

Lições a partir da ação spiritana em Angola e uma breve defesa da sua utilidade para uma melhor compreensão das religiões Afro-Brasileiras

Insights from the early history of *spiritan* missions in Angola and a brief case for their usefulness in bettering the understanding of Afro-Brazilian religions

João Figueiredo de Castro¹

RESUMO: Este artigo tem o objetivo duplo de defender a necessidade dos estudiosos se debruçarem sobre a história recente e contemporânea de África de forma a melhorarem a sua compreensão das dinâmicas religiosas e sociais que subjazem à evolução histórica dos credos afro-brasileiros (bem como de outros domínios da pesquisa social relacionados com a herança africana no Brasil); por outro lado, é apresentado um caso de estudo que se espera ser útil na obtenção de insights capazes de serem mobilizados para o estudo destas religiões: uma micro história das primeiras décadas de ação da Congregação do Espírito Santo em Angola.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Feitiçaria. Religiões afro-brasileiras. Ordálios da África Central. Movimentos anti-feitiçaria.

ABSTRACT: This article has the twofold aim of defending the need to turn to recent African history in order to further the understanding of the religious and social dynamics underlying the historical evolution of Afro-Brazilian creeds (a position arguably extendable to other domains of social inquiry); and also of presenting a microhistory of the first years of the missionary action of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit in Angola – a case study that can be “mined” for insights useful to further the study of these faiths.

KEYWORDS: Sorcery, Afro-Brazilian religions. Central African ordeals. Anti-witchcraft movements.

This paper is divided into two main and consecutive sections, the first one constituting not only the theoretical basis for the case study featured in the second half, but also a defense of the need scholars dedicated to the understanding of Afro-Brazilian religious (and other social) movements have to direct their attention towards African history. The second section, a case study featuring the first decades of missionary activity in Angola of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit, is itself divided into three smaller parts: a summary presentation of the actors about to exercise their agency in an African setting that is also characterized; an account of the

¹ Doutorando em Altos Estudos Contemporâneos, Universidade de Coimbra (UC). Bolsheiro da Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia. de.castro.maia@gmail.com.

first years of their interaction (“Act I”); and finally a brief “Act II” that is abridged with the possible conclusions.

Throughout this essay, a focus on Central African institutions and history is maintained, something that is relatively novel in the “academic niche” of Afro-Brazilian religious studies, within which the West African *enslaving connections* are historically privileged (Silva, 2002; Miller, 2003). We hope that such a long paper, with a heavy focus on African history and anthropology – but that manages to deal with topics other than the well known ethnemes loosely related to old Gold and Slave Coast ports, and West African inspired entities such as *orixás*¹ – contributes to spark interest in all things Central African, and in the somewhat neglected study of the particular influence African societies from these areas had on Brazilian national culture.

The centrality of African history to the understanding of the dynamics underlying Afro-Brazilian religious movements

In her truly heartbreaking *Sorcery accusations unleashed: the Lele revisited, 1987* (1999), the then already venerable anthropologist Mary Douglas does a thorny re-evaluation of her old fieldwork site². This reengaging with the Lele³, a subgroup of the Kuba people from the Kasai region of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, forces Douglas to acknowledge the insurmountable role sorcery accusations and anti-witchcraft⁴ movements still play in the daily lives of contemporary Africans (even city dwellers from a burgeoning metropolis such as Kinshasa) (Douglas, 1999: 7-9, 23), often resulting in outbursts of such unspeakable violence that the author felt reluctant to publish this paper for more than a decade, eventually doing it, after recognizing that these events, albeit sensational, were so common that she was hardly keeping a secret (Douglas, 1999: 7, 18-20). In her article, Douglas reaffirms the extreme malleability and resilience of sorcery beliefs, considering them the most stable element of the old Lele religious system, not only because of the centrality they have in the local economic systems of redistribution of goods and prestige (Douglas, 1999: 13-15), but also because the new Christian churches and missions that came to occupy the Congolese religious sphere have

failed to properly deal with old values and existential fears (Douglas, 1999: 9-10, 15, 22-25) – something that the recurring fringe anti-witchcraft movements actively do (Douglas, 1999: 17-19). Taking everything into consideration, Douglas soberly pronounces that the problems posed by the belief in sorcery will continually resurge in the future, and that the violence they herald will not be circumscribed to the Kasai (Douglas, 1999: 21).

Another doyen of African studies, the South-African lawyer and historian Martin Chanock, while revisiting his old work⁵ also took the time to look with a critical eye towards sorcery beliefs (Chanock, 1998). In his monograph Chanock mostly deals with the way Malawian and Zambian customary law was recently constructed, amongst a series of changes and conflicts (transformations in modes of production, family structures, and economic paradigms at large; clashes between different generations, genders, classes and opposed social groups – colonialists, nationalists, etc.), that he considers to be the cause of the *tensions* that have also *given rise to increased accusations of sorcery* (Chanock, 1998: 21). While both Chanock and Douglas agree that sorcery accusations seem to be on the rise, and that a study of this observable fact based solely in a structural analysis can never be complete or even satisfactory (the historical role of human beings in the resurgence of sorcery accusations and anti-witchcraft movements is given central stage in both monographs), the first author centers his attention in the Courts of Law (Chanock, 1998), the second in the Christian missions (Douglas, 1999). Common to both is also the observation that once the ordeals used to detect sorcery have been abolished or discredited (either by the colonial legal system or by the new religious orthodoxy), a precious escape valve that used to be instrumental in the avoidance of an escalation of violence to the levels involving torture and mutilation (and even death) becomes lost (Douglas, 1999: 13-14; Chanock, 1998: 85-102).

Besides agreeing in the proposal of an historical approach as the best epistemological tool to understand the recent escalate in sorcery accusations – something that Peter Geschiere and the “*Modernity of Witchcraft* movement” he inspired were to partially deny, favoring an “ahistorical” anthropological approach closely intertwined with the methodologies of the “cultural studies” subgenre of “modernization studies” (Geschiere, 1997) –, Martin Chanock

and Mary Douglas also share a deep concern about the processes that made it possible for children, young woman and destitute old people to start being accused (something that does not occur in the older historical records) (Douglas, 1999: 16), and about the lack of alternative answers given by political and/or religious institutions to the questions surrounding the existence of evil and its manifestations in the daily lives of Africans⁶. Referring to the ordeal, Martin Chanock affirms that:

More than just a ‘trial’ is involved. The aim is not just to ‘convict’ with the ordeal as an evidentiary tool. It is to ‘eliminate evil and death’, i.e. to struggle against witchcraft itself, and the ordeal is in essence a ritual in this struggle between good and evil in the community, and not simply a sort of judicial procedure (Chanock, 1998: 86).

Mary Douglas would undoubtedly agree, as she herself described this process in action in her *Techniques of sorcery control in Central Africa* (1963) (Douglas, 1963). Lacking the ordeal, both authors suggest that the void left behind by the abolition of this precious tool, either in the fight against evil – if one adopts the African point-of-view –, or in the mitigation of the existential anxieties posed by the phenomenology of it – if one remains skeptic towards local belief systems⁷ –, is to be filled with historical innovations (new anti-witchcraft movements, Evangelical and Pentecostal movements, or newly minted “customary” laws) (Chanock, 1998: 85-102; Douglas, 1999: 17-19). One final point to retain both from *Law, Custom and Social Order...* and *Sorcery accusations unleashed...* is that even in environments that are the result of recent, drastic, and traumatic social rearrangements (such as the ones to be found in the Kasai region during the 1960’s civil war, or in the historical conquest states of central Africa studied by Chanock⁸) – or perhaps **specially** in these settings –, sorcery accusations become widespread, as *responsibility for death and misfortune in this atmosphere of malevolence* was bound to be found (Chanock, 1998: 89). The Atlantic middle-passage, ridden with its horrors and being the cause of immeasurable life-disrupting events immediately comes to mind, suggesting the question: how much of these sorcery beliefs and

anti-witchcraft movements were to resurface in Brazil (and elsewhere in the African Diaspora)?

In *Enslaving Connections – Changing Cultures of Africa and Brazil during the Era of Slavery* (2003), an impressive collective work edited by José C. Curto and Paul Lovejoy, a host of influential scholars tackle from different perspectives with variations of this acute question of “how much” Africa can be found at different times in Brazil (Curto; Lovejoy, 2003)⁹. Two respected authors, Joseph C. Miller and James Sweet, propose chapters that can directly frame our understanding of how central African sorcery beliefs and anti-witchcraft techniques were to resurge on the west side of the Atlantic (Miller, 2003: 81-121; Sweet, 2003: 139-148). Sweet’s chapter, subtitled *Central African Divination in Seventeenth-Century Brazil*, seems to be a direct response to the previous question. The author, although taking a somewhat functionalist approach towards diviners and their ordeals¹⁰, proves through the analysis of 17th century Portuguese inquisitorial sources that some African ordeals and rituals could be found at the same time in Angola¹¹ and Brazil, stressing a surprising continuity:

The transfer of ritual like **jaji**¹² complicates simplistic arguments about African retentions versus African creolization in the Americas. Clearly, African rituals and practices conformed to new social conventions in the Americas, just as they had done when changes occurred in Africa, but this should not divert our attention away from the fact that the rituals themselves remained essentially the same (Sweet, 2003: 143).

