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THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, PH.D., 1978

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WARRIORS OF JUSTICE: A STUDY OF WOMEN'S ROLES
IN UMBANDA IN PORTO ALEGRE, BRAZIL

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Patricia Jane Barker Lerch, B.A., M.A.

* * * *

The Ohio State University
1978

Reading Committee: approved by
Dr. Erika Bourguignon
Dr. Daniel T. Hughes
Dr. John Friedl

Adviser
Department of Anthropology
To my mother,

Ruth Agnes Beck Barker
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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VITA

March 24, 1947 ....... Born, Cleveland, Ohio
1969 ................. B.A. History, Cleveland State University
1972 ................. M.A. Anthropology, The Ohio State University
1972-1974; 1977-1978 .... Adjunct Faculty, Anthropology, Franklin University, Columbus, Ohio
1976, 1978 ............ Graduate Teaching Associate, Department of Anthropology, The Ohio State University
1977 ................. Graduate Administrative Associate, Department of Anthropology, The Ohio State University

PUBLICATIONS

Forthcoming, "Riograndense women and the role of spirit medium." in A World of Women. ed., Erika Bourguignon.

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Cultural Anthropology
Studies in Psychological Anthropology.
   Professor Bourguignon
Studies in Afro-American Anthropology.
   Professor Bourguignon
Studies in the Anthropology of Women.
   Professor Bourguignon
Studies in Role Analysis.
   Professor Hughes
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INTRODUCTION

This is a study of the ritual, cosmology, and role relationships defining the role of spirit medium in the possession trance religion of "Evangelized" Umbanda in the city of Porto Alegre, Brazil. Umbanda is a religion in which an altered state of consciousness, or trance, is believed to be caused by the possession of humans by supernatural beings. Altered states of consciousness have been of continuing interest to students of Psychological Anthropology as far back as E.B. Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (1871) in which he postulated that such states stimulated early man to invent spirits. Tylor suggested that in a belief in spirits, or animism, we see the very origins of religion itself. Altered states of consciousness involve not only trance states but also visions, dreams, and hallucinations.

In the 1930s there developed a debate over whether or not such states were pathological. One of the first to argue that such states were not pathological in certain cultural contexts was the Anthropologist Melvile J. Herskovits (1937, 1948). Taking the view of a cultural relativist, Herskovits argued that spirit possession trance among Haitian and Brazilian cult members was acceptable and even desirable.
In these societies (as well as many others) such states were normal behavior according to local cultural traditions. Thus, rather than being exotic, isolated forms of human behavior that are found only among Afro-Americans in Haiti and Brazil, altered states of consciousness are present in a vast majority of the world's societies. Erika Bourguignon (1973:12) found that out of a sample of 437 societies, 90% utilize some form of altered state of consciousness. Thus, she concluded, rather than being pathological and idiosyncratic forms of behavior, it seemed that the capacity to experience such states is a psychobiological capacity of the species, and thus, universal, its utilization, institutionalization, and patterning are, indeed features of culture, and are variable.

Bourguignon (1973:12) defined two major types of culturally patterned states of consciousness:  

(1) states interpreted by the societies in which they occur as due to possession by spirits (termed "possession trance" [PT]), and

(2) states not so interpreted (termed "trance" [T]).

The cults of Evangelized Umbanda of Porto Alegre are part of this first pattern -- possession trance -- and they share some of the same features. This list is summarized from Bourguignon (1972).

1. Possession Trance takes place within a cult group.

2. Possession Trance involves the impersonation of another personality -- the individual becomes another.
3. Possession Trance involves an actor and an audience.

4. Possession Trance is typically followed by amnesia.

5. Possession Trance is typically induced by singing, dancing, and crowd contagion. The appropriate cues are learned.

6. The possession trancer is typically a woman.

This final point is of particular interest to this study. The association of possession trance and women in this type of religious cult is worldwide (Bourguignon 1973). One of the major questions in this research is: What is there about the role of spirit medium in these possession trance cults which women find so attractive and which consequently draws them out of their homes and away from their husbands (if married) and families in order to participate in these public rituals?

The cults of Evangelized Umbanda are characterized by a majority of female possession trancers. They fill the role of medium: a medium is defined as a person who possesses the ability to receive a spirit. The supreme quality is called mediunidade ("mediumistic abilities"). During the period of field work in Porto Alegre, many Umbanda centers were visited, and in each one, women outnumbered men in the role of spirit medium. Umbanda is part of the tradition of possession trance cults of Afro-America and Africa. Research on these cults in these areas has generated some specific
hypotheses which attempt to explain this predominance of women. While these theories were tested on specific types of populations where they proved to be valuable explanations, they have not been applied successfully to other groups. However, they do suggest some areas in which further investigation is needed: the area of economic roles of men and women (Herskovits 1966, orig. 1955); the assimilation and integration of men and women into the society at large (Pierson 1967); the role definitions of the ideal male and the ideal female and the relationship of these definitions to those of the medium role (Leacock and Leacock 1972; Landes 1940, 1947); and the use of spirit possession trance as a "strategy" (Lewis 1966, 1971) or a "method" (Bourguignon 1965, 1975) to make changes in one's environment aimed at augmenting one's sphere of action. Such questions as the following come to mind: How much effect, if any, will the economic roles of men and women have upon their decisions to become mediums? Do the role definitions of men and women contrast with or complement that of spirit medium? What qualities are most likely to characterize a medium? Phrased somewhat differently, what social and economic factors in combination contribute to the ascendancy of women in the role of spirit medium?

With these questions in mind, this research project was designed so that data were gathered on the social status of women and men in the study population, the common role
definitions held for men and women, the economic roles of men and women, and on the complete role definition of spirit medium. It is assumed that the "ascendancy" of women in the role of medium will be indicated not only by their numerical superiority but also by feminine role qualities and role attributes that characterize the medium role. The medium role expectations, functions and relationships, both within the cult body and outside of it, help define the structure of the possession trance cult. The general framework of this study is provided by role analysis. Society is viewed as being composed of interrelated social roles. Roles and their relationships are easily traced through the actions of people. Finally, social roles can be broken down into smaller segments: expectations on behavior, attributes, methods of recruitment, function, and relationships. This dissection facilitates the comparison between roles.

A major conclusion of this study is that the role of spirit medium in the Evangelized Umbanda cults is a "female-oriented" role. In a comparison of the medium role with other typical roles of women such as mother, wife, daughter, and young girl, the basic similarities in expectations, qualities, and attributes become evident.

The "feminine orientation" of the medium role develops from the extension of these defining attributes of woman's role in the private sphere into other roles in the public sphere. In a recent review of literature surveying Latin
American women, Meri Knaster (1976:27) cites several works indicating that Latin American women fill "female-oriented" roles in the professions (Cohen 1973) and in the arena of politics (see Chaney 1973 on Peru and Chili, and Mota 1975 on the Dominican Republic). The development of this "feminine orientation" in the roles open to Latin American women stems in part from the definite sex role differentiation characterizing the socialization of children.

It is assumed that most people will seek ways in which to enhance their social status relative to those around them. There are various ways to accomplish this. For example, Eric Wolf (1965:75) discusses the political and the economic mobility of "cultural brokers" in Mexican society and pinpoints their success at raising their social status in their ability to take advantage and use their social ties. He says,

> In other words, he must learn to function in terms which characterize any complex stratified society in which individuals can improve their status through the judicious manipulation of social ties.

This "judicious manipulation of social ties" can lead to the control over resources, especially the control over their distribution and exchange. Ernestine Friedl agrees that one very common way for people to enhance their social status is through the control of distribution. She proposes that

*Social status is the relative rank of women compared to men.*
...it is the right to distribute and exchange valued goods and services to those not in a person's own domestic unit (extra-domestic distribution) which confers power and prestige in all societies (Friedl 1975:8-9).

Another major conclusion of this study is that the role of spirit medium provides women with the means to enhance their social status. This is accomplished through the clever manipulation of their social ties so that they have gained some control over the distribution of valuable goods and services. Let's look briefly at the source of this ability: the medium-client interaction.

Umbanda mediums are intermediaries, links in a chain, between heavenly spirits and earthly clients. The link is made through the phenomenon of possession trance which involves the belief that spirits possess or incorporate the bodies of mediums who, during the possession, enter into a trance state. The complex interaction between a possessed medium and her clients can lead to power\(^1\) and authority.\(^2\) Mediums who receive enlightened spirits quickly establish reputations for giving intelligent advice and for knowing powerful cures. Thus, a medium who has such spirits builds

\(^1\)Power is defined according to M.G. Smith (1960:18-19): "The ability to act effectively on persons or things, to make or secure favorable decisions which are not of right allocated to the individuals or their roles."

\(^2\)Authority is "the right to make a particular decision and to command obedience" (M.G. Smith 1960:18-19). Thus, authority is recognized and legitimate power.
up a core of steady clients who seek advice and help on a wide range of problems and difficulties.

A form of reciprocity exists between the client and the spirit medium. The client receives special services and valued information and goods from the spirit medium. These services primarily involve curing. The type of information and goods which are often part of the medium-client interchange can include forewarnings about an unfaithful husband or help in finding employment. On the other hand, the medium is given public recognition by her numerous clients for possessing superior spiritual knowledge. This knowledge is believed to emanate from the higher authority of the spirit world. Access to power is open to a spirit medium through the storehouse of information which she collects about her many clients. This information can be manipulated and used to help solve the problems of many different clients. In addition, since a spirit medium's clients are likely to come from all walks of life, a spirit medium knows both powerful and powerless people. The authority which derives from spirits can be used by mediums to persuade their powerful clients to help their less fortunate ones. In this case, spiritual authority validates the medium's use of her power to reallocate resources among some of her clients. This aspect of the medium-client interaction may be common to all possession trance religions but the proof of this must await future comparative research.
In the planning stages of this research, when a suitable Brazilian city was being considered, the negative reactions of my Brazilian acquaintances to the choice of Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul led to another interesting question which was subsequently answered during the course of this study. Porto Alegre is the capital city of Rio Grande do Sul. The public image and stereotype of the people from this area is represented by the Gaúcho -- a fighting-cowboy. Urbanites and rural people alike identify with this image. In fact, Gaúcho has become a synonym for "Riograndense" (a person from Rio Grande do Sul). Many of my Brazilian friends who were studying at Ohio State University expressed the opinion that the type of religion that I wanted to study did not exist in Porto Alegre, or for that matter, in the entire state. Since Umbanda is part of the wider Afro-American religious tradition of spirit possession trance cults, the possibility that it might exist in an area of Brazil heavily identified with soldiers, cowboys, and Europeans seemed remote to those Brazilians with whom it was discussed. This led to an interesting research question: What modifications or accommodations to this local stereotype of the state of Rio Grande do Sul would Umbanda have to make in order to become popular?

The anthropologist Anthony F. C. Wallace (1966:25) says that the primary function of religion is the integration of society:

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\[ \text{The anthropologist Anthony F. C. Wallace (1966:25) says that the primary function of religion is the integration of society:} \]
...the religious institutions of a society represent, and elicit acceptance of, certain central values whose internalization by members of the society is necessary for the adequate integration of the society's various parts.

Does the Umbanda religion perform this function? The study of the cosmology of Umbanda revealed that it is "open" to innovations. This "open" feature is perhaps what gives it the ability to adapt to local conditions. This open quality of the Afro-American cults has been a continuing feature of these syncretic, flexible religions (see Herskovits 1937). In the two cults of this study -- "Evangelized" Umbanda -- the cosmology makes a major concession to the primacy of the Gaúcho stereotype of Rio Grande do Sul. Representing the "warrior-soldier" figure of the state's colorful military past, a new category of spirits called the guerreiro ("warrior-soldier") is introduced into the cosmology. The warrior-soldier spirits follow in the tradition of the brave soldiers of Rio Grande do Sul, and they fight (supernaturally) for love, justice, and peace on behalf of their devotees. Thus the mediums in this study -- descendants primarily of German, Italian, and European immigrants as well as of former African slaves -- are possessed by the spirits of warrior-soldiers. The public imagery of the Gaúcho is maintained in the cosmology of these cults. By allowing this imagery to remain intact, the people in this study are drawn into a religious system which has national appeal (see Pressel (1974).
This study develops in the following manner. Chapter I reviews the relevant literature. Chapter 2 presents the methodology. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 turn to the central topic of the study and present information on the ethnohistorical context of the cults of Rio Grande do Sul and Porto Alegre, the cosmology and ritual characteristic of the cults, and the internal role structure and significant role relationships which contribute to a definition of the spirit medium role. Several long recorded passages are included in which stories and tales of the orixás (the name given one of the highest category of spirits in the cosmology and which derives from the Yoruba language's word for god) are presented in Chapter 4. These may be unique to the literature thus far on the possession trance cults of Brazil. The two cults which form the focus of this study are protected the orixá Xangô. Thus their description adds to the growing literature detailing the worship of Xangô in the New World (see Bascom 1972). Chapter 6 complements and expands the analysis of the spirit medium role by analyzing the second role system of the brazileria ("Brazilian woman"). The role qualities and attributes most typical of the major feminine life cycle roles are identified and defined. The similarities with those defining the role of medium become apparent in this chapter. Furthermore, it becomes clear that the economic roles and opportunities for women in modern Brazil restricts most women to the performance of unskilled, low paid, low prestige jobs.
The most attractive role filled by the women in this study, in terms of access to power and authority, is that of spirit medium. The results are elaborated upon in the final chapter of this dissertation.

This research contributes to a small but growing series of case studies on possession and trance which document the uses of this form of ASCs by women. The most recent collection of case studies, edited by Crapanzano and Garrison (1977), include the life histories of fifteen spirit mediums. Twelve of these are women. The theme of female powerlessness and the manner in which the possession phenomena permit both temporary and long-term increases in women's power and control is conspicuous in most of these histories.
Spirit Possession and Trance

The cults of Evangelized Umbanda are spirit possession cults. The spirit medium learns how to enter an altered state of consciousness (ASC) or trance. During the trance, all of the actions of the medium are attributed to a possessing spirit. The ability to enter an ASC is a psychobiological capacity of the human species (E. Bourguignon 1973: 12). The definition of ASC followed in this study is that of Arnold M. Ludwig (1968:69-70).

