

HISTORY AND RITUAL: POSSIBLE RELATIONS BETWEEN WARS, MISSIONS, AND DEVOTION

DOI
10.11606/issn.2525-3123.
gis.2022.185710

DOSSIER RELIGIONS: THEIR IMAGES,
PERFORMANCES AND RITUALS

GIOVANNI CIRINO

Universidade Estadual de Londrina, Londrina, PR, Brazil, 86057-970 – csociais@uel.br

ORCID
<http://orcid.org/0000-0003-3297-5462>

ABSTRACT

The missionary work is discussed through the catechetical theater which is based on a ritual of devotion to St. Benedict (Ilhabela, north coast of São Paulo). Starting from the festivities of Colonial Brazil, we seek to understand the links between missionary activity, the wars of West-Central Africa in the 16th and 17th centuries, and the ritual representations. The focus of this reflection is the relationship between historical events and the ways of publicizing missionary activity. It reflects not only on the ritual as an enhancer of a devotional imagery but also on the unfolding of the represented events, their interpretations, and reframing processes.

KEYWORDS

Ritual; Angolan
Wars; Congada;
Catholic Missions;
Reframing.

THE BAROQUE AND THE COLONIAL FESTIVALS

The public festivals and celebrations of Colonial Brazil presented specific and peculiar characteristics. Among them, the political centralization of the State, the Baroque aesthetics and the defensive Counter-Reformation can certainly be highlighted. The festivals of popular Catholicism, such as the Festival of St. Benedict, can be understood as expressive forms relative to the Baroque festivals of the colonial period. Such festivals can be perceived as continuities and remnants of certain aspects of the colonial world. The festivals

present specificities related to the performance of colonial power, which implies deep reflection on the processes of resignification and the strategies of subjugated people (Maluf 2001, Araújo 1993, Souza 1994; 2002, Del Priore 1994, Jancsó and Kantor 2001).

Drawing upon the studies of Affonso Ávila (1994) and Luis Roberto Lopes (1981), Marcia Maluf argues that Baroque festivals of the colonial period represent a worldview and a sensibility that constitute the ethos of Brazilian culture. Such an ethos is still present as a kind of continuity in some fields of popular culture, like the so-called popular festivals. These festivals recreate a moral, religious, and poetic ideal, becoming a “privileged index of a mentality and a lifestyle, enabling us to explore the meaning of the Baroque mark” (Maluf 2001, 1).

The Baroque character of the colonial festival brings a specific connotation to the language by which the State and the Church are fused. Such a character is evident in various expressive aspects (Montes 1998). Baroque processions performed the affirmation of Portuguese monarchy. The “kingdom” of Congo, for example, was only one part of the parade where many other meaningful colonial institutions were represented. The colonial world involved the religious fraternities, the offices, the ecclesiastic and civil authorities and, finally, the image of the “mystic body”¹. The Baroque procession would have been responsible for a transformation of the mystic body, a shift from the sacramental to the juridical. The change happened by means of different processes, being the public parade only one of them. Simultaneously, the juridical sense of the mystic body is transposed to society, being the King the higher representation of unity, harmony, and justice (Monteiro 2001, 78).

The propagation of Christianity and the conversion of pagans is a constitutive element of the Portuguese Absolutist State. Such a messianic project of the State is institutionalized by the “Padroado”, the King’s exclusive right of exerting missionary and religious activity on behalf of Holy See.² Faith propagation is the main foundation of the “Just War”. After being widely used in the context of the Crusades between the eleventh and thirteenth

1. *Corpus Mysticum* is the denomination given to the universal church founded by Jesus Christ. Saint Paul used this expression referring to the Church as the Body of Christ, being Christ the head. The devotees become part of the Church and part of the Mystic Body through faith and the sacrament of baptism. Jesus Christ is the invisible sacred head and the Pope the worldly visible head.

2. Padroado was the juridical tool that determined the exclusive right of organization and funding of religious activities in the domains of the Kingdom and discovered lands. It also included the power of nominating priests and bishops that were later endorsed by the Vatican. Portuguese Padroado constituted the religious aspect of the political and administrative structures of the Kingdom (and later the Oversea Padroado encompassed the dioceses in the East, Africa, and Americas). Thus, many activities of the Church, such as the Inquisition, became activities of the State. This subject, as well as the Spanish Padroado and its relations to the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, is explored by Gonçalves (2008, 39, 44-52, 77 and 141).

century, the concept of Just War became the legitimacy of the passage from the condition of free man to slave.³

The processions and the Baroque festivals became a form of expressing and publicly performing the practices of the King, the head of the Imperialist mission of the State. The reproduction of the mystic body of the State happens through the parade, where social and supernatural forces are represented by means of material elements such as images and sounds. Such expressive elements are “articulated in terms of traditional topic rhetoric, with a proper syntax. The Baroque festival propagates a concept performing it practically” (Idem, 79).

Marcia Maluf (2001), Maria Lúcia Montes (1998) and Affonso Ávila (1994) emphasize that Baroque aesthetics is deeply rooted in ludic aspects, in the sense of play and the creative force that recombines constantly the elements of diverse places and epochs. The authors show that Baroque aesthetics is strongly influenced by contradiction on ambiguity.

In the visual arts, this taste for profusion, excessive ornament, and the fear of the emptiness – in architecture, sculpture and Church paintings, for example – are the visible, concrete counterpart of this sense of play that, in Literature, becomes metaphor, the indirect discursive order, the precious language, and the verbal volutes that respond to the architectonic forms which scroll upon themselves (...) (Maluf 2001).

The Baroque search for the restauration of an ideal order is produced under the sign of contradiction: on the one hand, the creative feeling of the individual; on the other hand, the archaic feeling of limitation before a world out of control. In the archaic world, the individual was constrained by social and theological knots, which restrained their capacity for expression and experimentation. This is a source of opposition between the archaic and the modern world.

It is worth noticing the reflections of Maluf on the “coincidences and continuities between the popular forms of culture and their remote Baroque ancestry” (idem), as well as her considerations regarding a common history of domination over Indigenous and African peoples. Such aspects

3. Juridical doctrine created by Cícero in the first century BC, involving a reflection and ethics on the circumstances where the war can be morally acceptable. There are two main aspects: on the one hand, the theory aimed to specify criteria for the State in war to achieve the principle of justice. On the other hand, it postulated the conditions where the war must happen. Coming from Cicero and Ambrosius, passing through Bartolomé de Las Casas, Hugo Grotius, John Locke, Emmanuel Kant and John S. Mill, many authors reflected on the issue. In the specific context analyzed by this article, the arguments of Just War became the justification for many contradictory situations. For a dense and wide reflection on the issue, see Orent, Brian. 2008. *Just War Theory*. In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Edward N. Zalta (Ed.), Fall Edition.

are closely related to the processes of resignification in the expressive forms of popular culture.

The festival of St. Benedict and its congada are rituals of power representation, whose nature is political and theological. The festival is an example of the processes of resignification and production of certain contexts through the constitution of new codes. We draw upon the meaning suggested by Marshall Sahlins (2008), according to whom these processes produce codes through the association of specific parts of the semantic field of certain categories derived from diverse symbolic contexts. This is the kind of symbolic process by which God and Nzambi are associated in the missionary context of West-Central Africa.