As impressive as this particular fact is, Sweet’s conclusion remains constricted to the particular period under scrutiny in his chapter (the 17th century), and a given mode of territorial occupation and colonial exploitation – that Joseph C. Miller would categorize as one of low intensity commercial slavery (Miller, 2003: 91-98), during which African slaves were able to seize *the opportunities offered by the culture of their masters*, either by subversively adopting *ecclesiastical and sacramental devotion*, or by taking advantage of the shared beliefs and worldviews they had with their owners, concerning the reality of sorcery and the efficacy of anti-witchcraft measures (Miller, 2003: 109-110; Sweet, 2003:). In doing so, the African slaves that became or continued to be diviners in the Americas were actively contributing not

only to the ongoing *status quo* (in fact, ordeals seem to have played the same conservative role of escape valves in the slaver societies from both sides of the Atlantic, disregarding the masters' color of skin and background) but also surreptitiously seizing *control of social/judicial inquiries that directly impacted peoples of African descent* (Sweet, 2003: 140).

Interestingly enough, if one is to widen the historical period under consideration, as Joseph C. Miller proposes to do in his own chapter *Retention, Reinvention and Remembering...* (Miller, 2003: 81-121), the tracking of a particular institution such as the *jaji* ordeal throughout the history of Brazil – from the 17th century until the 19th or 20th – becomes a dauntingly impossible task. Here, one must acknowledge the limitations of Mary Douglas' and Martin Chanock's latter approach, which can be understood as an attempt to escape the enormous influence that the *Annales* school of history was having in African studies during the peak of their professional activity (Vail, 1987: 449). Throughout *Law, Custom and Social Order...* and *Sorcery accusations unleashed...*, the *Annales'* emphasis in the study of the history of structures and systems (*mentalités*) is countered by the proposition to center the historical analysis on the agency of concrete human beings (priests, missionaries and laymen in Douglas' case; judges, lawyers, traditional chiefs and claimants in Chanock's) to create and reshape their own culture (in a sober return to a *histoire événementielle*) (Vail, 1987). Nevertheless, if one pays close enough attention to the details of Douglas and Chanock's latter works, it becomes clear that when both authors consider the unwavering African need to understand and fight evil through oracles, ordeals and anti-witchcraft movements, as well as the stable allure of sorcery beliefs, some sort of *longue durée* considerations seem to creep into their tidy "evental history". This kind of concession to the *Annales* is something that Joseph Miller gladly does in *Retention, Reinvention and Remembering...*, which he begins with a chapter dedicated to a foundational analysis of the *African Mentalités* (Miller, 2003: 84).

With his approach, Joseph Miller attempts to understand the *enslaving connection, as slaves might have experienced it* (Miller, 2003: 109). In order to do so, he adverts, one has to:

[E]xtend our suspension of modernist assumptions to the ways in which they reacted to their sudden loss of the familiar and comfortable: by

retaining what they could, re-creating parts they could not in new forms, and remembering in complex ways, all to restore the social connections that made them who they were (Miller, 2003: 109).

An essential part of this restoration, as Sweet as proved with archival evidence, is the reenactment in the Americas of the perpetual fight between diviners and sorcerers (Sweet, 2003). While one would like to believe that anti-witchcraft movements and other violence resulting practices associated with sorcery beliefs were to be directed against the slave masters¹³, it is way more probable that they were aimed at fellow slaves (even if from different plantations or neighboring estates¹⁴). So, as Joseph Miller adverts:

Rather than beginning with the struggles of the slaves against their masters, one must therefore start the quest for strategies of the enslaved by looking at their formative experiences in Africa, at who they thought they had been when they had been sold in Africa, what they had lost, and how they sought to recover from the experience. **To see Brazil in these terms as an African country**, scholars must see Africa in terms beyond the modernist assumptions that have structured most efforts [...] up to now to understand the history of the continent (Miller, 2003: 85)¹⁵.

That one should understand *Brazil* [...] *as an African country* is a bold proposition¹⁶. After this introductory section dedicated to *African Mentalités*, Miller goes on to consider how this can be done at different times throughout the history of Brazil, from the time when sugar plantations in Pernambuco were the defining colonial experience (Miller, 2003: 91-98), to the period of the hegemony of the Minas Gerais model (Miller, 2003: 98-104), ending in an analysis of the nineteenth century coffee plantations of São Paulo, the *last frontier of slavery* (Miller, 2003: 104-108). All the while, Miller writes conceding beliefs in sorcery and anti-witchcraft techniques a central stage, acknowledging both his and Martin Chanock's admonition to drop our *modernist* prejudices while analyzing their utmost importance to some African cultures (Chanock, 1998: 86, see note 6). Also vital to his analysis is the insight that the *mentalité* that persisted throughout all these drastic changes, in the case of Central Africans, was the belief that new ways to fight evil and sorcery must be constantly tried (their

novelty being part of their poignancy), and that this eternal battle was an essential part of establishing a community worth living in:

The creation of community depended on containing the sense of evil divisiveness that must have overwhelmed people who saw their enslavement in Africa in terms of witchcraft, since people there interpreted involuntary isolation as a breakdown of community integrity, possible only by violations from within, thus a betrayal by someone within the sacred sphere of trust. [...] At home, they attempted to extirpate this quintessential evil by “eradication movements,” healing cults that rallied fraying communities to an intense spirit of collective unity. Under the extreme breach of social faith and vulnerability that followed uprooting and successive transfers, Africans would have united around whatever healing strategies they identified as promising. Since the anticipated efficacy of the antidotes to these very real afflictions of the imagination (as opposed to imaginary afflictions) depended on the promise of novelty, the hopeful potential of the untried (and therefore not yet discredited), preceding generations of captives must have looked to the new arrivals who followed them, particularly those from regions unfamiliar to them, as sources of potential remedies for their misfortune (Miller, 2003: 90).

Wrapping up Joseph Miller’s bold proposition, one can conclude that successive waves of Central Africans must have constantly reconstructed and updated Brazil as an *African country* (Miller, 2003: 85), because even if the generations that preceded them had already adopted by the time of their arrival a given cultural solution to their perennial fight against the *quintessential evil* (via joining a Christian *irmandade*, the conversion to Islam, or the adoption of an Afro-Brazilian religion mostly informed in the beliefs from the Guinean Coast area, such as Candomblé and Umbanda), the answers newly brought from Africa with the last shipments of slaves were bound to be given the benefice of the doubt. In other words, if one is to try to understand the Brazilian nineteenth and early twentieth century, one need to pay attention not only to the local evolution of the practices of the *Afro-Brazilians, born in America* (Miller, 2003: 109-112), but also to what was going on in Africa at the time, because the events narrated by Douglas and Chanock are bound to find a parallel in the other side of the Atlantic – as Sweet’s *jaji* ordeal once has (Sweet, 2003: 143).

In a recent introduction to a special dossier about Afro-Brazilian religions (Horizonte, 2013), Reginaldo Prandi has wondered about the unexpected fact that, according to the 2010 Brazilian census, only 0.3% of Brazil's citizens declare themselves to be active practitioners of these creeds (Prandi, 2013: 10). Albeit surprising, this reality is explained by Prandi with recourse to the enumeration of a number of well known and studied trends: the tendency people have to officially shun their affiliation with Afro-Brazilian religions due to ethnic discrimination (in favor of paying lip-service to Catholicism and/or Spiritualism); and the outstanding growth of Pentecostal movements, traditionally considered to be appealing to the same *demography* as the Afro-Brazilian religions (Prandi, 2013: 10-11). While this explanation is a certainly neat one, some aspects of it need to be closely questioned. What does it mean to say that the same demography is specially inclined to be either affiliated with an Afro-Brazilian religion or a Pentecostal movement? How can a statement like this be anything other than a vague instance of class and/or ethnic discrimination, coupled with a baseless theological mistrust towards these religious movements? In other words, why does one expect some groups (defined by class, skin color, or a claim to African ancestry) to be either adepts of an Afro-Brazilian religion, “bad” Catholics/Spiritualists, or followers of a Pentecostal movement?

An easy answer to this last question is to reach out to a purely *événementielle* history and say: because they have mostly been so¹⁷. Another one is to consider Joseph Miller's conclusions and theorize that successive waves of African descendents (that have come to overwhelmingly occupy Brazil's lower classes due to their particular heritage as slave descendents) have passed to the newer generations the need to update their fight against the *quintessential evil*, finding new *sources of potential remedies for their* [continual] *misfortune* (Miller, 2003: 90). When Prandi enumerates the various national contributions of Afro-Brazilian religions to an overall Brazilian culture, this *mentalité* – previous to the affiliation to these creeds and their cultural “spillage” – should also be listed, its general adoption perhaps contributing to the explanation of the huge shifts in religious affiliations historically experienced by the Brazilian population at large. Also following Joseph Miller's insight, it is

perhaps interesting to turn to Africa, recurring to microhistory techniques in order to illuminate how the same dynamics exposed by Douglas and Chanock came to pass in a part of Angola that was at the origin of a great number of the slaves comprising the last wave to come to São Paulo's coffee hills (Miller, 2003: 104-108).