'altered state of consciousness' ... those mental states, induced by physiological, psychological, or pharmacological maneuvers or agents, which can be recognized subjectively by the individual himself (or by an objective observer of the individual) as representing a sufficient deviation in terms of subjective experience, or psychological functioning, from certain general norms as determined by the subjective experience, and psychological functioning of that individual during alert, waking consciousness.

A typology of five such states has been set up by Ludwig based on the mode of induction. He recognizes the following common methods for inducing ASCs: 1) reduction of exteroceptive stimulation and/or motor activity, 2) increase of
exteroceptive stimulation and/or motor activity and/or emotion, 3) increased alertness or mental involvement, 4) decreased alertness or relaxation of critical faculties, and 5) presence of somatopsychological factors (i.e., hypoglycemia, dehydration, hormonal disturbances). Ludwig (1968:75-83) describes many common features of ASCs which exist despite the different methods of induction. He lists such things as alterations in thinking, disturbed time sense, loss of control, change in emotional expression, body-image change, perceptual distortions, change in meaning and significance, sense of the ineffable, feelings of rejuvenation, and hypersuggestibility. The first method of induction listed above -- the reduction of exteroceptive stimulation and/or motor activity -- was the most common one observed in the two cults of Evangelized Umbanda. Informants reported two of the above experiences during the ASC: the alterations in perception of body image (i.e., seeing themselves as "Indians" or "old blacks" or "warrior-soldiers") and changes in emotion (i.e., feelings of elation after the ASC).

While there are many common features of ASCs, many of the apparent differences in the outward manifestations of such states and in the subjective experiences of the person affected by them are related to certain general molding influences. Two of the molding influences identified by Ludwig (1968) and which are pertinent to women are cultural
expectations and role-playing.

Cultural expectations have influenced ASCs in every society in which they occur. Such states enjoy an almost universal incidence in the societies of the world. Surveying a "quasi-universe" of 437 societies, E. Bourguignon (1973:11) found such states in 90% of her sample. The categories emerging from this survey of ASCs reflect the cultural explanations given by the people who use them. They are divided according to the way the natives explain their existence. Two categories emerge: possession trance and trance (Bourguignon 1973:22). Possession trance states are ASCs which have been interpreted as resulting from spirit possession. Trance states are ASCs which lack this accompanying belief in spirit possession.

Possession trance states exist in complex societies where the personalities of the possessing spirits reflect the social categories of real people and actual roles which are typical of the larger society. On one level then possession trance may be viewed as "a symbolic expression of a society's model of its social structure," and on another level, they may be seen "as a means by which an individual can play roles otherwise not available to him" (Bourguignon 1965, 1973:23). Role-playing through possession trance has been considered as a social mechanism that allows certain people more options in an already tight social system (Greenbaum 1973). Bourguignon theorizes that:
If we interpret the spirit identity as an alternate set of roles for the person, under appropriate ritual conditions, it is clear that such a set of roles makes it possible for the individual to modify the situation in which he or she must live, to introduce changes in the social framework of his own life (1973:30).

In the context of the religious possession trance cult, the medium is expected to receive a spirit. That spirit will have its own distinct personality. It will have the authority to exercise its will (which often parallels its medium's) to improve or alter the behavior of others. In this study, the mediums interacted with clients who came seeking spiritual help. The alternate role which the medium was able to enter, in this case, could occasionally put her in the position where she could manipulate the resources of some clients to help other clients. It usually put her in the position of being the dispenser of valuable curing services to her peers.

Impersonation of spirit personalities which reflect high status individuals in the society contributes to the enhancement of the trancer herself. This status enhancement function of possession trance appears to be similar to "ethnic identity manipulation" in modern, ethnically complex societies. According to George A. DeVos,

In a complex society with many reference groups and social roles, it is possible to manipulate and move between identities to instrumentally perceived self-interest (1976:356).
I. M. Lewis (1966, 1971) argues that those individuals most likely to need such a status enhancing mechanism as spirit possession trance are those who experience social deprivation. Lewis's studies of spirit possession (trance) cults of the Somali of East Africa led him to conclude that the most likely candidates for such states are women and socially depressed men. Spirit possession became a weapon which Somali women used against Somali men who hold the power positions in society. Lewis extended this hypothesis to include any socially depressed group versus any powerful group. Spirit possession by marginal spirits -- in the Somali case these are the zar spirits -- becomes a strategy employed by marginal people to overcome their oppression. A major shortcoming of this approach is that not all possession trance cults are "marginal" and "peripheral" to the religion of the society as they are in Somaliland making the parallel drawn between marginal spirits and marginal people inappropriate in some societies (see E. Pressel 1974).

However, Lewis's suggestion that women are going to be the most likely candidates for spirit possession is supported by Bourguignon's (1972, 1973) distributional data on ASCs. She found that women typically appear to be victims of spirit possession trance as opposed to the other category of ASC or trance. This correlation of women and possession trance is especially high in Africa and Afro-America. From her worldwide survey of such states, Bourguignon constructs,
as a heuristic measure, two ideal types:

...possession trance is highly characteristic of Sub-Saharan Africa (and Afro-America), trance for the Americas. Possession trance is often and typically associated with cult groups, trance is not. Possession trance characteristically involves the impersonation of another personality, trance involves interaction with another personality through hallucinatory experiences. In possession trance the individual becomes another, in trance he interacts with another. Possession trance is a performance, trance is an experience. A performance requires an audience, it is carried out in front of and for the sake of an audience, an experience is an end in itself. The possession trance is followed by amnesia, the trance experience is remembered. The possession trancer is typically a woman, the trancer typically a man. Possession trance is induced by drumming, singing, dancing, crowd contagion, and it often involves learning the appropriate behavior. Trance may be induced by hypoglycemia due to fasting, sensory deprivation, mortification, drugs. The possession trancer, acting out her role before an audience, is involved in an active performance. The trancer hallucination is passively experiencing sights and sounds. We may contrast further more the imagery, i.e., the fantasy aspect, linked with each of the two forms of altered state being compared here. The active possession trance is referred to by a dependent, passive imagery, as well as by a sexual one! The possession trancer is the spirit's horse or his wife, she is mounted or ridden, or entered, indeed possessed, by the spirit. The passive trance, on the other hand, is linked to an active imagery: the trancer sends his soul on a journey -- a trip; he speaks with spirits or even struggles with spirits to bring back the soul of a patient. The possession trancer becomes another through identification, and temporarily loses her own identity. She gains power as the vehicle of another.... The possession trancer achieves it (mastery) by identification with a more powerful self, who takes over the subject's
body. The trancer achieves it (mastery) by having power, knowledge, or special gifts bestowed on him by a supernatural entity (1972:9-10).

As Bourguignon points out the relationship between these states and experiences, the socialization practices and role definitions of women and men in the societies in which they occur and the typical stresses relieved by them remains to be investigated (1972:10).

As it has been mentioned earlier, the cults of Evangelized Umbanda are part of the tradition of possession trance of Africa and Afro-America. The cults in these areas have been the focus of intensive research for the past thirty years or more. The ritual, cosmology, and belief systems of these cults have been described in detail (see Herskovits 1937, 1943, 1955; Bascom 1952, 1972; Bastide 1971; Lerch 1972 as examples of this research). In report after report, authors observe that women outnumber men as mediums. Even in Venezuela (Pollak-Eltz 1975:561), where the cult of Maria Lionza may not be dominated by either men or women, women still outnumber men as mediums. In this next section several explanations for the ascendency of women are reviewed.

Melville J. Herskovits (1966:232, orig. 1955) proposed that the numerical predominance of women among the initiates in the Brazilian cults known as Candomblé of the state of Bahia could be attributed to the retention of African traditions among the descendants of Africans living in this area. According to Herskovits, in both Africa and Brazil,
the underlying reason is economic: women are freer than men from the constraints of work which tie up their time and energies; thus, since the initiation period is lengthy, women are able to take the time whereas men are not. The requirement of a lengthy initiation for the Brazilian Candomblé cult and the cults of the Fon of Dahomey and the structure of the public and domestic domain economic roles of men and women are important features of this theory. As Bourguignon (1975:10) has observed, this tends to limit its generality to other populations. For example, in a study of the Batuque possession trance cult of Belem, Leacock and Leacock (1972) found that neither the economic hypothesis nor the retention of African tradition by descendants of Africans apply to their study population where initiation is brief and most people are not of Afro-Brazilian descent. In attempting to apply Herskovits's economic hypothesis to Haitian data, Bourguignon (1974:10) also found it inapplicable due to the brief initiation period.

D. Pierson (1967:285) provides us with another possible explanation based on a study of possession trance cults of Bahia, Brazil. He argues that women are more "traditional" in their values than are men and thus they are more likely to become cult initiates in the conservative and traditional African derived Candomblé cults. This theory appears to work well for Afro-Brazilian populations who retain African cultural values but it breaks down in populations where the
Afro-Brazilian component is minimal as for example in the case of the Batuque cults (Leacock and Leacock 1972).

Pierson's hypothesis rests on a proposed differential rate of acculturation of men and women. The pace of acculturation quickens as people are integrated into modern society. Extending this point, we might ask: How does the differential rate of the assimilation of men and women into the modern work force or into public domain employment affect their decision to become spirit mediums? Perhaps the retention of African cultural values among the women in Pierson's study population reflects not only their different values (traditional African vs. modern-Brazilian) but also their different economic roles? Perhaps the predominance of women in possession trance cults has more to do with their integration, or lack of it, into the modern work force of a rapidly industrializing society? Free time, leisure to pursue lengthy initiations, the retention of African cultural values may be only surface realities which obscure some very real structural differences related to the existing opportunities of men and women in society.

Cultural definitions of the proper roles, i.e., expected behavior, of men and women may be powerful forces in coercing people to conform to traditional ways of behaving. Leacock and Leacock (1972) mention the belief in Belem, Pará that male participants in the public possession trance cult rites and dances are often suspected of homosexuality.
According to the Leacocks, the mere suspicion of homosexuality was enough to deter many men from entering, at least publicly, the role of spirit medium. Beyond the role signs of femininity such as wearing dresses, earrings, and carrying fans, we can ask if there are any more basic qualities and attributes of the medium role which might define it as a female rather than a male role?

Ruth Landes (1940, 1947) sees the predominance of women in the Candomblé cults of Bahia as related to the matriarchal social organization of secular society. The role definition of spirit medium evidently falls so close to that of other roles filled by women in secular society that men who wish to enter the role of medium must be homosexuals -- they must completely embrace the feminine aspects of this role. Homosexuality, in the view of the Leacocks, need only be suspected to prevent most men from entering the role of medium. However, as Bourguignon (1975) observes in a review of Landes's theory, Landes postulated such a complete domination of the cult on the part of women that men are placed in a dependent position, dispossessing them of their masculinity. Landes's theory raises an interesting question about the similarity between the attributes and qualities of the sacred cult roles and the secular roles played by women. Just how close are they? In this study an attempt was made to design the project so that the qualities and attributes of both the role of medium and several other
roles of women in secular life could be compared. The similarities are striking and quite obviously facilitate the entry of women into the role. However, there was no evidence in the cults of this study that homosexuality was suspected of those males who were mediums. The men did not have to assume feminine dress to enact the medium role. In fact the dress styles of male and female mediums were kept quite distinct.

Role, Status, and Women

Role analysis provides a useful framework for this comparison of sacred cult roles and secular social and economic roles played by women.

Anthropological interest in role theory finds its origin in the 1936 edition of *The Study of Man* by Ralph Linton. The concepts of status and role were developed to deal with the discrete elements as well as the integrated aspects of society. These concepts represent a conceptual elaboration of the ideal patterns which control reciprocal behavior in interaction settings between individuals (1936:105). Status refers to the place of an individual in society and a collection of rights and duties; role is defined as the dynamic aspect of status which puts the rights and duties into action (1936:113-114). Since Linton formulated these definitions there has developed considerable definitional confusion in role theory (see Gross, et al 1953:11-20).
Statutes and roles are interconnected through multiple role enactment by a single person. Nadel (1957:63-72) labels this the "summation of roles." According to Nadel (1957:71) "the more roles an individual combines in his person, the more he is linked by relationships with persons in other roles and in diverse areas of social life." One key factor in the summation of roles is the mechanism of role recruitment. Individuals are often recruited into additional roles based upon attributes indicating the performance (perhaps the successful performance) of specified other roles held by the person either previously or concurrently. The successful fulfillment of one role according to the normative patterns of the society may help in the recruitment into related or linked roles (Nadel 1947:71). The principle of role summation also reduces the possibility of role conflict arising from the incompatibility of role obligations required of an actor by two distinct roles (Nadel 1957:65). Compatible roles are clustered together through the summation principle, and consequently, incompatible roles are kept apart. Banton's (1965:157) principle of role segregation serves the same function of Nadel's summation of roles.

The role paradigm used in this study is drawn from the works of Nadel (1957), Hughes (1969a, 1969b), Merton (1957), and Sarbin (1968). Role is viewed as a system of internally consistent parts which when broken down allow for comparison
with other roles.

**Role Name:** the role name is the label common to the people themselves. Labels often reveal the 'array of properties' which the entity named is presumed to possess (Nadel 1957:33).

**Role:** (cognitions, beliefs, expectations) Role refers to the behavior expected of the occupant of a given social status or position and includes the beliefs and cognitions held by certain persons in regard to what behaviors are appropriate for the occupant of a given position (Sarbin 1968:546). Role expectations are viewed actions listed as things which the occupant should do or as qualities in adjectival terms such as friendly, sincere, outgoing, or cautious (Hughes 1969).

**Role Attributes:** certain qualities or traits which interconnect and which together make up the character of the role (Nadel 1957:31). Role attributes provide clues to the enactment of the role. These include diacritical signs implicit in role behavior such as fashions of dress, rules of etiquette, badges of rank, significant gestures; and the role name.

**Role Enactment:** The conduct of a person who is assigned or elects to enter a given status (Sarbin 1968:547). This conduct is, to a certain degree idiosyncratic, but in order to validate his occupancy, the actor must learn either first hand or vicariously what performances are associated with the
status. A period of learning is set aside before the performance begins and/or a period of learning may be included in the initial stages of enactment. Role enactment is also aimed at learning the proper actions and incorporating the appropriate qualities of the role.

