

Transforming Indigenous Vice to Virtue on the Stages of Colonial Brazil: an analysis of Jesuit Theater and the plays of José de Anchieta*

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Resumo: Entre os missionários mais influentes na história da expansão na América do Sul encontra-se o espanhol José de Anchieta (1534-1597), que abordou as questões teológicas e culturais de como explicar a vida cristã aos Tupi. As suas peças do teatro eram escritas para reformar o guerreiro tupi e redireccionar a vida tupi dos vícios para as virtudes. Os palcos de Anchieta eram um campo de batalha para ganhar a fidelidade moral do tupi, onde Anchieta condescendeu em muitos aspectos do Catolicismo com o objectivo último de transformar o guerreiro tupi num guerreiro de Cristo. Académicos debatem se o teatro jesuítico nos séculos XVI e XVII era usado principalmente para a catequese ou se era usado para promover a cultura, vida e moralidade cristã. No entanto, o projecto jesuítico não visava separar a doutrina e a maneira de viver. Como as peças e os compromissos de Anchieta mostram, pregar a doutrina, ensinar a cultura cristã e manter a aliança com a coroa era possível em simultâneo.

Palavras-chave: Jesuítas, teatro, José de Anchieta, Brasil, evangelização, Tupi, canibalismo, conversão.

Abstract: José de Anchieta (1534-1597), one of the most influential missionaries in the history of Catholic expansion into South America, addressed the theological and cultural issues of explaining Christian life to the Tupi. Through his dramatic works, Anchieta sought to reform the Tupi warrior and reorient Tupi vice to virtue. Seeking to win the moral fidelity of the Tupi, on stage he compromised on various aspects of Catholicism in order to transform the Tupi warrior into a warrior of Christ. Scholars debate whether Jesuit theater in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was used for catechetical purposes or if its primary objective was to promote Christian culture, life and morality. Yet, the Jesuit project did not consist of separating doctrine and way of life. As the works and compromises of Anchieta show, preaching doctrine, teaching Christian culture and maintaining an alliance with the crown were all possible.

Keywords: Jesuits, theater, José de Anchieta, Brazil, evangelization, Tupi, cannibalism, conversion.

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*Christusque nobis sit cibus,
Potusque noster sit fides;
Laeti bibamus sobriam
Ebrietatem Spiritus¹.*

St. Ambrose (d. 397)

Just as some of the earliest Christians believed that humankind fell from paradise through the sin of gluttony, as exemplified in Adam's eating of the fruit in the garden of Eden, so did the sixteenth-century Jesuit, José de Anchieta, believe that gluttony of excess drink was the downfall of the Tupi². St. Ambrose's notion that we should "joyfully drink the sober intoxication of the Spirit" was similar to the pedagogical tactic that Anchieta used in his theatrical works to replace drunkenness, often associated with cannibalistic celebrations and shamanic ecstasy, with Christ as the center of Tupi life. José de Anchieta, S.J. (1534-1597) was one of the first Jesuits to address the theological and cultural challenges that arose while explaining Christian living to the Tupi, the indigenous peoples of much of the coast of Brazil³. He was also one of the first missionary in Brazil to use theater as a medium of instruction⁴.

Scholars debate whether Jesuit theater in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was used for catechetical purposes or if its primary objective was to promote Christian culture, life and morality⁵. Yet, doctrine and way of life could not be so neatly separated – the Jesuit project did not consist of separating the two. Faith, by espousing doctrine,

1 AMBROSE, St. – Hymn 3: *Splendor paternae gloriae*, in A. S. Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1922, p. 38. "Let Christ be our food and faith our drink; let us joyfully drink the sober intoxication of the Spirit."

2 This insight into patristic scholarship and the fall from paradise comes from BYNUM, Caroline Walker – *Holy Feast and Holy Fast. The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987, p. 32.

3 Anchieta was born in the Canary Islands yet from the age of fourteen lived in Portugal and received his training at the University of Coimbra.

4 Manuel de Nobrega, S.J. was the first Provincial to Brazil who initiated the process of indoctrinating the indigenous peoples. His famous *Diálogo Sobre a Conversão do Gentio* was the first evangelization treatise in Brazil. Four years later he was joined by Anchieta, who wrote the foundational literature on conversion for the Province. While Anchieta was the first missionary in Brazil to use theater, in New Spain, however, the Franciscans used theater to Christianize the Nahua beginning possibly as early as 1533. See HORCASITAS, Fernando – *Teatro Náhuatl. Selección y estudio crítico de los materiales inéditos de Fernando Horcasitas*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2004. Also see BURKHART, Louise – *Holy Wednesday: A Nahua Drama from Early Colonial Mexico*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996. Also see STEN, María, coord. – *El Teatro Franciscano en La Nueva España. Fuentes y ensayos para el estudio del teatro de evangelización en el siglo XVI*. Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2000. Unlike the indigenous peoples of Brazil, the Nahuas had prehispanic rituals of theater, see LEÓN-PORTILLA, Miguel – "Teatro Náhuatl Prehispánico: Aquello que Encontraron los Franciscanos" in Sten's collection of essays. For Jesuit theater in New Spain see part III of ARRÓNIZ, Othón – *Teatro de Evangelización en Nueva España*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1979.

5 Armando Cardoso believed that Jesuits promoted religious culture, life and morality through theater. See the introduction to ANCHIETA, José de and CARDOSO, Armando, ed. – *Teatro de Anchieta*. São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 1977, p. 44. See Claude-Henri Fréches who claims that Jesuit theater was primarily concerned with teaching the catechism in FRÉCHES, C. H. – "Le Théâtre du P. Anchieta. Contenu et Structures." *Instituto Universitario Orientale de Napoli, Annali, Sezione Romanza III*, (1961), pp. 48, 50.

motivated virtue and discouraged vice⁶. The way of life led to the doctrine and vice versa. Cultivating a Christian lifestyle and doctrine were two necessary pillars in the process of Christianization, both of which played a foundational role in the theatrical writings of Anchieta.

Anchieta arrived in Brazil in 1553 and, due in part to his linguistic skills, immediately became one of the most influential missionaries during the formative years of the Brazilian mission. Anchieta created the first Brazilian grammar by applying Latin categories to the Tupi language, the parent-language of those spoken along the Atlantic seaboard⁷. Establishing the *lingua geral*, Anchieta translated the catechism into Tupi⁸. He also wrote several plays exclusively in Tupi. Other plays utilized as many as three languages in dialogue (Tupi, Spanish, and Portuguese) in order to create models of Christian living for his audience in Brazil. Within his twelve theatrical works are the virtues he wished to uphold and promote in colonial society and the vices he wished to condemn⁹.