Dramatis personæ and the setting of the future events

At the beginning of 1892, the African Commission of the Lisbon Geographical Society (1875) reunited in order to tackle a most sensitive issue: the revitalization of the missionary presence in the Portuguese African colonies (Santos; Torrão, 1993: 4). This Commission, composed by public figures such as Henrique de Carvalho, Luciano Cordeiro and Paiva Couceiro, was to produce a bombastic, albeit at times predictable, report (Santos; Torrão, 1993: 4). Unsurprisingly, the *africanistas* composing the Commission found the Angolan colony totally lacking, even more so when they compared it to the idealized versions they had of the British and French controlled African territories. The self mortification that ensued from this premise proceeded in accordance with an emblematic inferiority complex, which often fuelled some truly paranoid convictions and reactions, and that was by the end of the century an already long-term characteristic of the Portuguese colonial thought¹⁸. Taking this into account, the real surprise – that shocked the leadership of the Portuguese Royal Patronage into producing and disseminating a “patriotic” counter-report subtitled *Pro Aris et Focis* (“for the Altar and the Country”) (Boavida, 1893) – was that the African Commission decided to highly praise and finally join its lobbying efforts with the Congregation of the Holy Spirit.

That the Lisbon Geographical Society now supported the missionary work of the Holy Ghost Fathers, or *spiritans*, as they were also known, constituted a turn of events. Luciano Cordeiro, that in this latter report praised their missionary stations as the cheapest and fastest way of civilizing and bringing into the Portuguese fold the “savage” peoples of the Angolan hinterland, no more than a decade earlier proposed that a formal complaint should be addressed to the Vatican, aimed at this very same Congregation (Cordeiro, 1882). In fact,

back at 1882, Cordeiro had an opinion closer to the one expressed in the *Pro Aris et Focis* counter-report – that José Boavida concluded with the mistrustful reminder that most *spiritans* were French, followed by this high-spirited Latin pun: *cujus religio, ejus region*¹⁹ (Boavida, 1893).

In a *Memorandum* published in 1882, Cordeiro denounced the establishment by the Holy See of two apostolic prefectures, both bordering the diocese of the Bishop of Angola and Congo, using the following terms:

[T]he missionary centre of the Congo [the Apostolic Prefecture of the Congo] and the apostolic prefecture of Cimbebasia, [are to be treated] as offensive to the rights, limits and jurisdiction of the diocese of Angola and Congo, and the sovereignty of Portugal in all, or in part of the territories that were adjudicated to its action and spiritual jurisdiction (Cordeiro, 1882: 131).²⁰

These prefectures, under the nominal control of the *Propaganda Fide* – against whom the Portuguese Royal Patronage was fighting a long and doomed battle for supremacy at the Far East (Souza, 2008) – were by then the direct responsibility of the Holy Ghost Fathers. Unsurprisingly, most of the propaganda directed against the *Propaganda Fide* – whose actions were always depicted as part of a Jesuit plot to counter the influence of the Portuguese Royal Patronage – was quickly adapted to the also suspiciously cosmopolitan *spiritans* (Santos; Torrão, 1993: 8).

Why did the general opinion of the members of the Lisbon Geographical Society change in such a drastic way? A previous report from a fellow of the Society, Nuno de Freitas Queriol – second lieutenant in the Portuguese navy –, certainly played an important role in this “conversion” (Queriol, 1880), but to better tackle this question one must first turn to the earliest years of *spiritan* activity in the colony, in order to understand the mentality and the diehard strategy of the Father that would most influence the Congregation’s early workings in Angola: Charles Duparquet (1830-1888)²¹. Before he enters the scene, three members of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit had arrived at Angola, most precisely at the small northern port town of Ambriz, in 1866, beginning a fruitless first attempt at establishing the *spiritans* at

the colony (Costa, 1970: 25-26). After the death of one of them, the remaining Fathers decide to move to Luanda, where they were also sent to their early graves, in 1869 and 1870 (Brásio, 1974: 1; Costa, 1970: 26-27). This decision, of moving to the colony's capital and mingling with the regular clerics, much angered the Portuguese deputies – being bitterly discussed at both Chambers of the Portuguese Parliament – which thus became deeply biased against the Congregation (Costa, 1970: 26-27).

The next and also unproductive attempt at setting up a foothold in the colony was to take place only a couple of months later (the 15th October, 1866), when Father Duparquet accepts at Lisbon, from the hands of D. José Lino de Oliveira (the then acting Bishop of Angola and Congo), the responsibility for the small parish of Capangombe, at Moçâmedes, the southern limit of the Angolan colony. Soon, the Governor of Benguela was writing to his superior at Luanda about a suspicious priest that was *awakening the racial hatred between the European and the sons of the country, by only living with the later, and always downplaying the merits of the former*²². The suspicious Governor also claimed that this priest *made it clear to both the freemen and the slaves that, if they were directed by Napoleon's government, they would have a far better lot*.²³ Under heavy pressure because of suspicions of this kind, Duparquet decided to temporarily abandon the colony, in order to establish a *spiritan* teaching and recruiting institution back at the Portuguese metropolis – the *Casa do Congo* in Santarem (1867) (Alves, 1966: 33; Costa, 1970: 180) –, justifying himself to his superior and head of his Congregation, Father Schwidenhammer, in the following manner:

The Portuguese have an extremely developed national pride, and they can't stand that foreigners come here and interfere in their affairs. Our quality of Frenchmen does us a great evil, because otherwise we could obtain everything that we would like to have down here, like the Jesuits do, despite the hatred attached to their name. But they are extremely clever, they have a few Portuguese members, so they always press them forward, presenting all their achievements as Portuguese ones, thus being accepted everywhere (Brásio, 1966: 656)²⁴.

Duparquet hence defined a strategy that would be followed for more than a hundred years (in fact, until 1975), as from then onwards – and in a most extravagant manner during the commemorations of the First Centenary of the Congregation in Angola (Alves, 1966) – every achievement of the *spiritans* was conspicuously presented as a Portuguese victory. While trying to emulate the Jesuits – that the Portuguese in fact barely tolerated²⁵, but that the Holy Ghost Father was deeply paranoid about –, Duparquet explains what he understood to be his holy mission:

[M]y conviction is that God has not created the world for the Jesuit alone, and that the other Congregations established by Him are also called to fulfill their role inside of the Church, [...] fighting against the obstacles posed by the devil, even when the devil uses Jesuit priests to foil their workings. That the Jesuit priests are sometimes the workers of the devil, that is my conviction (Brásio, 1966: 656)²⁶.

The anti-Jesuit Portuguese Priests of the Royal Patronage would certainly approve of this conclusion, but if Duparquet was to justify his unorthodox methods recurring to this fanatical anti-Jesuit agenda – while assumedly trying to “fight fire with fire” – his superior Father Schwidenhammer would defend his actions before the *Propaganda Fide* with two other arguments: that the Angolan clergy was, before the arrival of the *spiritans*, dangerously constituted exclusively by persons of color, and that the whites of the colony were all subjugated by the French inspired Free-Masons (Brásio, 1966: 698-699).

Ironically, when Nuno Queriol narrates to the Lisbon Geographical Society his first encounter with Duparquet, he claims that his expulsion from his first parish was due to the locals believing him to be a *Jesuit*:

When in 1878 we went [...] to **Wellwich bay in Hotentotia**, we had the chance to meet the reverend father Duparquet [...]. In past times this missionary was **expelled** from Mossamedes, where under the sight of the authorities he single handedly was trying to establish a mission [...]!! The pretext of his expulsion was simply the little sympathy that **old man** deserved, because he was a **Jesuit!!!** (Queriol, 1880, 29).²⁷

The lieutenant then goes on to lament that Duparquet as a result decided to forward a *cause exterior to ours, in territories that we claim as our own*, when he could have been kept at a close distance and under surveillance at Moçâmedes (Queriol, 1880: 29).

Figure 1 - Detail from the photography entitled *Missão do Espírito Santo – Landana*
[*spiritan mission at Lândana*]



Source: part of Cunha Moraes' album *Africa Occidental* (1885). Reproduced with the authorization of the Life Sciences Department of the University of Coimbra

After these first attempts, a successful *spiritan* mission was finally established at Lândana, in 1873, on a piece of land claimed by both the Portuguese and the French – only to become definitively part of the Cabinda enclave after the Berlin Conference (1884-1885) –, that enjoyed a status close to that of a *terra nullius* throughout most of the 19th century (Brásio, 1974: 30-31; Costa, 1970: 27-28, 34, 69-74)²⁸. Ahead of this renewed effort was once again Father Duparquet. While politically it was dubious to which European power this territory was supposed to belong to, religiously the area was undoubtedly part of the apostolic prefecture of the Congo, recently vacated by the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin (Alves, 1966:32), and locally the land presumably belonged to the African leader Peça Matenda, who the *spiritans* call a “chief”²⁹. Duparquet proceeded to buy him land for the mission, paying 200

pieces of cloth, two crates of rifles and two kegs of *aguardente* spirits (Costa, 1970: 70). The first signs of an impending clash of cultures were soon to become clear. Imbued with a bourgeoisie working ethic that his predecessors Friars Minor could never have maintained – they professed, as Franciscans, vows of complete poverty – Duparquet demands that the boys he begins teaching how to read and write at his mission (a much sought after skill in local aristocratic circles), should toil the land as compensation, and as a practical “crash course” in working ethics (Queriol, 1880: 23). Peça Matenda, as the responsible for the lands occupied by the mission, makes an effort to inform the *spiritans* of local practices: «*the sons of free men should hunt, fish, catch dendê palm nuts and trade. Only women should farm the land*»³⁰, he concernedly informs him³¹.