Role Recruitment: A list of required characteristics, skills, and abilities necessary for the actor will determine whether a particular person is or should be recruited to fill the status. Recruitment may depend in part on the successful performance of other related roles. The determinants of eligibility may be revealed through the study of personal histories and backgrounds of present role occupants (Hughes 1969a, 1969b).

Social Functions are the contributions which the role makes toward the maintenance of the social system (Nadel 1957; Hughes 1969a, 1969b).

Role Set or Role Relations are the significant other roles which form a system of associated roles.

The assumption is made in this study that the role of spirit medium is a "female-oriented" role. This assumption derives initially from the numerical superiority of women in the cult. This leads us to a review of the most recent developments in the Anthropology of Women. A current issue is the investigation of those roles which allow women access to power in society.
Some Trends in the Anthropology of Women

There is a trend in the literature on the Anthropology of Women to identify those roles and related activities which allow women access to power and authority as it is generally held that these are the roles which will enhance the overall social position of their occupants. According to M. G. Smith (1960:18-19), "power may be defined as the ability to act effectively on persons or things, to make or secure favorable decisions which are not of right allocated to the individual of their roles." Power becomes authority when, according to Lamphere (1974:99), "power rests upon legitimacy (that is, on the notion that an individual has the "right" to impose his will) and when it is exercised within a hierarchy of roles..." Thus far economic and technological roles have received the most attention. Economic roles pertain directly to the way goods and services are exchanged and distributed within the social system and technological roles concern the production of goods and food supplies (Otterbein 1972). These activities envelop two spheres or domains of social life. There is a private domain and a public domain and within each, there exists typical patterns for the division of labor and the allocation of power and authority. According to Peggy R. Sanday (1974:190), the private domain "refers to activities performed within the localized family unit" and the public domain "includes political and
economic activities that take place or have impact beyond the localized family unit and that relate to the control of persons or the control of things." We can assume that private domain activities and roles concern the bearing and rearing of children and the care and maintenance of the household. Both economic and technological roles are attached to the private domain as for example where food and clothing are prepared for consumption by members of the localized family unit. The preparation of these products are for domestic use and are allocated to family members based upon reciprocity. Since most women are potential mothers, women in general are trained to perform the roles within this domain. In fact, according to Rosaldo (1974:3), a universal asymmetry of the sexes has developed from the association of women with the maternal role, and consequently, with the private domain and of men with those activities and roles taking place outside of this domain.

In Porto Alegre the concept of the supermãe ("Super mother") is one result of this association. This concept is explored in Chapter VI. In Latin America generally, the Super mother imagery or sex role stereotyping is supported by definite sex role differentiation which begins early in childhood.

Returning to a more general level, it is often suggested that the private domain roles do not allow women
access to power and/or to authority as long as they focus inward on the localized family unit and fail to relate to the control of resources and people outside this domain. Sanday (1974:195) theorizes that during the early stages of societal development, the acquisition of power and authority by women was related to their ability to divert their energies away from the reproduction and care of children and to rechannel them toward extra-domestic activities. The involvement of women in such activities will have a positive influence on the social status.

Private or public domain technological roles alone are not sufficient to confer power and authority on role occupants. Sacks (1974) argues that there is no relation between the sheer amount of foodstuffs produced by women and the enhancement of their status in society. Rather, it is the control over production that is more determinant of status. Economic roles, then, are more significant than technological roles. E. Friedl (1967) demonstrates how the Greek peasant women's control over dowry lands allows considerable power to women. In theorizing about women generally, Friedl (1975:8) contends that

it is the right to distribute and exchange valued goods and services to those not in a person's own domestic unit (extradomestic distribution) which confers power and prestige in all societies.

We should be aware of the word "right," indicating that the recognized authority to distribute such valued goods
and services may be more relevant to status-raising than is simply having the power to do the same. And finally, the occasion of the exchange is equally important to status enhancement,

...because extradomestic exchanges occur most frequently in the course of special events, the total complex of roles associated with each sex in any society is influenced not only by the division of routine labor but by the principles and processes by which labor and material are commandeered for extraordinary occasions (Friedl 1975:9).

Finally, public domain activities, economic roles (i.e., control over production and distribution of valued goods and services) plus the recognized right (i.e., authority) to engage in such activities and the occasion of the exchange combine to enhance status and allocate power and authority to actors.

The question of what activities lead to the acquisition of power has led to some interesting problems for those doing research on Latin American women. These problems stem in part from the sex-role differentiation and sex-role stereotyping mentioned above (page 28). Jaquette (1974, cited by Knaster 1976:15) found that sex-role stereotypes may be a source of real power for women, even in their roles as politician. Jaquette believes that the North American feminist bias that shuns sex-role differentiation -- a predominant characteristic of Latin American culture -- may skew our evaluation of political
participation by Latin American women. She recommends substituting the criterion of power for the criterion of complete sexual equalization in order to measure valid participation. Thus, roles which have a "feminine orientation" cannot be excluded automatically from research into those which may allocate power to their occupants. This would represent a "feminine bias" of another kind.

What do women do when authority is denied to them by civil law codes making it illegal for them to hold those social statuses that allocate authority to their occupants? Faced with this type of situation, Portuguese peasant women secure power through a system of "informal roles" (Joyce F. Riegelhaupt 1967). One such informal role is that of trader. Female traders have a certain amount of control over the distribution of local products. They sell these products to merchants and customers living outside of the local community. In the performance of this trading role, women have developed a sophisticated system of internal communications based on the flow of information through gossip and have developed client ties to patrons who reside outside of the local community. The access to information through gossip and the ability to contact non-local patrons taken together enhance the status of these women traders in their local community.

Barbara C. Aswad (1967) presents the analogous situation of Middle Eastern noble women where an internal
communications system is again essential to conferring power to women who are officially excluded from the decision making process. Aswad makes a distinction between "key" and "peripheral" roles. Key roles allocate authority to role occupants but most Middle Eastern noble women do not fill such roles. Peripheral roles fall outside the authority structure of key roles but they maintain the power to influence decision making. Peripheral role occupants use information obtained from gossip and unrestricted visiting patterns to secure decisions in their favor.

From the above review, we see that roles conferring higher social status to women have not always equaled those officially sanctioned by society nor have they been those roles which have centered solely on the private domain. Power and authority in public domain roles must be conferred by institutions or achieved by activities that provide access to valued goods and services. Such access becomes the basis for control over people and things. In the examples above, the source of power and authority lie in such indirect channels as an internal communications network like gossip and through contact with potential patrons.

Economic roles are sometimes not enough to raise social status where cultural norms and ideologies disdain such activities or define them as improper behavior for certain categories of people. Among the Isthmus Zapotec women
studied by Chiñas (1973) we see an example of this situation. Some women hold an important processing-vending role. Despite the fact that this role supplements the income of the household, takes place within the public market sector, and allows women control over a valued resource, the processing-vending role does not enhance the status of its occupant. Influenced more by the acceptance and adherence to Mestizo cultural values which define work of any type as distasteful and lowerclass, the Isthmus Zapotec women see little value in this role (Chiñas 1973:40-41). Thus, economic power does not enhance female status where value systems and cultural beliefs about work and women are also prerequisites of female status.

Cultural ideologies impinging upon women often restrict their participation in powerful roles and positions. Cultural ideologies may be society wide sex-role expectations concerning the ideal behavior of women. Such expectations become part of a continuing 'social mythology,' to use Elizabeth Janeway's (1971) phrase, or such expectations may be part of actual myths about women and society (Bamberger 1974). Whatever the case, cultural ideologies are part of role definition and help determine which roles women will find acceptable and attractive.

From the review just presented of these three different areas in Anthropological literature, we can pull
together some ideas which may lead to an understanding of why women outnumber men in the role of spirit medium. First, from the general study of ASCs, we know that women typically outnumber men in the type of ASC known as possession trance. Possession trance occurs within a cult body where there is both an actor and an audience. It involves the impersonation of another identity, and through this impersonation, the possession trancer enacts another set of social roles. The enactment of another set of roles can lead to new opportunities to effect changes in one's environment (i.e., in other people's actions or in re-channeling goods towards oneself). The roles enacted during the ASC often reflect social identities of higher social status than the trancer herself, too. This leads to relative status enhancement.

Second, the specific study of women in the possession trance cults of Afro-America suggest areas for further investigation: the area of economic roles of men and women, the assimilation and integration of men and women into the society at large, the role definitions of the ideal male and ideal female and the relationship of these definitions to those of the medium role.

Third, role analysis sets up the framework for investigating these relationships and lends support to the idea that the successful enactment of one role can lead to similar success in other roles with similar qualifications.
Finally, the concept of power through control of distribution has been found to be a key factor in status enhancement. This is true for both men and women. In this study, the role of Umbanda medium does appear to provide access to a certain amount of control over the distribution of local resources. If this aspect of the role is constant from one cultural setting to another, then we can begin to see why this role is so popular among women. If women almost universally start off in a less powerful position in society than men, the access to power through the role of medium may be a very common way for women to balance this inequality.
CHAPTER II
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The site of research is the Brazilian city, Porto Alegre, capital of Rio Grande do Sul. Since this is a city of more than one million inhabitants, the opinions expressed here are representative only of the group studied, not of the people of Porto Alegre generally. My specific research problem narrowed down the study population to female mediums in Umbanda and to a sample of non-cult women. Later in this chapter, the selection of specific Umbanda centers is discussed. The data were collected during a ten month field study in 1974 and 1975.

In selecting Porto Alegre as the research site, several things were considered. First, it seemed a good choice, since there needed to be a study of Umbanda from an area of Brazil where very little research previously existed in order to round our growing data on Umbanda. Excluding the excellent study on Umbanda in São Paulo by Esther Pressel (1971), little anthropological field research exists for the more southern regions of Brazil. The Batuque cult of Porto Alegre receives more attention from researchers than does Umbanda (M. J. Herskovits 1955; Roger Batide 1952).
This research concentrates primarily upon a description of beliefs, ritual practices, and the acculturation processes acting upon this more traditional Afro-Brazilian religion. Discussions of the type of people who become mediums, their options in society, and their day to day cult activities are generally absent from these reports.

In the second place, as it was mentioned in the "Introduction," the opinions of Brazilian acquaintances and friends, studying at Ohio State University, were considered. Most of them opposed my choice of Porto Alegre, believing that such religious cults did not exist so far south in the Brazilian Gaúcho (or cowboy) state. If I truly wanted to study such religions, they said, then I should remain in Rio do Janeiro or travel further north to San Salvador, Bahia. Rio Grande do Sul's image as a cattle ranching, cowboy, and European immigrant haven override and obscure the existence of other subcultural patterns, so this suggestion was not made without good reason. However, my choice of Porto Alegre was encouraged by fellow anthropologist Esther Pressel who sent me a copy of an Umbanda publication dated from the late sixties and printed in Porto Alegre. Finally, my curiosity was aroused and I became intent upon discovering if Umbanda actually did exist in the extreme south despite the public stereotypes.
Participant Observation: early phase

The primary research procedure initially providing the most information is participant observation. Participant observation has been used successfully in previous studies of spirit possession and trance cults in Brazil (Pressel 1971; Leacock and Leacock 1972; Velho 1975), on the island of St. Vincent (Henney 1973) and on religions involving ASCs among Mayan peasants of the Yucatan (Goodman 1974). Each study was done in a slightly different kind of community: the metropolitan area of São Paulo, the island community of St. Vincent and the peasant village of the Maya. This methodology was particularly useful in this study because of the nature of Umbanda cult organization. Umbanda cults include a regular core of mediums and clients who form a body or "community" united by the altered state of consciousness experience. The Umbanda center, the unit of study, was the center of medium-client interaction. The center was chosen over such possible sites as the neighborhood or the city as a whole. The neighborhood was rejected because the centers attract people from all over the metropolitan area. The study of the role of medium did not demand an all inclusive city wide approach, but wherever possible the social-cultural context and its importance in affecting the decision to enter the medium role is considered. Private Umbanda sessions of the type reported by Pressel (1971) were not observed during this
study. In the early phases of fieldwork participation is limited simply to being present at a ceremony or an event where the role of observer or witness was assumed. The Umbanda ceremonies are open to the public; early in fieldwork, there was never any difficulty with this role.

Locating and visiting Umbanda centers presents special problems. According to the records of the Union of Umbanda, located in downtown Porto Alegre, there are over three thousand registered centers (both Batuque and Umbanda) in the metropolitan area, but detecting their presence in the local barrios (neighborhoods) is often difficult since most failed to advertise their presence either by signs or by distinct building style. A few centers ran ads in the papers announcing their sessions. It is also possible to find out the starting time and place of sessions from waitresses and taxi drivers. But, in the long run, the most reliable information came from the officials at the Union of Umbanda. Once interested in my research, the union officials provided me with addresses to a wide variety of Umbanda centers. Mr. Mendes, a union official, accompanied me to several of these centers, introducing me personally to the cult leaders. Even so, one problem which continued to plague our visits was the fact that the sessions were subject to abrupt cancellation and time changes. Since we could not discover this ahead of time, we often arrived on the wrong night!
Another difficulty met with was that between January and March, the summer months, most centers either limited their sessions to once per month or they cancelled them altogether. Thus, some very interesting centers, visited early in January, did not reopen their doors until almost the end of March.

This initial phase of participant observation provided me with the following type of data:

1. statistics on the number of centers;
2. the general construction and layout of Umbanda centers;
3. the average number of sessions held weekly;
4. the ratio of female to male mediums and cult leaders;
5. the various dress styles and costumes worn by mediums;
6. the range of variation in ritual and ceremony; and
7. the similarity in songs and ritual from center to center.

**Participant Observation: the middle phase**

Between mid-February and the beginning of March my role slowly changed from that of observer-witness to regular visitor and client. This role change initially occurred at only two centers; in most other centers I maintained my former role, continuing to visit new groups as the opportunity arose. A third center figures importantly in this
study. This is the center of Dona Ana who became one of my major informants. At her center my role was also that of active participant but this role change did not take place until May. Of these three centers, the center of Maria which is described in the next section could not be included in this study because the cult leader refused to give me permission to interview her mediums. This is explained more fully later. At these centers, in my new status of regular visitor and client, I received permission to tape the ritual and the songs, to observe the regular body of mediums interacting with their clients, to keep records on how many males and females participated either as clients or as mediums, and to attend the regular and special sessions.

