



Painting of Padre Antonio Vieira from Wikimedia Commons

Saint Anthony of the Portuguese Empire

By

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Introduction

For centuries, saints have been seen as a source of authority. The holiness of a saint was often interpreted as a reflection of God's grace. Saints were, and still are, mortal men and women believed to have been in close proximity to God. They were exceptional and selected by God. Going beyond their chosenness, one can observe a deep relationship between saints and globalization dating back to Christ's ministry. The Gospel of Matthew 28:18-20 proclaims, "Jesus came and said to them [his apostles], 'All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit'." Consequently, it is unsurprising that saints were invoked as a legitimizing force for empire during the early modern period.

In 1455, Pope Nicholas issued the Bull *Romanus Pontifex*. He cited saintly authority on

decisions about empire when he proclaimed his linear connection to Peter,

The Roman pontiff, successor of the key-bearer of the heavenly kingdom and vicar of Jesus Christ, contemplating with a father's mind all the several climes of the world and the characteristics of all the nations dwelling in them and seeking and desiring the salvation of all, wholesomely ordains and disposes upon careful deliberation those things which he sees will be agreeable to the Divine Majesty by which he may bring the sheep [Non-Christian, Indigenous groups] entrusted to him by God into the single divine fold.¹

However, influential clerics and rulers were not the only ones calling upon the power of saints. The average population and marginalized groups also used saints, often in fantastic ways, to attempt to sway the power

¹"The Bull Romanus Pontifex (Nicholas V), January 8, 1455." P. De Noxeto, accessed April 17th, 2016.

<https://www.nativeweb.org/pages/legal/indig-romanus-pontifex.html>.

balance. Some saints became stark figures of resistance. When different groups mobilized a specific saint, they emphasized, transformed, or even recreated the defining characteristics of the saint to fit their own purpose. This often resulted in radically different interpretations than those found in hagiographies or other works.

Anthony, a thirteenth century Franciscan preacher, renowned for his intellectual prowess and teaching, was one saint constituents of the Portuguese empire repurposed and found new meaning in. In a famous incident shortly after he had joined the Friars Minor, Anthony performed an awe-inspiring, albeit surprising, sermon. Prior to this sermon, his intellect and learnedness were unbeknownst to his superiors. *Saint Anthony of Padua: According to His Contemporaries*, by Ernest Gilliat-Smith, is a modern compilation of hagiographic texts about Saint Anthony that documents this episode. The text reads,

When he had lived in this hermitage for a very long time there was an ordination in the city of Forli and certain Dominicans went there to be ordained and some of our people, amongst them the men of Monte Paola, and Brother Anthony accompanied them. At the luncheon after the ordination the Minister of the place invited the Dominicans to address the company, and when they all excused themselves saying that they were not accustomed to speak on the spur of the moment, turning to Anthony he asked him to propose a toast, for he knew that he could speak Latin [...] But he was not aware that he was a student, indeed he was under the impressions that he had never read anything except perhaps what pertained to his sacred profession. [...] The speech was well put together, the subject

profound, the language simple, concise, clear. The audiences sat, with ears pricked up and eyes staring at him, astounded at his learning and eloquence, and at his sweetness and self-effacement. [...] The echo of that discourse soon reached the ears of the Minister General, and he bade him come forth from his hermitage and call the world to Christ.²

Examining his hagiographies, this appears as a quintessentially Antonian episode. It can serve as a sort of baseline description of his character. We see that Anthony was most basically depicted as a humble, intelligent man who was chosen to spread the word of God.

With this depiction in mind, I set out to explore what Saint Anthony became in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. How was Saint Anthony used, contorted, and re-portrayed by different groups that constituted the Portuguese empire— namely religious orders, indigenous peoples, and settler populations? What parts of his legacy were selected and most emphasized? Why Anthony and why certain specific episodes and/or portrayals that come from his life and memory? What did these groups wish to accomplish? And finally, what insight and knowledge about them, empire, and sanctity, can come from answering these questions?

With the support of Antonio Vieira's Sermon of *St. Anthony to the fish*, the assorted texts and prayers from the Antonian movement led by Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita in the Kongo, and local legends and church art from Goa, I make a case for Anthony's mobilizations. I draw upon a host of modern scholarly material to define, situate and refine my argument. My research sets out to explore some of the facets of Anthony's use and representation: the regular religious, indigenous people, settlers, and those how had been converted. I propose that the portrayals and invocations of St. Anthony in

² Gilliat-Smith, Ernest. *Saint Anthony of Padua according to his contemporaries*. (London: Toronto: J.M. Dent and sons, limited, 1926). 56-57.

these seventeenth and eighteenth century contexts were widely different from those found in his hagiographies. Anthony becomes indignant, angry, heretical, and physical.

In his sermon, Vieira called upon a short story about Saint Anthony found in the *Little Flowers of St. Francis*, a text composed at the end of the fourteenth century, to critique the secular Portuguese harshly from a Jesuit perspective.

Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita expanded upon and reconfigured Anthony's legacy as a great saint and powerful preacher to create a divine being which could empower and ignite resistance against war and the trans-Atlantic slave trade and function as a rallying figure for the native Kongolese population. Finally, I propose that settler and converted populations in Goa localized Anthony. His reputation as the patron Saint of Portugal led him to be deeply connected to local identities. Common people found in him a vessel that at times was tangible and visible, through which they could connect to their heritage as Portuguese and/or Christian persons and resist outside or internal pressures.

My research focuses on the representations of Saint Anthony by different groups living in the Portuguese Empire, because the invocations of this particular saint serve as an excellent starting point for studying the relationship between sanctity and empire. The Portuguese initiated the age of European imperialism in the fifteenth century when they first searched for new sea routes to trade directly with distant markets. It was Portugal and Spain that were first able to capitalize on exploration and establish empires. As a result, Portugal developed some of the first notable European settlements in Africa, Asia, and the Americas.

Their religion was also a highly significant motivator and governing force. From the beginning, Portuguese colonization was deeply intertwined with Catholicism. Missionary work and the desire to convert native peoples went hand-in-hand with trade

and other obligations. Anthony's veneration by nearly all factions of the Empire can be seen as a testament to how important evangelism was to Portugal.

The later Protestant powers, the British and the Dutch, did not support the veneration of saints. They were primarily concerned with establishing trade and gaining territory. Religion as a motivating force was not as deeply imbedded.

The case study of the Portuguese Empire and Saint Anthony is important to the study of saints and globalization, because the use of saints is a uniquely Catholic phenomenon. Sanctity, being a central tenet of Catholicism, was highly celebrated by the Portuguese, but not by the Protestant Dutch and British. Consequently, it is only in a Catholic context that we can see how power and identity were contested by groups who used saints as their means. Furthermore, the example of Anthony and the Portuguese Empire can serve as a model for trying to understand the relationship between saints and empire in a Spanish context.

I chose Anthony because he was arguably the most esteemed saint of the Portuguese Empire, integral to Portuguese Catholicism. By understanding distinct mobilizations of him, we can better understand those who used him; their concerns, desires, and problems, whatever their backgrounds may have been. I believe that this research presents an opportunity to re-examine the power dynamics of the Portuguese Empire, and the relationship between different classes and groups. Through a specific lens of sanctity, this research is an attempt to illuminate how religion fits in the broader geopolitical context of empire. My methods and findings can be examined and used to lead to further scholarship on Catholic Empires, or it can be used in junction with examples of resistance coming from the Protestant Empires to highlight the contrasting ways that power was negotiated globally and across centuries.

Historiography

Since my work is multi-dimensional, the historical scholarship pertaining to my research topic can be broken down into different categories: religion, empire, and art, interpretations of saints, how saints relate to empire, and how Saint Anthony connects to the Portuguese Empire. For the first category, I consult the works of John Gascoigne and Gauvin Alexander Bailey. For the second, I call upon the work of James Goehring. For the third, I examine the work of Ronald J. Morgan. Finally, I examine the texts produced by Ronaldo Vainfas and John K. Thornton. These authors and their works have influenced my work immensely, and my research is meant to add to this rich, historical discussion.