Duparquet did not heed the warning, as he had his own fixed ideas about the role women should take in a Christian world, and therefore proceeded to ask the assistance of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny – that were to arrive in Lândana at 1883 – to help the *spiritans* enforce them on the locals (Costa, 1970: 73). The flow of local aristocratic converts was thus to dwindle, and Peça Matenda, facing the internal dissent of those that blamed the *spiritans* for the lack of rain and a Brazilian flea epidemic, tries to recover “his” lands from the mission. Although Matenda’s efforts were to fail, Duparquet was forced to find a new source of converts, one that could allow him to put into practice his vision of a self-sustained industrious mission, populated with Africans of both sexes³². He thus decided to segregate both the aristocratic free boys and some *mestiços* that were already learning Latin into separate communities – excusing them of manual labor –, while establishing two separate agricultural colonies populated one with young *resgatados*, and the other with adult *resgatados* couples (Costa, 1970: 72-73). These *resgatados* or “redeemed” were bought slaves, freed but indentured to their “liberators” for a considerable amount of time³³. Father Duparquet, taking into accounts the urgency of his mission, the slowness of the process of “natural” conversion – and the fact that most free converts would be aristocratic boys, unfit to work his lands due to local taboos – proceeded to buy most of his converts, thus creating the conditions to the incredible future boom of his mission.

Figure 2 - Detail from the photography entitled *Missão do Espírito Santo – Margens do rio Zaire* [*spiritan mission at the margins of the Zaire river*], depicting the fields of the mission at Boma



Source: part of Cunha Moraes' album *Africa Occidental* (1885). Reproduced with the authorization of the Life Sciences Department of the University of Coimbra.

Father Duparquet was also instrumental in creating the other apostolic prefecture that Luciano Cordeiro complained about in 1882, that of Cimbebasia – flanking the diocese of Angola and Congo from the south (Costa, 1970: 195-199). Once again following his strategy of emulating the Jesuits, Duparquet travels to Lisbon in 1881, to recruit a student from the house he had founded in Santarem in 1867, in order to make him the Portuguese figurehead of his southern efforts (Costa, 1970: 198-199). This pupil, Father José Maria Antunes (1856-1928), soon follows in the footsteps of his teacher, as he quickly realizes that *at Huíla* [the site of the new *spiritan* mission], *of all the elements, the human one is the hardest to master* (Costa, 1970: 201)³⁴. Therefore, as his lay brothers started clearing the land, planting trees and sowing, he began buying *resgatados*: boys, and adults of both sexes to work the mission's lands (Costa, 1970: 201). Also depending on the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny to establish a girls' boarding school, from 1887 onwards he added female child slaves to his "redeeming shopping list"³⁵ (Costa, 1970: 202). Thus it came as no surprise, that as soon as 1889 he was able to establish

the first “Christian village” of the Angolan central plateau, Jau, populated solely with couples that he had bought and trained for a couple of years for that exclusive end (Costa, 1970: 202).

One can thus summarize that two different Angolan territories constitute the main setting of the ensuing events (the rooms where the Lisbon Geographical Society meets, the Congregation of the Holy Spirit’s Mother House and *Casa do Congo* in Santarem, and other Metropolitan corridors of power constituting their distant European counterparts): the first plot of land bought to Peça Matenda at Lândana; and the later mission at Huíla and its surrounding “Christian villages” (built after the example of Jau). Significantly, both areas provided the last levies of African slaves to Brazil, before the Atlantic traffic started to dwindle during the 1850’s (Miller, 2003: 104-105, 108). According to Joseph Miller, it was in the *East of Benguela*, where people at the highlands (including Huíla, in the South-East) were acquiring their modern identity as “Ovimbundu”, and in the *Kikongo-speaking areas to the north of the zone of Portuguese military occupation* (including Lândana), that the slavers were able to take advantage of a legal vacuum, thus proceeding with their activities for a while longer (Miller, 2003: 104-105). This same rationale of taking advantage of what was perceived as a *terra nullius* dictated the choices of the *spiritans* (Brásio, 1974: 5), which thus came to pick these same spaces as their area of future influence. In no short measure due to this territorial coincidence, analyzing the events that resulted from the presence of the *spiritans* in these areas can be very helpful to advance the understanding of what was at the same time taking place at the other side of the Atlantic, in Brazil.

Summing up the whole cast of characters presented so far poses a greater challenge, and is something that can only be done briefly if one adopts the most impressionist of stances. On the one hand, from the European side one can enumerate two different sets of key figures: the secular and the religious ones. The secular group is constituted by the members of the Lisbon Geographical Society, the *africanistas* whose lobbying power was steadily increasing in an atmosphere of generalized colonial frenzy, and the local colonial administrators. On the religious (Christian) side, the *spiritans* and a “supporting cast” constituted by the Jesuits, the Friars Minor Capuchins, and the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny – all under the authority of

Propaganda Fide, but sometimes rivaling each other – opposed the Portuguese Royal Patronage, acting in Angola under the Bishop of Angola and Congo³⁶. On the other hand, the African side is constituted by Peça Matenda (that the *spiritans* classify as a local chief) and his dependants, the *resgatado* slaves and the free pupils of the missions, and the local Angolan regular clerics. Every single one of these factions has a different interest at play, and from their interaction the following events come to pass.

Act I: An African *ultimatum*

Turning our attention back to the Lisbon Geographical Society of the early 1890's, it becomes clear that what most impressed the members of its African Commission was the *spiritans'* ability to quickly produce visible results, where formerly the Capuchins had taken decades to establish only a small, elitist, male, and ostensible nominal Christian presence. Their report hyperbolically states that:

These most worthy workers of civilization, taking Christ as an example, seem to have the gift of performing the miracle of the multiplication of money, producing a lot of good results with few and bad resources. This because, guided by a very special formation, they know as nobody else how to take advantage of the local resources, not only mastering the savages by appealing to their hearts and minds, bending them to their ideals, using them as part of their plans and taming them through labor, and the practice of arts and craft, thus creating artists and workers (African Commission, 1893: 68).³⁷

Clearly Duparquet's strategy of fast paced growth with recourse to the "rescuing" of slaves caused a great sensation³⁸. Besides this approach, the *spiritans* had been, for a couple of years now, regularly sending their representatives to speak at the meetings of the Geographical Society, an approximation tactic that resulted in an open compliment: besides de Jesuits, the African Commission stated, no other Congregation except the Holy Ghost Fathers seemed to properly honor this most praiseworthy scientific institution (African Commission, 1893: 46). Duparquet's plan was thus a complete success; the *spiritans* had become a mirror-image of the Jesuits he hated so much.

Unsurprisingly, the joining of efforts between the colonial lobbyists of the Lisbon Geographical Society and the Holy Ghost Fathers was not only the culmination of a charm offensive initiated by the latter, but also the product of an evolution of mentalities on the Portuguese side. After what was perceived as a great defeat at the negotiation table in the Berlin Conference, the Portuguese had suffered an embarrassing *ultimatum* from the United Kingdom (1890), thus shifting their paranoia away from the French, the Jesuit, or any other plausible or imaginary threats towards the British protestant missionaries: the *protestant flood* denounced in the report, against which the apostolic prefectures manned by the *spiritans* – now presented as profoundly heroic – had worked as a last resort dike (African Commission, 1893: 34-35, 39). The Portuguese colonial thinkers, much like Duparquet was already doing since the late 1860's, thus turned their attention to what they idealized to be the reality of protestant missions, searching for redeeming virtues they could adapt in the reformation of their Catholic counterparts. Two aspects were to be chosen and praised as touchstones of truly modern missions: their work ethics and their gender politics.

The old missions were destitute of sisters, the report regretted, and the lay brothers [responsible for teaching and coordinating the manual labor] *were, at best, as many as the priests* (African Commission, 1893: 34)³⁹. *The old missionaries could be plenty, valorous and skilled, but they should have been accompanied by a threefold, fourfold or even greater number of lay brothers* (African Commission, 1893: 33)⁴⁰, otherwise all they could do was create a situation close to that of 1853, when the colony's clergy was constituted solely by persons of color – the aristocratic *sons of the land* the Capuchin aspired to train. Contrary to that, the Portuguese colonial thinkers now defended that fifteen or more years of secondary and superior studies (African Commission, 1893: 34) should not be wasted in the formation of black Africans, who should be regenerated by manual labor – taught to the boys by the lay brothers – and Catholic marriage – the ultimate goal the sisters prepared the girls to aspire to. [T]hree priests, nine to twelve lay brothers, and five to six sisters, should compose a complete African mission (African Commission, 1893: 34)⁴¹, the African Commission proposed, which should have as its main aim the foundation of Christian villages such as Jau, in order to secure

the Portuguese rights in the hinterland without the expensive recourse to white settlers. To the *spiritans* was thus offered a *carte blanche* to keep on buying *resgatados*.