The first center was located at the corner of my street within easy walking distance of my house. The cult leader, Jorge, was a middle aged mulatto male. For three months, every other Monday, every Thursday, and every other Saturday were spent in attendance at the sessions of his center. About thirty-five mediums worked there regularly, including ten males and twenty-five females.

It is customary for each Umbanda center to choose a spiritual protector. This spiritual protector is normally the major spirit guide or dono da cabeça (lit. "master of the head") of the cult leader. At Jorge's center, the spiritual protector is Pai Xangô. In honor of this
spiritual protector, the mediums affiliated with the center, wear the colors associated with this spirit; in this case, the colors which symbolize Xangô are red and white.

The second center, led by Maria, is located across town so that in order to attend the Monday and Saturday meetings, I traveled by bus down to the center of the city and out again to the neighborhood Santana. Maria is a descendent of Europeans, white, and aged seventy-five. There are two major spiritual protectors of her center. One is an "Indian" spirit (caboclo) and the other is an "old black" (preto velho) spirit.

According to my observations and to the two cult leaders, each center practiced a slightly different brand of Umbanda. Jorge's center followed a form of ritual which falls closest to the Kardecismo end of Camargo's (1961) continuum of Umbanda beliefs and practices while that of Maria's falls somewhere between this end and the African end. One of the most obvious differences was in the form possession trance induction took at each center. At Jorge's it occurred without the accompaniment of drums and dancing as it did at Maria's. Despite this, both cult leaders claimed to practice pure Umbanda, "clean and without evil intent." Both claimed to work with spirits of great enlightenment. Jorge labeled his brand of ritual "Umbanda Evangelizada" (Evangelized) emphasizing with this name its lack of drumming, dancing, smoking, and general fantasia
"fantasy"). Maria called her type "Umbanda Branca" (White Umbanda) or "Umbanda Puro" (Pure Umbanda), and she felt that dancing, drumming, and smoking were absolutely necessary ritual components of possession trance. This ritual discrepancy is quite common, and cult leaders usually place great importance upon their individual interpretation of the ritual.

Mãe de santos ("mothers in sainthood") and Pai de santos ("fathers in sainthood"), some possessed others not, write and publish manuscripts discussing the Lei de Umbanda ("law of Umbanda"). These manuscripts sell in special spiritist stores and in general bookstores. But even with this type of literature available, or perhaps because of it, each group continued to practice a slightly unique form of Umbanda, Batuque, or spiritism or some combination of the three. Consequently, the claims made by Jorge and Maria are typical of cult leaders — each one apparently believes that their interpretation of the ritual is not only correct, but superior.

After the ritual, songs, and medium-client interactions were recorded at these two centers, several attempts to interview the mediums privately within their homes were made. Talking to the mediums when possessed by their spirits had limited value at this stage, since the spirits were more interested in inquiring about my physical well-being and personal problems than they were in answering
questions about themselves and their mediums. At Maria's center, some spirits told me their names but at Jorge's none did so. The cult leader's permission had to be given before a single interview was scheduled. Maria was reluctant to allow me to interview either her or her mediums. Occasionally, she agreed to an interview; an appointment was made but on the appointed day she invariably absented herself from the center. For three consecutive Sunday afternoons I waited for her to return from one of her numerous outings. Since we had made an appointment, I was never quite sure if she simply forgot about it or if she was deliberately avoiding me. Meanwhile, I attempted to by-pass her and directly approach her mediums. Even though many of them were willing to talk with me at the center before and after the sessions about casual subjects no one would allow me to come to their homes or to go beyond a few initial inquiries. Evidently, Maria maintained strict control over their cult related activities.

When I did complete an interview with Maria it was almost of no use to me because it was totally controlled by her. She lectured me about "Pure" Umbanda and mediumistic abilities, and I barely squeezed in a question. Several weeks later, Maria arranged an interview for me with a preto velho (old black spirit) at her center. He was told to discuss women and mediumship with me. Although this was an interesting interview, it marked the first and
the last of its kind at this center. Maria evidently felt satisfied that this interview should be the only one granted at her center. She never allowed her mediums to talk with me within the privacy of their homes.

The same initial reluctance was exhibited by Jorge. However, he was willing to discuss Evangelized Umbanda during private consultations, and occasionally he based his public lectures on a question which I had asked him about the ritual. Emerging as a major difference between the two cult leaders was the degree of control each exercised over their mediums. Perhaps due to the fact that Jorge had to be absent from several sessions for business reasons, there developed small factions within the group. Each was headed by a female medium who had achieved some status due to her age, her reputation for wisdom or for powerful spirits, her long years of work in Umbanda, or her personality. On one occasion of Jorge's absence, I approached the leader of one of these factions and asked her for an interview, and she granted it.

This first interview was extremely important since it was taped by Dona Bette (the medium interviewed) and later played for Jorge. During our conversation, Dona Bette asked me why I had come to Porto Alegre to study Umbanda. She inquired about the religions of the U.S. and expressed amazement when she learned that we did not practice Umbanda there. After an hour or so into the interview, Dona Iara
arrived. Dona Iara held an important position within the group, most clearly seen in the Saturday sessions. She led the songs and stood, near the altar, at the right side of the cult leader. Dona Iara listened carefully to my explanation of my research and agreed to help me.

On the following Tuesday during the classes held by the cult leader for the mediums for developing, Donas Bette and Iara played their tape of our interview for Jorge. Although I was unaware of this until much later, he evidently felt that my project was not threatening, and thus, he did not object to other mediums being interviewed. Throughout the research, these two women encouraged others to respond to my questions. During this middle phase of participant observation, I collected background information on fourteen mediums.

Key-informant interviewing

As my fieldwork progressed, I established a close working relationship with four spirit mediums, all female, who were to become my major informants. Each woman is briefly described below, and each is given a pseudonym which will be used throughout this dissertation.

The first medium is Dona Bette. She was fifty-three years old and of Italian Brazilian descent. She and her husband own a large, three story house where they live together with their two youngest children and three boarders.
During the early years of her marriage, she directed the home manufacture of men's shirts which were sold by hired female vendors. With her husband, a carpenter, she paid for the university education of her two eldest sons and purchased their present home. During the period of fieldwork, Dona Bette and her daughter were the only two family members who practiced Umbanda. Her Catholic relatives did not approve of her religion.

The second medium, Dona Iara, is Afro-Brazilian, single, and lower class. She grew up in Taquari, a small interior town which historically falls within the zone of charqueadas ("dried meat factories") where African slaves were employed during the nineteenth century. Within Dona Iara's family exists a tradition of mediumship; both her mother and father worked as spirit mediums in Umbanda and Batuque. Although she did not begin to develop her medium abilities until she was in her twenties, Dona Iara first experienced possession trance at the age of twelve. She postponed entrance into the role of medium until later in her life. When she first came to Porto Alegre she worked as a domestic servant for a middle-class Italian Brazilian family. Barely twelve years ago, prior to fieldwork, she was illiterate. During those twelve years she has taken advantage of the government sponsored free education programs. In 1974-75, she planned to take the entrance examination, which is required for the university.
Dona Thelma is a single Italian Brazilian woman, age thirty-three, working as an accountant for a textile firm in Porto Alegre. Born into a conservative family of Italian Brazilian descent, she grew up in the Italian colonial zone north of Porto Alegre. Her father believed that she should leave school after the primary level and become the apprentice of an elderly woman who would teach her the art of knitting, crocheting, designing and sewing clothes, and cooking and keeping house. Dona Thelma resisted her family's pressure to marry and settle down by refusing the suitors her mother and aunts chose for her. In order to continue her education, she left her home and family, eventually settling in Porto Alegre. In 1974-75 she studied for the university entrance examination, alone and without the encouragement of her family. As with Dona Bette, Dona Thelma's relatives were not aware of her participation in Umbanda, nor would they have approved it.

Finally, there is Dona Ana, a female cult leader, a grandmother, and a mother of seven, all by the age of thirty-three. She and her husband are descendants of the Italian Brazilian immigrants who originally settled in Santa Catarina, a neighboring state. Leaving their relatives behind, they married and moved to Porto Alegre. During the period of fieldwork, Dona Ana, five of her seven children and her husband lived in a small three room bungalow, located in a lower class neighborhood on the
outskirts of the city. As with the other three women, Dona Ana seemed determined to improve her situation in life. Through the role of cult leader, she has found a vehicle for manipulating and perhaps improving her financial circumstances. Dona Ana exhibited courage and strength when she broke away from her "home" center, headed by Jorge, in order to start her own group.

These four women are probably atypical in that they all possess an immense amount of ambition and drive. Each one steps outside of the conventional Brazilian female image of passivity and submissiveness in order to reach her goals.

Participant Observation: the final phase

The final phase of participant observation is marked by a significant role change for me. My key-informants encouraged me to begin to develop my own medium abilities. Once I made this decision, I moved into a new realm of fieldwork which before was beyond my reach. After I 'put on the uniform' signifying my role change, I figuratively and in fact crossed a line which separated the observer from the participant. As a developing medium, it was assumed that I would learn the rules and regulations of the center. The mediums willingly pointed out my faults and explained the proper role behavior to me. The fact that I was to become a medium myself seemed to my Umbanda
colleagues to be a better reason for answering my constant questions than the earlier explanation of research. They truly believed that the only way to understand mediunidade was to experience it.

I moved into the position cambona (an initiated medium) that must be held by all new mediums. Interacting with other cambonas led to discovery of very definite roles within the cult which had totally escaped me before. Since each new cambona must fill such positions as escrevedor ("writer"), usher, the rights and duties attached to each were learned first hand. Listening to the informal conversation of cambonas and other mediums, for example, pointed up the importance of astral signs in the identification of one's protecting spirit guia ("guide").

At about the same time that I decided to develop mediunidade (around the end of May), two other important events occurred which considerably altered my fieldwork. First, my husband had to return to Columbus, Ohio, in order to resume research on his own dissertation and to return to full-time employment. The impact of this isolation from the only other English speaker and close friend drove me to seek closer ties within Umbanda. Thereafter I visited my key-informants with greater frequency; and the combination of my need for human companionship and their surprise that I was staying on alone without my husband brought us closer together.
The second important event was meeting Dona Ana. She was first introduced to me by her friend Dona Bette. Dona Ana was in the early phases of setting up her own Umbanda center. Since she only had a few mediums working with her, I was able to offer my assistance in such things as lighting the incense burner, providing altar candles, and passing out numbered tickets to waiting clients. Our relationship was reciprocal since she felt I was contributing a valuable service and I felt satisfied that I was getting valuable information. Dona Ana told me that she enjoyed answering my questions because it gave her the opportunity to organize her thoughts about Umbanda beliefs and practices.

Participant observation was also used in the collection of data on the socialization of children, and male-female role definitions. Systematic observation of male-female interaction at the cult house between male mediums and female clients, female mediums and male clients, and males and females generally stimulated the formation of specific questions about the domestic and public domain roles of men and women.

These observations plus data drawn from novels, magazines, and popular songs are analyzed in Chapter VI of this dissertation.
Structured Interviews and Questionnaires

A structured interview schedule was used in interviews with twenty-nine women. Appendix A contains a sample schedule on background data. Structured interview schedules on the role definition of medium and on the public and private roles of women are found in Appendices II and III. These schedules proved to be flexible and consistent. This was especially important in interviewing cult women since questions could be worked into a more casual conversation. Cult women, feeling threatened by written questionnaires, did not respond well to more formal approaches. In order to complete an entire schedule of questions with most of the cult women took several casual conversations over a period of weeks.

Non-cult women were interviewed during a series of Chas or Tea parties at which I was an invited guest. During the first Tea four women were asked to fill out the background data questionnaire. Then, seated informally around a table, they discussed my questions together, arguing back and forth among themselves until they reached some consensus concerning a particular answer or rank order of a series of responses. A tape of their answers was later transcribed so that from it a record could be made of the areas of agreement and disagreement. A few days after this initial Tea interview, my neighbor, the hostess of the Tea, met with me to discuss the responses. She assisted me in
composing another interview schedule. This second schedule formed the core of a lengthy written questionnaire covering the same topics discussed in the first interview -- the domestic role of women, their husbands' role in housework, their attitudes toward public domain work, and male-female relationships. This questionnaire was then administered at two more Teas where each woman filled out her questionnaire individually with very little open discussion on the responses. Therefore, the data gathered during Tea parties represented two different approaches: the first phase with an initial interview according to a set list of questions whose answers were jointly discussed; and a second phase where the Tea women simply filled out a prepared questionnaire. It must be pointed out that most of the women in the Tea group were able to read and respond to the written questionnaire while most of the women interviewed from Umbanda were not able to do so.

On the following page, Table 1 summarizes data describing the background of the twenty-nine women who were interviewed for the part of this study which deals directly with women's roles in the domestic and public domain. A more complete discussion can be found in Appendix B (pages 310-324).
### Table 1

**Summary of the Background Data on Twenty-Nine Porto Alegre Women 1974-1975**

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% Cult Group (14 Total)</th>
<th>% Non-Cult Group (15 Total)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Urban:</strong></td>
<td>66.6</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Interior&quot;:</td>
<td>34.4</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Average Age:</strong></td>
<td>33</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Civil Status</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Single or Widowed:</td>
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<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No. of Children:</strong></td>
<td>4.5 per married couple</td>
<td>2.5 per married couple</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Primario:</td>
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<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Cult Group</td>
<td>Non-Cult Group</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Married:</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Primary School Teacher</td>
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<td>Supervisor in Industry</td>
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<td>Spouses:</td>
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<td>Banker</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manual Labor (2)</td>
<td>Auditor</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mechanic</td>
<td>Manager of Firm</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Window Fitter</td>
<td>Unknown (3)</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chemical Lab Assistant</td>
<td>Housewives (2)</td>
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<td>Clerk (2)</td>
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**Ethnic**

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<td>Afro-Brazilian:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
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**Social Class**

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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Lower to Middle:</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower:</td>
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CHAPTER III
ETHNOHISTORICAL CONTEXT OF EVANGELIZED UMBANDA

The two cults of "Evangelized Umbanda are located in the busy and crowded metropolitan area of Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul. One center is in a middle class neighborhood and the other is in an "interior" or outlying neighborhood. The cult membership and clientele reflects the cultural complexity and economic diversity of the city and its inhabitants, and in this manner, also parallels the social and economic diversity of Brazil. In this chapter a brief description of the geography, economy, and social and cultural history of Porto Alegre is presented. Moving from the general to the specific, the sections cover Porto Alegre within the nation, the south region, and the state of Rio Grande do Sul. Then a brief survey of the formation of Gaúcho culture is reviewed. Finally, the Umbanda cults are compared to other spirit possession and trance religions which compete with them for clients in Porto Alegre.