Religion, Empire, and Art

In his chapter, *Introduction: Religion and Empire, an Historiographical Perspective*, John Gascoigne writes about the intricate and complex relationship between empire and religion. With the British Empire as his framework, he makes a number of compelling arguments about empire in general. Gascoigne argues that the leaders of empires needed creeds and religions to survive and thrive.³ According to this understanding, religion functioned as a sort of instrument of control. However, he also argues that religion and empire did not always coexist smoothly. He notes that there was often tension between the state and religious authorities.⁴ Moreover, he argues that religious teaching and education sometimes led to heightened tensions and even resistance from native peoples.⁵ The last point that I wish to emphasize, is that religion is not static. Gascoigne argues convincingly that religion is reformulated for local needs, purposes, and after certain developments.⁶

My research is directly connected to Gascoigne's work, because I am dealing with one subset of religion, sanctity, and how it is utilized by different portions of the Portuguese Empire. My research will borrow from the idea that empire is complicated and not one coherent unit. Like Gascoigne, I will document the activities and struggles of secular leaders, indigenous groups, religious authorities, and settlers. This approach has an element of totality and inclusiveness that I believe is beneficial. However, my argument moves away from Gascoigne by focusing on a much more specific topic. In addition, I will focus on *how* and *why* rather than *what*. For instance, instead of arguing that religion had the potential to stir up indigenous resistance, I will argue that Saint Anthony was used as an agent of resistance by the Kongolese, and that they used him because they were discontent with Capuchin missionaries and their worldly kings.

In his book, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1713*, Bailey argues that missionary art was a sort of mixture of European and Indigenous styles. He writes, "Most art and architecture on the Jesuit missions was produced with the more or less willing participation of indigenous communities, and almost all of it can be described as a hybrid."⁷ Using Bailey as a starting point, one can push further and argue that works of art completed during the early-modern period were often directly influenced by themes of empire. This relates to my research, because I use art from across the Portuguese Empire to anchor my claims about the ways in which Saint Anthony was depicted and used. However, instead of examining just how artists borrowed concepts and styles, my incorporation of art seeks to also uncover for what purpose artists borrowed and created the works that they did. This research is important because it

³ John Gascoigne, "Introduction: Religion and Empire, an Historiographical Perspective" in *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 32, No. 2. (Victoria: Blackwell Publishing Asia, 2008), 159.

⁴ Gascoigne, "Introduction: Religion and Empire, an Historiographical Perspective," 162.

⁵ Gascoigne, "Introduction: Religion and Empire, an Historiographical Perspective," 171.

⁶ Gascoigne, "Introduction: Religion and Empire, an Historiographical Perspective," 174.

⁷ Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 5.

attempts to bring to light a new dimension, meaning.

Interpretations of Saints

Focusing on the interpretation of saints in particular, Goehring argues that hagiography can serve as better evidence for those who composed the text than the saint being described. He writes, "The historical claims of hagiographic sources have long been suspect and rightly so. Written as paeans in remembrance of a saint, historical memory conforms itself with and in service of the author's ideological agenda. History of the events described is shaped by the later concerns of the author's time and his religious environment."⁸ Like Goehring, I adopt the idea that representations of saints are inherently connected to their historical context and contorted, consciously or unconsciously, by their creators. In particular, I believe that this argument can help bring to light the concerns and motives of those who mobilized Saint Anthony in the Portuguese Empire. I diverge from Goehring to argue that other sources outside of hagiography, such as sermons, art, and prayers, display this phenomenon as well. Moreover, my research gives significant attention to groups that have typically received less scholarly attention, as well as paying necessary attention to more studied groups.

Saints and Empire

Morgan, in his work *Spanish American Saints and the Rhetoric of Identity*, argues that in a colonial setting, saints can be extremely important to identity. He writes, "The saint's Life was not simply a religious text; it was for centuries a vehicle through which towns, religious communities, or ecclesiastical factions formulated community identities and articulated group interests."⁹ My work expands upon this notion that saints can be linked to

identity. I believe that Saint Anthony, in the instance of Goa, was mobilized for social reasons. My argument is somewhat different than Morgan's because he primarily argues about the role of saints born in the New World for their native communities. Part of my argument is that patron saints and popular saints, like local saints, were also extremely important for the formation of an identity. Furthermore, I build upon these ideas to claim that the veneration of Saint Anthony, the patron saint I am focusing on, was a way for settlers abroad to connect to their Portuguese history and heritage.

Saint Anthony and the Portuguese Empire

Vainfas' *St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration*, has had perhaps the most profound impact on my research. Vainfas asserts that Saint Anthony's image was warped by the Jesuit Antonio Vieira and others for specific royal audiences to become a supporter of the Portuguese Empire and a symbol of Portuguese resistance abroad and internally. He writes,

Vieira had no doubt that St. Anthony had defended Bahia. By the same token, he believed the saint would next free Pernambuco from the heretics. 'Restoration' was therefore the subject of Vieira's sermon, which praised the victory in Bahia and urged the reconquest of Pernambuco. Strictly speaking, the enemies in this conflict were the Dutch heretics, but could the Jesuit have been referring to another enemy, the Castilians, who had by then reigned in Portugal for more than half a century?¹⁰

It is evident that Vieira gives new meaning to the saint. Anthony now functioned militarily. Going

⁸ James E. Goehring, *Politics, Monasticism, and Miracles in Sixth Century Upper Egypt: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Coptic Texts on Abraham of Farshut*, (Tübingen: Laupp and Gobel, 2012), 50.

⁹ Ronald J Morgan, *Spanish American Saints and the Rhetoric of Identity, 1600-1810*. (Tuscon: University of Arizon Press, 2002), 3.

¹⁰ Ronaldo Vainfas, "St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration" in *Colonial Saints*, ed. Allan Greer and Jodi Blinkoff (New York: Routledge, 2003), 108.

a step further, Vainfas claims that Vieira cleared up all ambiguity about whether or not he intended for Saint Anthony to be seen as a symbol of the restoration in a later sermon. In this sermon, commissioned by king of Portugal in 1642 to address the topic of financing restoration wars, Vieira conveyed the message that Anthony would function as a sort of protector and that he was able to, “preserve conquered territories.”¹¹ Like Vainfas, my research explores the sermons produced by Vieira. However, Vainfas explores the mobilization of Anthony by Vieira for a royal audience. The sermons that he cites are all motivated by and created for different leaders of Portugal. My research seeks to push further. Using Vieira’s *Sermon of Saint Anthony to the Fish*, I attempt to uncover the ways in which Vieira employs Anthony for his own personal and religious agenda.

Vainfas also makes a brief argument that Saint Anthony is used by the Kongoleses people as a symbol of resistance. He writes, “In the Congo, for example, toward the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, Kimpa Vita, a bakongo prophetess of noble origin, promoted the restoration of a decadent kingdom by proclaiming herself the reincarnation of St. Anthony.”¹² My research also makes this claim, but I try to unpack this idea and give it its due attention. Furthermore, I argue that Saint Anthony was integral to the identity of this Kongoleses sect.

The last major publication I draw from is *The Kongoleses Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684-1706*, by John Thornton. Thornton argues that the Antonian movement was a response to civil wars and the slave trade that had plagued the Kongo. He writes, “Dona Beatriz’ movement, although primarily aimed at ending a long-

lasting civil war and reestablishing a broken monarchy, can also be seen as a popular movement directed against the slave trade in Africa at the time of the export slave trade.”¹³ At its core, the movement was a religious movement centered upon Saint Anthony. I borrow from Thornton’s composition, because it provides the background for one facet of Anthony’s mobilization. My work pushes further and compliments Thornton’s. His context is invaluable and with that as a foundation, I attempt to set Anthony as my focal point rather than the movement as a whole. Ultimately, I strive to give more attention to the specificities and focus my effort on illuminating how Anthony in particular was used as an agent of resistance and simultaneously used as a symbol of Kongoleses identity.

I chose saints for their unique human yet almost divine status. Anthony in particular is recognized as a Doctor of the Church to this day. He struck me because his legacy was so complex and was changed by many groups. Ultimately, my interest in Anthony draws upon and incorporates many of the key ideas that these aforementioned scholars have so wonderfully articulated.

An Analysis of The Sermon of Saint Anthony to the Fish: A Jesuit perspective of Saint Anthony

Ronaldo Vainfas argues that António Vieira, “was perhaps most responsible for St. Anthony’s rising political status, as both patron saint of the Portuguese, and as the divine promoter of the wars of resistance.”¹⁴ Vieira was born in Lisbon, Portugal in 1608, and moved to Bahia, Brazil at age six. In Brazil, he joined the Jesuit order and he was ordained a priest in 1635.¹⁵ He worked as a speaker, missionary, and, for a period, as the King of Portugal’s

¹¹ Vainfas, “St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration,” 109.

¹² Vainfas, “St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration,” 110.

¹³ John K. Thornton, *The Kongoleses Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684-1706*, (New York: Cambridge Press, 1998), 1.