But who precisely were these *resgatados*, and how come they were still being bought and sold at this late date? Answering this question will also shed some light into the third angle from which these new Christian villages were to be approached – that of their African neighbors. After the anti slave-traffic laws of 1836, which were mainly directed at curbing the Atlantic Slave Trade (reinforced by the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 1842), the total abolition of slavery at the Portuguese territories was decreed in successive waves during the fifties, culminating in the theoretical abolition of slavery in 1878. This “great liberation”, though, was only granted after the liberal projects of the 1840’s had totally failed, and the Angolan colony had a firmly entrenched slavery-based economy and society. What that meant in practice was that the capitalist project of establishing an economy based on free-labor and licit trading had been largely abandoned, in favor of a neo-mercantilist, quasi-feudal model, sustained by forced labor and massive amounts of hidden slavery (Torres, 1991). As for concealed slavery, and the internal slave black-market, both institutions continued flourishing due to a couple of exceptions allowed by the consecutive abolitionist laws (Alexandre, Dias, 1998). Among those, the main one was introduced in the 1854 decree that established that every single slave brought from the hinterland was to become immediately free (Alexandre; Dias, 1998: 74-75). This decree also establishes a period of forced labor of ten years every *resgatado* had to supply his saviors with (Alexandre; Dias, 1998: 74-75).

The rhetoric justifying the existence of this institution, known as the *resgate humanitário de escravos* (the humanitarian redemption of slaves), is an old one, being part of the Portuguese colonial thought since the *Ancien Régime*, and having deeper cultural roots in the Christian doctrines of the rescuing of heathen souls through the buying and mass baptism of slaves. After the first decades of the 19th century, though, the *resgatados* began to be solely presented as individuals that had been accused by their own brothers of committing unspeakable crimes – mostly sorcery (*feitiçaria*) –, then sentenced to death, and finally “mercifully” bought as slaves by Portuguese traders. As even contemporary authors began to

note, when the pressures of the internal slave black-market shifted – for instance when the independence of Brazil (1825), and the introduction of cotton cash-cropping (from 1870's onwards) made female slaves more valuable than male ones – the local oracles responsible for the production of confirmations of sorcery accusations seemed to be affected by a feedback loop that guaranteed that the market was always supplied. That most plantations, and then the *spiritan* missions, depended on a constant flow of *resgatados*, creating a flourishing market for them, assured that every kind of accusation that could lead to a death penalty commutable to slavery was sure to thrive.

What this also meant, was that the *spiritans*, who depended on *resgatados* to maintain both their fast increasing labor force and female population, were actually creating Christian villages constituted mostly by former sorcery convicts (as only aristocratic men came freely to the missions, and those were unfit to work), and thus not presenting – by a far shot – the local non-Christian Africans with the alternative social utopia they naively believed were building⁴². Adding insult to injury, although after Peça Matenda's intervention the *spiritans* ceased trying to force the men that came freely to them to work the land, they still maintained that women should be mainly occupied in training to be good Christian wives and mothers, leaving the fields to be worked by the lay brothers and in large measure the *moleques* – thus disregarding local gender roles and responsibilities in subsistence⁴³. What the Holy Ghost Fathers also disrespected – for obvious reasons – were local wedding customs. Monogamy was enforced, and the converts were coupled (it is unclear if by the missionaries or by free choice) and married at regular intervals – half a dozen pairs were enough to found a new village following Jau's model (Santos; Torrão, 1993: 23-24). This kind of disregard towards gender roles, family ties and social taboos, one must remember, was probably considered as the hallmark of the presence *feiticeiros*, or sorcery practitioners in a given community.

Tellingly, these new villages were forced to be completely independent from the African societies that surrounded them, having to rely not only on their own food production, but also on the harvesting of cash crops, the handling of money, and the always unprofitable commerce with the colonial administration (their only other willingly partner besides their

mother missions). That the Christian status of their inhabitants cut them from the daily rituals their neighbors performed, thus leaving them in an obvious *no man's land* because the “performativity” needed to shape broader or more fluid identities was severely restricted to them, that is obvious and perhaps partly the result of an intentional choice on the part of their *spiritan* tutors⁴⁴. What the *spiritans* and the *africanistas* did not realize was that the villages were bound to be regarded as the unsavory abode of *feiticeiros*, or sorcery practitioners (and as such a privileged site for future anti-witchcraft movements). Turning our attention back to the founding moment of *spiritan* action in Angola, one can better understand the first serious clash that it caused, between Father Duparquet and Peça Matenda, now taking into account the precedence of the *resgatados*. As the *spiritan* sources tell us, as soon as Father Duparquet establishes Lândana, and after he was already warned about the breaking of locally accepted gender roles, a brief drought occurred:

The «witch-doctors» [quimbandas, the local religious operators (Santos; Torrão, 1993: 15)] seized the opportunity to blame the missionaries: «the spirits are unhappy with the arrival of these white persons; they punish us not allowing the rain to fall. Because of them we will starve». In order to placate the spirits, they then asked for the immolation of chickens and goats, the best of which they kept to themselves. [...] By the 2nd of November 1874, an «ultimatum» reaches the Mission: «Fathers: You Reverend Excellencies have fooled me when you asked me for a piece of land to establish an orchard. Furthermore, every single one of the chiefs of the land now censures me for having sold you the land were you Reverend Excellencies have established yourselves, the motive behind the drought, that is creating a flea plague. Therefore, having you Reverend Excellencies already reaped what you sowed, consider yourselves paid of what you gave me. Now I want you to go away soon, and to stop sowing, if not I will send my troops to destroy your house and crops. Awaiting reply. Chief Peça» (Costa, 1970: 71-72).⁴⁵

Clearly the *spiritans* were misinterpreting what was happening⁴⁶, due to the influence of the generic myths of the *Dark Continent* they were undoubtedly familiar with (and that Queriol does not fail to mention)(Queriol, 1880: 29-30). That the presence of white men, or even missionaries (Brásio, 1974: 6-9), would upset the locals is a far shot, taking into account

that the Capuchins had just vacated the immediacies and that the area had quite a few French and Portuguese trading posts⁴⁷ (Brásio, 1974: 4-6). Visibly, what upset Peça Matenda was the establishment of former sorcery convicts so close to his home, living in completely aberrant communities, disregarding local taboos concerning gender roles and interpersonal social relations – places that he seemed eager to ritually cleanse with the aid of anti-witchcraft movements (that the *spiritans* miscomprehend as fetishist rituals designed to *placate the spirits with the immolation of chickens and goats*) (Costa, 1970: 71). To add insult to injury, the *spiritans* actively fought to abolish and discredit local poison ordeals – with consequences that must have been similar to those described by Douglas (Douglas, 1999; Santos; Torrão, 1993: 15).

If one can reasonably predict that the areas under the influence of the *spiritans* were to become preferential grounds for anti-witchcraft movements – that, by not only taking into account their “tinkering” with local customs and beliefs, but also by accepting Joseph Miller’s premise of an *African mentalité* that can be characterized by a constant need to try new tactics in the fight against the *quintessential evil* (Miller, 2003: 90) – one can also pose the following question: were not the Holy Ghost Fathers acting from the start like an anti-witchcraft movement themselves (thus being, albeit unwillingly, at both the end and the start of a recurring cycle)? Turning a final time towards Queriol’s report, and taking stock of Douglas’ and Miller’s insights, one can affirmatively answer this question. According to Nuno Queriol, the previous generations of clerics acting in Angola (which he derogatorily names *aboriginal clerics*)⁴⁸ were composed mostly of local black Africans, that seem to have co-opted the Catholic institutions pretty much the same way their Brazilian generational cohorts had done with the *irmandades* (Miller, 2003: 106). From Queriol inflamed racist critique of these black clerics, it is possible to understand that as Douglas’ formerly Catholic Fathers at the center of the anti-witchcraft movements she names *l’Action de l’Abbé* (Douglas, 1999: 17-19), these priests were surely taking the fight against sorcery in their own hands, something that shocked Queriol, and that worried Duparquet and Schwidenhammer into focusing their best efforts in the Angolan colony:

We should not, by God, take advantage of the ultramarine clergy which, being born there [in Angola] has always as an handicap to the good undertaking of the idea [his proposal of a mission project] the climate, the ignorance and the race, above all the race, that will always react in a prodigious and most difficult manner, in a manner impossible to avoid [...]. There are priests overseas, a great number of which contribute more to the discredit than the credit of their religion. Without instruction, without morality, without the basic conditions to be exerting the sacred ministry of the altar, they limit their mission to perform (when they do) the exterior acts of worship; muttering plainsongs, giving mass only **pro forma**, ministering sacraments without catechesis, and only hastily and rudely employing the sacramental words and formulas! Some Fathers we saw that, for not being an ecclesiastic in the slightest fashion, even... [original emphatic retraction] **and professed fetishist superstitions and practices**, intermingling the religious cult with an unbecoming **barbarism**, in such a mess, that we would be far better without having such morally destabilizing elements in our colonies (Queriol, 1880: 24-25)⁴⁹.

Queriol concludes this long remark by stating that these black clerics – adept at *fetishist superstitions and practices* that could only be anti-sorcery techniques – were nothing *but contractors dealing with religious externalities*⁵⁰, something that reaffirmed the overall tone of this stretch of his report, further and undoubtedly giving a distinctive Protestant pitch to his laments (Queriol, 1880: 24-25). If one considers that Father Duparquet guided his efforts towards emulating the ostensible success of the Protestant missions (adopting their working ethos and gender role division), it becomes clear that the *spiritans* action in Angola can be understood as a reformation of the local religious orthodoxy that could plausibly be understood as a new *eradication movement* by the locals, the beginning of a new phase in the continuously cyclic fight against evil (Miller, 2003: 106) – even more so when the Congregation proceeded to fight against previous anti-witchcraft authorities (both *quimbandas* and black Catholic clerics), substituting the Capuchins, while buying and ritual processing large numbers of sorcery convicts. That even the most ardent Father Duparquet perceived his mission as a direct fight against the (hidden) evil of the (according to him *devil*

inspired) Jesuits, and presented it thus, only adds to the plausibility of the fact that he was to be misunderstood by the locals (Brásio, 1966: 656).