The Federal Republic of Brazil is the fifth largest country of the world, and within its 3.3 million square miles is a population that numbers close to 110 million people and that is growing at a rate of three percent.
annually. Descended largely from three major groups—the American Indians, the Portuguese, and the Africans—the present population continues to assimilate Japanese, Lebanese, Syrians, Germans, Italians, and Poles. The cultural diversity stemming from this mixture of peoples is further heightened by the diversity of the natural environment such as the humid Amazon lowlands and the arid semidesert of the northeast, the Eastern Highlands and the southern pampas. A variety of lifestyles have developed in response to this cultural and environmental diversity, as in the case of the Rubber Tappers of the Amazon forest and the Gaúchos of the southern pampas.

Porto Alegre is located at the southern end of an escarpment which runs north to São Salvador, Bahia. In fact, geographers have described Brazil as a "slightly tilted plateau" with its high edge, known as the Great Escarpment, overlooking the Atlantic Ocean. Inland the plateau falls off gradually in a northeasterly direction toward the vast plain of the Amazon. Beyond Porto Alegre, the coastal mountains, the Serra do Mar, almost totally disappear.

**Rio Grande do Sul and the South**

Porto Alegre is the capital of Rio Grande do Sul. Along with Paranhá and Santa Catarina, these three states make up the region known as the South (see map on page 58).
Figure 1. Brazil

1. north
2. northeast
3. central-west
4. southeast
5. south
This is the smallest region covering only 578 thousand square kilometers of 6.8 percent of the total area of Brazil. However, eighteen percent of Brazil's population live in this region. Rio Grande do Sul is the largest of the three states with about half of the area in this region falling within its borders. The economic development of the entire South has been one of steady growth since its colonization during the eighteenth century by Portuguese Azoreans and European farmers. According to the economist Stephen Robock (1976), this region never shared in the typical economic cycle of 'boom and bust' so characteristic of the other regions. Today, Paraná leads the nation in coffee production with more than half the total coffee output. Santa Catarina is the principal coal producing state and is important in industry and agriculture. Rio Grande do Sul is the foremost producer of wheat, rice, onions, tobacco, and soybeans in addition to being the second most important area for livestock after Minas Gerais. The moderate climate and fertile soils are responsible for this region's paramount concern with cattle raising and highly diversified and sophisticated farming. Forestry is important based on the Paraná pine. Industry is prosperous and mainly concerned with wood, paper, pulp, food processing, and leather products. Since 1970 Rio Grande do Sul has become a major exporter in shoes and leather goods.
The social, cultural, and economic history of the South prompts many writers to refer to this area as "another Brazil" (Wagley 1971:72). Perhaps the most distinctive and controversial area is Rio Grande do Sul, since many of Brazil's historians have argued whether or not Rio Grande culture is truly Brazilian. For example, Moyses Vellinho's argument in *Capitania d'El Rei* (1968) is that the culture of the Riograndense (people from Rio Grande do Sul) shares many of the national cultural patterns of Brazil. In fact, the people of this state had to fight to remain a part of the nation, placing their lives in danger in order to remain Brazilian. Vellinho's desire to document the fact that the people of Rio Grande do Sul share in Brazilian national culture is rooted in the rather ambivalent position which characterized the southern frontier. Until well into the nineteenth century an almost constant state of frontier warfare existed between Brazil, Spain, and the Banda Oriental (Uruguay) over the possession of this territory. Historian and sociologist Francisco Oliviera Viana (1952) of Minas Gerais characterizes the Gaúchos as "warriors by education and inclination," and he has written that "every Gaúcho is a soldier." In agreement with Viana, Joseph L. Love (1971) cites four major wars between 1817 and 1870 that taxed the population of the state: the Cisplatine Campaign 1817-1828; the Farroupilha Revolution 1835-1845; the Platine Campaigns of 1849-1852; and the Paraguayan War 1864-1870.
Rio Grande do Sul is still Brazil's first line of defense against potential enemies in the Plate; consequently, more troops have been stationed there than elsewhere in the country. Thus, the myth of the Gaúcho penchant for military life, according to Love (1971), is supported not only by the number of troops stationed in the state, but also by the number of high ranking officers who are born in Rio Grande do Sul as well.

Gaúcho, meaning "cowboy" and/or "soldier," is a symbolic identity so permeating the worldview and self image of the people from this state that it has become a synonym for Riograndense. Urbanities, rice farmers, industrial workers, white collar bureaucrats, men and women, young and old, embrace this identity as readily as do the caboclos (mixed blood backwoodsmen). Wagley (1971:75) found that even the descendants of the European colonists think of themselves as Gaúchos. Associated with this self concept are definite feelings of regional superiority and pride.

The state of Rio Grande do Sul is the largest in the South region, and it is even larger than the two South American Republics of Ecuador and Uruguay. Covering 3.3 percent of Brazil's territory, it measures some 478 miles from its easternmost to its westernmost point and almost the same distance from north to south. Bordering Uruguay and Argentina, it lies well below the tropics (falling between 27 S and 34 S). The state is primarily hilly and
crisscrossed by mountains and rivers. Joseph L. Love (1971) divides the state into three major cultural and economic regions: the Litoral, the Campanha, and the Cima da Serra (or simply the Serra). (See map on page 63.) Porto Alegre lies within the Litoral, the smallest of the regions. The Litoral consists of the coastal strip and the alluvial areas washed by the Lagoas dos Patos and Mirim; it extends from Torres in the north to Santa Vitoria do Palmar in the south, including the Jacuí River Valley as far west as Cachoeira. Both historically and at present, the Litoral is the most densely populated region. Despite its poor soils, it has become the center of the state's exports, interstate commerce, and industry. Besides Porto Alegre, the two other largest cities of the state are located in this region. The capital is situated furthest north of the three cities, lying at the junction of the Lagoa dos Patos and the Jacuí and Guaíba Rivers. Although it is the largest city with over one million people and the most important manufacturing center in the state, Porto Alegre cannot be reached by ocean-going vessels due to the shallowness of the lagoon's northern section. Items for export must travel by truck, train, or small ship to the only ocean port in the state, the city of Rio Grande. Pelotás, which lies south of Porto Alegre and just west of the lagoon, is the second largest city. There is a strip of sandy beach which runs northward from the third largest
Figure 2. Rio Grande do Sul
city, Rio Grande, to Torres and which in the past presented an effective barrier against attempts to settle the state. Since there are no rivers cutting across this sandy strip to the lagoon, even today the area remains isolated and sparsely settled. Except for resort cities such as Tramandai, small fishing villages are more typical of the coast. Along the western shores of the lagoon rice cultivation prospers.

The second region, the Campanha, is primarily composed of hilly grasslands that are divided up into large _estancias_ (cattle ranches). These ranches employ the _gaúcho_ ("cowboy"). In the third region, the Cima da Serra, we find the richest soil in the state. Lying north of Porto Alegre, the Serra combines a high plateau pine-forested region with rolling grasslands extending to the west. The Serra is the center of the European settlements referred to as the Colonial zone. Many of their descendants have migrated to Porto Alegre where they have become participants in the cults of Umbanda.

**The Social and Cultural Background of Rio Grande do Sul**

The people of Rio Grande do Sul come from many cultural and ethnic backgrounds, a fact which is often obscured by the dominant gaucho image. The Riograndense Indians, the state's first inhabitants, practiced a culture similar to other Tropical Forest peoples and spoke a language within
the Tupi-Guarani family (Nagley 1972). Tupi-Guarani culture influenced the formation of the western frontier lifestyle to a much greater degree than it did in the eastern Litoral, where Porto Alegre is located, since the Indians of the Litoral were decimated early leaving no traces of their culture (Cesar 1962:19). During the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, Rio Grande do Sul remained a sparsely populated frontier area. In 1700 the first important migration south began when bands of adventurers from Sao Paulo known as bandierantes journeyed into the area capturing Mission Indians. Later in that century in order to secure the territory against Spanish domination, Portuguese settlers from the Azores were encouraged to immigrate into the state. According to the politica dos casais, a policy of settling families and couples, Azoreans populated both the Campanha and the Litoral. Those settling along the Lagoa dos Patos (1740) founded the Porto dos Casais which later became Porto Alegre (1742).

The Negro first entered Gaúcho society as a slave imported to fight the Spanish. In 1725 a ship direct from the Guinea Coast of Africa carried a cargo of slaves destined to reinforce dwindling Brazilian troops (Cesar 1962:30). Then in the year 1735, African slaves were brought south with a company of São Paulo bandierantes, and participated in the construction of a highway which opened the way for trade between the South and the São Paulo merchants and
landowners. In 1737 a few African slaves participated (by contributing their labor) in the founding of a military presidio in the southern city of Rio Grande. But throughout the first half of the 18th century, as long as the demand remained low, African slaves did not enter the state in large numbers. Evidently the presence of African slaves in Rio Grande do Sul was so unusual that the historian Rout (1976:82) cites the practice of northern slave owners threatening their rebellious slaves with exile to the harsh, cold climate of the south as punishment for misbehavior. Rio Grande do Sul became known as the 'land of vile masters and vile slaves' (Rout 1976:82).

Economic pressure on the owners of the state's vast cattle ranches and dried beef factories (charqueadas) forced them to look for a source of cheap labor in African slavery. The census of 1775 shows that one quarter or 5,000 of the 20,000 people living in Rio Grande do Sul were either black or mulatto slaves who worked chiefly as domestics or stockmen (Rout 1976:82). This figure of 5,000 rose to 20,000 over a period of thirty-nine years to the next census of 1814. This influx of African slaves paralleled the dramatic growth of the dried beef industry in the cities of Porto Alegre, Pelatos, and Rio Grande. Ninety percent or 18,000 of these slaves were committed to permanent service within the dried beef industry. Data are lacking on which to base a conclusion concerning the exact tribal origins
of the slave population of Rio Grande do Sul but such terms as *Mina* or *Congo* which were applied to the incoming slaves indicate a West African homeland (Casar 1962:30). The census records covering the 1800s show a heavy concentration of slaves in the capital and port cities, including Rio Grande, Sao Jose do Norte (where the African slaves comprised two-thirds of the population in 1818), Jaguarao, and Triunfo.

*Charqueada* slavery was unique because the masses of unfree labor were urban and industrial. The slaves worked all year long without seasonal breaks for a minimum of twelve hours per day beginning at midnight and ending at noon. The emancipation of workers was fairly uncommon. A rapid influx of predominately male slaves prevented the creation of a large mulatto contingent such as existed in other slave areas of the nation. The Brazilian historian Caio Prado Junior, in discussing the composition of Rio Grande do Sul's slavocrat society, says that the "blacks were blacker, and the whites whiter" than elsewhere in Brazil (quoted in Rout 1976:83).

The contribution made by African slaves to the economy of the state continued to be important into the nineteenth century. Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1962:83) documents the presence of African slaves working on the cattle ranches of the Campanha, in the dried beef industry of the Litoral, and in urban artisan shops and in domestic service. Negros
de ganho\(^1\) or **Negros de aluguel** were hired out by their masters to perform a variety of tasks requiring manual labor. By the end of the nineteenth century, nearly two thirds of the population of Porto Alegre was black (Correa 1977:8). When the slave system finally broke down, a minor economic crisis on the free population was created, by the reluctance of freemen of all colors to be associated with tasks requiring manual labor. Those tasks that were once performed by slaves still carried the stigma of slave status.

Historians have popularized the myth that slavery and slave-master relations within Gaúcho society were somehow less harsh and more liberal than in other parts of Brazil. As Norton F. Correa puts it, the myth of Gaúcho democracy claimed equality between *"fazendeiros e peoes, senhores e escravos; que uns e outros tomarian chimarrão na mesma cuia"* (1977:8-9). The magnanimous white masters were not to be blamed, according to the myth, for their cruel treatment of their slaves since any punishments administered to slaves were only those which they deserved. Cardoso discusses the psychological bondage of the slave which kept him from viewing himself as human.

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1. **Negros de ganho** include 4 to 6 men, all of the same ethnic group, working under the command of a captain or foreman. Since they also worked together as a gang, such people were in a better position to preserve their ancestral traditions (R. Bastide 1971:93).
Cardoso's (1962) point is elaborated upon in the following quotation.

The culture of the African groups had been systematically and deliberately destroyed by the white masters; the forms of being of the Negroes had been reduced to the standards--whether in feeling or in action--that the whites had created the better to exploit them and socialize them. Thus the Negroes had (subsequently) to undertake the slow reconstruction of themselves as persons taking as a model the existent and the possible. That is, the ideal personality for the freedman was the reproduction in himself of the omnipresent image of the white man. No greater alienation could be possible: they accepted the image of the Negro and the ideology of interracial harmony developed by the white man and adopted as a goal ...the whitening of themselves.

From 1777 to 1822 the estancia-charqueada socioeconomic complex dominated Riograndense society. Two major classes which were composed on the one hand of wealthy landowners, cattlemen, and charqueada owners and on the other by their workers -- the African slaves and Gaúcho peons -- were separated by an insignificant middle group of Azorean peasant farmers and shopkeepers. This small agricultural complex could not compete either economically or socially with the cattle complex (Love 1971). But just two years later, in 1824, a significant transformation of Gaúcho society began when European peasant farmers immigrated into the state settling in the area known as the Colonial zone. The Brazilian emperor Dom Pedro I officially sanctioned this immigration. Since Brazil continued to fear the loss of her
territory in the Plate region, it was believed that European farmers could become an effective barrier against foreign intervention. According to Jean Roche (1958:103) ninety-five percent of all the immigrants arriving between 1824 and 1870 were German. The first German settlement, São Leopoldo, located on the Rio dos Sinos, is just twenty miles north of Porto Alegre. During the first thirty years of German immigration, twenty thousand settlers founded towns north of the capital (Wagley 1971). Harrassment by the local officials and harsh living conditions prompted the Prussian authorities to restrict migration to Brazil after 1859. Even so, German immigration figures eventually reached forty-eight thousand by 1914. German immigration continued at a minimal level until the era of World War II when German immigration again became significant.