Considering the representation of sovereignty of a society conceived as a mystic body, as well as the representations of other subjugated kingdoms in Baroque festivals and processions, the festival of St. Benedict presents an articulation between the messianic project of the State and the missionary activity that produced the legitimacy of the imperialist expansion. This plot presents the action plan of the Portuguese State, which associated ideological justification to collective representation and, at the same token, associated sacred and profane in a spectacular form of power by means of the Baroque language.⁴

The scope of this reflection is the connection between the expressive elements and its relations with historical processes, power relations and forms of propaganda regarding the missionary activity. The devotion is considered the result of the production of codes and processes of resignification and resistance. From this point of view, the Baroque aspects are the foundation for a characteristic ethnoecology of the ritual: numberless expressive elements of African cultures (such as music, musical instruments, and choreographies) are brought side-by-side with the Baroque aesthetics in which the historical events are referenced. This juxtaposition creates a tense relation between the past event [war] and the ethnographic present [devotion].

The reflection will be drawn upon our empirical basis, following the introduction of the ethnographic context. The festivals of popular Catholicism are comprehended in relation to the Baroque processions. The introduction

4. The codes in the ritual can be highlighted by means of different aspects of expressive elements: 1) the sonorous landscape of the ritual: morphology of marimba and audiovisual inscriptions where sound structures are perceived, therefore being possible to relate them to the African traditional music (Cirino 2012, 261). There is a postulate according to which there is no complete fusion of elements in musical expression, particularly formal and structural elements (Oliveira Pinto 2002); 2) Carolingian literature (see footnote 13): because the text of the plot brings various mentions to the narrative of *The Story of Charlemagne and the Twelve Peers of France*; and 3) the Catholic missions in Western Africa: responsible for the propagation of the missionary success in Europe (Cirino 2013; 2016).

enables the contextualization of the old tradition rooted in the narratives of Colonial Brazil. Later, the final act of the devotional ritual of St. Benedict is presented, in order to explore the expressive elements that show the processes of resignification and production of codes. The dramatization associated with the sensorial perception and materiality of the sacred is also explored. After the discussion on the ritual elements, we discuss two meaningful wars in the region of Angola (city of Massangano), the first in 1583 and the second in 1648. They are mentioned in the plot and fundamental to the comprehension of the devotional context. After this long incursion through the Angolan wars, we return to the analysis of the ritual, understanding it as conventional context and processes of resignification.

RITUAL CONTEXT

Catholic devotion is present throughout the north coast of São Paulo.⁵ The evidence of such a devotion is observed by the different religious practices, churches and colonial chapels. The main church of Ilhabela Island is dedicated to Our Lady of D'ajuda and Bom Sucesso. Among important festivals of the religious calendar in the island, the festivals of St. Benedict (someday in May), Our Lady of D'ajuda (February 2nd) and Saint Peter (June 29th) can be highlighted.⁶

Many inhabitants of the island of Ilhabela are devotees and cultivate a meaningful connection with Catholic saints and various other entities, especially St. Benedict.⁷ Many practices are dedicated to his name, and many actions praise him. St. Benedict inspires various activities set into a ritual system, which encompasses dead and alive, places, and objects

5. The empirical material comes from different stages of research. Initially, research was done for the TV documentary *Sobre a Congada de Ilhabela* (Kishimoto TV-USP, 2004-2011), which is composed by 6 parts (26 minutes each) and can be accessed by the following link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CpCuk441ZCw&t=1239s>. Data was gathered by means of fieldwork out of the scope of the documentary, mainly audio recordings, interviews, and notes between 2009 and 2019. There were useful transcriptions of the plot in the manuscripts of King Benedito Hipólito de Carvalho (Dito de Pilaca), as well as in the texts of Iracema França Lopes Corrêa (1981) and Haydeê Dourado de Faria Cardoso (1982, 1990). This *corpus* regarding the plot of the *congada* were compared to the transcriptions of other similar *congadas*, which were registered by Rossini Tavares de Lima (1949/1981), Alceu Maynard Araújo (1964), João Alfredo Rabaçal (1976), José Loureiro Fernandes (1977).

6. Since 2020, due to the prevention protocols of COVID-19, every activity related to the festival was suspended. As usual, the participation of the public administration is fundamental to the realization of the festival. The suspension of the ceremonies and other cultural events by the city hall and the secretaries of education and culture also affected funding for the festival. The participation of the church has also been determinative.

7. The most common version on the origins of St. Benedict (Benedetto Manasseri) tells that he was born in the city of Messina (Sicily-Italy), in 1525. He was a son of an African enslaved man who was born by Iberic ships. He belonged to the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin at the convent Santa-Maria-di-Gesú, near the city of Palermo (cf. Alencastro 2000: 314). Benedetto lived in this convent working as a humble cook and died in 1589, being acclaimed a saint. His process of canonization began five years after his death. He was beautified in 1743, but only canonized and sanctified on May 25th, 1807, amid the slavery regime. Fraternity de St. Benedict, first established in Lisbon in 1619 by Moors and converted Africans, was responsible for the diffusion of his cult in Angola.

of devotion. Inhabitants of Ilhabela consider that St. Benedict has meaningful agency. The devotion is expressed in different ways along the year. Nevertheless, the public expression and main rituals of devotion are concentrated on the festival of St. Benedict during three consecutive days. As part of the activities, the processions happen in the beginning and the end of the festival, framing the sequence of the ritual (Schechner 1985; 1988). They are important moments where the interaction between the players and the community out of the scene – out of the *congada* itself – can be observed. The expressions of promise, devotion and affection are intense. The laughter and the cry are simultaneous. Healing and grace, too. These are dimensions of the processions and their final moments in the church. The image of the saint over the *andor* impacts the devotees, adding to the effects of the multiple sensorial elements like prayer, chanting, or the drums and bells of the church, which resonate in a constant, fast rhythm, with a high volume.



FIGURE 1
Procession. Image of St. Benedict arriving at the main church for the Opening Mass (Author's photo 2016).



FIGURE 2
Andor being carried by the devotees, over the andor the Image of St. Benedict, dressed for the festival (Author's photo 2006).

The devotional activities to the saint happen every year in May. They are organized by two groups: the *ucharia* and *congada*.⁸ Nevertheless, the festival involves other organizational groups. The *congada* is performed as an expression of devotion. It is a kind of prayer, a praise in the form of scenic representation. A performance in the streets with speech, dance, and chanting whose plot is the conflict between two rival groups. On the one hand, the aristocrats of the King of Congo, considered “Christians” who wear blue clothes and occupy the “upper” side of the battlefield. On the other hand, the Congos of the Ambassador of Luanda, considered “Moors”, “pagans”, “unbaptized”, “faithless”, who are dressed in red and occupy the “lower” side of the battlefield.⁹ The Ambassador of Luanda is then convinced to become a Christian, becoming a devotee of St. Benedict. The armies occupy a different point, more or less 40 meters from each other, being the battlefield the space between the armies. The performance of the scenes happens in that space, following three acts (called *bailies*) of approximately 40 minutes each.

8. *Ucharia* is the group responsible for funding, organization, preparation, and distribution of food donations dedicated to St. Benedict. *Ucharia* is a form of banquet freely offered to the participants and population during lunch on Saturday and Sunday. It is an extremely important part because it is associated with the circuits of gifts surrounding the name of the saint (Mauss 2003). *Ucharia* is responsible for a major part of the material production involved in the devotional activities. People believe that the saint makes himself present in the *ucharia*, distributing blessings with the grace of what is cooked, offered, shared, and consumed for him. The grace is distributed through the commensality of his devotional food. *Ucharia* presents abundance, excess, grace and collective commensality. For this very reason, *ucharia* presents an important aspect regarding the materialization of the sacred, but it will not be analyzed here.

9. In the King's Army, the main characters are the Prince, the Secretary, and the Cacique. In the Ambassador's Army, only the Cacique.