Act II & Epilogue: The fight against the *quintessential evil* resurfaces

Fast forward to 1955⁵¹: in the small outpost of Sambo, near Huambo – deep inside the missionary zone the *spiritans* were working on for almost a century now – a new religious movement is discovered by an increasingly suspicious administration (weary from its unsuccessful dealings with such high profile movements as the Kimbanguist and Tocoist churches) (Santos, 1969). The *Olesantu*, as David E. Barrett would name them in *Schism and Renewal in Africa* (Barrett, 1968), were quickly uncovered throughout the central Angolan plateau and harshly persecuted (Santos, 1969: 410). The movement seemed to move into an area right after a drought, or a bad harvest (a first echo of the previous “Act”), and – what astounded the colonial authorities the most – it only expanded to the Christian villages (of *spiritan* foundation), often brought by former catechists⁵² (Santos, 1969: 411). The only agenda the movement had consisted in the eradication or ritual neutralization of sorcery practitioners (*to destroy the sorceries and annihilate the sorcerers*⁵³) that supposedly resided within these villages. Their *modus operandi* further resonated with that of Peça Matenda’s men (and countless other African anti-witchcraft movements): they immolated animals, and destroyed crops and European trade goods such as clothing and tools (Santos, 1969: 412-414). The more successful inhabitants of the Christian villages were accused of practicing sorcery, and as soon as new members were admitted, becoming ritually clean, they were given the chance of denouncing former accomplices (Santos, 1969: 412-413). The women who became members of *Olesantu* often refused to perform their “conjugal duties” with the husbands the missionaries had chosen for them (Santos, 1969: 413). Clearly the colonial administration and the missionaries were once again reaping what they had sowed with the creation of Christian villages constituted solely by *resgatados*. This time around, while the Europeans still had no idea about the underlying causes of the upheaval, they crushed it with all the fury and might of a modern colonial administration (Santos, 1969: 410-414).

A new cycle was thus brutally interrupted in the bud, by a then powerful and aggressive colonial administration. That it began proves that even despite almost a century of *spiritan* action – or perhaps thanks to it – the unleashing of sorcery accusations brought forward by the persisting *African Mentalités* described by Miller proceeded according to an uncanny regularity, that also should be anticipated at the other side of the Atlantic (Miller, 2003: 84). In fact, the reliability of this phenomenon in the African context begs a reinterpretation of the shifting religious allegiances of the Brazilian population that once adopted an Afro-Brazilian creed, only to later shift to a Pentecostal or Evangelical denomination. When making a balance of a century of missionary work at Lândana in 1974, António Brásio mentions two regrets: that *the belief in «soul eaters»* [sorcerers] *was still widespread [...] even amongst the teachers*⁵⁴, and that the local African black clerics mourned the *spiritan* presence, instead of celebrating it (Brásio, 1974: 20-21)⁵⁵. After the analysis proposed in this paper, the two aspects can only be understood as deeply related.

Sources

AFRICAN COMMISSION. **Sessão de 17 de Abril**. Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1893.

ALVES, Henrique. **A Congregação do Espírito Santo – Cem anos em Angola**. Lisbon: Congregação do Espírito Santo, 1966.

BARRETT, David B. **Schism and Renewal in Africa**. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1968.

BRÁSIO, António. **No centenário da Missão de Lândana**. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1974.

BRÁSIO, António. **Spiritana Monumenta Historica** – Series Africana. 1 Angola. Vol. I, (1596-1867). Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1966, pp. 604-605.

BOAVIDA, António José. **Missões e Missionarios Portuguezes – Comunicação á Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa em Sessão de 17 de Abril de 1893, Em defeza e desagravo Patriótico dos nossos Altares e dos Nossos Lares – resposta ao relatório sobre as Missões de Angola por António José Boavida – Socio effectivo e superior das Missões do Real Padroado Portuguez**. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1893.

CAVAZZI, Father Giovanni António. **Descrição Histórica dos Três Reinos do Congo, Matamba e Angola**. 2 volumes. Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar. 1965.

CORDEIRO, Luciano. Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, v. 3, n. 3, 1882.

LOURENÇO, Serafim. **A missão espiritana no sudoeste de Angola**. Lisbon: Missionários do Espírito Santo, 2003.

MORAES, (J. A. da) Cunha. **Africa Occidental – Album Photographico e Descritivo**. Rio de Janeiro: David Corazzi, Editor, 1885.

QUERIOL, Nuno de Freitas. **As Missões Catholicas em Africa: Uma visita a Landana – Necessidade de missões portuguezas**. Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, v. 2, n. 1, 1880.

SANTOS, Eduardo dos. **Movimentos Proféticos e Mágicos em Angola – Um problema de administração**. Lisbon, 1969.

Bibliography

ANDERSON, Gerald H. **Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions**. Michigan: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998.

ALEXANDRE, Valentim. **A África no imaginário político português (séculos XIX-XX)**. Penélope, Lisbon, n. 15, p. 39-52, 1995.

ALEXANDRE, Valentim; DIAS, Jill (coord.). **Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa**. Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, v. 10, 1998.

BIRMAN, Patricia. Sorcery, Territories, and Marginal Resistances in Rio de Janeiro. In: PARÉS, Luis Nicolau; SANZI, Roger (ed.). **Sorcery in the Black Atlantic**. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.

CHANOCK, Martin. **Law, Custom and Social Order – The Colonial Experience in Malawi and Zambia**. Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1998.

COSTA, Cândido F. da. **Cem anos dos missionários do Espírito Santo em Angola 1866-1966**. Nova Lisboa [Huambo], 1970.

CURTO, José C.; LOVEJOY, Paul E (eds.). **Ensalving Connections – Changing Cultures of Africa and Brazil during the Era of Slavery**. New York: Humanity Books. 2003.

DOUGLAS, Mary. Techniques of sorcery control in Central Africa. In: MIDDLETON, J. e WINTER E. H. (eds.). **Witchcraft and sorcery in East Africa**. London: Routledge. 1963.

DOUGLAS, Mary. **The Lele of the Kasai**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963b

DOUGLAS, Mary. **Sorcery accusations unleashed: the Lele revisited**, 1987. Africa, International African Institute, v. 69, n. 2, p. 177-193, 1999.

DOUGLAS, Mary. **Os Lele Revisitados, 1987 – Acusações de feitiçaria à solta (versão de 1999)**. Mana, Rio de Janeiro, v. 5, n. 2, p. 7-30, 1999b.

DULLEY, Iracema. **Deus é feiticeiro – prática e disputa nas missões católicas em Angola colonial**. São Paulo: Annablume, 2010.

GESCHIERE, Peter. **The Modernity of Witchcraft: Politics and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa**. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 1997.

GINZBURG, Carlo. **The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries**. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. [1966]1992.

HAAR, Gerrie ter (ed.). **Imagining Evil: Witchcraft Beliefs and Accusations in Contemporary Africa**. Trenton: Africa World Press, 2007.

HORIZONTE, Belo Horizonte, v. 11, n. 29, 2013. Dossier: Afro-Brazilian Religions.

MILLER, Joseph C. Retention, Reinvention and Remembering – Restoring Identities through Enslavement in Angola and under Slavery in Brazil. In: CURTO, José C. and LOVEJOY, Paul E (eds.). **Ensalving Connections – Changing Cultures of Africa and Brazil during the Era of Slavery**. New York: Humanity Books. 2003, pp. 81-121.

OLIVEIRA, Rosenilto Silva de. Religiões afro-brasileiras. Da degenerescência à herança nacional: lendo Nina Rodrigues. In: **Revista Nures**, n. 15, 2010.

PRANDI, Reginaldo. Sobre religiões afro-brasileiras. In: **Horizonte**, Belo Horizonte, v. 11, n. 29, pp. 10-12, 2013.

SANTOS, Maria Emília Madeira; TORRÃO, Maria Manuel Ferraz. **Missões Religiosas e Poder Colonial no Século XIX**. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos de História e de Cartografia Antiga, Instituto de Investigação Científica e Tropical, 1993.

SILVA, Vagner Gonçalves da. Religiões Afro-Brasileiras: Construção e legitimação de um campo do saber acadêmico (1900-1960). **Revista USO**, São Paulo, n. 55 , p.82-111, 2002.

SOUZA, Teotónio R. de, O Padroado português do Oriente visto da Índia – instrumentalização política da religião. In **Revista Lusofona de Ciência das Religiões**, vol. 7, n. 13/14, 2008, pp 413-430.

SWEET, James H. “Not a Thing for White Men to See” Central African Divination in Seventeenth-Century Brazil. In: CURTO, José C. and LOVEJOY, Paul E (eds.). **Ensalving Connections – Changing Cultures of Africa and Brazil during the Era of Slavery**. New York: Humanity Books. 2003, pp. 139-148.

TORRES, Adelino. **O Império Português entre o Real e o Imaginário**. Lisbon, Escher, 1991.

VAIL, Leroy. Law, Custom and Social Order: The Colonial Experience in Malawi and Zambia by Martin Chanock. **Journal of Southern African Studies**, v. 13, n. 3, pp. 448-450, 1987.