¹⁴ Vainfas, “St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration,” 105-106.

¹⁵ Gregory Rabassa, trans., *The Sermon of Saint Anthony to the Fish and Other Texts* (Dartmouth: University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, 2009), 1.

ambassador to the French and the Dutch.¹⁶ In his later years, Vieira faced accusations and denunciations from the Portuguese Inquisition for his more radical ideas. He ultimately died in Brazil in 1697.¹⁷ Perhaps his most memorable works are his nine sermons concerning Saint Anthony of Padua.¹⁸ These Sermons do not have a static message; in each of them, Saint Anthony is mobilized for contextual reasons and he is contorted to fit his audience. In earlier sermons, Vieira mobilized Saint Anthony's legacy of being the 'Hammer of the Heretics' to raise morale against the Dutch.¹⁹ He also mobilized Anthony's nationality to support the Portuguese restoration and the subsequent wars with Spain²⁰. In one particular sermon, *The Sermon of Saint Anthony to the Fish*, composed in 1654, Vieira draws upon the power he had previously vested in Saint Anthony for a different purpose. In this sermon he recounted Anthony's sermon to the fish, to identify himself with the Saint, create a more perfect example in him, and use his status and legacy as a means to critique the secular, Portuguese leaders and colonists.

Before examining *The Sermon of Saint Anthony to the Fish*, it is important to note the circumstances surrounding Portugal and its colonial possessions. In 1580, the Portuguese Crown was left without an heir. As a result, the Crown was seized by the Spanish under King Felipe II.²¹ The Spanish promised to retain Portugal's independence and originally the union was not heavily opposed by the leading Portuguese nobility. When Felipe IV tried to establish a strong and united central Iberian actor, many prominent Portuguese groups felt marginalized and grew dissatisfied with the

Spanish King.²² In addition, they complained that the Spanish entangled them in conflicts with the Dutch and other European monarchies by association.²³ The Portuguese eventually rallied against the union in 1640.

By 1635, the Dutch had claimed portions of Northern Brazil and they attempted to control the province of Pernambuco.²⁴ Consequently, the Portuguese and Dutch were locked in war until 1663.²⁵ Skirmishes occurred all across Northern Brazil. The war was as much economic and territorial as it was religious.²⁶ In one sermon, Vieira attributed the success of his hometown, Bahia, and their resistance to Saint Anthony.²⁷ Here, Saint Anthony represented the Catholic struggle against the Protestant heretics. Moreover, Vainfas notes Vieira's rhetorical choice to attribute victories against the Dutch only to Portugal. Vieira even avoids mentioning the king of Spain by name.²⁸ In this way, Anthony is used as a Portuguese actor independent from Spain.

Together, the Spanish occupation and the war with the Dutch are the original reasons that Vieira calls upon and uses Saint Anthony. In this way, he sets up a history of invoking the Saint's memory. Anthony's power is legitimized by the successes against the Spanish and the Dutch. The war-time context is also important, because it is partially responsible for why Vieira critiques the Portuguese in his *Sermon of Saint Anthony to the Fish*. Resources from Brazil and indigenous labor were used to support Portugal's struggles. Boxer writes, that against the Dutch, "the bulk of the Portuguese, or rather of the Luso-Brazilian forces in this campaign

¹⁶ Vainfas, "St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration," 106.

¹⁷ Gregory Rabassa, trans., "The Sermon of Saint Anthony to the Fish and Other Texts," 1.

¹⁸ Vainfas, "St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration," 107.

¹⁹ Vainfas, "St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration," 108.

²⁰ Vainfas, "St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration," 108-109.

²¹ C.R. Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415-1825: A Succinct Survey* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969). 45.

²² Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion*, 47.

²³ Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion*, 48.

²⁴ Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion*, 51.

²⁵ Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion*, 51-52.

²⁶ Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion*, 51.

²⁷ Vainfas, "St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration," 107-108.

²⁸ Vainfas, "St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration," 108.

consisted of Mulattoes, Negroes, Amerindians, and half-breeds of various kinds.”²⁹

The immediate context was that the sermon was given to Portuguese colonists in São Luís do Maranhão.³⁰ The sermon is quite condemning in content. Through allegory, it expresses his growing discontent with the greed of colonists and the more powerful authorities in Portugal. As a result of his prominence, Vieira’s words were relayed to others in Brazil and Portugal. It is important to note that Vieira left for Portugal three days after giving this sermon. He sailed there to propose the radical idea that the Brazilian natives would be better off with less Portuguese, secular leadership.³¹

In the sermon, Vieira recalls a short scene in *The Little Flowers of Saint Francis*, in which a crowd will not listen to Saint Anthony of Padua, so instead he preaches to a school of fish. The anonymous author of *The Little Flowers of St. Francis* writes,

Being at one time in Rimini where there were a large number of heretics, Saint Antony (sic) wished to recall them to the light of true faith and the way of truth [...] but they ejected his holy teaching, and were hardened and obstinate, refusing to listen to him at all. So one day, under God’s inspiration, Saint Antony went down to the seashore at the mouth of the river. And standing on the bank between the sea and the river, he began to speak to the fishes as a preacher sent by God. And he said: ‘Listen to the word of God, you fish of the sea and river, since the faithless heretics disdain to hear it’ [...] At these words and counsels of Saint Antony the fish began to open their mouths and bow their heads and, with such other signs of reverence as

their nature permitted they gave thanks to God.[...]When this miracle became known the people of the city began to hasten to the shore, dragging the heretics with them. And seeing so wonderful and unmistakable a miracle, they were touched to the heart, and all threw themselves at Saint Anthony’s feet to listen to his words.³²

Shortly into his sermon, Vieira identified his position as similar to the position Saint Anthony was in when he preached to the fish. Vieira preached, “All the more so because the state of my doctrine, whatever it may be, has had in these lands a fate so similar to Saint Anthony’s in Rimini that it has become necessary to follow him in everything.”³³ Furthermore, he directly identified himself with the Saint when he said, “With this in mind today, in imitation of Saint Anthony I wish to turn from the land to the sea, and since men no longer make use of my words, I shall preach to the fish.”³⁴ By imitating Saint Anthony, Vieira used his legacy as a holy man to give his own words authority and meaning. He conveys the idea that his words should be heeded just like Anthony’s should have been.

The sermon proceeded as a one-sided dialog in which Vieira spoke to the attentive fish. He began, “What shall we preach to the fish today, then? No better audience. Fish at least, have two good qualities as listeners: they listen and they do not speak. There is only one thing here that might discourage a preacher, which is that fish are people who are not going to let themselves be converted, but that difficulty is so widespread that it is almost no longer felt anymore.”³⁵ In this portion he did not allude to the reluctance of natives to convert. He was

²⁹ Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion*, 51.

³⁰ António Vieira, *The Sermon of Saint Anthony to the Fish and Other Texts*. Trans. Gregory Rabassa (Dartmouth: University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, 2009), 21.

³¹ Vincent Barletta, “Antonio Vieira’s Empire of Word, Sea, and Sky” in *The Sermon of Saint Anthony to the Fish and Other Texts*. Antonio Vieira and trans. Gregory Rabassa

(Dartmouth: University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, 2009), 10.

³² Anonymous, *The Little Flowers of Saint Francis* trans. L. Sherley-Price (London: Penguin books, 1959), 110-112.

³³ Vieira, *The Sermon of Saint Anthony*, 22.

³⁴ Vieira, *The Sermon of Saint Anthony*, 23.

³⁵ Vieira, *The Sermon of Saint Anthony*, 23.

criticizing the Portuguese who he believed strayed from Christianity.

The structure is then divided into two portions, praising the fish and criticizing them. Vieira made mention of a number of different species, and their unique virtues and their shortcomings. However, unlike the fish, Vieira did not praise man. Through this allegorical technique, Vieira inserted commentary on the faults and flaws of men. While he educated the fish on their tendency to eat one another, in reality he was highlighting the tendency for men to metaphorically do the same. He exclaimed, "The oldest who are listening to me and are present here have surely seen it in this State and have heard[...]that the great ones[men]who were sent here, instead of governing and helping this State prosper, have destroyed it, because they have satisfied all the hunger they brought with them by eating and devouring the small."³⁶ Vieira placed himself in the lineage of Saint Anthony and sharply critiqued the non-religious Portuguese. To attempt to limit Portuguese involvement in Brazilian affairs, Vieira used Saint Anthony's original sermon as a framework to bring to light the abuses they had committed.