The performance presents the moment when the Ambassador of Luanda arrives at the city of Congo and sees the festival of St. Benedict. The unfolding of the scenes shows the representation of clashes and steep trials of approximation alongside speech, chanting and dance. Each *baile* presents repeatedly, with a few differences, the history of a war whose aim is the recognition of the Ambassador. The Ambassador is the King's bastard child. In each *baile*, the Ambassador is arrested three times, left before the judgement of the King, who feels guilty after debating his reasons and, finally, professes his conversion. Nevertheless, the last act is specific because it is the *baile* in which the King discovers the truth about the Ambassador, who was raised in another kingdom.

DEVOTION IN SCENE

Even though the three scenes present recurring elements, the last *baile* is especially different because of its character of finalization and some aspects of its content. The *baile* begins with the dialogue between the King and the Secretary. The contents of this dialogue regard the fact that the King was embracing the cross of Christ, i.e., his conversion. The demonstration of a diligent praise to St. Benedict shows the meaning of the conversion. The Secretary seems particularly interested in praising the saint to cheer the sovereign. After asking the Secretary to call the population, the King talks to his Aristocrats, inviting them to the festival.



FIGURE 3
King and Queen heading the procession, followed by the lines of *congueiros* (Author's photo 2008).



FIGURE 4
Prince pronouncing
his Embassy
before the King and
Queen (Author's
photo 2010).

When the Secretary is ready, the Aristocrats begin their presentation of the “ambassies”.¹⁰ Later, the instruments are played more intensely. Congos of the Ambassador present choreographies, walking and chanting in two lines around the Aristocrats. With drawn spades put upon their right shoulders, Congos hold their cape while they sing. The “war” begins. The remarkable moment is the formation of lines and circles with choreographies where spades are crash against each other. The Prince and the Secretary “go down” in order to talk with the Ambassador while the Congos yell and chant “*With the tip of arms/We want to win o le le/With tip of arms/We shall die!*”. Such choreographies, which represent the clashes between the two armies, are full of energetic movements, running, and fluid and circular formations. The troops demonstrate their devotional and martial force. The bodies of congueiros crashes, integrating in the choreographies and dislocating through the battlefield. The sounds of spades and marching feet, chanting and rhythm of the drums express the sincere devotion. The public, most of them familiars of the players, are also emotionally affected by the devotion expressed in the performance. The public joins in the physical and corporal participation of the congada.

While the war is happening, the Secretary of the King talks to the Ambassador, threatening and intimidating him. The Congos of the Ambassador crouch or kneel, one by one, and the Caciques remain upright. Then, the Secretary asks if the Ambassador wants to see him dealing the final blow. The Cacique intervenes with a surprising revelation: the kinship between the King and the Ambassador. The discovery of the kinship happens at a controversial moment, when the King would understand the real motive

10. In Ilhabela Island, the ambassies are the speech of the Aristocrats before the King, and their praise of St. Benedict and other saints. Every Aristocrat has an embassy, being allowed to utter more than one embassy, with pompous tone, in the beginning of each *baile*. Often ambassies are repeated. Some verses and speech of the plot are used as ambassies, and emphasis are produced by the repetition of certain verses.

of the Ambassador's invasion. Speaking to the Secretary, the Cacique of the Ambassador reveals: *"You do not know/We are two governors/Of the kingdom of this city/Son of the Father, Your Majesty the King?"*. The Ambassador is revealed as the King's son.

Then, the Secretary scratches the floor with the space, delimitating a "barrier" for the Congos. The Secretary goes before the King whilst the Ambassador follows him, jesting. As soon as the Secretary arrives at the extremity of the battlefield, before the monarch, he asks the King's permission to present his embassy. The King concedes. This is a moment loaded with tension, expectation, and suspense. The devotees know that the King's answer is determinative for the reception of the Secretary's message. The Ambassador does not give a clue on the answer to the revelation.

Later, the Secretary invokes divine presence in the battlefield, regardless of the numerical disadvantage. The Secretary begins his report by saying that the King can rest because the invaders are peaceful. But the King wants to know who it is. So, the Secretary reveals: *"I do not know. They say he is the prince, your dear son, real son of Massangano"*. After the revelation, the marimba begins to play. The Secretary returns dancing and concedes permission for the Ambassador to approach the King.



FIGURE 5
The spades crash while they sing. In the choreography, circles are formed by the two armies for the clash (Author's photo 2010).



FIGURE 6
During the battle, the Ambassador attacks while the Aristocrats defend the King (Author's photo 2009).

In the presence of the King, everybody sings together, cheering the freedom of the Ambassador, who was until then considered an adversary, an enemy, becomes an ally by blood. The Ambassador comes closer, asking the King for his blessings. The King responds: *“Bimbia Zambi in a pongo aquiriri!”* And asks: *“Ambassador, how did you escape from my feet?”* The Ambassador answers objectively: *“Sovereign, the cruel battle of Massangano was the cause”*.

What happened in this battle? Was it a previous battle between the armies? Has the Ambassador been defeated in this battle becoming a subjugated? What was the context of the cruel battle? Important details of this passage – the reference to Zambi as well as the verbalization of the motive of the schism – are the key to comprehend the meaning of the ritual. The Ambassador sits beside his father and explains his motivations.¹¹

The King, silent, only listens to the son's complaints. The returning son is strong and has an abundant army. The military power of the Ambassador is very big in comparison to the Aristocrats of the King. During the dialogue, father and son misunderstand each other again. It seems that the Ambassador would be delighted to be the heir of the scepter and the crown. The Ambassador is resentful about his banishment and exile. He says he is unfortunate in the hell and ask for his father's forgiveness. Then, the King orders him to accept the law of Christ, the only way for forgiveness. First, the Ambassador refuses it. But he later accepts and recognizes the

11. Tall and powerful monarch/Who is devotee of Mombique/Whose great magnitude/That goes from pole to pole/When I knew that you/To whom our feet were prostrated/Sent the duke of Cassangue/With force of arm and weapon/You sent me because I am well-known, Sir/Of your obedient servants/Because not being recognized as monarch/Son of your flesh/I determined eagerly/And received eagerly/The glorious Benedict Saint.

monarch. Like the other two *bailes*, the scene where the King offers the spade to the Ambassador is repeated, as well as the dialogue about the “quality” of the soldiers, the flowers of Massangano.

After chanting, the music stops. The King stands up and utters the final verses, framing the *baile*. Like the other *bailes*, he mentions the change that softens his heart, and the seabed, the *Kalunga grande*. Congos are forgiven according to their new Christian names, their baptism name.¹²

In the final moment of the last baile, the *congueiros* commonly express themselves publicly. They thank St. Benedict for another festival, another *congada*. They thank the participation of the population for their commitment with the organization of the *congada* and *ucharia*. Many women of the community, who did not follow the performance because they were working in the kitchen, usually appear. The commotion is evident. The community celebrates enthusiastically. At this moment the next Queen who will celebrate the festival in the next year is “crowned”. This a moment full of care and importance due to the competitiveness and meaning of the role. The major and other authorities, like secretaries and political candidates, appear too. Expression of emotion and devotion, the last baile is also a moment of expression of the rivalry and tensions as well as alliances and affinities.

Like the Catholic missions, Carolingian literature and religious conflict (between protestants, muslims, “pagans” and other religious denomination) are important to understand the *congada* in Ilhabela (Cirino 2013).¹³ Thus, the investigation on the “battle of Massangano” is necessary.