The Italian immigration reached its peak between 1874 and 1889 when sixty thousand people settled in the Colonial zone (Azevedo 1975). Since the land nearest to Porto Alegre was already taken by Germans, the Italians settled further north and west. Those moving furthest north founded the settlements of Alfredo Chaves and Caxias do Sul.

The assimilation of German and Italian settlers, known locally as colonos, into the culture of Rio Grande do Sul has been generally much slower than in São Paulo state, another area which received large numbers of European immigrants. E. Willems (1972) tells us that Rio Grande do Sul's
Colonos were isolated in the north and northwestern territories surrounding Porto Alegre where their interaction with other Brazilians was limited by three factors: 1) the Colonial zone had been only sparsely populated to begin with; 2) the colono settlement pattern forced them onto isolated farms; and 3) the colonos maintained some feelings of cultural superiority which prevented them from accepting all aspects of local caboclo (uneducated backwoodsman of mixed ancestry) culture (Willems 1972:209-225). Thus, the rate of immigrant assimilation into Brazilian culture is far slower in the south region than for most other areas of Brazil with the result that small enclaves of German and Italian culture exist even today.

Although the immigrants were not specifically imported to replace African slaves as a cheap labor source in Rio Grande do Sul as they were in São Paulo, they did perform manual labor. Their 'status' in society, then, was beneath that of the land owning class whose 'gentlemen complex' disdained any form of manual labor (Wagley 1972). According to Willems (1972), the German settlers in the south formed their own internal stratification system in which local leading families of the Colonial settlement became the new middle class in the wider Riograndense society, representing the interests of their own ethnic group.

While the majority of immigrants remained in the Colonial zone, a substantial portion did migrate to Porto
Alegre and other large urban areas. Willems claims that they were drawn by the attractive industrial wages. These immigrants were easily absorbed into the urban lower classes, where common educational facilities, housing, and the immigrant's desire to learn Portuguese and 'city-ways' facilitated rapid assimilation. Willems' conclusion is that, generally, assimilation of European immigrants into the culture of Rio Grande has proceeded more slowly than in other areas, since it depends upon almost a complete social disintegration of the whole immigrant social structure.

In summary we can see that the cultural origins of the people of Rio Grande do Sul are diverse. The Indian contributed heavily to the western Gaúcho lifestyle, the Portuguese, the Germans, the Italians, and the Africans added to the culture of the Litoral and the Serra. Although it is true that the European immigrants and the Gaúcho lifestyle are generally thought of first when Rio Grande do Sul is mentioned, there has been substantial Afro-Brazilian culture retained and practiced in the state. This is most clearly seen in the two African-derived religions of Batuque and Umbanda.

**Spirit Possession Trance Cults of Porto Alegre**

There are three spirit possession trance religions in Porto Alegre known as Batuque, Umbanda, and *espiritismo*
and/or Kardecismo. The Batuque cults have the longest history in the city, and they are the most influenced by African cultural retentions. These cults are similar to those of the northern states and cities of Brazil, and like those cults, Batuque is heavily influenced by the Yoruba and the Dahomean religions of West Africa.

The Batuque was first described in Porto Alegre in the early 1940s by the American Anthropologist Melville J. Herskovits. At that time, Herskovits (1966, orig. 1943) found the Batuque cults represented the African "nations" of the Oba (Yoruba), Oyo (Yoruba), Jesha (Yoruba), and Gege (Dahomean). As in the northern state of Bahia, the Gege nations of Porto Alegre enjoyed considerable prestige (Herskovits 1966:200). The Oyo nation of Porto Alegre has been studied by Roger Bastide (1952).

According to Bastide (1971:556), Batuque carries the general meaning of Afro-Brazilian dances and songs, and batuqueiro(a) refers to someone who dances to or sings these songs. The use of Batuque to refer to these cults derives from the fact that the ceremonies do involve singing and dancing. Cult initiates, however, use another term for their cult: the term para (Herskovits 1966). In another area of Brazil, the Leacocks (1972) found the term Batuque being used to refer to the possession cults of Belem. In 1974-1975, the use of the term nação ("nation") by the officials of the Union of Umbanda to refer to
Batuque was common. Sometimes, too, cult leaders and spirit mediums in Umbanda used the terms Batuque and Batuqueiro(a) when they referred to people who worked with evil or "black magic."

In 1940, according to Herskovits (1966), there were forty-two Batuque centers in Porto Alegre. These were registered with the Statistical Department of the city where the records showed that the total number of initiates was 1,356. Herskovits estimated that approximately one half of these centers were directed by female cult leaders. He estimated that the Negro population of Porto Alegre numbered about 50,000 and contributed to the clientele of Batuque. The number of cult houses rose to fifty-two and the number of initiates increased to 1,776 a few years later (Bastide 1952).

When he made his trip to Porto Alegre in 1940, Herskovits was already familiar with African and Afro-American possession trance religions from his extensive fieldwork in such areas as Dahomey, West Africa, Haiti, and northern Brazil. He pioneered the study of New World Negro religions and developed the ethnohistorical approach which combines data from historical documents and ethnographic fieldwork:

Fundamental to any discussion of the presence or absence of Africanisms in Negro custom in the New World is the establishment of a "base line" from which change may be judged. Two elements enter into this: it is necessary
to discover, as precisely as possible, the tribal origins of the slaves brought to the New World, and on the basis of these facts to obtain as full and accurate knowledge as we can of the cultures of these folk (Herskovits 1958:33).

Herskovits developed a comparative method which focused on the processes of cultural change and retention. African cultural retentions among Afro-Americans, according to Herskovits, occurred through the process of reinterpretation (1948) and syncretization (1937). In culture contact situations, traditions do not simply fade away but hold on, continue, and are modified to meet the existing conditions. Herskovits (1937) documented the pattern of syncretism between African deities and Catholic saints which has occurred in all Catholic areas of the New World. He found this pattern of syncretism in the cosmology of the Batuque cults of Porto Alegre, too. The names given the centers are another indicator of this pattern. Herskovits (1966) recorded such names as the "Santa Barbara Society" and the "Religious Society of Saint George." These names represent an adaptation to local patterns of the syncretism between African gods and Catholic saints.

The "public" name of such a group is thus the Catholic equivalent of the African spirit believed to "rule" the house—the dono da cabeça—or "master of the head" of the first to head the group (Herskovits 1966:203).

In the examples cited above, the African deity equated with
Saint George is **Ogum**. These deities are known as **santos** ("saints") or **orixás** ("deities"). Beliefs about the Catholic saints and the African deities have become integrated into the ritual of Batuque. Throughout Brazil, the rapprochements of African religious traits and Catholicism are both structural and cultural. According to Roger Bastide (1971), the structural position of the Catholic saints and the African deities are similar: they are both intermediaries between man on earth and the high God, or **Olorun**. In addition to this similar structural position, cultural beliefs about the Catholic saints and the African deities were sometimes similar and could be easily equated. The equation of the Catholic St. George with the Yoruba **Ogum** is an example. Saint George who is depicted riding a white horse and carrying an iron sword is syncretized with **Ogum** who is the patron and protector of blacksmiths and protector of iron farm tools and iron weapons of war. While the slaves were no longer in control of their own farms and farm equipment, the imagery of the weapons of war and the sword of St. George facilitated this syncretism in the context of master-slave relations.

The people of African descent in Porto Alegre appear to have been isolated from other such populations in Brazil. This isolation stands in contrast to other areas such as São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo where, according to Herskovits (1966), contact followed the
migration of people of African descent from one region to another. Apparently up until 1940 a tradition of this type of migration did not exist in Porto Alegre or the state in general. Records on internal migratory patterns and the racial composition of the migrants were not available to Herskovits (1966). However, he cautiously hypothesized that given this apparent isolation, the patterns of syncretism exhibited by Batuque indicate independent but parallel processes of acculturation between this area and that of northern Brazil.

Batuque has adapted to the local conditions of Porto Alegre in such areas as the material used in the construction of the cult houses, the poverty of the decorations and interior furnishings, the brief initiation period, and the less elaborate feasting patterns (Herskovits 1966). In addition to these features, Herskovits (1966) found that both women and men can be initiated into the cults. This stands in sharp contrast to the practices of the traditional Bahian Candomblé cults where females alone are initiated and males assume the role of ogan or supporter of the cult. The position of ogan did not exist, according to Herskovits, in the Porto Alegre Batuque cults. Another difference lay in the number of deities which a particular devotee could receive. In the cults of Porto Alegre, Herskovits (1966: 21) reports:
While a person is initiated for his principal god, the "master of his head," he can be possessed by any of the other gods who come to him and will dance for all who do possess him at any given ceremony.

Again this represents a divergence in that pattern found in the northeastern Candomblé cults where an initiate receives only one orixá.

In 1974-1975 the opportunity to visit centers of Batuque did not present itself. However, one of the officials at the Union of Umbanda, a Mr. Mendes, told me that Batuque centers were registered by his Union, and taken together with the Umbanda cults, the total number of registered centers equaled 3,000. The relationship between Batuque and Umbanda will be discussed shortly.

Umbanda is the second type of spirit possession trance cult popular in Porto Alegre today. In terms of ritual and belief, Umbanda stands midway between the cults like Batuque and Candomblé and those practicing espiritismo ("spiritism") or kardecismo (kardecism). Spiritism or kardecism, as it is also called, is the third spirit possession trance religion in the city. Umbanda combines elements from Amerindian beliefs with African, Spiritist, and Catholic beliefs. The syncretism is on-going and continuous. It appears that Umbanda entered Porto Alegre and Rio Grande do Sul much later than Batuque. According to the officials at the Union of Umbanda in Porto Alegre, it was introduced into the city between 1944 and 1949 and into the state perhaps as early
Before we look at Umbanda of Porto Alegre, it may be helpful to review the historical origins of this religion, its ties to both the traditional African-derived religions and to the European-derived Spiritist tradition. On the national level, the immediate forerunner of Umbanda has been traced by Roger Bastide (1971, orig. French version 1960) to the Macumbas of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Macumba is an African-derived possession trance cult which emerged after the end of slavery in 1888. At that time, Afro-Brazilians began to practice their religion more openly in urban cult houses (Pressel 1974:122). Macumba was just one of these groups:

These religions were known under various names: in São Luís, Tambor das Minas was strongly influenced by Dahomean beliefs; Xangô in Recife and Candomblé in Salvador were primarily of Yoruba origin; Batuque in Belem and Candomblé de Caboclo in Salvador added Amerindian cultural elements to the Afro-Catholic blend; and in the more southern states of Minas Gerais, Guanabara (Rio de Janeiro), and São Paulo, the Afro-Brazilian religion known as Macumba combined Yoruba orixás with cultural elements from the Congolese and Angolan areas in Africa (E. Pressel 1974:122).

According to Bastide, Macumba was partly an outgrowth of the introduction of the Yoruba orixás into the earlier "Bantu" cults known as Cabula (Bastide is cited by Pressel 1974:122). Pressel (1974:123) has summarized Bastide's survey of the literature on Macumba which shows that it
differed from the Yoruba Candomblés in some important ways:

1. Macumba featured possession by spirits of the dead, including dead Afro-Brazilians and Americans, whereas the most respected Candomblé cult houses in Bahia admitted only possession by the orixá deities.

2. Men were permitted to be mediums in Macumba, but not in the older versions of Candomblé.

3. The group solidarity found in Candomblé cult houses of the northeast was not present in Macumba. This perhaps can be attributed to the fragmentary nature of the more highly urbanized and industrialized southern cities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro at the time.

4. Whether actually true or not, Macumba developed a reputation for heavy dealings in the black magic of the exu spirits. In contrast, the Yoruba trickster exu deity was not given as much attention in Candomblé as he seemed to enjoy in Macumba.

5. The religious beliefs of Allen Kardec, a French spiritualist--or spiritist, as Kardecists prefer to be called--began to filter into Macumba, but not into traditional Candomblé (E. Pressel 1974:123).

According to Pressel (1974), Umbanda has supplanted Macumba almost everywhere in Brazil, but the term "Macumba" remains. It is often used by outsiders when referring to Umbanda, and its name is still associated with "black magic."

The influence of Spiritism on Umbanda has contributed to Umbanda's popularity among the working classes and upwardly mobile middle classes. According to Bastide (1971),
Spiritism was associated with upper class intellectuals. (The origins of Spiritism will be discussed below). Apparently the claim by Umbandists that their beliefs and practices are influenced by Spiritism has attracted people who are trying to identify with the higher social classes and who adopt this symbol, at least in their minds, of higher status the same as they would other symbols.

Pressel (1974:124) says that this popularity of Umbanda and Spiritism has caused some alarm in the Catholic hierarchy. She says: "What really worries the church, however, are the growing numbers of people in the upwardly mobile and educated middle class who actively participate in spirit possession religions." Willems (1966) believes that the popularity of these two religions and of Protestant Pentecostalism (also a spirit possession religion) is evidence of a major change in the traditional social structure of Brazil. All three religions involve spirit possession, all three are popular among the upwardly mobile, all three perform similar healing functions. Willems (1966:221-23) emphasizes the fact that each religious group attempts to reconstruct the personal community for its members, who have often left the security of their families as well as their traditional religion in rural villages. Finally, rejecting the paternalistic tutelage of the traditional upper class of Brazil, these groups emphasize a certain amount of social equality among their members.
The sociologist Camargo (1961) sets up a "continuum of spiritism" between Umbanda and Kardecism. The type of Umbanda most distinct from Kardecism has been described by E. Pressel (1971, 1974) from her research on Umbanda in São Paulo. This type of Umbanda exists as well in Porto Alegre, and it contrasts in some important ways with those cults of "Evangelized" Umbanda in this dissertation. According to my informants, the cults are "Evangelized" in that they attempt to identify more closely with Kardecism than with what they refer to as more "African" forms of Umbanda.