Vieira also portrayed Anthony as an exemplary man. Throughout the sermon, he explained Anthony's virtues. In one instance he writes, "But Christ's faithful servant Anthony, having some much knowledge, as I have already told you, and so much power, as you yourselves have experienced, had no one who had ever heard him speak of knowledge and power, much less boast about it."³⁷ In another part of the sermon, he said, "Anthony has also made himself smaller so that he can cling more to God. It follows from this that all who cling to God, who is immortal, are safe from dying like the other clingers."³⁸ The other clingers in this example were those who clung to secular leaders and materialistic things. Saint Anthony represented the opposite of how the colonists present were acting, and his example functioned as a way for them to once again return to

goodness and God. Vieira made this clear when he referenced the biblical story of Tobias and the Fish in the *Book of Tobit* and its similarity to Anthony. In this story, an angel instructs Tobias to take the innards of the fish because they have mystical properties. Vieira exclaims,

Surely, if that fish had been dressed in a monk's habit with a cord tied around it would have looked like a maritime portrait of Saint Anthony. Saint Anthony would open his mouth against heretics and come to them carried away by the fervor and zeal of divine faith and glory. And what did they do? They cried out like Tobias and were afraid of that man and thought he wanted to eat them. Oh, men, if only there were an angel who could reveal to you the nature of that man's heart and that gall that embitters you so much and how necessary it is for you! If only you could open that breast and see the insides, how surely you would discover to know clearly that there are only two things asked of you and for you: one is to enlighten and cure your blindness and the other to drive the demons from your homes...Oh, people of Maranhao, there is so much I could tell you now about this case! Open up, open these innards. Look, see this heart. But, oh yes. I was forgetting! I am not preaching to you, I am preaching to the fish.³⁹

Vieira designated himself as an angel instructing the Portuguese to embrace Anthony's example and his holiness.

In the end, Antonio Vieira mobilized Saint Anthony for different reasons at different stages of his life. The *Sermon of Saint Anthony to Fish* invoked the Saint for a specific reason. It used the prominence of Anthony, which he had earlier helped to build, to advocate for the dismissal of Portuguese governments. He used Saint Anthony's example to give his words spiritual power and show the derogatory

³⁶ Vieira, *The Sermon of Saint Anthony*, 35.

³⁷ Vieira, *The Sermon of Saint Anthony*, 39.

³⁸ Vieira, *The Sermon of Saint Anthony*, 40.

³⁹ Vieira, *The Sermon of Saint Anthony*, 28-29.

character of the colonists. He also explained how one ought to act from a regular, Jesuit perspective by describing Anthony and his characteristics. Context is crucial to the development of this sermon. Its necessity seems to have come from the ill-treatment of natives that stemmed from Portugal's wars and imperialism in general. Additionally, it is important to note a potential motive of Vieira. He planned to go to Portugal just days afterwards, and if the king had supported Vieira's desire for a more local government, the Jesuits would have benefited and gained more authority in the absence of more secular, powerful men. This remarkable sermon was highly political. Saint Anthony's legacy functions as Vieira's rhetorical weapon in a clash between secular and spiritual authorities.

This idea that secular authorities had abused their rights and went too far and that Jesuits should be the protectors of indigenous peoples does not seem to be unique to Vieira. In the Chinese City of Macao, there is a spectacular sculpture of Anthony by the altar in Saint Anthony's Church. The Church, founded in the mid-sixteenth century, is one of the oldest in China.⁴⁰ The sculptor is not listed nor is the date of completion, but it was presumably done by a twentieth-century, Jesuit artist in an attempt to restore the original artwork. The church was plagued by fires, most recently having burned down in the 1930s.⁴¹ I believe the sculpture is an authentic representation of seventeenth century art, because it was customary to portray Anthony in this way. Other forms of art, such as paintings, display this tradition. Figure A. depicts Anthony carrying a baby Christ with a globe right next to him. I believe that this particular depiction speaks about the duties and responsibilities of Jesuits. The globe represents their authority and call to help and convert all people. It is a symbol of evangelism. The infant Christ can be seen as a symbol of indigenous groups. They are primitive but innocent and

they must be taken care of and looked after by a paternal figure, such as Saint Anthony.



Figure A. "Saint Anthony at the altar", www.Virtualtourist.com, accessed April, 10th, 2016. https://www.virtualtourist.com/travel/Asia/Macao/Things_To_Do-Macao-St_Anthonys_Church-BR-1.html

Saint Anthony and the Kimpa Vita: Kongo 1684-1706

The Portuguese first landed in the Kongo in 1483.⁴² The second mission, which came in 1491, saw the baptism of King João, and the kingdom's transformation into a Catholic state.⁴³ However, this was not a smooth or seamless religious change. Anne Hilton documents some of the friction that existed for centuries between Catholicism and native Kongoese beliefs. In the early sixteenth century, João's son, Afonso I, adamantly supported Christianity. He was even later believed by much of the Kongoese population to have been the first convert. Afonso pushed Christianity as an ideology to gain a new source of spiritual authority and to monopolize

⁴⁰ "St Anthony's Church, Macao" www.Virtualtourist.com, accessed April, 10th, 2016. https://www.virtualtourist.com/travel/Asia/Macao/Things_To_Do-Macao-St_Anthonys_Church-BR-1.html

⁴¹ "St Anthony's Church, Macao".

⁴² Anne, Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, (New York: Oxford Press, 1985), 50.

⁴³ Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 51.

relations and trade with the Portuguese.⁴⁴ Interestingly, Catholicism was thought to be a religion bound to the nkadi mpemba realm; a realm Hilton writes, “was concerned with the cultural world of man and with man’s material striving.”⁴⁵ Indigenous practices still thrived in the mbumba realm, the realm of water and earth deities channeled by Kitome or native priests.⁴⁶ Moreover, Catholicism, being located in the nkadi mpemba realm, was associated with death while Kitomes were associated with life.⁴⁷ Afonso took advantage of the perceived nature of these two religions to legitimize his authority in both realms. As a result, from nearly the beginning Christian doctrine was spread widely, but not necessarily understood. This dual-religious nature and the Kongolese language obfuscated key tenets of Christianity such as Heaven, Hell, Christ’s divinity, and monotheism.⁴⁸

The Portuguese were important to the Kongo for two main reasons. The Kongolese depended on Portuguese goods and trade, and initially, only the Europeans could perform Christian sacraments.⁴⁹ However, direct rule from Portugal was resisted. Since first contact, the Portuguese did not have the manpower to subdue the Kongo. They exercised their control through trade, taxes, and religion. Skirmishes with Portugal ravaged the Kongo between 1640 and 1670.⁵⁰ However, all Portuguese forces were later withdrawn. When a group of Portuguese forces from Angola tried to conquer the Kongo in 1670, they were repelled. Thornton writes, “The colony of Angola, which bordered Kongo to the south, was held by the European country of Portugal, but Portugal had not been much of a threat since the princes of Soyo [a portion of the Kongo] crushed an invading force from Angola in 1670.”⁵¹

While the Kongolese still depended on Portuguese trade, by the mid-seventeenth

century they were able to negotiate a deal with Portugal and the Vatican, which relegated spiritual authority to secular Kongolese priests and Italian Capuchin monks. Thornton mentions this compromise when he writes,

While Kongo would not have the right to choose the bishops who now resided in Portuguese Angola and were very reluctant to ordain any Kongolese priests, the Vatican sent missionaries to Kongo to perform the sacraments. These missionaries were to be Capuchins from Italy, a ‘neutral’ European country that would not damage either Kongo’s or Portugal’s place in international relations. Since Kongo already had a parish organization, the Capuchins established separate hospices and were not allowed to perform the sacraments within five leagues of any practicing secular parish priest.⁵²

The Kongolese leaders had struggled with the Portuguese over issues such as religion and control; the bulk of the problems for ordinary citizens came from civil-war and the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

To explain the tendency for war in the late seventeenth century, it is necessary to first explore the historical development of Kongolese regional politics. The political structure of the Kongo was originally a system of tributary zones⁵³. Each zone had lineages or clans, called kandas, which were matrilineal in nature.⁵⁴ The mani Kongo, an important title for males, was reserved for members of the Mwissikongo, an elite kanda and noble set of citizens who chose the king.⁵⁵ The mani Kongo and Mwissikongo dominated the interior of the Kongo. However, as the mani Kongo gained territory in the fourteenth century and formed political marriages, more people became eligible for the

⁴⁴ Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 62.

⁴⁵ Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 62.

⁴⁶ Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 99.

⁴⁷ Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 62.

⁴⁸ Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 92-94.

⁴⁹ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 27.

⁵⁰ Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 194.

⁵¹ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 27.