Anchieta's interpretation of Tupi life caused him to form a hierarchy of vices according to the specific problems plaguing the Tupi that inhibited their adaption of Christianity. Identifying the chief vices of Tupi society gave Anchieta a better understanding of how Tupi society functioned, allowing him to evangelize by engaging symbols more familiar to his audience.

Unlike many missionaries of the early sixteenth century who believed in the *tabula rasa* mentality, Anchieta became highly sensitized to the Tupi world. He aimed to show the meaning of *doutrina crista* through indigenous customs instead of preaching

6 Sabine MacCormack, e-mail message to author, June 30, 2009.

7 Alden estimates that by the middle of the sixteenth century there were 250 linguistic groups in the colony. ALDEN, Dauril – *The Making of a Jesuit Enterprise. The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996, p. 477. Alden also estimates that Brazil was relatively sparsely populated by an estimated 1.5 to 2.4 million Indians (Brasis). The most numerous, linguistically related group were those broadly named, Tupi, who congregated along the Atlantic coast, p. 72.

8 Not only the Jesuits, but other missionary orders as well thought of Tupi as the *lingua geral*, since Tupi-related languages had a separate origin from Guarani, the other *lingua geral* of the western interior of Brazil. See CASTELNAU-L'ESTOILE, *Les Ouvriers d'une Vigne Stérile. Les Jésuites et la conversion des Indiens au Brésil 1580-1620*. Paris and Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2000, p. 143.

9 Plays of Anchieta: 1) *Auto da Pregação Universal*. This was Anchieta's first play originally written in Portugal and then adapted to Brazil. It was written in Tupi in 1561. 2) *Recebimento que Fizeram os Índios de Guaraparim ao Padre Provincial Marçal Beliarde*, written in Tupi and Portuguese between 1567-1570. 3) *Auto do Dia da Assunção*, written in Tupi around 1579. 4) *Na Festa de São Lourenço*, trilingual play written around 1583. 5) *Na festa de Natal*, trilingual play and a simplified version of *Pregação Universal* and *Na Festa de São Lourenço*, 1583. 6) *Quando no Espírito Santo, se Recebeu uma Relíquia das Onze mil Virgens*, also called *Auto de S. Úrsula*, written in Portuguese in 1585 or 1595. 7) *Na Aldeia de Guaraparim*, 1585 written in Tupi. 8) *Visitação de Santa Isabela*, written in Spanish, 1595. 9) *Auto da Vila de Vitoria*, also called the *Auto de S. Mauricio*, written in Spanish and Portuguese, 1597. 10) *Na Aldeia de Guaraparim*, written in Tupi, 1585 or 1597. 11) *Auto de São Sebastião*, believed to be written in 1584 in Tupi. 12) *Auto de Pero Dias*, written in Spanish in 1574. The general form of the play consists of a greeting of the martyr-saint or visitor near the port in Act I, followed by a procession in which the community escorts the statue, relic or visitor to the Church grounds. Act II consists of a moral dialogue acted out with the devils who wish to take over the city. In Act III, a martyr-saint or the Virgin defeats the devils. The recitation of Christian doctrine by a chorus or by the martyrs in Act IV follows the triumph of Good over Evil. The play closes with a farewell address, Act V, which consists of a dance of indigenous children who praise God for saving their city and giving them a saint or guardian angel to watch over them.

Christian doctrine through European terms. A reconstruction of Anchieta's approach to Christianization shows the intricacies of the Jesuit evangelization project and how doctrine, Christian culture, and allegiance to the crown cannot be separated.

In 1559 the Jesuits, with the crucial support of the Governor Mem da Sá, formed the *aldeias*, or Tupi resettlements created by Europeans for the purpose of proselytizing more effectively, as the itinerant preaching style proved ineffective¹⁰. As sermons, the principle mode of communicating the faith in Europe, proved to be less effective in the Brazilian context, theater arose as a way to engage the *aldeias* in Christian living. Anchieta believed that the Christian message would be transmitted more effectively on stage than through a sermon at the pulpit because the whole village participated, either as actors or spectators. In 1580 Jesuit efforts to evangelize began in full force in Brazil. Anchieta's most prolific period coincided with the intensification of the Jesuit project.

The Jesuits promoted theater as a moral and theological tool in the *Ratio Studiorum*. While bishops and other religious were often leery of the ambiguous nature of theater, the Jesuits used it to their advantage in order to convey more effectively the Christian message to cultures that were not receptive to other traditional European ways of preaching. Jesuit theater, also popular in Portugal with the works of Miguel Venegas, S.J. and Luis da Cruz, S.J., was used as a lesson in memory and pronunciation and fit within the larger tradition of humanist rhetoric¹¹.

Anchieta's assessment of the major obstacles to Christianization that the Jesuits faced in sixteenth-century Brazil provided the building blocks from which he would propose to change Tupi beliefs and customs. Although scholars debate whether the Jesuits' main obstacle to conversion among the Tupi was their cannibalism, sexual practices, semi-nomadic lifestyle, or lack of political authority, Anchieta had his own interpretation of the chief impediments to salvation¹². The Jesuits in Brazil

10 Dauril Alden speaks to Anchieta's enthusiasm for Jesuit *aldeias*. Anchieta wanted to adopt a policy of 'compelling them to come in' (Luke 16: 23). "Implementing that policy led to the creation of Jesuit-controlled Indian communities (*aldeias*) situated near white settlements, models of European civilization and Catholicism as well as markets for Indian-produced goods and Jesuit-supervised Indian labor," Alden, p.73.

11 See GRIFFIN, Nigel – *Some Jesuit Theater Manuscripts*. Coimbra: Faculdade de letras da Universidade de Coimbra, Instituto de estudos clássicos, MCMLXXI-MCMLXXII, who also criticizes Frêches for not interpreting Jesuit theater in light of *ludus litterarius* and its place in *rhetoricus* as a whole. See FRÊCHES, Claude-Henri – *Le Théâtre Néo-Latin au Portugal. 1550-1745*. Lisbonne: Librairie Bertrand, 1964.