The beliefs and practices of kardicismo are discussed at some length here because the Evangelized Umbanda cults attempt to use it as a model for their dogma. This is an ideal goal, preached by the cult leaders, but in reality not quite followed by the entire cult body. The following is based upon Macklin's (1974:338-39) description of Kardec's intellectual background, Warren's (1968) discussion of Spiritism in Brazil, Pressel's (1974) and Camargo's (1961) work illustrating the influence of Kardecism on Umbanda of São Paulo, and on Kardec's book O Evangelho Segundo o espiritismo (1974, orig. 1944).

Cult leaders and mediums in Evangelized Umbanda were convinced that Kardicismo was a more advanced and prestigious religion than traditional Umbanda. The origin of this prestige lay originally in the association of Spiritism and the Brazilian intellegenstia of the late 1800s and early 1900s.
who embraced the Spiritism of Allen Kardec, the Nom de plume of the Frenchman Leon Denizarth Hippolyte Rivail. Kardec wrote seven books on Spiritism which have been translated into many foreign language including Portuguese. Kardecian Spiritism was widely adopted in Europe (outside of England) and in Latin America.

Kardec's life and intellectual interests form the basis of his unique brand of spiritism. He was educated in Switzerland, and at the age of twenty, returned to France where he worked as German translator of children's books. He taught chemistry, physics, comparative anatomy, and astronomy. He participated in two popular learned societies in Paris: the Phrenological Society of Paris and the Society of Magnetism. Kardec carried on his own investigations of somnambulism, trance, clairvoyance, and other mesmeric phenomena.

Kardec introduced the term Spiritism into his writings in order to distinguish his philosophy from that already popular in England and North America called Spiritualism. Spiritism is the belief in spirits, whereas, according to Kardec, spiritualism could be loosely defined to include anything beyond the material. Followers of Kardec usually call themselves 'Spiritist' and think of their system as non-Christian, a philosophy and a science, but compatible with all religions. The major difference between Spiritualism and Spiritism is the idea of multiple incarnations.
(Macklin 1974). In Spiritualist belief, the soul is incarnated only once, but in Spiritism the soul is incarnated over and over.

The Kardec Spiritist doctrine was supposed to have been "psychographed," i.e., dictated by a spirit. Not a medium himself, Kardec posed a series of questions which the 'good' spirits answered, and then he organized them into *The Spirits's Book* (Warren 1968:395). The 1018 questions and answers, known as the "codification," has become the bible of Spiritism. Kardec's synthesis, according to Macklin (1974:391), claims to draw upon the collected wisdom of the centuries but in reality reflects Kardec's "own conventional wisdom." For example, in one work, *O Evangelho* published originally in French in 1866, Kardec traces the origin of Spiritism to the works of Plato and Socrates (1974:43), and ties Spiritism to Moses and Jesus Christ (1974:55). The influence of traditional Christianity is evident in beliefs about God as eternal, immutable, all powerful, just and good, and in the teachings of the spirits which resemble the Golden Rule. There is also evidence of typical 19th century Enlightenment concepts in Kardec's works: the primacy of the spiritual over the material, the belief in progress and the perfectibility of man, and the belief that human effort is necessary and will be rewarded. Furthermore, the democratic ideal of equality born of the American and French Revolutions are transposed into
The Spirits' Book in the belief in the equality of spirits. Man's material station in life is unimportant in the face of this equality of spirit. Other familiar 19th century ideas are found in Kardec's teachings including beliefs in anti-materialism, the utilitarian notion that it is man's nature to be happy, and a positivist faith that human progress lies in the practice and application of the laws of justice, love and charity founded on the certainty and the future of humanitarian nationalism (Macklin 1974:392).

Spiritism or Kardecismo, as it is known in Brazil, posits a Law of Evolution which is based on the philosophy that spirits advance or evolve intellectually and morally through space and time to an inevitable union with God, their creator (Camargo 1961:25). When a person dies, his spirit is released or becomes disincarnate. In this form, it wanders around the universe. Kardec Spiritism postulates that disincarnate spirits will remain as such until their next incarnation. According to the Law of Cause and Effect (like the Hindu Law of Karma), a spirit's evolutionary progression depends upon its morality during one or several of its previous incarnations (Camargo 1961:25-26). While a spirit's evolutionary progression may be delayed by a particular incarnation, it never backslides. Spirits are equal before God, but unequal in their ability to progress towards ultimate unity with God. The Kardec doctrine of fluids explains how humans can be affected by disincarnated
spirits. According to this theory, the human body is surrounded by a thin, invisible layer of fluid. This fluid is known as the "perispirit" in Brazil. Spirits make contact with living human beings through the use of the perispirit. The Theory of Fluids, according to Pressel (1974: 139), provides the major cultural link between Kardecism and Umbanda. She defines "fluids" as spiritual emanations that surround one's body affecting one's well-being. Spiritual fluids have three sources: 1) one's own innate spirit, 2) the spirits of the dead which freely float about, and 3) spirits of living persons who are close by. One's physical and mental well-being can be affected by disturbances of these fluids.

While most of Kardec's works have been translated into Portuguese, O Evangelho Segundo o Espiritismo (1974, first Portuguese edition 1944) or "The Gospel According to Spiritism" has sold more copies than the others. This work, with its attempt to trace similar ideas and beliefs in Christianity and Spiritism, has encouraged Brazilians to think of Spiritism more as religion than science. The Brazilian medium Francisco Candido "Chico" Xavier, through his book, The World of Spirits, has helped popularize Spiritism in Brazil.

The practices typical of Kardecismo are summarized here (Camargo 1961:17-31). The Kardec sessions are held in o centro (the Center) or in private homes of mediums.
In both places, a mesa ("table") is the center of activities. The mediums and the director sit around this table during the sessions, forming literally and physically a corrente ("circle" or "chain," also the idea of a current such as an electrical current is implied) of mediums. Calm, quiet music accompanies the period of concentration prior to the beginning of the session. The director opens the session by asking the spirits from on high to give their work guidance. He may read from the book of Kardec's O Evangelho (The Gospel) or he may read a palestra ("lecture") or message received from one of the spirits. A lengthy prayer such as the Padre Nosso ("Lord's Prayer") is recited next. The sessão de vibração ("Vibration session") begins as the lights are turned down low. The director invites all to elevate their thoughts with love, focusing their group attention on those in need. Specifically, the names of several people are written down on small slips of paper and they are to receive the benefit of this session. The vibrations or the combined positive thought waves are amplified and sent to hospitals, orphanages, and to all suffering spirits. During the remainder of this section of the ritual, everyone is quietly concentrating. Then the director requests that any spirits who are present manifest themselves (through possession) in the mediums. The medium is the aparelho ("vehicle") of a spirit. The spirits who reveal themselves may be from among the regular spirit guias
("guides") of the mediums, other espíritos de luz ("spirits of light"), or from among the many espíritos sofredores ("suffering spirits"). Camargo observed that mediums who receive suffering spirits have more difficulty controlling the possession trance. The director "enlightens" this type of spirit with love and "firmness." Enlightened spirits, such as the spirit guides of the mediums, give ritual passes to those present. Passes are performed by possessed mediums who literally draw away evil influences from the person's body.

According to Camargo (1961), Kardecism has been influenced by Umbanda in the following ways: 1) in the use of white outfits by directors and mediums; 2) in an obligation of the participants (mediums and visitors) not to cross their arms or legs which is believed to cut or short-circuit the corrente; 3) in the use of candles and/or images; and 4) in food and sex taboos observed on the day of the sessions. The practices common to Umbanda are more thoroughly discussed in later chapters. The primary influence that Kardecism has had on Umbanda concerns the adoption of the theory of fluids (Pressel 1971:68; 1977:338) and the etiology of spiritual illnesses (Pressel 1971:69-74; 1977:339). Esther Pressel's study of Umbanda cults of São Paulo concentrated upon the African end of the Umbanda-Kardecism continuum. As she observes, those entities involved in possession, however, involve the familiar spirits of kardecismo and not the
orixás of the Afro-brazilian Candomblé cults (Pressel 1971: 29).

All three of these spirit possession trance religions can be found in Porto Alegre today. The Kardec cults try to keep themselves separate from the Umbanda and Batuque and do not affiliate with them in the Union of Umbanda federation. The União de Umbanda do Estado do Rio Grande do Sul was founded on June 7, 1953. Located in modest offices in downtown Porto Alegre, the union claims to have 3,000 registered centers (both Batuque and Umbanda). According to the statutes adopted in the constitution and by-laws of this organization, the union represents its affiliated members to the municipal, state, and national governments. It claims the right and duty to train, discipline, unify and superintend the affiliated centers. Some additional objectives declare the desire of the Union to study the phenomenological and spiritual manifestations of Umbanda, from a theoretical, experimental, and practical viewpoint; to install theory classes, both experimental and practical, for the directors, mediums, auxiliaries, and adepts; to begin courses in literacy, to maintain a newspaper, a magazine, a bibliography, and museum promoting Umbanda. This ambitious list of objectives has not yet been reached.

Each affiliated center receives a wall plaque on which the Union's official seal is placed; this plaque is hung, in public view, within the confines of the center. There are
some beneficial aspects to affiliation with the Union. Mr. Mendes de Oliveira, the vice president of the Union's Conselho de Orientação Espiritual, detailed these benefits for me in one of our many conversations about Umbanda in Porto Alegre. (This description is taken from recorded interviews with Mr. Mendes at the headquarters of the Union):

In April, 1975, Mr. Mendes said that he was summoned to the interior town of • • • in the heart of the Italian colonos settlements. The majority of the inhabitants of • • • are Catholics; lately, immigrants to the city opened up an Umbanda center. When this center got into trouble with the police, Mr. Mendes was called in to help, since this center was affiliated with the Union. The local Catholic priest was against the center, and he used his influence with the police and newspaper to have the center closed. The newspaper gave the center bad publicity. Mr. Mendes discussed the problem with the local police chief, reminding him that the Brazilian constitution guarantees freedom from religious persecution. The center was reopened. However, about one month later, an adverse newspaper story was printed, entitled "Who is responsible for this?" The article told about a despatcho\(^2\) or offering to Exu which someone had placed in the crossroads. The writer pointed out this type of event paralleled the opening of an Umbanda center in the city, implying a direct connection between the two. Mr. Mendes was called back to the city. He discussed the article's implications with the editor and persuaded the editor that the crossroads were open to anyone and

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\(^2\) A despatcho is an offering to the Exus intended to incite these evil spirits to attack someone. They are usually left at crossroads, cemeteries, or near the doorstep of the intended victim.
pointed out that this type of activity was more characteristic of Quimbanda than Umbanda.

It is clear that Union officials act as intermediaries and ambassadors of good will in their effort to represent their affiliates. However, the Union of Umbanda is only one of three federations of Spiritism operating in Porto Alegre. The other two -- the Congress of Spiritism and Umbanda, and the Council of Afro-Brazilian Religions, are not as well organized as the Union, at least according to Mr. Mendes.

Although the Union of Umbanda claims to register centers from all around the state, there are local federations in many of the smaller interior cities and towns as well as in the other two major urban areas -- Pelatos, the Liga Espirita de Umbanda Rio-Grandina has apparently existed since 1926 (Oliveira 1975). In Rio Grande, the Liga Espirita de Umbanda Rio-Grandina was founded in 1963.

The relationship between Umbanda and Batuque in Porto Alegre is somewhat ambiguous. Officials at the Union of Umbanda register Batuque centers along with Umbanda centers and the constitution sets up a special arm called the Culto Africano to deal with Batuque. Informants in Evangelized Umbanda denigrated Batuque whenever the opportunity arose. One female cult leader, Dona Ana, constantly lectured to her clients and mediums on the evils of Batuque and "feeding the santos" (making offerings to the santos). She attributed
many reoccurring, lingering illnesses and other problems to batuqueiros (one who works with the power of Batuque). It was almost as if Batuque had become (in the minds of Umbandists) synonymous with the cult of black magic known as Quimbanda. While this may not entirely be the case, informants in Evangelized Umbanda were wary of Batuque.

Despite this wariness and fear of Batuque expressed by mediums and cult leaders in this study, some other centers and cult leaders had made an interesting alliance with Batuque. In one case, in a small center in an outlying neighborhood which I visited with Mr. Mendes of the Union of Umbanda, the cult leader of the Umbanda center also worked in Batuque whenever it was necessary to hold a festa or "party" for a particular orixá. The African orixás have special feast days that are set aside for them during the year. On those days, the spirit mediums who receive them during possession trance are supposed to give offerings to them. In another center, located much closer to downtown Porto Alegre in a middle-working class barrio, the cult leader held trabalhos or "works" in all three of the major types of spiritism found in Porto Alegre -- Kardecismo, Umbanda, and Batuque. The cult leader, a white male of approximately thirty-five years of age, consolidated all three in one large center -- upstairs on the first floor, a special room was set aside for Kardecismo and in this room the mediums worked seated around a table; downstairs,
a large tile floor room was reserved for Umbanda trabalhos, and behind this room, a small private altar room existed for Batuque. The cult leader explained that he had been initiated and trained in Batuque by a mãe de santo (i.e., "mother in sainthood") from Pelotas who practiced in the Nago line (Yoruba). Judging from the prosperous appearance of the center with its immaculate, well kept, and heated rooms, one can conclude that this is a very comfortable and profitable alliance of spiritism.