⁵² Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 62.

⁵³ Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 32-33.

⁵⁴ Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 8.

⁵⁵ Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 34-37.

title of king, even those that were not of Mwissikongo kanda. Hilton displays this development when she writes, “As the kingdom expanded and the ruling kanda of distant extra-kanda chiefdoms provided wives for the mani Kongo, the possibility of kings being selected from members of these non-Mwissikongo kanda grew.”⁵⁶ Succession and leadership became extremely complex as there were many distant groups vying for the throne.

In the early sixteenth century, the Kongo had achieved some stability. Afonso I and his lineage became the most prominent kings, though they were not without contention. By the 1540s, his grandson defeated rival factions and the Kongo again enjoyed relative peace.⁵⁷ These Mwissikongo kings used Christianity and the wealth that they had achieved by trading slaves to strengthen and secure their power. Moreover, they changed the ways the Kongolese thought about family descent. Hilton writes, “The Kingship itself was monopolized by a slave-based patrilineal segment supported by slave soldiers and slave councilors. The Christian religion was further adapted to provide the elite with a legitimating ideology.”⁵⁸ Relative peace had been established by this kanda until the end of the sixteenth century.

Between 1600 and 1641, the development of new ports outside of the mani Kongo’s jurisdiction, the ability for other regions to purchase Dutch guns, and the reconfiguration of local politics led to the decline of the mani Kongo. Hilton writes, “The centre weakened and the balance of slave and gun holding began to favour the provincial title-holders against the mani Kongo.”⁵⁹ Provinces such as Ndembu, Matamba, Sonyo, Mbamba, and Wandu, all became increasingly more powerful.⁶⁰ Minor battles and wars sprung up intermittently.

The arrival of the Capuchins in 1645, led to more disunity. The Capuchins had interfered and tried to ban local customs such as

concubinage.⁶¹ For some, this had caused a sort of identity crisis and sparked a distrust for Capuchins. In addition, by the 1650s Portugal had re-established its independence from Spain after a series of costly wars and demanded the Kongo to pay its trading debts. Many of the Kongolese resisted and were ultimately defeated at the Battle of Mbwila.⁶² It was at this battle in 1665 that “most eminent Mwissikongo were killed.”⁶³ With the loss of so many Mwissikongo, and no clear successor designated by the king, the Kongo was plunged into civil-war and nearly disintegrated.

Constant civil-war raged and caused great despair. By the late seventeenth century, the Princes of Soyo, Queen Ana, Pedro Kibenga, King Pedro IV, Duke Pedro Valle das Lagrimas, Alvaro, and Antonio were the major political leaders of different portions of the Kongo.⁶⁴ They were involved in a number of entanglements, conflicts, and alliances. Thornton captures Kongolese worries about war during this time when he writes, “The cost of warfare went way beyond battlefield deaths, hunger, loss of houses and possessions, and disruption. Wars always resulted in the capture of people as slaves.”⁶⁵ Records suggest that between 1700 and 1709 alone, some 70,000 slaves were taken from a population of about 600,000.⁶⁶

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a woman was born who seemed to offer hope for ending these awful conditions. A Kongolese noble-woman, Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita, went on to start a popular religious movement aimed at establishing stability in the Kingdom. She had experienced the toll war had on her father and fellow citizens and she desired change. She was not without contention but none-the-less amassed a significant group of followers. Her authority was derived from her claim to have died and been resurrected as Saint Anthony of Padua. In her

⁵⁶ Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 36.

⁵⁷ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 65.

⁵⁸ Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 103.

⁵⁹ Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 141.

⁶⁰ Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 141.

⁶¹ Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 194.

⁶² Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 198.

⁶³ Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 198.

⁶⁴ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 76-77.

⁶⁵ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 98.

⁶⁶ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 100.

teachings Anthony, who was one with her, surpassed all other saints and perhaps even the Trinity in holiness, virtue, and rank. On the surface her doctrine seems quite bizarre, like some extreme perversion of Catholicism. However, Dona Beatriz's mobilized different aspects and figures of Christianity, particularly Saint Anthony, for a particular reason— to attempt to bring about social change. The closest surviving account of her words exists in the prayer *Salve Antoniana*. This prayer became not only a symbol of identification for the Antonians, but also an agent of conversion. Ultimately through the *Salve Antoniana* and the missionary accounts of her movement, it is apparent that Saint Anthony was mobilized within an African and Kongolese theological framework, as a means of resistance against constant wars, inequality, and the trans-Atlantic slave trade, all of which had plagued her people. Her prayer reads,

Salve you say and you do not know why. Salve you recite and you do not know why. Salve you beat and you do not know why. God wants the intention, it is the intention that God takes. Marriage serves nothing, it is the intention that God takes. Prayer serves nothing, it is the intention that God wants. Good works serve nothing, it is the intention that God wants. The Mother with her Son on her Knees. If there had not been St. Anthony what would they have done? St. Anthony is the restorer of the kingdom of Kongo. St. Anthony is the comforter of the kingdom of Heaven. St. Anthony is the door to Heaven. St. Anthony holds the keys to Heaven. St. Anthony is above the Angels and the Virgin Mary. St. Anthony is the second God. [...] ⁶⁷

Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita was born in 1684 to a noble kanda. ⁶⁸ She was baptized and

went on to consider herself a good Christian. ⁶⁹ Like most Kongolese, she was well versed in the basics of Christian theology and she could recite common prayers. ⁷⁰ In the Kongo, all children regardless of class were taught the basic tenets of Christian belief. ⁷¹ Amazingly, “Everyone could say the prayers, even in rural areas far from the centers of culture, even in sections of the country that had not seen an ordained priest in anyone’s lifetime.” ⁷²

At a young age she had received visions and apparitions. ⁷³ By 1696, her spiritual gifts became more evident, and she trained to become a Nganga, or a medium to the Other World. ⁷⁴ Although she had considered herself a Christian, she still practiced local traditions. A key tenet of Kongolese spiritual belief that greatly influenced her was Kindoki. Thornton writes, “The power of Kindoki was simply the gift of possessing the ability to operate with the assistance of the Other World. [...] There could be good and bad Kindoki.” ⁷⁵ Shortly after, she offered services as a spiritual vessel, through which advice was granted to those attempting to resolve personal and/or societal problems. The Italian Capuchin priests outlawed this practice and tried to eradicate it. Disheartened, she tried to live as a married woman. However, this did not last. ⁷⁶ Within the Kongolese populace, growing distrust over the priest’s use of their own perceived kindoki was emerging. ⁷⁷ Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita eventually returned to religious matters where she would become significantly more influential.

Around 1700, there had primarily been a lull in fighting. One Kongolese leader, Pedro IV, maneuvered competing factions towards accepting him as king. He found an extremely beneficial ally in the Capuchin Order. ⁷⁸ Though some distrusted them, the Capuchins were generally well-respected as priests and as negotiators. Pedro, his supporters, and the

⁶⁷ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 216.

⁶⁸ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 36.

⁶⁹ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 17.

⁷⁰ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 35.

⁷¹ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 28.

⁷² Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 29.

⁷³ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 26.

⁷⁴ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 53.

⁷⁵ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 42-43.

⁷⁶ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 70.

⁷⁷ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 70.

⁷⁸ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 69-70.

Capuchins planned to recapture the symbolic capital of Sao Salvador, which had been abandoned during previous wars, and restore the kingdom. However, Pedro was a calculated and somewhat indecisive man. Meanwhile, the Kongolese became eager for a stable king and the possibility of peace. In a bizarre series of events, a few men and women proclaimed to have started to receive strange visions and even possessions urging them to instruct the King to act swiftly.⁷⁹ They further revealed that God would punish those who disturbed or delayed the process towards achieving peace.

Shortly after in 1704, Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita herself was the center of a fantastic event. She was stricken with an illness, died, and was resurrected as Saint Anthony.⁸⁰ After her resurrection, she asserted her beliefs about Anthony's supremacy and that Christianity had Kongolese roots through her sermons and prayers. John Thornton writes, "God revealed another truer version of church history to her. The Capuchins were not telling the Nativity story correctly, and the Kongolese needed to know the truth. Jesus had been born in the royal city of Sao Salvador."⁸¹ In her view, Jesus and all major Christian actors were actually African. The *Salve Antoniana* was fundamentally shaped by this knowledge of the alleged truth about Christianity's origin. This was a direct pushback against Capuchin notions of sanctity and race: that Africans could not be saints.⁸² In this way, the *Salve Antoniana* becomes an assertion of independence from the European mendicants and also a redefinition of what it means to be Kongolese.