12 Scholars have different interpretations about what was the principal vice of Tupi society in sixteenth century. For example, literature about the first contacts with the natives usually places cannibalism as an unsurpassable and supreme vice. FORSYTH, Donald – "The Beginnings of Brazilian Anthropology: Jesuits and Tupinamba Cannibalism." *Journal of Anthropological Research*. 39 (1983). Forsyth argues that cannibalism was the chief concern of the Jesuits, just as it was for Hans Staden and Jean de Léry. Forsyth argues, "The most important customs, as far as the Jesuits were concerned, were Indian practices which hindered or prevented their conversion to Catholicism. The most significant of these [was]: 1) the practice of cannibalism," pp. 148- 150. Castelnau-L'Estoile argues in *Les Ouvriers d'une Vigne Stérile* that sexual practices were a chief concern of the Jesuits. "Sins of the flesh are the biggest temptation," p. 131. O'MALLEY, John – *First Jesuits*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1993. O'Malley agrees, "Few things disconcerted the Jesuits more than the fact that the Brazilians seemed to have no idea of marriage as a stable and monogamous union," p. 79. SHAPIRO, Judith – "From Tupã to the Land without Evil: The Christianization of Tupi-Guarani Cosmology." *American Ethnologist*. 14

defined as sins acts that fell outside the usual Roman catalogue of sins. Literature concerning the first contacts with the native peoples usually places cannibalism as an unsurpassable and supreme vice. However, Anchieta had a distinctive hierarchy of vices compared to other Jesuits in Brazil at the time, who typically prioritized cannibalism and sexual practices over drinking¹³. For instance, Manuel da Nóbrega, S.J., the first Provincial of Brazil, who arrived only a short time before Anchieta, stated: “You must make laws that prohibit them from eating human flesh and going to war without the permission of the Governor; that permit them only one wife; that oblige them to wear clothing ... ; that outlaw their sorcerers ... ; that make them live in one place without moving around”¹⁴. Yet for Anchieta, as his plays suggest, excess drinking was the worst sin and at the root of the problems of colonial society because it compromised the will and led to more serious sins, such as polygamy.

Anchieta focused his evangelization efforts on the young males raised in a Tupi warrior tradition¹⁵. His project consisted of transforming the Tupi warrior into a Christian through the use of Tupi customs. Anchieta deemed Tupi customs as antithetical to, yet at the same time a necessary step toward, the Christian life. This paradox lies at the heart of the methodology demonstrated within his plays. For Anchieta, the end result of conversion justified his means. In order to gain the moral allegiance of the Tupi warrior, he compromised many aspects of early modern European Catholicism for the sake of transforming the Tupi warrior into a warrior of Christ¹⁶.

Rhetoric was crucial in adapting and conveying the Christian message throughout the world in the sixteenth century. For Anchieta, the homiletic style in vogue in Rome, in which the preacher denounced a sin and recommended the remedial virtue, could

(1987). Ethnologist Shapiro states, “Conditions of Tupi-Guarani life presented serious obstacles to evangelization. What was most frustrating to the missionaries was the ease with which the Indians could abandon their villages and move to another location” p. 128. Finally, Castelnau-L’Estoile acknowledges that the lack of political authority among the Tupi was a chief obstacle. “José Anchieta shows that the Jesuit strategy of conversion of the Indians of Brazil has not changed. They must be politically dominated in order to be able to be converted,” p. 431. Shapiro states, “The lack of centralized political authority was also a major problem,” because it led to itinerant preaching which did not prove effective, p. 128.

13 In Spanish America, the chief vice was idolatry. However, among the Tupi there were no discernible idols and therefore missionary work in Brazil took its own distinct course. Due to the lack of idols found along the coast of Brazil, missionaries in Brazil debated if the Tupi had a religion at all. The seventeenth-century author, Yves D’Eveux, argued that important elements of Christian belief were found in Tupi belief systems and legends, especially the belief in an earthly paradise. D’EVREUX, Yves – *Voyage dans le Nord du Brésil fait Durant les Années 1613-1614 par le Père Yves D’Éveux*. Paris: Librairie A. Frank, 1864, pp. 262 and 322. See Sabine MacCormack’s discussion of European debates concerning if the Tupinambá had a religion. MACCORMACK, Sabine – “Ethnography in South America: the First Two Hundred years.” In *Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of South America*. Salomon and Schwartz, eds. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 112-114.

14 LEITE, Serafim – *Cartas dos Primeiros Jesuítas do Brasil*. 3 vols. São Paulo: Comissão do IV Centenário de São Paulo, 1954-58, vol. 2, document 66, section 11.

15 Note that Anchieta addresses several audiences in his plays, including colonists and women. Only the young indigenous male, whose role in society was that of a warrior, will be addressed in this article.

16 His strategy for conversion came from the Jesuit way to proceed (*noster modus procedendi*). For more on the foundation of the Jesuits, *noster modus procedendi*, and accommodation see O’MALLEY – *First Jesuits*.

be reshaped for the Tupi audience¹⁷. One of Anchieta's contemporary biographers, Simão de Vasconcelos, stated that Anchieta "was the most eloquent in the rhetorical tradition"¹⁸. The dramatic structure of Anchieta's theater consisted of a discourse that included a phase of responses in rhetorical form, first denouncing a vice and then promoting its correlative virtue¹⁹. Through these dialogues, performed on stage, Anchieta sought to persuade the indigenous peoples into right thinking, into thinking like a true warrior of Christian society, the martyr, who gave his life fighting in defense of the faith. The Tupi could relate to the Jesuit use of oratory because they had their own rhetorical tradition. Every morning and evening the Tupi would gather to hear their chief speak and thus were accustomed to learning through discourse directed at a large audience²⁰.

The Reconstruction of the Plays

Armando Cardoso, S.J. reconstructed Anchieta's *Auto Representado*, or traditional medieval Portuguese plays²¹. Cardoso, working with Tupi scholar and translator Maria de Lourdes de Paula Martins, constructed this 1977 edition based on documents found in Anchieta's notebook from the Jesuit Archives in Rome²². While they did a great service in publishing his plays and poems, Anchieta's works still remain largely unanalyzed in terms of the significance they hold for the Jesuit evangelization project in Brazil and for understanding the interaction between Christianity and Tupi culture.

Anchieta wrote eight of his twelve plays between 1588-1597, during the height of the Catholic Reformation in Europe, the period in which Jesuit conversion strategies within Europe and abroad were most aggressive. In the sixteenth century martyrdom underwent a resurgence on the continent and overseas. The Protestant Reformation, combined with the need of the Roman Catholic Church to redefine

17 For more information on the role of rhetoric and specifically the preaching of virtues and vices at the Papal Courts, see MCGINNESS, Fredrick – *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.

18 MOURÃO, José Augusto – "Teatro e Pedagogia da Fé em Anchieta." Separata do *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* (1981). Mourão cited Vasconcelos, p. 284.

19 Ibid., p. 283.

20 CLASTRES, Pierre – *Society Against the State. Essays in Political Anthropology*. New York: Zone books, 1987, p. 31. "Every day, either at dawn or sunset, the chief must gratify the people of his group with an edifying discourse... Every day the... Tupinamba chiefs exhort their people to abide by tradition"

21 Note that there is a significant literature that credits playwright Gil Vicente as being a foundational influence on the plays of Anchieta. See, for example, HOTHAR, Lessel and Georges RAEDERS – *O teatro jesuítico no Brasil*. Porto Alegre: Editora URGs, 1972.