VIEIRA, Gérard. **Le Père Duparquet – Missionnaire ou explorateur? Lettres et Écrits, Tome I (1852-1865): L’Obsession des colonies portugaises**. Paris, Karthala, 2012.

Artigo recebido em 07 de janeiro de 2014. Aprovado em 02 de março de 2014.

Notas

¹ Nina Rodrigues’ influence on at least a whole generation of scholars’ attitude towards the sub-equatorial African peoples then designated as “bantu” is well documented. From his seminal work onwards, authors such as Arthur Ramos and Roger Bastide came to consider the purported descendents of slaves from Yorùbáland (the *nagôs*) as the sole depositaries of “pure Afro-Brazilian religions” and traditions – greatly overestimating their influence (Oliveira, 2010).

² Douglas revisits the Lele 25 years after the fieldwork trip that resulted in her first monograph, *The Lele of the Kasai* (Douglas, 1963b).

³ Also published in Portuguese (Douglas, 1999b).

⁴ The choice to use throughout this paper the English term “sorcery” as a translation of the Portuguese “feitiçaria”, while maintaining the denomination of “anti-witchcraft” to describe the movements that try to fight it might cause some confusion, but can be justified by the fact that in African context these movements are thus traditionally named in the English anthropological tradition.

-
- ⁵ In 1998, while preparing a second edition, Martin Chanock revisits his work about Malawi and Zambia originally researched in the early 1970's and first published in 1985 (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press) (Chanock, 1998: v).
- ⁶ For a contemporary attempt to analyze this precise issue, see (Haar, 2007).
- ⁷ The authors under analysis deal with this “suspension of disbelief” problem in different ways. While Douglas starts her paper recognizing that the usual anthropological position favors the granting of a certain level of reality to witchcraft powers and sorcery – as a matter of fully respecting local worldviews and beliefs – she quickly disclaims that her *liberal* worldview positions her closer to the victims of the accusations, then completely denying the possibility of harming others at a distance by supernatural means (while methodically granting sorcerers the same probability of existence as angels or saints) (Douglas, 1999: 7-8). It is perhaps this impossibility of taking a completely neutral stance towards the anti-witchcraft movements (something that in the light of their extreme violence is completely understandable), combined with an overall admiration of Lele culture, that explains Douglas' original renitence in publishing her paper. Chanock has a more proactive position from the start, believing that even if what he is about to discuss temporarily casts a bad image of the peoples he is studying, ignoring the historicity of sorcery and anti-witchcraft movements will be costlier in the long run: *Lawyers, and legal anthropologists, do not believe in witchcraft. They clearly feel that to portray it as an important belief anywhere, rather than a fringe one, casts doubt upon the rationality of the people they are describing. The effect of this has been to make it harder to understand its workings and its possible perception by people as a central part of the process of controlling evil and handling conflicts, and clearly has diminished the appreciation of the importance of the effects of its outlawing* (Chanock, 1998: 86).
- ⁸ These 19th century states administered a large number of lineage slaves (wives and dependants) as well as the “commodity slaves” that were now harder to sell to the traditional European buyers (due to the British sea embargo): *Large numbers of slaves and slave wives in owners' villages increased tensions, witchcraft and accusations. Vital social norms held only tenuously in the new and temporary slave societies: hostility, and challenge by the use of the supernatural and by poisoning were widespread* (Chanock, 1998: 89).
- ⁹ Continuing an intellectual tradition inaugurated by Roger Bastide (Silva, 2002: 95). For a brief history of this academic pursuit, see (Silva, 2002).
- ¹⁰ Which he considers essentially to be the *mediators/translators for societies that were undergoing rapid social and political transformations, bridging the gap between tradition and change* (Sweet, 2003: 139).
- ¹¹ According to the well known description of Father António Cavazzi (1687) (Cavazzi, 1965).
- ¹² A typical central African ordeal, consisting in the removal by turns of a stone from a boiling pot of water: the rightfully accused should present burnings and signs of pain; the innocent presumably perform this feat without incurring any physical damage (Sweet, 2003: 142).
- ¹³ Some of the misconceptions regarding the emancipating role of sorcery – completely absent in its African incarnation – seem to stem from the influence of Carlo Ginzburg's works on European Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults (Ginzburg, 1992). Needless to say, although Ginzburg's lessons in the epistemology and methodology of microhistory can and need to be applied to African contexts, establishing a close and direct parallel between European and African witchcraft and/or sorcery beliefs is a very problematic endeavor.
- ¹⁴ *Like many other Central African “trials” in Brazil, someone from outsider the immediate slave community (in this case, a neighboring slave) was ultimately judged to be the guilty party, reinforcing the ritual as a satisfying remedy that balanced the interests of both slaves and masters* (Sweet, 2003: 144).

¹⁵ Emphasis not in the original.

¹⁶ When it entails that one should thus turn to Africa in order to get insights much needed to better understand Brazil, as Miller defends. Curiously, the notion that since the Brazilian social scientists (or learned men and scholars, to begin with) had *Africa in their kitchens* – in Silvio Romero’s words – they needed not look to the actual African continent, was the historically dominant way of making sense of *Brazil as an African country* from the dawn of the Brazilian social sciences (the influential admonition of Silvio Romero, was to be reproduced in Nuna Rodrigues’ *Os Africanos no Brasil*) (Silva, 2002: 87).

¹⁷ For a contemporary microhistory that follows a *événementielle* approach to the study of life stories that are marked by the successive adoption of Afro-Brazilian and then Pentecostal creeds, see (Birman, 2011).

¹⁸ This ritualized self-mortification usually was the response to a real or perceived foreign threat, and proceeded according to a recurring scheme, often ending in an exaltation to take up arms and restore the old glory of the Portuguese Empire’s founding fathers (a cry that can still be found today in Portugal’s national anthem). Valentim Alexandre defines this practice as the articulation of the myth of the *herança sagrada* (holy heritage) (Alexandre, 1995: 41).

¹⁹ “Whose religion, his realm” – an obvious allusion to *cujus regio, ejus religio* (“Whose realm, his religion”), the maxim that became enshrined at the Peace of Augsburg (1555), when a truce between the Protestants and the Catholics of the Holy Roman Empire finally emerged.

²⁰ ...centro di missione do Congo, e da prefeitura apostolica da Cimbebasia, como offensivo dos direitos, limites e jurisdição da diocese de Angola e Congo, e da soberania de Portugal em todos ou em parte dos territorios que foram adjudicados á sua acção e jurisdição espiritual (Cordeiro, 1882: 131).

²¹ Duparquet was born in Laigle, Normandy, and ordained as a priest in 1855 (Vieira, 2012: 7-8). For an alternative interpretation of the early years of *spiritan* action in Angola, that grants to Father António Carrie the role of main driving force behind the Congregation’s success (characterizing Duparquet as *discouraged*) see (Brásio, 1974).

²² ...ele tem despertado o ódio de raça entre os europeus e os filhos do país, não convivendo senão com estes, falando sempre em desabono daqueles (Brásio, 1966: 604-605).

²³ ...fazendo ver aos livres e ais escravos que, se fossem dirigidos pelo governo de Napoleão, melhorariam a sua sorte (Brásio, 1966: 604-605).

²⁴ My translation from the original French.

²⁵ Queriol stated that part of the bias the Portuguese had against missionaries was based on the mistake that they were Jesuits: *There [in Angola], as here, the missionaries are generally **mistrusted**, being everybody in the habit of emphatically calling them **Jesuits*** (Queriol, 1880: 20) [*Ali, como aqui, não são em geral **bem vistos** os missionaries, aos quaes se está habituado a chamar **emphaticamente Jesuitas***]. Emphasis in the original.

²⁶ My translation from the original French.

²⁷ *Quando em 1878 fomos [...] a Wellwich Bay na Hotentotia, tivemos ocasião de travar relações com o reverendo padre Duparquet [...]. Em tempos foi este missionário **expulso** de Mossamedes, onde á vista da auctoridade –*

sósinho – tentava estabelecer uma missão [...]!! O pretexto da expulsão foi única e exclusivamente a puca *sympathia* que merecia aquelle **velho**, por ser **Jesuíta**!!!(Queriol, 1880: 29).
Emphasis in the original.

²⁸ Queriol would advert the Lisbon Geographical Society to the dangers inherent to this fact: *Established in lands exclusively ours [the Lândana mission], a few miles south of the Luango Luce river, the northern limit of the territory **once claimed** by Portugal,[...] in a while it will be the Mission to dictate the law over there* (Queriol, 1880: 20) [*Estabelecida em terrenos exclusivamente nossos, algumas milhas ao sul do rio Loanfo Luce, limite norte do território sobre que Portugal **em tempo reservou os seus Direitos** [...] dentro em pouco tempo será ella quem ali dictará a lei*].

²⁹ Costa presents him as *Peça*, «*Senhor de Tenda*» (*Peça*, «*the lord of Tenda*») (Costa, 1970: 70).

³⁰ «*Um filho livre deve caçar, pescar, apanhar dendém e negociar. Só a mulher cultiva a terra*» (Costa 1970: 71).

³¹ Unsurprisingly, Nuno Queriol interprets this division of gender roles in a rather racist fashion: *The nigger in his wild state is, as we all know, rebel to work. He lives off hunting and fishing, because his self preservation instinct and his warrior nature impel him to do so* (*O preto no estado selvage é, como se sabe, rebelde ao trabalho. Vive da caça e da pesca, porque instinct da propria conservação e a sua indole guerreira a isso o instigam*) (Queriol, 1880: 23).