Through miraculous restorations of fertility to barren women and her captivating speeches, Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita drew a great following, comprised mostly of commoners.⁸³ The *Salve Antoniana* became an instrument of recruitment. It mimics the *Salve Regina*, which the people had no doubt sung before. It became

a prayer of hope and an alternative to the ruling groups which had failed the common people. She would capture Sao Salvador. There, God would coronate a King. Peace would be established.

Her movement transcended class and gender. Thousands of commoners and nobles, men and women, soon joined her to travel to Sao Salvador. Her supporters often wore Crucifixes with Anthony on them instead of Christ.⁸⁴ Figure B. comes from around this period, and it would have been a typical piece worn by wealthier followers. Together they captured the abandoned city and thrived for some time. Alliances with other warlords were secured through the dissemination of "Little Anthonys", her disciples who themselves were believed to be carnate vessels for other saints.⁸⁵ However, her success was short-lived. Pedro and the Capuchins were convinced that she was demonically possessed and they tried to suppress her heretical movement⁸⁶. Ultimately, while in the capital, she became pregnant with the child of one of her chosen followers.⁸⁷ To avoid scandal she fled and gave birth. Unfortunately she lodged at a settlement that had been directly in the path of a band of Pedro's men⁸⁸. She was found guilty of inspiring disunity, and burned at the stake. Even after her death her supporters stood firm and, once again, war ravaged the land. Common people on both sides once again found themselves as victims, and those caught were most often sold into slavery. What Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita had tried so hard to avoid, once again consumed the land. Due to the slave trade and the African Diaspora, the Antonian movement had long lasting and far-reaching effects. Slave revolts and modern African democracy movements can be argued to have been influenced by this spiritual revolution.

⁷⁹ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 107.

⁸⁰ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 110.

⁸¹ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 112.

⁸² Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 112-113.

⁸³ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 132.

⁸⁴ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 148.

⁸⁵ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 148.

⁸⁶ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 123.

⁸⁷ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 166.

⁸⁸ Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, 168.



Figure B. "Dona Beatriz: Kongo Prophet", [www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/pwmn_4/hd_pwmn_4.htm), October, 2003. Accessed April, 15th, 2016.

The *Salve Antoniana* and the broader context, are ultimately significant because they depict mystical and strategic representations of Saint Anthony for reasons unique to these Kongolesse circumstances. Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita was reborn as Anthony; she alluded gender and challenged the established secular and ecclesiastical hierarchies. It is not just Anthony's legacy and namesake that are mobilized, but also his spirit and his essence. Practically, there are a few potential reasons as to why Anthony. His legacy and renowned position as a patron Saint of Portugal certainly contributed to Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita's alleged possession, just as well as his noted passion for mothers and children seems to have been in line with the nature of her most prominent miracles. Moreover, Hilton proposes that Anthony was potentially utilized because he was not attached by name to any religious groups in the Kongo.⁸⁹

It is Anthony, through Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita, who wants to move to the capital, establish a legitimate king, and stop the atrocities. When the *Salve Antoniana* repeatedly states that intention matters, this is

an attempt to stand up against the blatant abuses and greed of the secular lords and rulers and also those Capuchins who were seen as corrupt. Anthony became a figure of resistance against a reprehensible system that served the desires of the elite. He was the actor who fought against those who created war and perpetuated the slave trade with no regard to the well-being of the common people.

Because Christian and Portuguese concepts did not always translate well and fit within the boundaries of the Kikongo thought and language and vice versa, there is some inherent tension between the two groups. In the *Salve Antoniana*, Saint Anthony was recreated to become African, just like Christ and many others. There is an interest in owning their history and their future. Anthony becomes central to this sect's identity. He had possessed Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita's body. Experience trumped the scriptural knowledge of the Capuchins and proved the movement's validity and worthiness. Ultimately, Anthony served as more than just an agent of resistance against physical maltreatment. The movement also resisted some Capuchin and European concepts of race and religion through the reinvention of Anthony, the Gospels, and Saint's lives as local and African. In this regard, Anthony's utilization breaks down the established power dynamics.

Analyzing the art of Settlers and the Converted: Case study of Saint Anthony's role in Goa

Goa is situated on India's western coast. Its favorable location allowed for it to become a successful region of trade. R.P Rao, writes, "In its days of glory, Goa was the chief centre of commerce between the east and the west."⁹⁰ Starting around 1510, Afonso d'Albuquerque led a military campaign against the Muslims in India.⁹¹ During this time, the Portuguese focused their attention on capturing and fortifying advantageous ports, such as Goa.⁹² In

⁸⁹ Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 209.

⁹⁰ R.P. Rao, *Portuguese Rule in Goa: 1510-1961*, (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963), 13.

⁹¹ Rao, *Portuguese Rule in Goa*, 29.

⁹² Rao, *Portuguese Rule in Goa*, 35.

the many ensuing military struggles, the Portuguese were ruthlessly intolerant of the Muslims, reigniting an almost ancient feud that stemmed from the Moorish occupation of the Iberian Peninsula. Albuquerque recalled, “Wherever they were found and caught, no life was spared to any Musalman, and their mosques were filled up and set on fire. We counted 6,000 dead bodies. It was, my lord, a great deed, well fought and well finished.”⁹³

Portuguese treatment of the local Hindus was similarly abhorrent. Certain Hindu chiefs petitioned for Portuguese help against Muslim forces. Unfortunately, Rao writes, “The foreigners took advantage of these invitations and not only defeated the enemy of the Indian friend but later subjugated the friend himself.”⁹⁴ As a result, Portuguese persons and converted-Christians were given greater opportunities in Goa. Mixed marriage was encouraged and Islam and Hinduism were shunned.⁹⁵ In 1540, it was ordered that all Hindu temples be destroyed. By 1560, the Inquisition had been introduced.⁹⁶ Rao writes, “The choice the foreign rulers offered Indians was the cross or the sword.”⁹⁷ The most willing converts were those from lower classes, the poor and oppressed. Mass conversions rapidly changed the religious make up of Goa, and forced individuals to adapt quickly. ⁹⁸ With this knowledge, the agency of converted Christians comes into question. There was no other choice than to be Christian. Resistance meant great struggle and potentially death. Ultimately, Goa became the heart of Portuguese trade, religion, and military power in India, until Protestant intervention towards the end of the seventeenth century started to bring about decline.⁹⁹

Saint Anthony was quite the important figure in Goa. One marvelous church dedicated to him, which dates to this colonial period, can be found in Siolim-Bardez, Goa. In 1568, Franciscan monks first built a church there to serve the spiritual needs of local converts and the Portuguese colonists.¹⁰⁰ However, by 1600, it was decided that a newer, larger church was in order. Construction was planned but the order did not have the necessary capital to build. ¹⁰¹ Legend has it that a string of fantastic miracles performed by Saint Anthony first involving the salvation of a pair of Portuguese merchants and then the subordination of a menacing serpent, led to the new church’s construction.¹⁰² As a result, the church boasts a distinct and unparalleled set of artwork reminiscent of these miracles and a religious character that is uniquely local. Ultimately, in this Goan context, Saint Anthony is invoked in legend and art in ways that connect him to their identity and heritages.

Local tradition asserts that around the time when the Franciscans were wishing to build a new church, a pair of Portuguese merchants were struck by a terrible storm at sea.¹⁰³ On board, they carried a small statue of Saint Anthony, and to this statue they promised that if they were to land safely they would found and dedicate a church in his honor.¹⁰⁴ The men were saved and soon after landed in Goa. Here they came into contact with the Mendicants, themselves desiring to build a church.¹⁰⁵ However, the story does not stop there; the church experienced trouble during construction. A cobra terrified workers and

⁹³ Rao, Portuguese Rule in Goa, 30.

⁹⁴ Rao, Portuguese Rule in Goa, 29.

⁹⁵ Rao, Portuguese Rule in Goa, 31, 35.

⁹⁶ Rao, Portuguese Rule in Goa, 36, 42.

⁹⁷ Rao, Portuguese Rule in Goa, 41.

⁹⁸ Rao, Portuguese Rule in Goa, 43.

⁹⁹ Rao, Portuguese Rule in Goa, 37, 39.

¹⁰⁰ “Church History,” Saint Anthony’s Church Siolim Bardez Goa, accessed April 17, 2016, <http://www.stanthony-siolim.org/?pg=historychurch>.

¹⁰¹ “Church History,” Saint Anthony’s Church Siolim Bardez Goa.

¹⁰² “Church History,” Saint Anthony’s Church Siolim Bardez Goa.

¹⁰³ “Church History,” Saint Anthony’s Church Siolim Bardez Goa.