22 Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Opp. NN. 24. ANCHIETA, José de, CARDOSO, Armando, S.J. ed. – *Teatro de Anchieta*. São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 1977. Cardoso worked with Tupi scholar and translator, Maria de Lourdes de Paula Martins since 1933 reconstructing and translating the work of Anchieta. De Paula Martins presented a translation and facsimile in 1948 of the *Na Festa de São Lourenço*, and both de Paula Martins and Cardoso collaborated with several volumes of Anchieta's poetry. This 1977 edition is the latest and most complete version of Anchieta's plays to date. For the details of Cardoso's method in reconstructing these plays in their historical context, see pp. 7-8 of the *Teatro de Anchieta*. All the following citations of Anchieta's theater will be taken from Cardoso and are my own translation from the Portuguese.

itself according to the ideals of early Christianity, caused the Catholic community of early modern Europe to focus again on both late antique and early modern martyrs. Owing to this European heritage and the large number of their relics transported to Brazil, Anchieta chose to put martyrs in the battle between Good and Evil. Six of the twelve plays cast martyrs, mostly from the third- or fourth-century, who were the protectors of a Brazilian city and whose virtue and bravery deemed to inspire the neophytes and the colonists.

Every play consists of a battle between Good and Evil, in which an angel or a martyr defeats the Devils, who are trying to take over an indigenous village. Anchieta's plays have been identified within the genre of morality plays, which consist of a metaphor between Good and Evil in the human soul²³. In the many struggles between Good (represented by the Angel, or the patron saint who protected the city) and Evil (represented by the devils, who were the 'Tupis' actual contemporary enemy, the Tamoio) Anchieta wrote of the moral conflict not only within the human soul but also of the external battle against the indigenous non-believer, against the French heretic, and against the moral lassitude of the colonists. Through the defeat of the Devils, the martyrs also defeated the pagan or unholy lifestyle, as the devils personified the adulterers, belligerent drinkers, and liars of colonial Tupi society.

The Vices of Drinking and Polygamy

The Jesuits in the *aldeias* needed to eradicate drunkenness because they believed alcohol eroded the moral fiber of society by compromising the will. For this reason Anchieta included the indigenous drink *cauim*, an alcoholic beverage of cooked and fermented mandioca root, in almost every play. For example, the devil Guaixará, the Tupi enemy in real life and in the play, *Pregação Universal*, confirms that drunkenness brings the most pleasure to the Tupi²⁴. "It's a good thing to drink until we vomit off of *cauim*. This is the greatest pleasure, this yes, let's say, this is glory, yes it is!"²⁵ Anchieta's use of contemporary Tupi enemies to personify vices suggests that he wished to

23 KNIGHT, Alan E. – *Aspects of Genre in late Medieval French Drama*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983, p. 32. The morality genre consists of two vectors: doctrinal and socio-political, both of which Anchieta employed in his plays. The genre of morality plays, taken from late medieval European plays, comes from the psychomachia tradition of Prudentius. Also see, BERNARDES, José Augusto Cardoso – "Na Aldeia de Guarapirim: cenas do Mal no Teatro de Anchieta." In *Anchieta em Coimbra. Actas do Congresso Internacional, 1998*. Universidade de Coimbra. Porto: Fundação Tenente Valadim, 2000.

24 *Pregação Universal* (Universal Preaching) or otherwise called, *Na Festa do Natal* (On the Feast of Christmas), was Anchieta's first play, originally written in Portugal and then brought to Brazil and adapted to a Christmas performance in 1561. This play consists of two scenes. In the first scene of the play a mill worker's Sunday coat was stolen. The second scene is a conversation of the two devils, Aimbiré and Guaixará, who have the names of Tamoio chiefs, the enemies of the Tupinambá. The Devils thus personify all of the vices of colonial society that Anchieta wished to extirpate, such as stealing, lackadaisical behavior and drinking. Anchieta always translated the conversation between Good and Evil into Tupi in all of his plays, suggesting the importance that this dialogue had to Anchieta, in that he wanted to make sure that his indigenous audience properly understood this pivotal scene.

25 Anchieta, p. 121. "É boa coisa beber até vomitar, cauim. É isso a maior prazer, isto sim, vamos dizer, isto é glória, isto sim!"

relate to Tupi warrior sensibilities. All important events in Tupi life were marked by the drinking of *cauim*. These important events were often of a religious nature and included the birth of a child, the first menstruation of a young girl, the piercing of the lower lip of young male, magical ceremonies that preceded the departure for war, and the ritual massacre of a prisoner²⁶. Since *cauim* marked all of life's greatest events – it accompanied discussions about life, death, entrance into society – drinking could be interpreted as a microcosm of the whole Tupi culture²⁷.

The Tupi believed *cauim* to have mystic virtues since the elders of the village kept its exact recipe secret from the Europeans²⁸. Virgin women prepared the beverage by chewing on certain grains and fruits and mixing them with their saliva, which gave the drink its mystic qualities²⁹. Both women and men were allowed to drink in the quantity they desired, yet only after puberty. Anthropologist Alfred Métraux reported that, “The action of [drinking] alcohol was particularly violent on women: they indulged themselves in grotesque contortions and struggled to control themselves. It is only on this occasion [of a party with *cauim*] that the women danced side by side with the men, and placed their hands on their backs”³⁰. At all other times of dancing, men and women danced separately on opposite sides of the party³¹. Thus, during times of drinking excess *cauim* the social barriers that prohibited contact between males and females were broken, proving that *cauim* leads to moral laxity in Tupi society and promotes other vices such as polygamy³².

The hierarchy of vices throughout the history of Christianity changes depending on the context³³. Anchieta considered drunkenness the worst vice because it was omnipresent in Tupi life, especially at rituals such as cannibalistic sacrifices and shamanistic ecstasy. Anchieta featured *cauim* in almost every play because of its ability to erode the moral fiber of society, compromising the will and promoting other behaviors such as adultery, lying and stealing³⁴.

26 MÉTRAUX, A. – *La Religion des Tupinamba et ses rapports avec celle des autres tribus Tupi-Guarani*. Paris: Libraire Ernest Leroux, 1929, p. 197.

27 For more information on how one social trait can represent a microcosm of the whole culture see GEERTZ, Clifford – “Deep play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight.” *Daedalus, Myth, Symbol and Culture*. 101 (1972), pp. 1-37.

28 A. Métraux in his chapter titled, “Les Fêtes de boisson” states that there is not a single important event in the life of the Tupinambá that is not accompanied by vast consumptions of the fermented drink called *cauim*, p. 197.

29 Métraux, p. 198.

30 Ibid. p. 199.

31 Ibid, p. 192.

32 The notion that pleasure overthrows reason goes back to Plato and could have informed Anchieta's condemnation of drinking.