12. Oh sweet congos/voices from the throat/of a strong people/that surprises everybody./ In my strong heart/A change has come/Which made my hear soft/As a thing that dances./ In the seabed enchanted mermaids do not sing/The children go and go with love/ To praise Benedict Saint/Because we expect from him/The most singular prize./ But first before dancing/Come everybody to my feet/I want to award you/I want a swing dance/ And according to your name/You will be forgiven. Abulo!

13. According to Araújo (1952; 1964), the main theme of conversion would have a subtract narrated by the “Chanson de Roland” (book IV, chapter IV), famous collection that resulted in “The Story of Charlemagne and the Twelve Peers of France”. Some aspects of the war narratives would have been “wisely used by the catechist” (Idem: 216). “The Story of Charlemagne and the Twelve Peers of France” would have been constituted throughout the eleventh century, setting a kind of model for this kind of literature. Its diffusion in Brazil happens by means of the fragmentation of the content and the creation of different expression, like *cordel*, ballads and folk songs. There are many expressions of Brazilian popular culture in which we find the representation of the expulsion of pagans by a “Christian army”. According to Mario de Andrade in his book “Danças Dramáticas no Brasil” (1982a), this motif would have born in Brazil with the *cavalcadas*, passing to the *marujadas* and, later, becoming part of the *congadas*. The “Chanson de Roland” (or “Song of Roland”) would be the part that describes the death of Roland and the arrival of Charlemagne at the Iberian Peninsula, where he fought the “faithless” Moors. The so-called “Moors” occupied the Iberian Peninsula between 711 a 1492, almost eight centuries. In the “Chanson...”, the narrative supposedly describes the event where Galatão betrays the emperor’s army in the canyon of Roncesvalles.

The revelation of the kinship between the King and the Ambassador unleashes the revelation of rivalry. The motive that led the Ambassador to escape from the King's feet was the cruel battle of Massangano. Considering the possibility of the hypothesis suggested by Mario de Andrade (1982a), according to which the plot refers to events which took place in Africa, we will follow historiographic information on the wars in the region of Massangano. Despite of the numberless hints that point to the war in 1648 as the main reference, there is another battle that took place in 1583. Therefore, I present some information concerning the two battles, emphasizing the context of the Seventeenth century.

TWO ANGOLAN WARS: OUR LADY OF CANDLES [1583] AND RESTORATION OF LUANDA [1648]

In 1583, the Ambundu, led by Mbandi Ngola Kiluanji (seventh king of Ndongo), fought against the Portuguese, led by Paulo Dias Novais. The Portuguese were allies of the Congolese, led by Alvaro II (Christian name of Mpanzi Mini a Lukeni Lua Mbandi, King of Congo between 1574 and 1614). The motivations of the conflict were related to the search for precious metals and the expansion of the Portuguese domain in the West-Central Africa.

The narratives of war in the region of Congo and Angola suggest the kind of atrocities committed in the name of the expansion of Catholic faith. An example is the Battle of Our Lady of Candles [1583]. Baltazar Barreira, Jesuit priest and a chief of the uprising of servants in Angola, wrote a letter to José de Anchieta, who was the provincial of Brazil, in 1585 (Brásio 1952, 323-5 *apud* Alencastro 2000, 173).

Roy Glasgow (1982, 32) and Ralph Delgado (n.d, 305) understand that Paulo Dias Novais was looking after gold and silver in Eastern regions (Cambambe, near the main city of the Kingdom of Ngola). A great conflict seemed unavoidable and the troops clash on February 2nd, 1683. King Mbandi Ngola Kiluanji (father of the Queen Nzinga Mbandi Ngola Kiluanji) heading the Ambundu armies against a large contingent of Portuguese and their allied *sobas*, headed by Paulo Dias Novais and the *soba* of Songa.

Noticing the move of the Portuguese over the territory, the King of Angola set "the biggest army until then" (Idem, 305). The reference mentioned by Delgado points out that a crowd of "a million and two hundred men" led by the King Ngola Kiluanji crashed with the Portuguese armies. When they saw such a great army, many allies scattered. With effort, the Portuguese defeated the waves of Angolan soldiers.

Regarding these operations against the King of Angola in which Paulo Dias Novais succeeded, priest Barreira mentions the conversion of *sobas*

that became allies. The wars were justified by Barreira, who did not see any problem in The Society of Jesus being served by slaves, even though it should happen through conversion and catechesis. According to Alencastro (2000), Barreira was a powerful auxiliary of Dias Novais. His action operated in the ideological and symbolic field: the bravery of the Portuguese and divine signs, like crosses in the skies, visions of the Virgin, spades of fire and other “miracles” were readily reported whilst the presence of native allied archers was omitted. Evidently, such celestial and divine signals were only a rhetorical resource because “the papal briefing of 1625, which forbade the report of non-recognized miraculous event, did not exist” (Alencastro 2000, 173).

Our aim is not to confuse the historiographic narratives with the instrumentalization of the religion, since there was a clear prominence of the colonial war over the catechesis in Angola, as can be confirmed by the Portuguese provincial document of 1588 (Idem, 175). Conversion means becoming an ally and becoming an ally means sharing the religion of the conqueror. Therefore, alliance and conversion are opposed to rivalry and paganism. Even though Barreira’s position was neither the only one nor the prevailing one within The Society of Jesus, the royal directives supported his position. Ignatian jurists admitted that the ownership prevailed over the rights of the enslaved. This is the reason why Barreira preaches the legitimacy of the slave-trade, despite of his juridical doubts on the matter.

The strategies used by the Portuguese for the conversion of *sobas* are out of the scope of this discussion. However, arguments for the conversion were laid on the promise of alliance against rival segments, bringing the Portuguese in a power play before their presence in Africa. The conversion is an important instrument of expansionist politics: the baptism as a kind of key for the action of Portuguese armies in their task of conquering the Southern lands of Congo. Thus, Jesuits helped to establish a system of action by means of alliances based on the antagonism of diverse ethnic groups, creating the conditions for territorial conquest (cf. Delgado n.d., 307). This system of alliances, fed by the antagonism between ethnic groups, was essentially facilitated by the priests of The Society of Jesus.

This was the first great war in the region of Massangano. According to Delgado (n.d.), Glasgow (1982), and Alencastro (2000), this war between Ambundu and Portuguese derives from the context of colonial expansion and the search for populational contingent as well as the search for gold and silver. Those are important antecedents for understanding colonial expansion, but also the functioning of the production of alliances through the conversion process. Another emphasis is put on the hesitation of Nzinga Mbandi Ngola Kiluanji in accepting the Christian baptism, abandoning

the pagan, cannibal and polygamic practices. This battle must be the first one that Queen Nzinga, with only one year old, witnessed between the Ambundu (led by her father) and the Portuguese armies (led by Paulo Dias de Novais).

The second meaningful war in the same region probably happened in 1648 when the Dutch were expelled and Luanda was retaken by the Portuguese, led by Salvador Correa de Sá and Benevides. It is known as the Battle for the Restoration of Luanda. In both cases, they are important battles in the political and economic colonial context. The narratives of the battle of 1648 emphasize the relevance of retaking Luanda from the Dutch domain, re-establishing the commercial circuit between the metropolis Lisbon, the oversea kingdoms, Antilles, La Plata basin, Brazil and Central Africa.

Some subsidiary data regarding the period between 1590 and 1648 is important if we aim to understand the importance of this event. Some notes regarding the activities of The Society of Jesus in Africa are worthy, considering the interventionist character of the Jesuitic action and the use of plays and scenes as an instrument for catechization and the propaganda of the catechetic success (Jadin 1955).¹⁴

In 1594, the decision made by the Fifth General Congregation of The Society of Jesus allowed slavery, but only in 1599 the directive was received by the overseas missions. From this year on, in another juridic context, Ignatian expanded their support to the advance of Portuguese troops over the unexplored regions, like the kingdoms of Matamba and Ndongo.