³² Duparquet often seems directly inspired by an idealization of the protestant working ethic he tries to emulate, once again trying to “fight fire with fire”. His efforts in putting into practice what he believed were the lessons to be learned from the protestant “modern” post-industrial revolution missions, granted him the title of *the first modern Roman Catholic missionary to the interior of central Africa*, which the Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions still endows him with (Anderson, 1998).

³³ Nuno Queriol, visiting Lândana during 1876 names these *resgatados moleques* and *pretos da missão* (mission owned niggers) (Queriol, 1880: 21): *About that time the mission had about 100 **moleques**, some trusted to it by their parents [the noble born], and the rest **bought** from the chiefs of the interior, with pieces of cloth and spirits! [N’aquella epocha tinha a missão perto de 100 **moleques**, alguns confiados pelos paes aos cuidados da missão, e o resto **comprados** aos sobas do interior por peças de fazenda e aguardente!]*(Queriol, 1880: 22). Emphasis in the original.

³⁴ *Na Huíla, de todos os elementos, o mais difícil, é o elemento humano* (Costa, 1970: 201).

³⁵ A similar practice took place at the *spiritan* mission of Maiombe, and thanks to António Brásio’s research we know the prices practiced: *Amongst the 60 boys at the mission in Maiombe, said the Reverend Father Richl, 24 where former slaves, saved [resgatados] by the mission at 150\$00 a piece, in cloth patches or a single rifle and gunpowder. To be married, the girls were bought at 40, 50, or 100 current blankets [Dos 60 rapazes da missão do Maiombe, disse o R. P. Richl, 24 eram antigos escravos, resgatados pela missão a 150\$00, por cortes de fazenda ou mesmo por uma espingarda e pólvora. Para o casamento a rapariga era comprada por 40, 50 ou 100 cobertores ordinários]* (Brásio, 1974: 18).

³⁶ A rivalry that would continue well into the first decades of the 21st century (Brásio, 1974: 13-17).

³⁷ *É que os valorosos obreiros da civilização, a exemplo de Christo, possuem o admirável dom de realizarem o milagre da multiplicação do dinheiro, produzindo muito e bom com pouco e mau. É que guiados por uma educação toda especial, sabem como ninguém tirar proveito dos recursos locais, já dominando os selvagens pelo*

coração e pelo cérebro, apropriando-os às suas ideias, utilizando-os nos seus planos e amestrando-os na prática dos trabalhos, das artes e officios, de modo a crear artistas e operários (African Commission, 1893: 68).

³⁸ Nuno Queriol describes at length his great surprise when he met for the first time a *moleque* (a bought *resgatado*) that was able to greet his party with a *bon jour, messieurs* (Queriol, 1880: 21).

³⁹ *As antigas missões não encontravam a irmã, e o irmão era, ao muito, tão numeroso como o padre.* (African Commission, 1893: 34).

⁴⁰ *Os missionários podiam ser numerosos, valentes e habilidosos, mas cumpria serem acompanhados por irmãos em numero triplo, quadruplo e mais ainda* (African Commission, 1893: 33).

⁴¹ *...três padres, nove a doze irmãos e cinco a seis irmãs formarão uma missão africana completa* (African Commission, 1893: 34).

⁴² Both the Bishop of Angola and Congo, and the *africanistas* of the Lisbon Geographical Society shared this naïve belief – the first believing that these new Christian families were presenting an attractive lifestyle to the local non-converts; the seconds that the *spiritans* were presenting the Africans with alternative *ideals to fill in the void left by the destruction of their former superstitions* [*ideais que substitutam o vácuo deixado em sua alma pela destruição de suas superstições*](Santos; Torrão, 1993: 18).

⁴³ At the Huíla Mission, headed by Father José Antunes, six priests and 15 lay brothers were in charge of 110 male students. Of these, 68 were *resgatados* that besides studying their primary studies carried out most of the plantation work. The Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny had at their charge 120 female converts, all of them *resgatadas*, that also helped in the fields, although their primary concerns were learning how to cook and practicing embroidery (Santos; Torrão, 1993: 17-18).

⁴⁴ This aspect has been briefly studied by Maria Emília Madeira Santos and Maria Manuel Ferraz Torrão (Santos; Torrão, 1993: 22-25).

⁴⁵ *Os «feiticeiros» aproveitam a ocasião para inculparem os missionários: «Os espíritos, estão descontentes com a chegada destes brancos; eles castigam-nos impedindo a chuva de cair. Por causa deles vamos morrer de fome». Para aplacar os espíritos mandam imolar galinhas e cabritos, de que aproveitam a melhor parte. [...] Em 2 de Novembro de 1874, um «ultimato» chega à Missão: «Senhores Padres: Vossas Reverências quando me pediram um bocado de terreno para fazer uma horta enganaram-me. Mais, todos os chefes da terra censuram-me por ter vendido o terreno onde se estabeleceram Vossas Reverências, motivo este porque a chuva não cai, o que ocasiona a praga das pulgas. Por conseguinte, Vossas Reverências, tendo plantado e já colhido, estão pagos por tudo o que deram. Agora quero que se retirem em breve, e não continuem a plantar, se não mandarei a tropa arrancar e derrubar a casa. Espero resposta. Chefe Peça»* (Costa, 1970: 71-72).

⁴⁶ Father Serafim Lourenço narrates that an uncannily similar occurrence took place after the foundation of the southern *spiritan* mission of Kubango in 1888 (Lourenço, 2003: 107-109), reinforcing the idea that this understanding of local events owns more to a recurrent *spiritan* mythology of the *other* (which results in a reusable template), than to actual regional beliefs and practices. Iracema Dulley analyses this passage differently in her *Deus é feiticeiro* (Dulley, 2010, 48-49).

⁴⁷ Brásio quotes the *spiritan* António Carrie's description of Lândana before the establishment of the mission: *Five big European houses are established at the beach. Ten or twelve second order factories are stationed in the hinterland [...] there the white man is at home* [*Cinco grandes casas europeias estabelecidas na praia. Dez a doze feitorias de segunda ordem, escalonadas no interior [...] ali os brancos estão em casa deles*] (Brásio, 1974: 4)

⁴⁸ ...clero aborigene (Queriol, 1880: 25).

⁴⁹ Ha **padres** no ultramar, uma grande parte dos quaes mais para desproveito do que para credito da religiãõ. Sem instrução, sem moralidade, sem condições algumas do sagrado mister de ministros do altar, limitam a sua missão a exercer (quando as exercem) os actos exteriores do culto; mascando cantochões, dizendo missa apenas **pro forma**, ministrando os sacramentos sem catechese, e empregando mal e á pressa as palavras e forma sacramental! Padres vimos que, para em nada serem sacerdotes, até... e **professavam costumes e superstições fetichistas**, misturando o culto religioso com uma **barbaria** indigna, n'uma confusão tal, que mais seria para estimar não possuirmos nas colonias taes elementos de desordem moral (Queriol, 1880: 24-25). Emphasis in the original.

⁵⁰ ...**empreiteiros de exterioridades religiosas** (Queriol, 1880: 25). Emphasis in the original.

⁵¹ In order to better understand what went on during this gulf of time, Iracema Dulley's *Deus é feiticeiro – Prática e disputa nas missões católicas em Angola colonial* provides precious insights. Due to limits in space and scope, her analysis will not be critically incorporated into this paper. Of special note are her demonstrations of how the missionaries came to dispute the same religious and symbolic space as the *ovimbanda* [local folk healers, plural of *ochimbanda*] and even *olonganga* [diviners and anti-witchcraft ritual agents, plural of *onganga*] (Dulley, 2010: 55, 138-145, *inter alia*). She also refers the buying of slaves by the *spiritans* (Dulley, 2010: 57), the role catechists played as anti-witchcraft agents in behalf of the missionaries [although this is not her interpretation of the events] (Dulley, 2010: 61-63, 65-67, 131-135) and briefly describes the day-to-day life in *christian villages* (Dulley, 2010: 63).

⁵² One should stress that according to Brásio, the *resgatados* could never ascend to the status of catechists, an honor reserved to the noble boys that shared close quarters with these former sorcery convicts: *A former slave saved [resgatado] by the mission cannot become a catechist or a teacher [Um antigo escravo resgatado pela missão não podia ser catequista ou professor]*(Brásio, 1974: 18). Clearly this original class rivalry must be considered. Unfortunately we don't have any information about the *spiritan* rationale behind this prohibition.

⁵³ ...destruir os feitiços e aniquilar os feiticeiros (Santos, 1969: 411.)

⁵⁴ ...a crendice nos «comedores de almas» está ainda demasiado generalizada [...] até em professores... (Brásio, 1974: 20).

⁵⁵ Brásio quotes a local member of the *indigenous clergy (clero indígena)*, Father Buillu, from Cabinda: *instead of a celebration, a penitence of a yearm a month, a week or even days [...] in atonement for the evil performed by the missionaries!!! [em vez de festejos (devia) haver coisa parecida com um ano, mês, ou semana, ou dias de penitência [...] pelo mal feito pelos missionários!!!]* (Brásio, 1974: 21). Clearly Buillu is calling for a Christian anti-witchcraft movement similar to those described by Mary Douglas (Douglas, 1999: 17-19).