33 See Carole Straw's discussion of how the hierarchy of vices for Cassian and Gregory the Great are inverted. STRAW, Carole – “Gregory, Cassian and the Cardinal Vices.” In *In the Garden of Evil: Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Richard Newhauser. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2002.

34 See SAIGNES, Thierry – *Borrachera y Memoria. La experiencia de lo sagrado en los Andes*. La Paz: Hisbol, 1993. The Jesuits serving in the Andes mentioned the destruction that drinking, or the “*borrachera*” caused in the colonial Andes. It led to forgetting their morals, which led to a return to idolatry. p. 23. For the debates among Jesuits in Peru, such as José de Acosta, about eradicating “*borracheras*” in the Andes, see p. 38. There was ambiguity on the part of the Jesuits as to how and if drinking could be eradicated.

After promoting the greatest pleasure of drinking, the Devil personified more of the vices of colonial society, “It makes me furious, I walk around killing and eating prisoners, I live a life of sexual prowess without getting married and spying on adulteries. I don’t let this happen in my religious sanctum”³⁵. Anchieta portrayed the devil as a cannibal, as an enemy warrior who took delight in observing the “adulteries” of society.

Polygamy fell second in the hierarchy of vices after drinking for Anchieta³⁶. The Jesuits believed the Tupi’s sexual practices to be irrational and antithetical to the Christian way of life. Yet, Anchieta needed to restrain his preaching against the topic of polygamy because in many ways it was in contradiction with the unofficial policy of the Portuguese crown, which promoted the miscegenation of colonists among the Tupi³⁷. The Jesuits started their first province in the New World in Brazil because of their strong alliance with the Portuguese crown. Their missionary project got underway because Governor Mem de Sá permitted and encouraged them to form *aldeias*³⁸. Since the Jesuits’ good relations with Portuguese government were crucial for their missionary success, Anchieta did not make polygamy the chief vice and was willing to compromise on the issue³⁹. The Church had to compromise not only because it was almost impossible to completely change the Tupi mentality on this issue, but also because it was antithetical to the unofficial royal propagation of racial mixing. Owing to a lack of Portuguese people to colonize Brazil, the Portuguese colonists were informally encouraged to take Tupi wives in order to further the colonization process. Anchieta’s compromise in some ways reduced the success of the mission because allowing Tupi sexual practices some leeway implied that baptisms occurred less frequently⁴⁰.

The Vice of Cannibalism in Anchieta’s Theater

José de Anchieta’s missionary writings are some of the richest travelogues from the New World because of the great interest he took in native customs so that

Like in Brazil, drinking in the Andes played an important role in the cohesion of society and in ritual practices, such as those of the ritual banquets of the Inkas.

- 35 Anchieta, p. 122 “Enraivar, andar matando e comendo prisioneiros, e vivir se amancebando e adultérios espiando, não o deixem meus terreiros.”
- 36 Note that for St. Augustine, one of the three principal sins of fallen man is sexual lust, along with lust for power and lust for money and possessions.
- 37 Owing to the small number of Portuguese people in relation to the large empire they had created in Asia and the New World, the crown promoted miscegenation in order to secure Portuguese presence in the region. Since Portugal lacked the bodies necessary to populate overseas territories, it was crucial that they mixed with the indigenous peoples of the area.
- 38 For Castelnau-L’Estoile it was the Jesuits’ close alliance with Governor Mem de Sá that enabled their conversion efforts to bear some fruit. “L’arrivée du nouveau gouverneur et son appui total aux jésuites rend enfin possible la stratégie des pères,” p. 106.
- 39 See Castelnau L’Estoile, who states that for the sociologist Gilberto Freyre, the Jesuits are in opposition with the interest of the colonial society- virginity, chastity, sterility is to be marginal in a patriarchal society, p. 17.
- 40 John O’Malley, “This situation left the Jesuits much perplexed as to how to deal with Brazilians who wanted to be baptized but who seemed utterly incapable of changing their sexual practices. Consequently, the Jesuits were extremely cautious about admitting adult Brazilians to Baptism and, as we have seen, practically adamant about not admitting them to the Society,” p. 79.

he would be able to proselytize more effectively. In the sixteenth century the topic of cannibalism became extremely popular in Europe because it was used to justify the conquest⁴¹. Two of Anchieta's plays deal strictly with cannibalism, yet many other plays reference this cultural practice. Anchieta often received death threats and threats that he would be cannibalized. Given his own experience, it is quite remarkable that Anchieta interpreted drunkenness to be the real social problem of the Tupi. Even though Anchieta knew that the Tupinambá had the reputation of "eating their victims down to the last fingernail," he insisted that cannibalism was not the same threat to the society as drinking⁴². Moreover, the customs of the indigenous, though very cruel, were still less cruel than some of the practices from Europe. In the following anecdote, Anchieta makes clear that he thought that the French were more violent and had worse customs than the indigenous.

I was told that Ambirem, a great chief of Rio de Janeiro, naturally cruel and blood-thirsty, and a great friend of the French, ordered that one of his twenty wives, who had committed adultery, should be tied to a post and have her stomach cut out with a butcher-knife; and the adulterer, who was his own nephew, stayed away for a while in fear of death. But this appears in all probability to have been a lesson taken from the French, who are accustomed to dealing out such deaths, because no Brazilian Indian would normally inflict such a punishment⁴³.

Anchieta wished to eradicate cannibalism because it obviously contradicted basic tenants of the faith, yet he compromised because he found it essential to Tupi society and thus useful as a tool to preach Christianity. Did Anchieta see the possibility of having a Tupi society without cannibalism? Because cannibalism was believed to be the life source of the indigenous community, Anchieta argued that the Tupi should not be pulled away too quickly from the custom in which they put their greatest happiness⁴⁴. It is doubtful that Anchieta could conceive of a Tupi society without

41 The topic of cannibalism fascinated travel writers since the 8th century B.C. with Homer's Cyclopes. Travel literature made cannibalism emblematic of the New World, as Theodore de Bry made especially clear with the circulation of his printed images, the same images used to illustrate both Staden and Léry's texts. As historian Anthony Pagden states, "The European interest in man-eating amounts to almost an obsession. Anthropophagi, as they were called before the discovery of America, have played their role in the description of non-European cultures ever since the first Greeks ventured out into the western Mediterranean." For a history of Europe's fascination with cannibals from the Greeks up through the sixteenth century see PAGDEN, Anthony – *The Fall of the Natural Man. The American Indian and the origins of comparative ethnology*. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1982, pp. 80-89. Also see PAGDEN, Anthony – *European Encounters in the New World. From Renaissance to Romanticism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993 and GRAFTON, Anthony – *New World, Ancient Texts. The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery*. Cambridge Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992.