Another important point is the unification of the Iberic crowns. In 1580, Filipe II of Castela (Filipe I, in Portugal) succeeded D. Henrique, after his death (Delgado n.d., 307). The unification between Portugal and Spain remains until 1640 when, finally, the Brigantine court took the power back. Nevertheless, Madrid and the Vatican (which were under Spanish influence) will only recognize the Brigantine throne in 1668 (Gonçalves [2008] mentions the year of 1670). This delay generated many difficulties for the nomination of bishops around the kingdom, and throughout the colonies (cf. Gonçalves 2008, 43).

14. Luiz Felipe de Alencastro (2000) quotes Louis Jadin (1955) regarding Queen Nzinga Mbandi Ngola Kiluanji and the interpretation on the acts performed in congadas. According to Jadin, acts in congadas like the congada of St. Benedict, would have initiated in the Jesuitic school where the conversion of King Afonso I, Mvemba and Nzinga (1506-1543) was performed (Gonçalves, 2008). Thus, in the Jesuitic school of Dinant, in the Netherlands, acts with this same content were represented along the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Jadin 1955, 383 *apud* Alencastro 2000, 281). Theatrical performances at the main events during the kingdom of the great Christian king D. Afonso I were probably performed in the Jesuitic school of Dinant and other places in the second half of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Jadin 1955, 383).

In the seventeenth century, the extension of the Padroado was limited to the subdued territories and the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide¹⁵ begins to send missionaries directly to the “faithless” lands that were not occupied by the European. These controversial directrices generated conflicts between the missionaries protected by Rome and the missionaries protected by Portugal, not only in terms of evangelization methods, but mainly because of the unification of Portugal and Spain.

Furthermore, Belgians and Dutch started to compete for the African slave markets in the first decades of the sixteenth century. The scenario shifts when Dutch activities in Brazil and Africa are intensified through the West-Indische Compagnie (WIC). Founded in 1621, WIC followed the model of the Vereenigde Oost-Indische (VOC), which was created in 1602 to explore the Asian markets. Nevertheless, WIC had broader objectives. Make commerce and war, without the scope and resources of VOC. WIC attracted a few important investors, due to the weak trust, and its capital ended up being completed with public funds.

Some places and dates are meaningful for the observation of the penetration of WIC’s actions in Brazil and Africa in the first half of the sixteenth century. In 1625, WIC invades Bahia and blocks the naval exchange with Luanda and Benguela. In 1630, WIC invades Olinda and Recife and, in 1635, the Forest region of Pernambuco. Then, in 1637-38, WIC establishes trading posts in Loango and Pinda, in the kingdom of Soyo, near Congo. This is the context in which Luanda is subjugated, in 1641. The Dutch understood that Luanda was the main market of slaves, and without it the cultivation of sugarcane in Brazil would be impossible (cf. Alencastro 2000, 213).

The Battle for the Restoration of Luanda [1648] involved the Portuguese headed by Salvador Correia de Sá and Benevides against the alliance of Ambundu led by Nzinga Mbandi Ngola Kiluanji, Congolese led by Garcia II (known as Kimpako, Nkanga a Lukeni), and the Dutch.¹⁶ The context of the conflict was the recovery of Luanda from the Dutch domain after seven years.

15. Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide was created in 1622 through the *Bula Inscrutabili Divinae* by Pope Gregory XV, whose aim was to provide support and guidelines for the missionary activities (Gonçalves 2008, 45, Alencastro 2000, 288-300, Tavares 2004, 206). It replaced the cardinalial Commission de Propaganda Fide (1572-1621), aiming to intervene in missionary actions with nationalist interests enabled by the Padroados. Therefore, Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide removes catechesis from the regulation of the Portuguese and Spanish Padroados. Practically, the cardinals of Propaganda chose to support the Spanish in detriment of the Portuguese (cf. Gonçalves 2008, 46). Nevertheless, the Portuguese Jesuits, agents of the Padroado and the Inquisition, had different interests in the African lands beyond catechesis.

16. For more information on Salvador Corrêa de Sá, Queen Nzinga Mbandi Ngola Kiluanji, Kimpako Nganga a Lukeni, and Guilherme II, see Gonçalves (2008), Alencastro (2000), Delgado (n.d.), and Glasgow (1982).

The author of “General History of the Angolan Wars” (1681), Antonio de Oliveira Cadornega, embarked as a soldier towards Angola a year later and became the captain of Vila Vitória in Massangano. The report of Cadornega points out that the king of Congo betrays the Portuguese and sends contingents to support the Dutch. According to Cadornega, after subjugating the kingdom of Matamba, Queen Nzinga incited betrayals between the *sobas*, allies of Portugal, provoking their rebellion and creating new alliances with the Dutch. This narrative emphasizes the Portuguese version according to which an ambush was being articulated.

In 1647, the triple alliance was formed, involving the king of Congo (Dom Garcia II), the queen of Ambundu (territories of Ndongo and Matamba) Nzinga, and the rebel *sobas* with the Dutch. Their commitment was to defeat the Portuguese armies. Among many clashes, the battle of Massangano would have been the final confrontation (Glasgow 1982, 135). On the side of the Ambundu, the battle had different meanings. Nzinga Mbandi Ngola Kiluanji was the lineage of Queen Nzinga Mbandi Ngola. His father, Ngola Kiluanji, was the seventh king of Ndongo, and her mother, Guenguela Cancombe belonged to the Ambundu lineages (Cavazzi 1687/1965, 424-29). The Ambundu were led by Ngol Kiluanji during the combats with Paulo Dias Novais in the decade of 1580. In 1648, the same year of the conflict, Nzinga dealt with the sequestration of her sister Mocambo and the murder of her sister Quifunji. These events explain, at least partially, why Queen Nzinga enacted a belligerent politics whose aim was to prevent the Portuguese advance over her lands.

The final battle of Massangano would have initiated in the late 1648 when Nzinga led the coalition of the troops from Ndongo, Matamba and Congo with the Dutch, during the attack against the Portuguese. They were successful but were not able to take advantage of the situation because the Portuguese destroyed the boats used to cross the Lucala river. According to Glasgow, the coalition forces exceed five times the Portuguese armies. Even so, the forces of Nzinga faced a violent opposition (cf. Glasgow 1982, 136).

The restoration of Luanda was indeed strategical to guarantee the commercial routes in the South Atlantic. Slave traders, merchandisers, clergy and colonial agents were set around the interests of the Metropolis. Without Luanda, the American colony would disappear. Moreover, many traders consider the Angolan market as a form of reaching Peruvian silver. The War Council supported the necessity of helping Luanda because Brazil could not be sustained without Luanda. Thus, the battles at the two margins of the South Atlantic were the same war (cf. Alencastro 2000, 221 – 223).

The War Council intended to resume the commercial relation between Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires, aiming to bring the Peruvian silver to the

Portuguese market again. The Portuguese noticed they needed to recover Luanda in order to solve the problems in La Plata, Brazil and Africa. According to Alencastro, the recovery of Angola in 1648 meant the appropriation of “the biggest African reserve of labour” for two centuries (Idem, 148).

