19-21).

With its back turned to Castile, after the homeland had been conquered, the maritime voyage was Portugal’s natural course; thus, Portugal plunges into its great collective adventure. Knowledge was attained through the sea, since the contact with the new world contributed to the appearance of a new mentality and to the enlargement of scientific and humanistic horizons. Through the sea, people travelled in the name of God, that is, as they went on discovering new lands, they disseminated the faith and evangelized other peoples. But, the sea has its human, material and spiritual costs, and surpassing the physical barriers of Adamastor and of Cape Bojador undoubtedly implied overcoming psychological barriers: “Whoever wants to pass the Bojador / Has to go beyond pain”, in Pessoa’s words (Pessoa 1990: 155). But it is also through the “Portuguese Sea”, inscribed in the nation’s mythogenesis, that the dream is realized, the nostalgic vocation for the Beyond, the absolute, as expressed in Pessoa’s poem: “God gave danger and the abyss to the sea, / But on it He also mirrored the sky” (Pessoa 1990: 155).

<sup>4</sup> The idea that a transcendent will or that the help of Divine Providence assists the Portuguese people can be found, in amplified form, in the prophecies of Father António Vieira, who, in his *História do Futuro*, tries to prove that the fact the Portuguese were in smaller number was not an impediment in the battles of Ourique, Aljubarrota or to the 1640 Restoration of Independence. [Padre António Vieira, *História do Futuro, Obras Escolhidas* (Lisboa: Sá da Costa, n.d.), p. 98]. Father António Vieira claimed that “the Portuguese victories were never achieved through arithmetic means; they have always won when they were at a numeric disadvantage” [Padre António Vieira, *Sermoens do P. António Vieira, Sétima Parte* (Lisboa: Officina de Miguel Deslandes. E à sua custa, & de Antonio Leyte Pereyra mercador de livros, 1682), p. 129].

<sup>5</sup> In the area of children’s and juvenile literature we can mention, for example, *As Naus de Verde Pinho* of Manuel Alegre or *Aquilo que os Olhos Vêem ou O Adamastor* of Manuel António Pina.

Addresses:

Maria Luísa de Castro Soares

Departamento de Letras, Artes e Comunicação  
Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro  
Quinta de Prados  
5001-801  
Vila Real, Portugal.  
Centro de Estudos Clássicos e Humanísticos, Faculdade de Letras  
Universidade de Coimbra  
Coimbra, Portugal

E-mail: Isoares@utad.pt

Tel.: 00 351 967112731

Maria João de Castro Soares

Centro de Estudos Clássicos e Humanísticos  
Universidade de Coimbra  
Coimbra, Portugal

E-mail: msoares@fmed.uc.pt

Tel: 00311911147325

## References

- Álvarez, Eloísa and António Lourenço (1994) *História da Literatura Espanhola*. Porto: Edições Asa.
- André, João Maria (2005) *Diálogo Intercultural, Utopia e Mestiçagem em Tempo de Globalização*. Coimbra: Ariadne Editora.
- Antunes, Manuel (1966-1967) *História da Cultura Clássica*. Lisboa: Faculdade de Letras.
- Baptista, A. A. (1983) “Fernão Mendes Pinto e a Deseducação pelo Herói”. *Jornal de Letras, Artes e Ideias* 64, 4.
- Barreto, Luís Filipe (1983) *Descobrimientos e Renascimento: Formas de Ser e Pensar nos Séculos XV e XVI*. Lisboa: Comissariado para a XVII Exposição Europeia de Arte, Ciência e Cultura.
- Blackmore, Josiah (2009) *Moorings: Portuguese expansion and the writing of Africa*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Caminha, Pêro Vaz de (1974) *Carta a El-Rei Dom Manuel Sobre o Achamento do Brasil*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda.
- Camões, Luís Vaz de (1880) *Os Lusíadas (The Lusiads)*. Trans. by Richard Francis Burton. London: Bernard Quaritch.
- Camões, Luís Vaz de (1880) *Os Lusíadas*. 4rd ed. Lisboa: Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Instituto Camões.
- Catz, R. (1983) “A Peregrinação é um Livro de Filosofia Moral e Religiosa”. *Jornal de Letras, Artes e Ideias* 63, 3-4.
- Chevalier, Jean and Alain Gheerbrant (n.d.) *Dicionário dos Símbolos*. Lisboa: Editorial Teorema.
- Cidade, Hernâni (1968) *Portugal Histórico-Cultural*. 2nd ed. Lisboa: Editora Arcádia.
- Coelho, J. P. (1984) “De Distância se Alimenta o Imaginário”. *Jornal de Letras, Artes e Ideias* 9, 19–21.
- Correia, João David P. (1999) “A Construção do Colectivo na Peregrinação: Percursos e Significado”. In Maria Alzira Seixo and Christine Zurbach, eds. *O Discurso Literário da Peregrinação*. Lisboa: Edições Cosmos.