42 Anchieta letter quoted in Pagden p. 216, footnote #151.

43 José de Anchieta, cited from *True History. An Account of Cannibal Activity in Brazil*. Edited and translated by Neil L. Whitehead and Michael Harbsmeier. Duke University Press: Durham, 2008, p. xxviii.

44 ANCHIETA, José de – *Cartas: Informações, Fragmentos históricos e sermões*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1933, p. 201. "mas eles diziam que ainda haviam de comer seus contrários, até que se vingassem bem deles, e que devagar cairiam em nossos costumes, e na verdade, porque costume em que eles têm posta sua maior felicidade não se lhes há de arrancar tão presto."

cannibalism, at least during his life time, but this did not preclude him from working toward the Christian society he envisioned⁴⁵.

Anchieta's sensitivity to the indigenous custom of cannibalism is especially prevalent in his two theatrical works from the village of Guaraparim, in Espírito Santo. As this was a predominantly indigenous village, he used indigenous killing methods to teach a lesson about a good warrior, one who kills the Devil. The first play, *Na Aldeia de Guaraparim* (In the village of Guaraparim), Anchieta wrote in 1585, when the Church of Sant'Ana was completed. The protector of the village is the Virgin Mary, daughter of Saint Anne. *Na Aldeia de Guaraparim* is the longest of Anchieta's pieces written exclusively in Tupi and intended for a Tupi audience of the interior of Brazil⁴⁶.

The play centers on four devils that catch sight of a soul that has just detached itself from the human body⁴⁷. They began to accuse the soul of committing sins. Meanwhile the devils planned to dominate the village. The Devils said that the Tupinaquins, another group of Amerindians from Espírito Santo, were dishonest cannibals. Speaking of the Tupinaquins,

Yesterday they [the Tupinaquins] grabbed and tied up a good Christian who was submissive in his loneliness.
The land, where roasted they devoured him, was called, Boii⁴⁸.

The Devil continued to explain that the indigenous peoples took revenge on the Christian who was passing by and that the Devil commanded them to take revenge, by killing the Christian and eating him⁴⁹. Thus, Anchieta, through using a popular indigenous custom, showed that the Devils provoked cannibalism. Anchieta also used this scene as a condemnation of vendetta, the operative principle for Tupi warfare⁵⁰. Anchieta hoped that the teaching moment of the play would be when the Tupi come

45 By the mid-1580s, Anchieta estimated that the Jesuits had converted over 100,000 Brasis, an astounding number considering how antithetical the Tupi lifestyle was to a Christian one. However, as Alden reports, only one in five of these 100,000 remained under Jesuit control, p. 72. Once the Tupi returned to their own villages they went back to their old ways of living.

46 Padre Antônio Dias, the missionary of this *aldeia*, went into the interior jungle of Brazil to bring Termiminó Amerindians to the Jesuit resettlement. Dias' mission consisted of bring both former Portuguese indigenous slaves along with indigenous peoples who had not been enslaved by the Portuguese to the *aldeia*. Dias feared an indigenous revolt because at the time some Portuguese colonists had indigenous slaves from the interior. See LEITE, Serafim – *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil. Vol. I*. Lisbon: Livraria Portugália, 1938, p. 168.

47 The Devils' names have indigenous meanings, such as Caumondá meaning "wine thief" and Tatapitera meaning "to blow out fire." See Cardoso, p. 205.

48 Anchieta, p. 214. "Ontem a um bom cristão agarraram e amarram submisso na solidão. Boii se chama seu chão, onde assado o devoraram."

49 Revenge was the principal Tupi reason to capture an enemy warrior and to make a cannibal feast out of him. Thus, the devil is saying that the Tupinaquins are taking revenge on the Christians because the Christians have wronged them. See Métraux– *La Religion* for more information on revenge in Tupi culture.

50 See CASTRO, Eduardo Viveiros de, trans. Catherine V. Howard – *From the Enemy's Point of View. Humanity and Divinity in an Amazonian Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992, pp. 273-280. Original Portuguese title is *Arawaté*.

to associate cannibalism with the devils and therefore would renounce the practice. The play ends when the Virgin Mary and an angel come to save the city from the Devils.

The second play was written two years later for the same audience. *The welcome that the Indians of Guaraparim gave to the Father Provincial Marçal Beliarte*, was written in honor of the new Provincial, Marçal Beliarte, who replaced Anchieta⁵¹. In Act III of this play, an Indian warrior split the head of the Devil, Macaxera. This act of splitting heads was part of the ritual sacrifice of prisoners of war. “I killed Macaxera! There no longer exists the evil that there was ... I am Anhangupiara”⁵². The indigenous warrior then takes a new name, Anhangupiara, as was custom for killing an adversary. The name means, enemy of the devil⁵³. This act symbolized the honor and recognition in society that a warrior received. In Anchieta’s play, the Devil killer represented a good indigenous warrior because he killed the Devil (represented as the Tupi enemy warrior Tamoio) using indigenous methods.

For the Tupi warrior, killing an enemy warrior represented a crucial rite of passage into adulthood. The warrior gained respect within society when he captured an enemy who would be brought to the camp and in the future eaten in a cannibalistic feast⁵⁴. “Cannibalism is often considered an exclusive practice designated to raise the vital force of those who devote their time to it, or at least as a capable means of obtaining for themselves certain qualities.”⁵⁵ Cannibalism made life worth living and it was also the reason that the warrior died. Dishonor, not death, was the *summum malum* in Tupi society. To try to escape one’s fate in a cannibal feast was considered the greatest dishonor a warrior could show his society – whereas to die a cannibal death was honorable. Likewise, the Tupi warrior who killed the enemy warrior for the anthropophagic sacrifice changed his name to signify his accomplishment of certain deeds that he needed to complete in order to be deemed honorable in society⁵⁶.

However, the scene that followed, Act IV, did not go according to the traditional Tupi celebration, with an anthropophagic ritual, but rather with the dance of the ten Christian children, who denounced these anthropophagic practices. “In cannibal banquets danced my grandparents: sipping the divine voice, I reject the laws of my parents.”⁵⁷ Thus, while Anchieta accommodated his message to the indigenous killing methods and allowed for a native interpretation of how to destroy the Devil, he then concluded with a song and dance that confirmed the Christian life. The subtlety, by

51 Anchieta, p. 203. Original title, *Recebimento que Fizeram os Índios de Guaraparim ao Padre Provincial Marçal Beliarte*.

52 Anchieta, p. 244. “Matei Macaxera! Já não existe o mal que era... Eu sou Anhangupiara!”

53 See Métraux p. 244 for rituals of killing and taking a new name after being initiated as a warrior.

54 Métraux, p. 157.

55 Métraux, p. 158.

56 Métraux, p. 165.

57 Anchieta, p. 244. “Em banquetes canibais dançaram os meus avós: sorvendo a divina voz, abjuro as leis de meus pais.”

which Anchieta used indigenous expression as a tool in order to transcend it, was exemplified through his treatment of cannibalism.