After victory, Salvador de Sá sent two ships to render the army of WIC in Benguela. The agreed conditions were rigorously followed, and the Dutch left on August 24th (St. Barthelemy’s day), after precise seven years of invasion. Then, Correia de Sá ordered the Dutch to embark in the very place where the troops of Pieter Jold disembarked, in 1641. He would have said that “the heresy left Angola through the same door it came in” (Correa de Sá *apud* Boxer 1973, 281).

Indeed, the Jesuitic action during the expedition for the restoration of Angola had an important role in the constitution of this “Crusade spirit”. The process through which the recovery of Luanda was considered a decision of God is surprising. The chronist Simão de Vasconcelos considers the recovery of Angola as “an order of Divine will”. These versions and interpretations on the expedition, created by the chronists and Ignatian, reveal a certain mentality and an articulated strategy of the Crown and the Jesuitic action.¹⁷

On the other hand, Nzinga Mbandi spent three decades of guerra against all the caste of European predators. Salvador de Sá received many slaves, neither honoring his promise of setting Princess Mocambo free nor ceasing the hostilities against her kingdom (cf. Alencastro 2000, 263, Glasgow 1982, 183).

The protagonists of the historical events are important because they became well-known through the narratives on their lives. The cases regarding the missionary work, propagated by various religious orders, are emblematic. Such cases transform the subjects in characters, remembering them in broader narratives on catechesis. The meaning of the conversions of Kings and Queens are amplified. In Europe, they supported arguments in favor of the imperialist expansion, juridically founded in the actions of the Absolutist State. In the regions of Congo, Ndembo, Ndongo and Matamba, they emitted a message on the alliance and a warning, articulating some aspects of the native mentality and the Christian ideas by means of processes of resignification that gave legitimacy to conversion.

17. Considering the Philippine influence over the Vatican, Portugal seemingly had difficulties in finding safe allies to support the control of the commercial operations in South Atlantic. Brigantine spies gathered information to prevent the entrance of “foreigners” in the Portuguese colonies, aiming to maintain the control of Portuguese Padroado over the Christian missions, particularly in Central Africa. This “Portuguese paranoia” can be understood if we consider that some African missionaries were vassals of the Spanish Crown which subjugated a part of Italy, including the Vatican and the pope, therefore preventing the Holy See from recognizing the Portuguese Crown.

Nzinga Mbandi Ngola Kiluanji and the King of Congo, D. Afonso I (Mvemba a Nzinga), are two emblematic examples of this strategy.

Returning to the plot performed in the ritual, we notice that the King – who represents the Christian that brings the “true message” of devotion to St. Benedict – has affinities with King D. Afonso I. On the other hand, the faithless moor – represented by the Ambassador of Luanda, whose aim is unknown – corresponds to Nzinga Mbandi. Both are emblematic figures that became “characters” in the narratives of successful missionary action. They became central figures in the stories of conversion to Christianity. The King of Congo D. Afonso I converted himself and received the benefits of arms and military support from Portugal. Nzinga Mbandi, first converted in 1621 by the Jesuits, “deconverted” herself, converting again in 1656 by the Neapolitan Capuchin Antonio de Gaeta. Her final conversion was presented as one of the biggest missionary and colonial triumphs of the seventeenth century in Africa.¹⁸

On the one hand, the conversion of Nzinga Mbandi became an example of well-succeeded catechesis by the Capuchin in contrast with the accusations and denunciation regarding Jesuits being involved with the slave trade. The work of the Society of Jesus becomes the counterexample of catechesis and missionary activity. On the other hand, the history of this African Queen became the example of the barbarism in which oversea pagans survived.

Considering the propaganda of the Capuchin mission, particularly the conversion of Nzinga Mbandi, the Jesuits, in face of severe accusation from other religious orders, tried to promote strategies of divulgation of their own successful missions. The Jesuits acts were an important instrument for catechesis and sentimental education and had a meaningful role in the dissemination of the Christian religion and the propaganda of their work throughout Europe (Kassab 2010, 131).

According to Louis Jadin (1955), if the plot of the congada derives from the Jesuits in Dinant, from their representation of the conversion of African kings, it would be possible to affirm that such representations celebrate Queen Nzinga Mbandi and the most important Catholic king of Congo D. Afonso I. Their presence is recalled in congadas performed in the various regions of Brazil. Nzinga always considered the negative pole, the pagan, the invader warrior while the King of Congo always considered the positive pole, the Christian, the good, the correct. Thus, the Jesuitic project produces the superposition of different meaningful events from the point

18. More information on the conversion processes of Queen Nzinga Mbandi, see Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi da Montecúcolo, 1687, Vol. II: 97-112; as well as priest F. M. Gioia da Napoli, 1669.

of view of propaganda and divulgation of missions in Africa: the great conversion of Afonso and/or Nzinga as well as the “miraculous” battles of the Portuguese were projected upon the narratives of the Carolingian cycle.¹⁹

There are some ambivalent elements in the interpretation of the wars of Massangano. In the plot, we see aspects of devotion, character, honor, fidelity, but also the war that creates rivalry and schism. The Ambassador escaped from the king’s feet because of war. Therefore, elements of the Christian symbolic system can be found in the semantic field of Massangano and the memories of the battles in this locality. In Brazil and other Portuguese colonies, the plot preserved the meaning of the conversions and the activity of the State. Nevertheless, the meanings upon which lies a part of the Christian semantic field are still present, even if overlaid by the domination and power of the State and Church.

EPILOGUE

The ritual performed in the festival of St. Benedict regards a battle which took place in Massangano, among other things. The Ambassador of the congada refers to this battle. The battle is presentified in the ritual according to a specific interpretation. And this interpretation presents historical meaning. This article aimed to understand how the historical events and the interaction of different forces and meaning were represented in the plot, rather than characterizing social agents and reframing their own interpretation of the ritual. The historical events were understood as a set of imagery that triggers devotion. The article also explored how the clues of the events are presentified in the ritual by means of a dialectic relation.

This kind of presence is a vestige of the rumor of death. Those aspects of the historical event – despite of their residuality and partiality – persist through time, being presentified in the ritual. Despite this residual character and the “deteriorated” condition, we can see the dead through the chinks of these set of images. The ritual of devotion to St. Benedict evokes aspects regarding the intrinsic relation between the religious character of the ritual and the auric aspect of authenticity of the adored oeuvre (Belting 2010, Benjamin 1994).

19. Regarding the imaginary of the epoch, miraculous battles and Portuguese messianism, see the work of Ana Paula Torres Megiani (2003) in which messianism is understood by means of three features: the tradition of Joaquim de Fiorde (Calabrian abbot), the literature (through the cavalry narratives and Matter of France) and the royal chronicles. Some expectations on D. Sebastião, last heir of the Joanne Dynasty, emerged due to his disappearance during the battle of Alcácer-Quibir (1578). Such expectations led him to claim himself as the connecting link with the king Afonso Henrique (first king of Portuguese who was chosen by God to govern, since his vision of Christ on the cross before the battle against a bigger Muslim army, what became the “Miracle of Ourique”). See Megiani, Ana Paula Torres. 2003. *O Jovem Encantado. Expectativas do Messianismo Régio em Portugal, séculos XIII – XVI*. São Paulo: Hucitec.

Due to the necessity of considering the specific status of different empirical material as well as the mediations for the possible correlations between conjunctures, the article operated with a multisided, transversal and discontinuous position that articulates not only the wars of West-Central Africa, but also the ritual and the content of its plot (Cirino 2012). Such an approach enables understanding the sets of devotional images, and the affection of the subjects by their materiality and sensorial dimension as expressions of resistance, resignifications, persistence, and reappearance.