¹⁰⁴ “Church History,” Saint Anthony’s Church Siolim Bardez Goa.

¹⁰⁵ “Church History,” Saint Anthony’s Church Siolim Bardez Goa.

delayed the building.¹⁰⁶ Seemingly nothing could be done to remove the snake. In a last ditch effort, a statue of Anthony was placed inside. Miraculously, the next morning workers found the snake subdued by a cord in Anthony's hand.¹⁰⁷ Construction continued, and the Church was finally completed in 1630.

The legend is wonderfully reflected in the church's sculptures. They would have been intended to glorify and portray Anthony's legacy to a mostly illiterate populace. All three groups of this small settlement, the Franciscans, the Portuguese settlers, and the converted Goans, would have enjoyed these renditions. However, it is important to note that the Church was rebuilt in the early twentieth century.¹⁰⁸ The dates of origin of the sculptures were not recorded, nor do we know the artists. Nonetheless, the church has expressed a desire to be authentic. They have outlined some of their plan to restore paintings and other artistic mediums. Therefore, it seems most likely that the sculptures are either original or direct reproductions. Therefore, I have used them as evidence from the seventeenth century.

In Figure C. Anthony is situated just above the altar. Like in many other portrayals, he is holding the infant Christ and a book. It was believed that Anthony once experienced a divine light and was visited by the young Christ. During this visitation, Anthony nurtured Christ in a paternal role. Furthermore, the book may be a symbol of wisdom and his dedication to evangelism. Perhaps most interesting, is the presence of the serpent. Just like in the legend, Anthony pacifies the snake with his cord. This sculpture is a unique fusion of established Catholic tradition and local legend. In it, Anthony is presented as something more; he is local and orthodox.

In Figure D, Anthony is facing out from the church. Like in Figure C, Anthony is holding Christ, a cross, and the serpent. The simple

repetition suggests the power and importance of the event. These sculptures do not show just Saint Anthony of Padua, they show Saint Anthony of Padua, patron of Siolim-Bardez, Goa. In essence, Anthony is localized.



Figure C. "Anthony above the altar", <http://joegoauk.blogspot.com>, June, 2011. Accessed April 19th, 2016, <http://joegoauk.blogspot.com/search?q=anthony>.

¹⁰⁶ "Church History," Saint Anthony's Church Siolim Bardez Goa.

¹⁰⁷ "Church History," Saint Anthony's Church Siolim Bardez Goa.

¹⁰⁸ "Church History," Saint Anthony's Church Siolim Bardez Goa.



Figure D. "Anthony looking outwards", <http://joegoauk.blogspot.com>, June, 2011. Accessed April 19th, 2016, <http://joegoauk.blogspot.com/search?q=anthony>.

To understand the significance of this legend more fully, the relationship between those born in colonies and those born in Portugal must also be acknowledged. C.R. Boxer documents the animosity between the two when he writes, "Even men born of European parents in the East were regarded with disdain by their colleagues born in Portugal. [...] In the 1630s a determined attempt was made by the European-born Franciscan friars to prohibit any friar born of white parents in the East from holding high office in the Order." Given this context, it is possible that the miracles of Saint Anthony served as divine argument for the legitimacy of Portuguese religious and settlers abroad.

Ultimately, Anthony is depicted because he is the church's patron. However, the way he is artistically portrayed is enlightening. From the present sculptures and the accompanying legend, it is apparent that Saint Anthony was utilized and acknowledged as a personal entity, supportive of the church and the population. Whether this was done consciously or not, this remains important because it shows how his story was mobilized in a specific way and how this achieved certain ends. To those in Goa, Anthony was not remembered for just his

oratory ability and from his hagiographical legend, but rather he was also recognized as the founder and savior of their church. Anthony became something local and infused with the settlement's identity.

To the Portuguese settlers and Franciscans, Anthony's perceived presence in the form of miracles may have also been seen as a confirmation of his dedication to them. Anthony was with them and it is plausible that by venerating him they found a way to validate and connect to their European and Christian heritage. Moreover, the colonial history of Goa cannot be divorced from the history of this church. Because of the prevalence of the Portuguese Inquisition during the time of construction, dedication to the epitome of Portuguese Christianity, Anthony, by new converts, may seem unsurprising and perhaps even strategic. It is overly dismissive to argue that Saint Anthony was only venerated by converts at Siolim to appease Portuguese authorities and avoid the cruelties of the Inquisition, or conversely, that they were all forced to venerate him. However, the possibility that this was a factor cannot be ignored. Alternatively, venerating Anthony could have been a move of power to have some control over their religious practice and direction. In the end, determining which groups were the most influential in the construction of Anthony's church and the accompanying narrative has not been established. However, it is evident that all three groups, Franciscans, Portuguese settlers, and native converts, seem to have played some part in this unique depiction.

Conclusion

Having been somewhat familiar with the different accounts of the Life of Saint Anthony and his general story, I was perplexed when I first read Vainfas' argument that he was invoked as a military figure by various leaders of Portugal during the seventeenth century. Was Anthony not just a distinguished preacher and academic? Did I miss a crucial part of his remembrance? I found that the portion of his life that seemed to vaguely connect him to the military and thus the Portuguese wars with the

Dutch was his condemnation of heretics. The Dutch were heretics, and the logic followed that Anthony was a protector of the Orthodox Catholic faith. This line of thought is not too much of a stretch, but after Anthony became a military figure against the Dutch, he took on another new role.

His legacy against the Dutch reshaped him to also be fit to be seen as the restorer of Portuguese sovereignty from the Spanish crown through military means. His established legacy and his new, contemporary legacy both dictated how he was used in the future. The importance of context is a pervasive theme throughout this paper. Anthony's new status was directly dependent on present events and concerns of that time. I decided to look further. I wondered if, and how, Anthony had been used by non-dominant groups during the early modern period. What problems and concerns afflicted religious orders, indigenous groups, and settler populations? How did Anthony remedy or appear to possess the potential to remedy them?

I found that Anthony was indeed a figure with widespread adoration, who possessed different meanings to different groups. Antonio Vieira served as my Jesuit source, Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita as my indigenous source, and the population of Siolim Goa as my example for settlers and newly converted people. To Antonio Vieira, I found that Anthony was a forum through which Vieira could criticize the Portuguese secular authorities for their injustices against the native Brazilians. To the Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita, Anthony became physically incarnate in her body as the utmost spiritual authority, to condemn greed and hypocrisy and their spawn: war, destruction, poverty, racial inequality, and the slave trade. Finally, to those in Siolim, Anthony became a largely local figure. His miracles may have served as evidence of his dedication to those ethnic-Europeans who may have been deemed impure or lesser by mainland Europeans. Moreover, because of the inquisition and benefits available to Christians, venerating Anthony may have served as a way for natives to have some agency in a system that forced

conversion. In each case, I found that this Anthony was far from the one found in his hagiographies.

One can argue that each of these cases mobilizes Anthony as a figure of resistance. His power seems to eclipse the power of the secular realm. Although they may have been weak or viewed as lesser, Anthony was greater than kings and other powerful groups and with him they could achieve their goal. This idea that religion can function as form of resistance is particularly interesting in indigenous contexts. Christianity can be seen as a weapon of domination, but it also seems that there are religious avenues, such as saints, through which the dominated can fight back.

However, just because Anthony was used in each of these contexts does not mean that these representations were done so purposefully, strategically, or even consciously. It is most likely that Vieira knew what he was doing and that he realized that Anthony was the perfect figure to accomplish a specific goal. The other two examples are less clear. Perhaps Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita was molded by her circumstances and acted on impulse. Evidence is scant and that which we have is translated. It seems to be the case that the Siolim population really believed the tales about Anthony's miracles. The idea that they deliberately flocked to or praised Anthony for the benefits he could have offered can be debated. In the end, whether they invoked Anthony purposefully or not, is not as important. What is important is how Anthony served them.

This research adds to the scholarly conversation, but it also leads to and generates new questions. Did images of other saints during other times undergo similarly fantastic transformations? How about Protestant countries? Considering their lack of saints, did their religion offer a religious forum of resistance to marginalized groups? Were there religious substitutes or did non-European, non-State actors find opportunities elsewhere? How did the emergence of periods of immense social change such as the Industrial Revolution

and the enlightenment factor in? All these questions and more seem to merit attention.