Spiritually Transforming the Warrior: An End to Vice through the Martyr-Saints

Anchieta also proposed martyr-saints as intercessors who could help the Tupi overcome their vices. Anchieta wrote the *Auto de S. Úrsula*, a minor play which focuses on St. Ursula, along with St. Maurice and St. Vitalis⁵⁸. The *Auto* of Saint Ursula, composed in Portuguese upon the arrival of the heads of six supposed virgin martyrs to Brazil, commemorated the legend of the fourth-century saint and her virgin companions who were supposedly killed by the Huns on a pilgrimage made before Ursula's marriage⁵⁹. The presence of St. Ursula's relics in the church of Vitória later helped the town's inhabitants to overcome the three enemies of the soul: ambition, sensuality, and arrogance⁶⁰.

Anchieta tried to tame or eradicate the audience's passions in order to make them supple so that they henceforth could be molded into the ideal Christians. The martyr-saint became a model to inspire moral betterment in believers, both through her example and the now physical presence of her relics. Anchieta's play of St. Ursula closes Act IV saying, "The three enemies of the soul begin to fade away. And, so, this place has the name of Victory and palm, it must always triumph"⁶¹. In the final act,

58 This small play is an outline of his larger work, composed later, *Na vila de Vitória* or *S. Maurício*. Like St. Úrsula, St. Vitalis and many of the early Christian martyrs' legends have little historical proof. It is debated whether St. Vitalis was a victim of the Neronian persecutions or of Marcus Aurelius.

59 The relics of martyr-saints were prominently displayed in early modern Catholic churches. In the Iberian world, there was an abundant collection of relics of martyrs due to the interests of the crown and the ecclesiastical authorities. See OSSWALD, Maria Christina – "The Society of Jesus and the diffusion of the cult and iconography of Saint Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins in the Portuguese Empire during the second half of the sixteenth century." *A Companhia de Jesus na Península Ibérica nos sécs. XVI e XVII: espiritualidade e cultura: actas do Colóquio Internacional*, Porto: Universidade do Porto, Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, Centro Inter-Universitário de História da Espiritualidade, 2005. "Philip II of Spain, I of Portugal, was a compulsive collector of relics. The Escorial kept 7,420 relics and 70 heads of the virgins," p. 602. In terms of the number of relics, the Jesuit church in Lisbon, São Roque, could rival with el Escorial. São Roque was in possession of "an incredible array of relics, including eighteen hands, four arms, two teeth, forty non specified bones and a hundred and eight relics of the companions of Ursula" p.603. These were just the relics that Juan de Borja (1533-1606) decided to give São Roque in 1588. Although it is not entirely clear why the cult of St. Ursula and the 11,000 virgins became so popular in Portugal, it is known, however, that two main episodes of the Reconquest (the Conquest of Lisbon in 1147 and the Conquest of Alcácer do Sal in 1217) are said to have taken place on the 21st of October, the feast day of St. Ursula and her companions. From the data on St. Ursula alone, it is evident that Portugal was steeped with reliquary and pictorial reminders of these martyrs.

60 Cardoso, p. 92. "Mas, acima de tudo, vai ajudar os habitantes de Vitória a vencer os três inimigos da alma, por outro nome, as três concupiscências, a ambição, a sensualidade, a soberba." 1 John 2:16. King James' version reads, "For all that is in the world, lust of the flesh, and lust of the eyes, and the pride of life is not the Father, but is of the world." This verse is sometimes translated with the word "greed". It can be interpreted as the three vices which lead human beings astray: ferocity, avarice, and ambition or lust, pride and desire.

61 Anchieta, p. 284. "Os três inimigos d'alma começam a desmaiar. [literally, "to faint"]. E, pois tem este lugar nome de Vitória e palma, sempre deve triunfar." The Palm was the symbol of the martyr.

Act V, St. Maurice offers to the virgin martyr a place at the altar, next to the tabernacle. The relics brought from Portugal and the importance of the martyr-saint's presence in Anchieta's plays and in the Brazilian village, as protectors of the city as well as safeguards of the soul, helped transform the vices of the village to virtue.

Transforming the Tupi's Outlook: Making Enemies of the Huguenots

Anchieta wrote the play, *Dialogue of the Martyr Father Pero Dias*, for the 1574 commemoration of the lives of the Brazilian martyrs⁶². Pero Dias and eleven other Jesuits died in 1571 in the same manner as the forty Jesuit martyrs who died only one year before, killed by the French Huguenots in the Atlantic on their way to Brazil⁶³. Through the play of *Father Pero Dias*, Anchieta brought the memories of these martyrs to Brazil.

Biblical references exalting the life of the martyr abound in the dialogue between Christ and Pero. First, the name Pero (Peter) suggests the rock on which the Church was built. Anchieta taught a lesson of obligation and reciprocity, for at the climax of the dialogue Christ proclaimed, "When you died to the world, I made you come alive"⁶⁴. In giving one's life (i.e. to the Church or the Christian *aldeia*) and relinquishing one's old life (i.e. to cannibalism and adultery), Anchieta communicated that the faithful would live. Pero replied, "Yes, the life that you gave me is to follow your life, so that I will never die again!"⁶⁵ Implicitly, Anchieta was teaching John 8: 12, "I am the light of the world. The one who follows me will never walk in darkness, but will have light of life." Here, the virtues of martyrdom were glorified in Brazil, not only in remembering the twelve Brazilian martyrs, but also through the repetition of the core message of the gospel that Pero and Christ acted out on the stages of Brazil. Anchieta placed the crux of the play in Act II between Christ and Pero⁶⁶. He instructed his audience how to live, calling upon them to deliver their lives to Christ. Anchieta explains the paradox of Christianity through Pero, that through death one gains eternal life. Christ replied "Losing your life gave you the most sublime guarantee

62 Pero Dias (1517-1571) taught moral theology in Coimbra and was a very well-respected teacher at the college. Inácio de Azevedo, the leader of the forty Jesuits of Brazil martyred at sea in 1570, petitioned for Dias to go to Brazil with him in 1570. Dias, however, stayed in Madeira and was the one of the narrators of the first ill-fated journey. However, Dias decided to journey to Brazil the next year. Dias crossed the Atlantic and even caught sight of Brazil, yet the strong ocean currents swept his ship back to the Caribbean. The ship returned to the Azores and shortly after they attempted the route to Brazil a second time. During this second journey in the Atlantic the French corsair, John Capdeville, attacked Pero Dias' ship and assassinated twelve Jesuits on board.