Historical events are the key for comprehending the motivation of the schism represented in the performance, but also some ways of the subject's strategies before the activity of the State and Church. The analytical perspectives drawn upon the data of Louis Jadin (1955) suggest the investigation of the existence and uses of the acts in the context of missionary work. Ethnography shows that the ritual unveils long-lasting interactions between social agents.

The result can be understood as a kind of conventional and conventionalized context. On the one hand, such a context is used as a mechanism of control in which the missionary craved the conversion by baptism. On the other hand, the different African ethnic groups (and their descendants in Brazil and Ilhabela) search[ed] the creativity of invention and innovation as possibilities of resisting and reinventing, escaping in lines of flight according to their shared expectations (Wagner 2010, 80 e 88). In this context, the conventionally constituted is presented as the condition for the innovative constitution of other conventions and forms of resistance and [re]existence.

The ritual constitutes the conventional and conventionalized context produced by means of multiple processes of resignification. More than specifying certain associations, it is worth identifying the codes used and constituted in the ritual. The original phenomena – the processes of colonial domination and wars – are not the cause of the ritual, being external to it, but also being part of it, framing the ritual and being expressed by it.

At the final expedition, Salvador Correa de Sá dispatched the Dutch, after seven years of their invasion. Considering the work of some historians, it was possible to describe the religious fervor in this battle. Every version reinforces the character of “Crusade” and the idea that the recovery of Luanda was God's decision. The narratives of the chronists and Ignatian priests reveal a mentality and an articulate strategy of expedition agents, the Crown and the action of the Jesuits.

Through the movement of returning to the ritual and its context after our incursion by the Angolan wars, we find meaningful correspondences

between the devotion of St. Benedict and the historical events which supposedly are the referential context for the ritual. The pairs King/Ambassador and D. Afonso/Queen Nzinga are emblematic antipodes that narrate and perform “conversion myths”; the former in the congada as an aesthetic and religious drama, the latter in the social drama of the resistance battles of peoples from West-Central Africa against colonialist action.

The Ignatian acts and their narratives, as rituals for religious and political ends, refer to the re-evaluation of relations between past and present. The expressions of devotions and all their references are not considered a simple possibility of knowing the past. Nevertheless, when we give up on knowing the past “as it really was”, we recognize the vestiges of reality [of the wars] presentified in the ritual, searching in the reality [of the ritual] the fictional tone that the acts cannot grasp. In a sense, it is necessary to give the past another actuality by the images through which the past is understood (Benjamin 1994, 224; 2006, 437).

A social commentary is done. Society reflects on itself (Turner 2005, 138; 2008, 15). Searching for the historical aspects in the residual elements of the ritual, we find a saturated convention in which the expressive aspects and historical processes are presented as representations of power relations. The ritual presents a positive construction of the resistance of Black identity, despite of the trials of domestication, stigmatization and folklorization of Black people, their history and culture. This ritual plays with the “danger”, opposing the status quo and exposing the antinomic nature of this tradition of the oppressed (Aquino 2006, 158).

The ritual and its images constitute a dense and swollen object that potentializes the devotional imagery. According to the historiology of Walter Benjamin, the past holds the capacity of achieving a higher degree of actuality, more than the moment of its existence. It happens because such an actuality derives from the image with which and through which this past can be comprehended (Benjamin 2006, 503). At the end of the day, this object is constituted by every mentioned context: the wars of 1583 and 1648, the Ignatian activities in Angola, the creation of acts within the catechist project, the institution of the act as a ritual performed in the context of devotion, the audiovisual productions, the ethnographies, and so forth. We understand this ritual as a conventional and conventionalized context through which we think it is possible to mention a fact of the past by its clash with the present (Benjamin 2006, 517). In a sense, the ritual is understood as a set of saturated images. The event returns shedding light upon the now and enabling, through recognition, another knowledge (Idem, 504; 1994, 224).

TRANSLATION
Luz Gonçalves Brito

BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES

- Alencastro, Luiz Felipe de. 2000. *O trato dos viventes: Formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul. Séculos XVI e XVII*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras. 523 p.
- Andrade, Mário de. 1982a. *Danças Dramática do Brasil*. Belo Horizonte: Ed. Itatiaia/Instituto Nacional do Livro/Fundação Pró-Memória (Brasília).
- Aquino, J. E. F. de. 2006. *Memória e consciência histórica*. Fortaleza: EdUECE, 186 p.
- Araújo, Alceu M. 1952. *Documentário Folclórico Paulista*. Fotos e diagramas do autor. Ilustrações de Osny Azevedo. Prefeitura do Município de São Paulo, Departamento de Cultura, Divisão do Arquivo Histórico. São Paulo. 144 p.
- Araújo, Alceu M. 1964. *Folclore Nacional*. Festas, bailados, mitos e lendas. Vol. 1. São Paulo: Melhoramentos. 479 p.
- Araújo, Emanuel. 1993. *O teatro dos vícios: transgressão e transigência na sociedade urbana colonial do Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: José Olímpio.
- Ávila, Affonso. 1994. *O lúdico e as projeções do Barroco II: áurea idade da áurea terra*. São Paulo: Ed. Perspectiva. 406 p.
- Belting, Hans. 2010. *Semelhança e Presença – A história da imagem antes da era da arte*, org. Maria Beatriz Melo e Souza. São Paulo: Ars Urbe.
- Benjamin, Walter. 1994. A obra de arte na era de sua reprodutibilidade técnica [Primeira versão]. In *Magia, técnica, arte e política*, Walter Benjamin, 165-196. São Paulo: Brasiliense.
- Benjamin, Walter. 2006. *Passagens*. Belo Horizonte, São Paulo: Ed. UFMG/Imprensa Oficial, 1167 p.
- Boxer, Charles. 1973. *Salvador de Sá e a luta pelo Brasil e Angola 1602-1686*. São Paulo: Ed. Nacional/Edusp, 464 p.
- Brásio, Antônio Pe. (org.). 1952. Monumenta Missionaria Africana. Vol. 1, África Ocidental (1471-1531). Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar.
- Cadornega, Antonio de Oliveira de. 1972. *História geral das guerras angolanas (1681) (HGGA)*. 3 Vols. Lisboa: Agência-Geral do Ultramar.
- Caponero, Maria Cristina. 2009. Festejando São Benedito: a congada em Ilhabela, recurso cultural brasileiro. Dissertação de mestrado, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 314 p.
- Carvalho, Jerônimo Moreira (trad.). 1863. *História do Imperador Carlos Magno e os Doze Pares de França*. [HCMPF] Primeira Parte. Lisboa: Typographia Rollandiana, 253 p.
- Carvalho, Martha Raquel Oliveira de. 2015. *Ciclo Carolíngio como divisor de águas nas literaturas portuguesa de cordel e brasileira de folhetos*. Dissertação de mestrado, Universidade do Ceará, Fortaleza.
- Cardoso, Haydeé D. de F. 1982. Relações entre cultura popular e indústria cultural: a congada de Ilhabela. Dissertação de mestrado, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo.
- Cardoso, Haydeé D. de F. 1990. Gesto, o canto, o risco: história viva na memória. Tese de doutorado, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 159 p.
- Cavazzi da Montecúccolo, Giovanni Antonio. 1665. *Istorica Descrizione de' Tre Regni, Congo, Matamba et Angola*. Bologna, 1687. Trad. Port: *Descrição Histórica dos Três reinos do Congo, Matamba e Angola (DHCMA)*. 2 Vols. Lisboa: Junta de Investições do Ultramar.
- Cirino, Giovanni. 2012. Uma etnografia da devoção a São Benedito no litoral norte de São Paulo. Tese de doutorado, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 347 p.
- Cirino, Giovanni. 2013. Atuação missionária no Brasil e na África Centro-Occidental: uma interpretação dos autos catequéticos. In *Antropologia e Performance: ensaios na pedra*, orgs. John C. Dawsey, Rose Satiko Gitirana Hikiji, Regina Polo Müller, Marianna F. M. Monteiro. São Paulo: Terceiro Nome.