- Crowley, Roger (2016) *Conquistadores: Como Portugal criou o primeiro império global*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença.
- Cruzeiro, Maria Manuela and Eduardo Lourenço (1997) *O Regresso do Corifeu*. Lisboa: Editorial Notícias.
- Dias, José Sebastião da S. (1982) *Os Descobrimentos e a Problemática Cultural do Século XVI*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença.
- Durand, Gilbert (1986) “O Imaginário Português e as Aspirações do Oriente Cavaleiresco”. In *Cavalaria Espiritual e Conquista do Mundo*. Lisboa: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica.
- Ferreira, João P. (1981) *Do Pícaro na Literatura Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Biblioteca Breve, Ministério da Educação e da Ciência.
- Gastão, Ana Marques (2005) “Tornar Francisco Xavier Santo é um Escândalo”. *Diário de Notícias* 18 de Junho, 36-37.
- Gil, José (2005) “Pensar Portugal, Hoje”. Interview conducted by Rodrigues da Silva. *Jornal de Letras, Artes e Ideias* 895, 13–16.
- Godinho, Vitorino Magalhães (1990) *Mito e Mercadoria, Utopia e Prática de Navegar (Séc. XIII–XVIII)*. Lisboa: DIFEL, Difusão Editorial Lda.
- Graça, Luís (1993) *A visão do Oriente na literatura portuguesa de viagens: os viajantes portugueses e os itinerários terrestres (1560–1670)*. Lisboa: IN-CM.
- Klein, Bernhard (2013) *Camões and the sea: Maritime modernity in The Lusíads*. *Modern Philology* 111, 2, 158–180.
- Langendorf, Matthias (1999) “A Imagem das Religiões na Peregrinação”. In Maria Alzira Seixo and Christine Zurbach, eds. *O Discurso Literário da Peregrinação*. Lisboa: Edições Cosmos.
- Lévi-strauss, Claude (1961) *Tristes Trópicos*. Trans. by John Russell, London: Hutsinson Publishers.
- Loução, Paulo Alexandre (2004) *Dos Templários à Nova Demanda do Graal – O Espírito dos Descobrimentos Portugueses*. Lisboa: Esquilo, Edições e Multimédia, Lda.
- Loureiro, R. (1982) “Expansão e Mentalidades”. *Revista História* 43, 28–35.
- Lourenço, Eduardo (1988) *Nós e a Europa ou as duas razões*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- Lourenço, Eduardo (1989a) “A Peregrinação e a Crítica Cultural Indirecta”. In Fernão Mendes Pinto. *Peregrinação e Cartas. Comentários Críticos*. Vol. 2, 1053–1062. Lisboa: Edições Afrodite.
- Lourenço, Eduardo (1989b) “Fernão e os Celestes Impérios”. In Fernão Mendes Pinto. *Peregrinação e Cartas*. Vol. 2, 1047–1052. Lisboa: Edições Afrodite.
- Lourenço, Eduardo (2004) *Lá Fora e Cá Dentro ou o Fim de uma Obsessão*. In *Destroços – O Gibão do Mestre Gil e Outros Ensaios*. Lisboa: Gradiva.
- Lourenço, Eduardo (2010) *O Labirinto da Saudade*. Lisboa: Gradiva.
- Martins, José Cândido de O. (n.d.) *A Literatura Trágico-marítima e a Literatura Contemporânea*. Available online at <<http://alfarrabio.di.uminho.pt/vercial/letras/candid03.htm>>. Accessed on 13 February, 2020.
- Margarido, Alfredo (1991) “Os Relatos de Naufrágios na Peregrinação de Fernão Mendes Pinto”. In *Estudos Portugueses de Homenagem a Luciana Stegagno Picchio*, 987–1087. Lisboa: Difel.
- Maturana, Humberto R. and J. Francisco Varela (2007) *A Árvore do Conhecimento. As Bases Biológicas da Compreensão Humana*. São Paulo: Palas Athena.
- Mendes, João (n.d.) *Literatura Portuguesa IV*. Lisboa: Editorial Verbo.
- Pascoaes, T. (1913) “Os Meus Comentários às Duas Cartas de António Sérgio”. *A Águia* 5, 104–109.