63 The number forty has been debated in the process of their beatification. See SACRA CONGREGATIO PRO CAUSIS SANCTORUM – *Ignatii de Azevedo et 39 Sociorum e Societate Iesu*. Roma: Tipografia Guerra & Belli, 1977, pp. 18-54.

64 Anchieta, p. 199. "Mas, quando ao mundo morreste, tua vida fiz nascer."

65 Anchieta, p. 199. "Sim, que seguir teu viver é a vida que me deste, para nunca mais morrer!"

66 Anchieta, pp. 196-200.

of this life that I am!”⁶⁷ Anchieta closed the play saying, “And living we look to die, and dying to ourselves, we live only for God. What do you gain?”⁶⁸

Anchieta chose martyrs as protagonists not only because the martyrs were the protectors of their city and their relics were held in the Churches to inspire purity of action, but also to promote them as paragons of virtue. Pero Dias was a contemporary example, reminding the Tupi that their selfless actions led to personal salvation. Here the martyr also threw into stark contrast the distance between Catholics and Huguenots. Anchieta transferred the battle raging in Europe between Protestants and Catholics to the Brazilian stage. It was not enough for the Tupi to be enemies of the Tamoios, who were the devils in the *autos*, they also had to take on the largest enemy in Christendom.

For Charlotte Castelnau-L’Estoile, historian of the Jesuit mission in Brazil, conversion for Anchieta was ultimately about subjection to political authority⁶⁹. Therefore Anchieta tried to orient the Tupi toward Portuguese authority and consequently—, unite the Tupi against the spiritual enemies of the crown⁷⁰. He acutely realized the importance of alliance with the Portuguese crown and its colonization efforts, as the Jesuits’ foundation of the mission, the *aldeias*, and even their very existence in Brazil, relied on their cooperation with the crown. The control that the government exerted over neophytes in the colony proved crucial, as the Tupi were a semi-nomadic and politically fragmented people, and moved away from Jesuit teaching centers periodically. Thus Anchieta was not just shaping vices into virtues, but he was attempting to refashion the Tupi’s political outlook to be European. In other plays, Anchieta also condemned French traders, not only because they posed an immediate threat to the coast of Brazil, but also because he wished to reinforce a cohesive political outlook⁷¹. Anchieta desired the Tupi to share the Portuguese

67 Anchieta, p. 198. “Pois esta perda tedeu a mais sublime ganância dessa vida que sou eu!”, Anchieta is referring to Mt 10: 34, “Whoever loses his life for me life, will gain it.”

68 Anchieta, p. 202. “e vivendo procuramos de morrer, e, morrendo a nós, vivir somente a Deus, que ganhamos?” The last line of the play of Pero Dias echoes St. Paul who says that to die is to gain in Philippians 1:21. This passage is found in patristic exhortations to martyrdom beginning with Origen.

69 Castelnau-L’Estoile, “Pourtant Jerónimo Rodrigues estime que dans d’autres conditions les Carijó pourraient être convertis mais seulement s’ils ‘avaient peur’. Cette expression qui rappelle les conclusions du *Dialogo da conversão do gentio* ainsi que les analyses d’Anchieta, montre que la stratégie jésuite de conversion des Indiens du Brésil n’a pas changé. Il faut que les Indiens soient dominés politiquement pour pouvoir être convertis. La sujétion constitue une conditions *sine qua non* pour la conversion, d’où l’importance de la collaboration avec les forces militaire et politiques de la colonie. . . La contrainte constitue une condition essentielle du travail de conversion, sans elle, l’indifférence des Indiens face au missionnaire est grande comme le constate le P. Rodrigues,” p. 431.

70 For a discussion on “Subjugation or Salvation?” and the politics of salvation in the beginning years of Catholicism in Mexico, see Chapter 3 of PARDO, Osvaldo – *The Origins of Mexican Catholicism. Nahuatl Rituals and Christian Sacraments in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007, which discusses how confession was a way for the priests to analyze indigenous attitudes, their disposition toward the sacraments, and Catholic religion in general.

71 See *Na Festa de S. Lourenço* and the *Auto de S. Úrsula*.

crown's enemies, in order to align their intentions and also to reinforce the Jesuit presence in Brazil.

Conclusions

At first glance it might seem quite unchristian of Anchieta to demonize another indigenous tribe and the French. However, the Huguenots were demonic in Anchieta's mind because of their violent opposition to Catholicism in Europe and abroad, as the deaths of fifty-two Jesuits in the Atlantic on their way to Brazil in 1570 and 1571 proved. For Anchieta, the French possessed crueller customs than did the Tupi. Anchieta's perception of the Tupi challenges the prevailing view that the indigenous peoples were barbarous and not fit to become Christian because, as Anchieta makes clear, they were far more fit than the French Protestants. Since Anchieta's primary audience was the Tupi warrior, he realized that the process of Christianization needed to occur on indigenous terms, even though he wished to create a purely Christian soldier of Christ. In order to relate to the warrior, he refashioned the Tamoio enemy to personify both Tupi vices and the French. The example of the martyr-saint became a tool for eradicating vices and replacing them with remedial virtues, as well as offering protection from the greatest enemy of Christendom at the time, the Protestants.

This essay has sought to analyze Jesuit evangelization strategies in sixteenth-century Brazil through an examination of the theater of José of Anchieta, S.J. An analysis of Anchieta's plays indicates that ultimately his evangelization project was one of compromise. Theater, unlike doctrine, was the distinctive space in which compromises could be made. Written doctrine could not be accommodated but practices could be. Anchieta felt the need to compromise due to his sensitivity to Tupi customs, his allegiance to the Portuguese crown and his Jesuit formation. His acceptance of indigenous customs in the process of Christianization meant that the efficacy of the mission suffered to the extent that baptism could not be granted to polygamists and cannibals⁷². However, in accommodating to drinking, promiscuity and cannibalism, Anchieta allowed the Tupi to enter into a familiar space where slowly they became comfortable in the Christian *aldeia*. Anchieta hoped that the Tupi would internalize the Christian virtues and customs he portrayed to them on stage so that they might transform themselves into orthodox Christians and, consequently, take on the Catholic concerns of Christendom as well.

As Anchieta's plays demonstrate, Jesuit theater was not only concerned with teaching doctrine, nor was it's sole objective to teach Christian culture. Rather it served many functions simultaneously. In the sixteenth century, religion and way of life could

72 Likewise in Mexico, the friars did not permit a majority of Mexican Indians to receive the Eucharist for a variety of reasons. See Pardo, Chapter 5.

not be separated and the crown was indispensable to the Jesuits' ability to attempt to integrate Christian culture and preach doctrine in Brazil. Thanks to royal support, Anchieta had a stage upon which he sought to transform drunkenness into a "sober intoxication of the Spirit," and connect his Brazilian audience to the concerns of the Portuguese crown and of Christendom.