- Cirino, Giovanni. 2016. Margens do Mundo: devoção barroca na Festa de São Benedito. *Kulture-Kairós*. N. 7. <https://revues.mshparisnord.fr/cultureskairos/index.php?id=1469> (acessado em dez).
- Corrêa, Iracema França Lopes. 1981. *A congada de Ilhabela na festa de São Benedito*. São Paulo: Escola do Folclore/Ed. Livramento. 150 p.
- Delgado, Ralph. n.d. *História de Angola: primeiro período e parte do segundo 1482 a 1607*. Angola: Banco de Angola, 442 p.
- Del Priore, Mary. 1994. *Festa e Utopia no Brasil colonial*. São Paulo: Brasiliense.
- Fernandes, Jose Loureiro. 1977. *Congadas Paranaenses*. Curitiba: Ed. UFPR, 97 p.
- Gioia da Napoli, Francesco Maria. 1669. *La meravigliosa conversione alla Santa Fede di Cristo della regina Singa e del suo regno di Matamba*. Nápoles.
- Glasgow, Roy. 1982. *Nzinga*. Resistência africana à investida do colonialismo português em Angola, 1582-1663. São Paulo: Ed. Perspectiva, 198 p.
- Gonçalves, Rosana Andrea. 2008. *África Indômita: missionários capuchinhos no Reino do Congo (Séc. XVII)*. Dissertação de mestrado, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 154 p.
- Jadin, Louis. 1955. Les flamands au Congo et en Angola au XVII^{ème} siècle. *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. VI, vol. 1.
- Jancsó, István e Íris Kantor (orgs). 2001. *Festa: cultura e sociabilidade na América Portuguesa*. 2 Volumes. São Paulo: Hucitec/Edusp.
- Kassab, Yara. 2010. As estratégias lúdicas nas ações jesuíticas, nas terras brasílicas (1549-1597). Tese de doutorado, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 242 p.
- Lopes, Luiz Roberto. 1981. *História do Brasil Colonial*. Porto Alegre: Mercado Aberto.
- Maluf, Marcia. 2001. O aspecto barroco das festas populares. In *Revista Olhar*, Ano 03, No 5-6: 1-6.
- Manso, Visconde de Paiva. 1877. *Historia do Congo. Obra posthuma*. Lisboa: Typ. da Academia Real das Sciencias, 369 p.
- Mauss, Marcel. 2003. Ensaio sobre a Dádiva. Forma e razão da troca nas sociedades arcaicas. In *Sociologia e Antropologia*. São Paulo: Cosac & Naify.
- Megiani, Ana Paula Torres. 2003. *O Jovem Rei Encantado*. São Paulo: Hucitec.
- Monteiro, Marianna Francisca Martins. 2001. A dança na festa colonial. In *Festa: cultura e sociabilidade na América Portuguesa*, org. István Jancsó e Íris Kantor, 811-828. 2 Volumes. São Paulo: Hucitec/Edusp.
- Monteiro, Marianna Francisca Martins. 2002. Espetáculo e Devoção: burlesco e teologia-política nas danças populares brasileiras. Tese de doutorado, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 307 p.
- Monteiro, Mariana Francisca Martins. 2011. *Dança Popular: espetáculo e devoção*. São Paulo: FAPESP/Terceiro Nome, 239 p.
- Montes, Maria Lucia. 1998. Entre o arcaico e o pós-moderno: heranças barrocas da festa na construção da identidade brasileira. In *Sexta-feira: antropologia, artes e humanidades*, Maria Lucia Montes, 142-159. São Paulo: Pletora, n. 2, ano 2.
- Oliveira Pinto, Tiago. 2002. "As cores do som: estruturas sonoras e concepção estética na música afro-brasileira". *África*, No 22-23, p. 87 – 109.
- Orent, Brian. 2008. *Just War Theory*. In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta. Fall Edition.
- Rabaçal, Alfredo João. 1976. *As congadas no Brasil*. São Paulo: Secretaria da Cultura, Ciência e Tecnologia – Conselho Estadual de Cultura, 294 p.

- Sahlins, Marshall. 2008. *Metáforas Históricas e realidades míticas: estrutura nos primórdios da história do reino das Ilhas Sandwich*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 157 p.
- Schechner, Richard. 1985. *Between Theater and Anthropology*. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 360 p.
- Schechner, Richard. 1988. *Performance Theory*. New York and London: Routledge, 407 p.
- Setti, Kilza. 1985. *Ubatuba nos cantos das praias: estudo do caíçara paulista e de sua produção musical*. São Paulo: Ática, 293 p.
- Silva, Rubens Alves da. 2005. Performances Congadeiras e atualização das tradições afro-brasileiras em Minas Gerais. Tese de Doutorado, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo.
- Silva, Rubens Alves da. 2012. *A Atualização de Tradições: performances e narrativas afro-brasileiras*. São Paulo: LCTE Editora, 225 p.
- Souza, Marina de Mello e. 1994. *Parati: a cidade e as festas*. Rio de Janeiro: Ed. UFRJ/Tempo Brasileiro.
- Souza, Marina de Mello e. 2002. *Reis Negros no Brasil Escravista: história da festa de coroação de Rei Congo*. Belo Horizonte: Ed. UFMG, 387 p.
- Turner, Victor. 1988. The anthropology of performance. In *The Anthropology of Performance*, Victor Turner, 72-98. New York: PAJ Publications.
- Turner, Victor. 1967/2005. Betwixt and Between: o período liminar nos 'ritos de passagem'. In *Floresta de Símbolos*, Victor Turner, 137-158. Niterói: Ed. EdUFF.
- Turner, Victor. 1974/2008. Dramas Sociais e Metáforas Rituais. In *Dramas, Campos e Metáforas: ação simbólica na sociedade humana*, Victor Turner, 19-53. Niterói: Ed. EdUFF.

GIOVANNI CIRINO holds a Licentiate and Bachelor's Degree in Social Sciences from the Universidade de São Paulo (2001), is Master and Doctor in Social Anthropology from the same institution. Adjunct Professor in Anthropology at the Department of Social Sciences at the Universidade Estadual de Londrina where he deals with Anthropological Theory, Anthropology of Expressive Forms, Ethnomusicology and Urban Anthropology with topics related to Afro-Brazilian manifestations, popular festivals, ethnomusicology, performance, theater, ritual and ethnographic documentary. He acted in the documentary *Sobre a Congada de Ilhabela* (TV-USP 2004-2011) and is the author of the book *Musical Narratives: performance and experience in Brazilian Instrumental Popular Music*, (Annablume/FAPESP, 2009). Member of the Performance and Drama Anthropology Center (NAPEDRA – USP) and the Visual and Sound Anthropology Laboratory (LAVIS – UEL). He is currently working on the Complementary Training Program "Workshop for Research and Ethnographic Practices in the Social Context of Post-Modernity" and coordinating the research "Arts of Making: expressive forms and experience in the city of Londrina". E-mail: cirinogiovanni@gmail.com

Use license. This article is licensed under the Creative Commons CC-BY License. With this license you can share, adapt, create for any purpose as long as you assign the work.

Submitted 05/13/2021
Resubmitted 09/01/2021
Accepted 12/18/2021