- Pereira, Duarte Pacheco (1954) *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*. Lisboa: APH.
- Pereira, José Carlos Seabra (1997) “Os Paradoxos da ‘Nação Precursora’”. Proceedings of the 3rd Summer International Courses of Cascais. *Literatura, Artes e Identidade Nacional* 4, 167–180.
- Pessoa, F. (2013) *Navegar é Preciso. Uma Seleção de Textos Místicos* (eBook Kindle, Amazon). Available online at <<https://www.amazon.com.br/Navegar-é-preciso-Fernando-Pessoa-ebook/dp/B00BTTK7UO>>. Accessed in 13 February, 2020.
- Fernão Mendes (2001) *Peregrinação*. Vol. 1. Lisboa: Relógio D’Água Editores.
- Pinto, Fernão Mendes (1653) *The voyages and adventures of Fernand Mendez*. Trans. by H. C. Gent. London: Printed by Macock for Henry Cripps and Lodovick Loyd.
- Quadros, António (1967) *O Espírito da Cultura Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Sociedade de Expansão Cultural.
- Quadros, António (1983) *Poesia e Filosofia do Mito Sebastianista. O Sebastianismo em Portugal e no Brasil*. Vol. 2. Lisboa: Guimaraes editora.
- Quadros, António (1989) *A Ideia de Portugal na Literatura Portuguesa dos Últimos 100 Anos*. Lisboa: Fundação Lusíada.
- Real, Miguel (1998) *Portugal Ser e Representação*. Viseu: Difel.
- Real, Miguel (2011) *Introdução à Cultura Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Grupo Planeta.
- Russel, Peter (2000) *Henry ‘The Navigator’: a life*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Santos, B. S. (1999) “Oriente entre Diferenças e Desencontros”. *Notícias do Milénio. Diário de Notícias. Review of the Lusomundo Journals* 44–51.
- Saraiva, António José (n.d.) *Iniciação na Literatura Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Publicações Europa-América.
- Saraiva, A. J. (1983a) “O Experiencialismo no Século XVI”. *Revista História* 55, 47–57.
- Saraiva, António José (1983b) *A Cultura em Portugal. Teoria e História*. Vol. 1. Lisboa: Livraria Bertrand.
- Saraiva, António José and Óscar Lopes (2007) *História da Literatura Portuguesa*. Porto: Porto Editora.
- Sena, Jorge de (1982) *Estudos sobre o Vocabulário de ‘Os Lusíadas’ com Notas sobre o Humanismo e o Exoterismo de Camões*. Lisboa: Edições 70.
- Silva, Agostinho da (1998) *Vida Conversável*. 2nd ed. Comp. and preface of Henryk Siéwierski. Lisboa: Assirio e Alvim.
- Silva, Vitor A. (2005) “Reflexões Tempestivas sobre a Crise das Humanidades”. In Manuel Gama and Virgínia Soares Pereira, eds. *As Letras/Humanidades – Presente e futuro*. Braga: Universidade do Minho.
- Soares, M. L. C. (1995) “A Ideologia Bipolar d’ Os Lusíadas: o Velho do Restelo e o Herói Gama”. *Revista Portuguesa de Humanidades* 6, 281–298
- Soares, Maria Luísa de C. (2007) *Profetismo e Espiritualidade de Camões a Pascoaes*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade.
- Torres, Amadeu (1998) “Fernão Mendes Pinto, no Pós-centenário da sua Morte: O Texto e a Hermenêutica”. In *Ao reencontro de Clio e de Polímnia*, 321–336. Braga: Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Faculdade de Filosofia.
- Vale, Maria Teresa (1985) *Fernão Mendes Pinto: O Outro Lado do Mito*. Lisboa: Direcção Geral da Comunicação Social.
- Vicente, Gil (n.d.) *Auto da Índia. Copilaçam de totalas obras de Gil Vicente, 1ª ed., Livro quarto (1562)*. Porto: Porto Editora, Clássicos da Literatura Portuguesa.
- Vieira, Padre António (n.d.) *História do Futuro, Obras Escolhidas*. Lisboa: Sá da Costa.
- Vieira, Padre António (1682) *Sermoens do P. António Vieira*. Sétima Parte. Lisboa: Officina de Miguel Deslandes. E à sua custa, & de Antonio Leyte Pereyra mercador de livros.