Furthermore, I am very interested in other aspects of the relationship between sanctity and empire. In particular, I would like to explore how living saints, such as Saint Xavier, complicated matters. On the one hand, Xavier is saintly because of his missionary work. On the other, he simultaneously seems to be saintly independent of his work. The Jesuit journal of Le Comte and Louis Daniel displays this discrepancy.¹⁰⁹ How then, did his nature legitimize and confirm contemporary European and Christian ideas about conquest and imperialism? How did native groups receive him? Was he in any way a source of tension?

Ultimately, this research provides insight in how people confront the troubles that they face. I have focused on religion but that is just one option. Likewise, research opportunities are not confined to the early modern era. Similar techniques and methods can be applied to other segments of the past and to our contemporary. We can learn more about how power is contested by studying topics like the relationship between sanctity and empire.

¹⁰⁹ Le Comte, Louis Daniel. *Memoirs and observations typographical, physical, mathematical, mechanical, natural, civil, and ecclesiastical, made in a late journey through the empire of China, and published in several letters particularly upon the Chinese pottery and varnishing, the silk and other manufactures, the pearl fishing, the history of plants and*

animals, description of their cities and publick works, number of people, their language, manners and commerce, their habits, economy, and government, the philosophy of Confucius, the state of Christianity : with many other curious and useful remarks. London: C. 1700

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Anonymous, *The Little Flowers of Saint Francis*. Trans. L. Sherley-Price. London: Penguin Classics, 1959.

This text, translated by Sherley Price, is a hagiographical account of the life of Saint Francis. It is fantastical in nature, and it describes the events and episodes of his life. Moreover, the book includes accounts of other prominent Franciscans, such as Saint Anthony of Padua.

“Anthony above the altar”, <http://joegoauk.blogspot.com>, June, 2011. Accessed April 19th, 2016, <http://joegoauk.blogspot.com/search?q=anthony>.

This image displays the altar piece of the church at Siolim-Bardez, Goa. Anthony is located high above. He is depicted with Christ, a book, and a serpent.

“Anthony looking outwards”, <http://joegoauk.blogspot.com>, June, 2011. Accessed April 19th, 2016, <http://joegoauk.blogspot.com/search?q=anthony>.

Anthony is shown staring outside of the aforementioned church at Siolim. With him, he holds the infant Christ, a book presumably of scripture or preaching related materials, and a serpent in his other hand.

“Dona Beatriz: Kongo Prophet”, www.metmuseum.org, October, 2003. Accessed April, 15th, 2016. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/pwmn_4/hd_pwmn_4.htm

This is a depiction of a crucified Anthony created sometime around the 17th or 18th century. It is a wonderful blend of European and African styles.

Gilliat-Smith, Ernest. *Saint Anthony of Padua according to his contemporaries*. London & Toronto: J.M. Dent and sons, limited, 1926.

This text, translated by Gilliat-Smith, tells the story of Saint Anthony in a modern way by combining Anthony’s Hagiographies. It draws upon the *Primitive Legend* which was written by an anonymous author, *Julian von Speier’s Legend*, and the *Dialogus Legend* which was written for The Franciscan General Crescentius. The piece gives particular attention to the *Primitive Legend*.

Le Comte, Louis Daniel. *Memoirs and observations typographical, physical, mathematical, mechanical, natural, civil, and ecclesiastical, made in a late journey through the empire of China, and published in several letters particularly upon the Chinese pottery and varnishing, the silk and other manufactures, the pearl fishing, the history of plants and animals, description of their cities and publick works, number of people, their language, manners and commerce, their habits, economy, and government, the philosophy of Confucius, the state of Christianity : with many other curious and useful remarks*. London: C. 1700

This is a series of letters written by Le Comte and Daniel that describes the state of affairs in China during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It ranges from the Chinese economy to the state of the Chinese governments. The text is Jesuit in nature, and gives a great deal of attention to the state of Christianity.

“Saint Anthony at the altar”, [www. Virtualtourist.com](http://www.Virtualtourist.com), accessed April, 10th, 2016.
https://www.virtualtourist.com/travel/Asia/Macao/Things_To_Do-Macao-St_Anthonys_Church-BR-1.html

This representation and sculpture is just near the altar at Saint Anthony’s Church in Macao. Anthony possesses the infant Christ, and a globe.

“The Bull Romanus Pontifex (Nicholas V), January 8, 1455.” P. De Noxeto, accessed April 17th, 2016, <https://www.nativeweb.org/pages/legal/indig-romanus-pontifex.html>.

This text is a translation of the bull Romanus Pontifex. The bull was written by Pope Nicholas V to King Afonso of Portugal in 1454. Written as a sequel to *Dum Diversas*, in this bull Nicholas permits Afonso to control more territories in Africa and elsewhere. Nicholas bestows the power to subjugate natives and bring them to Christianity.

Thorton, John K. *The Kongolese Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684-1706*. New York: Cambridge Press, 1998.

This text by Thorton, provides translations of Kongolese and Portuguese religious authorities pertaining to Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita. It documents the rise of the heretical sect known as the Antonian movement and its subsequent suppression. Moreover, Thorton provides eloquent commentary and his own interpretation of the material.

Vieira, Anthony, *The Sermon of Saint Anthony to the Fish and Other Texts*. Trans. Gregory Rabassa, Vincent Barletta. Tagus: 2009.

This work is a translated account by Gregory Rabassa of Vieira’s sermons. It displays some of the major works that the prominent Portuguese Jesuit composed in the early and mid- seventeenth century. The texts that Rabassa has translated are controversial texts which propelled Vieira into conflict with the Portuguese inquisition.

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Boxer , C.R , *Four centuries of Portuguese expansion, 1415-1825; a succinct survey*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1969.

Boxer’s survey gives significant attention to the history behind the Portuguese empire and its colonial possessions. It focuses on early Portuguese exploration, and then provides in depth research on Portuguese Africa and South America. It

also deals with the contemporary European struggles that Portugal was involved with during the early modern era.

Gauvin Alexander, Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

This text includes a number of Jesuit and Native paintings, and offers commentary on their meaning. It explores the evolution of art, particularly religious art, by both European and Indigenous groups after the Jesuits had made contact.

Greer, Allan and Bilinkoff, Jodi, *Colonial Saints: Discovering the holy in the Americas, 1500-1800*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

This book, edited by Greer and Bilinkoff, compiles a number of scholarly articles that deal with the importance of Saints to Native populations and settlers in the colonial period. In particular, Ronaldo Vainfas' article, *St. Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration*, deals with how Saint Anthony became an important symbol for the Portuguese and peoples colonized by the Portuguese. Other entries, deal explicitly with the importance of Saints to local contexts.

Hilton, Anne. *The Kingdom of Kongo*. New York: Oxford Press, 1985.

This text deals with the history of the Kingdom of Kongo from its early history to the modern age. It provides ample background for the political, economic, and social sectors. Moreover, its section on the Antonian movement provides in-depth discussion and context.

James E. Goehring, *Politics, Monasticism, and Miracles in Sixth Century Upper Egypt: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Coptic Texts on Abraham of Farshut*, (Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 50.

Goehring's book explores the relationship between hagiographies and the context they were written in. It affirms the belief that hagiographies are suspect to be biased and reflect the circumstances the writer existed in.

John Gascoigne, John, *Introduction: Religion and Empire, an Historiographical Perspective*, in *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 32, No. 2. Victoria: Blackwell Publishing Asia, 2008.

Gascoigne's text explores other scholarship done on the historiographies of Empire. It uses the British Empire as a framework to explore questions of empire and religion. Its format can function as a methodology for examining other empires outside of Britain

R. P. Rao, *Portuguese Rule in Goa: 1510-1961*. Delhi: P.S. Jayasinghe, 1963.

Rao's work goes into the Portuguese history of the colonization of Goa. It focuses on the economy, social movements, and the religious history of the land. Moreover, it moves beyond the colonial period and examines the effects into the twentieth century.

Ronald J, Morgan, *Spanish American saints and the rhetoric of identity, 1600-1810*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, c2002.

Morgan's work deals with how important the concept of Sainthood is to Spanish settlers. It examines how those born in the New World can identify with their European and Catholic heritage through newly recognized and canonized saints. It deals less with established saints and more with saints who emerged during the colonial time period from colonial settings.

"St. Anthony's Church - Siolim Bardez Goa." St. Anthony's Church - Siolim Bardez Goa. Accessed March 24, 2016. <http://www.stanthony-siolim.org/>.

This website deals with the history of a particular church in Goa dedicated to Saint Anthony. It deals extensively with the two local legends. It highlights Anthony's supposed eradication of a serpent and his role as the miraculous savior of two fisherman. In addition, this website supplies pictures of the artwork present in the church, dedicated to the Saint.