Umbanda is associated with "good" deeds and "good magic," whereas "black magic" is associated with "Quimbanda." Pressel (1974:124) traces the origin of Quimbanda to the practitioners of black magic in the earlier tradition of Macumba. Quimbandists, according to Pressel, specialize in working with spirits of Exu. Exu spirits of Umbanda are said to be spirits of dead people who have lived especially wicked lives. Quimbanda magic may be used against business competitors or rivals in love affairs. Pressel found that there are some Exus who are more spiritually evolved than others and these work to counteract the evil done in Quimbanda. In reality, the São Paulo umbandists in Pressel's study used Exus for either good or bad magic. During an interview with Mr. Mendes of the Union of Umbanda, I attempted to find out about the organization of Quimbanda in Porto Alegre. He explained the relationship between Quimbanda and Umbanda in the following manner: (taken from
Quimbanda is connected with all known religions. It is generally used in trabalhos ("works") that represent bad or evil. Generally, Quimbanda is associated with magic. The Quimbandeiro (i.e., one who works with Quimbanda) does not have any special spirits which incorporate or possess him. In these works, chemical or natural elements are used—such as mineral, vegetable, air or water. No special forces or entities are involved; all the person has to do is have evil thoughts or desires against someone else, and he is a Quimbandeiro. This is very common in Brazil, and I do not know if it is the same in the U.S.: When a person is jealous of another or angry with another they curse that person and want to destroy him or her. When a person is a medium, he does not have the same trouble because of the magnetic force which surrounds his body. The victim of such evil thought will show the trouble in the form of a espiritos atrasados ("backward spirit"). When a person thinks evil thoughts, the thought waves show up as those of a backward spirit; on the other hand, good thoughts are associated with spirits of light (espirito de luz). Backward spirits and evil spirits are the devil. Not all Quimbandeiros are Umbandists or belong to Batuque. They might also be in espiritismo ("spiritism"), catholicism, protestantism, or whatever religion.

The Quimbanda ceremony is a work for evil (trabalho por mal). The Quimbandeiro uses all the natural forces, elements, evil thought, witchcraft, sorcerery, plus food, herbs, and chemicals. These are used in combination with the victim's name or a piece of his clothes...also his address...dances, whiskey, songs, popcorn, potatoes. Any of these ingredients may be included. The victim, beginning to feel sick as a result of all these operations,
seeks help in an Umbanda or Batuque center.

Quimbanda is usually practiced by one person, working alone. This person is not practicing a religion, just employing evil thought. Evil thoughts are transferred as magnetic waves which can be detected by curing mediums. For example, in Brazil, it is common, and I don't know about the U.S., but here some people have the olho grande ("large eye"), which means to be envious. Over praise is used. When somebody comments about how nice or beautiful something is, this can be a sign or the large eye. The large eye can cause sickness.

There are terreiros (i.e., term used for cult house) of Umbanda and Batuque which practice evil. A person comes to such a place and can purchase an evil work. This occurs often in the case of love affairs. If a man or a woman loses or is slighted in love, he or she can pay for a work that will help steal the husband or wife of another. Therefore, when cases such as these are brought to an Umbanda or Batuque center, one might say that these Quimbanda centers had the same cult structure as regular Umbanda or Batuque centers. Such terreiros work with "high magic," sacrifice animals, and call upon Exu and Pombagira (i.e., the female counterpart of Exu). There are many of these places that do evil work here in Porto Alegre, but when and if they become affiliated with the Union of Umbanda, they must work only for good.

It is difficult to measure the strength and popularity of Umbanda in Porto Alegre, but some indications are evident in the public festivals celebrated during the year. On February first and second, two important celebrations are held throughout the Litoral and perhaps even state wide. On the first of February, at eleven o'clock p.m., thousands turn out for the celebration of the Festa de Iemanjá.
Iemanjá is one of the African deities derived from the Yoruba religion. She is equated in this region with the Catholic saint known as Nossa Senhora dos Navegantes ("Our Lady of the Navigators"). This celebration of Iemanjá is held near a body of water — in Porto Alegre it is held along the beaches of the Rio Guaiba, in Pelotas along the Lagoa dos Patos, and in Rio Grande at the Cassino beach. Newspaper accounts estimate that in these three cities, perhaps more than 100,000 people attended the late night candle lighted ceremonies. Small boats laden with burning candles and other offerings are set to sail out to the sea or river or lagoon honoring this deity.

On the second of February another major celebration is held, this time honoring Our Lady of the Navigators. The celebration in Porto Alegre began early in the morning when a large, life-size statue of Our Lady left a downtown Catholic church in order to travel by boat along the Guaiba to her resting place within the church Navegantes in the neighborhood of the same name. It was estimated that perhaps fifty thousand people clogged the river bank and streets trying to catch a glimpse of the statue as she led a procession of boats of various models and sizes. Once the image reached its destination, and disembarked, it began a short land procession to the Navegantes Church. Thousands of people crowded around the church and lined the highway bypass which runs above the area.
While the official accounts of the department of tourism state that the origin of the *Festa de Nossa Sra. dos Navegantes* is Catholic and Azorian, to the thousands of spectators this saint is syncretized with the *orixá Mãe Iemanjá*. Some Umbandists and Batuqueiros came dressed in long flowing gowns of white or blue, depicting the dress of *Iemanjá* and openly mingled with the Catholic fathers who were present on the church steps.

Herskovits (1943) and Bastide (1971, orig. 1960) both noted this syncretism made in Batuque between *Mãe Iemanjá* and Our Lady of the Navigators. Since both are associated with water, they have easily been equated. Even the interpretation of the *festa* given in a pamphlet of the city government of Porto Alegre (1975) by Father Arthur Wickert, a priest who accompanied the procession for the past twenty-eight years, lends itself easily to the enduring syncretism between the Catholic saint and the Yoruba-derived deity.

**Mas o alcance desta data é bem maior.**

(My trans. But the scope of this date is grand. Because Nossa Sra. da Boa Viagem, do Bom Despacho, da Penha, de Estrela do Mar, Estrela da Manha, Candeloria, Das Candeias, dos Navegantes, finally, all the maria titles, bring in}
the collective subconscious, the universal image that we are all seamen or navigators on the sea of life.")

Carnaval is held for several days before Lent; in 1975, it began February 9th and ended February 11th. The Carnaval in Porto Alegre is celebrated city-wide -- most businesses close completely for three days. The "official" carnaval is held on Rua Senhor dos Passos, near the center of town. Colored lights line the street, bleachers rise high so that paying spectators can enjoy the samba school contests. The drum and dance corps are drawn from the Umbanda centers of the city. The wealthy avoid this official Carnaval do povo (Carnaval of the People), and they celebrate in exclusive clubs for the upper and upper middle class residents of the city. It would be unfair to judge the strength of Umbanda based on observations of Carnaval, since the crowds may come from centers of Umbanda and Batuque.

Another glimpse into the strength of Umbanda was given by the meeting of the Juventude Umbandista Gaúcha (JUG) that was held at the Auditorium Aruajo Vlanna, Saturday, April 5, 1975. The cult leaders of many of the Umbanda centers which I visited emphasized their belief that Umbanda was enjoying increased popularity among the youth of today, and they predicted, it would continue to do so in the future. The JUG meeting was relatively well attended: roughly 600 people came. Guest speakers from Rio do Janeiro, the Union de Umbanda, along with Moab Caldes, who has a local radio
program in Porto Alegre took turns extolling the virtues of Umbanda's youth. The slogan adopted for the event was: What is your religion? UMBANDA! After the guest speakers concluded their portion of the program, everyone was entertained by dances, drums, and songs performed by the various Umbanda centers present.

Thus, from the public events which were witnessed between January and April of 1975, it appears that the city-wide strength of Umbanda is considerable. The "racial" composition of those attending these events is not indicative of any overwhelming predominance of either light or dark skinned people, rather there was a good mixture of peoples of all colors. Generally, however, my observations lead me to conclude that the Samba schools performing at the Carnaval of the People and the drum-dance groups performing for JUG were composed primarily of darker skinned people, more Afro-Brazilian in appearance. The crowds of spectators at both Carnaval and the celebration for Our Lady of the Navigators were very mixed.
CHAPTER IV
COSMOLOGY AND RITUAL

Cosmology

The cosmology of Evangelized Umbanda attempts to explain the nature of man, the universe, and the supernatural. These beliefs are acted out in the two major rituals of these cults: the Trabalho de Caridade ("Work for Charity") and the Trabalho de Oriente ("Work of the Orient").

The universe is divided into two realms, that of the plano astral or "astral level" and that of the plana terra or "earthly level." The goal of each person is spiritual evolution from the earthly level to the astral level. This goal may be achieved in part through a finite number of incarnations whereupon after the twelfth and final incarnation, a person becomes a permanent spiritual being living on the astral level.

The pantheon of spirits worshiped in Evangelized Umbanda represents a hierarchy of spirits descending from the astral level down to the earthly level. Those closest to the astral level are filled with enlightenment, power, and goodness while those closest to the earthly level lack these
traits, and they are responsible for human problems and suffering. God, Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the orixás and Catholic saints are on the astral level. The orixás follow the same tradition set in other types of Umbanda and Afro-Brazilian religions in that they combine two separate religious traditions— the Catholic and the Yoruba. In Brazil's colonial past, Yoruba slaves and their descendants, the Nago, transformed their gods into the syncretic orixás that today form a category of supernatural beings in which certain Yoruba gods and Catholic saints originally alike symbolically have now become fused in an orixá-saint equation. Those scholars who have studied Umbanda (Camargo 1961; Pressel 1971; Bastide 1971) list seven major lines (linhas) of spirits each of which is headed by some combination of the orixá-saint equation. The following have been recognized in São Paulo and in Brazil generally:

1. Linha de Oxalá......Jesus Christ
2. Linha de Iemanjá.....Virgem Maria
3. Linha de Oriente....São João Batista
4. Linha de Oxoce......São Sebastião
5. Linha de Xangô......São Jeronimo
6. Linha de Ogum.......São Jorge
7. Linha Africana .....São Cipirano

This list is roughly equivalent to those lines worshiped by the umbandists in this study. There are some exceptions.
As we have seen, Iemanjá is equated in Porto Alegre with the Catholic saint Nossa Senhora dos Navigantes. The Linha Africana is less important to the cults of Evangelized Umbanda than it seems to be nationally. Greater emphasis is placed on a line of children spirits (criancas) under the direction of the twin Catholic saints Cosme and Damian. Finally, Mae Oxum is equated with the Catholic saint Virgem da Conceição. This orixá-saint pair are called to aid the Work of Charity (see Appendix D, Pontos Cantados).

The orixá-saints, as a group, are referred to as guerreiros ("warriors-soldiers") by the Umbandists in this study. The warrior-soldier image is derived from the fighting-gaucho of Rio Grande do Sul's colorful military past. The gaúcho is commonly depicted as a fighting cowboy who was recruited for the almost continuous external and internal wars of the last several centuries of the state's history. According to Francisco Oliviera Viana (1952), the riograndense is a warrior by education and inclination making every Gaúcho a soldier. Reflecting this tradition, the orixás are also guerreiros (warriors or soldiers) who rage spiritual battles on behalf of their devotees. The umbandists in this study believe that the orixás were soldiers who fought against evil and for justice in several of their past incarnations. They continue this fight as orixá-saints in Evangelized Umbanda.
Among the many sacred events commemorating the orixá-saints during the ritual year, there are two secular events commemorating the gaúcho-guerreiro of the Farraupilha Revolution and the Brazilian rebel warrior Tiridentes (see the discussion of Ogum Sao Jorge which follows). The rebel warriors of the Farrroupilha Revolution, also called the Ragamuffins, were involved in an attempt by the state's Liberal Party to secede from Brazil. Their famous leader Bento Goncalves, a former estancieiro ("cattle rancher"), took possession of Porto Alegre for a short time in 1836 before his army was defeated by nationalist troops. On the 20th of September, the umbandists of Evangelized Umbanda organize a march to the monument of Bento Goncalves in Porto Alegre. The children of the mediums and social members are actively involved in this march as participants. They wear the same uniforms as the adults; beginning in mid-August, they attend special song practices. The song leader, Dona Iara, teaches them the words to the Hymn of Rio Grande do Sul. She instructs them to sing this song with gusto and vigor and to try to imagine themselves as brave soldiers, marching in the Farrroupilha Revolution alongside the horsemen and flag-men of that period. If this image is evoked, she tells them, then you are going to receive a strong vibration.

On several occasions stories about the adventures of two orixás, Xangô and Ogum, were collected from informants. These tales reveal the militaristic background of these
warriors.

Xangô¹ is the orixá or queirreiro most important to the two centers in this dissertation. The spiritual authority of the cult leaders rests upon direct orders from Xango. The most common syncretism between Xangô and a Catholic saint is with São Jeronimo or St. Jerome, but two others are recognized -- Xangô São Pedro or St. Peter, and Xangô São João Batista or St. John the Baptist. All three are called upon to bless the Work for Charity and the Saturday ritual and Work from the Oriente. Xangô São João Batista is especially important to the Saturday ritual.

The symbol of Xangô² is the pedra de raio (meteorite stone). At the center of the cult leader Jorge, they are large, smooth stones. One stone is placed at the base of the altar on the floor next to two bowls of perfume which are ablaze with flame during the works and many other stones

¹Xangô, or Shango, in English, is originally a Yoruba entity. The descendants of the Yoruba, known as the Nago in Brazil, brought the worship of Shango to the new world during the slave period. Brazilian Xangô cults exist from Porto Alegre (batuque and para: Herskovits 1943) to Belem, Para (Leacocks 1972) to São Luiz, Maranhão (Edwards 1948) to Alagoas and Pernambuco (Ramos 1934), and especially in Recife (Ribeiro 1952, 1956). Bascom (1972) traces the Shango cult to Cuba, Haiti, Puerto Rico, New York, and Miami. Umbanda cosmology incorporates the worship of Xango and continues the tradition of the Afro-brazilian religions.

²According to Yoruba mythology, Shango was associated with "thunderstones" which were hurled from the sky. Thunderstones have become part of the shrines of Shango in Yorubaland. When an occasional Neolithic polished stone ax was unearthed it was taken as a thunderstone of Shango and placed in his shrine (Bascom 1972).
line the altar top and the walls of the center. These stones are believed to give the center spiritual protection against enemies who might wish to see it destroyed. The spirit mediums at Jorge's center dress in white uniforms trimmed in red, the colors of their patron, Xangô. The guia or necklace which each medium receives at the completion of a four-year period of development and confirmation is made up of multi-colored beads: twenty red beads, fourteen white, light blue, green, and dark blue beads. Attached to the necklace is a small metal on which the machadinho³ ("little hatchet") of Xangô is etched.

Xangô heads one of the seven major lines of spirits. The exact composition of this line is difficult to determine fully because it is complex and diverse. Xangô commands the guerreiros do fogo (fire), de pedra (stone), some caboclos (spirits of dead Indians), and especially those in the Linha Demanda (claim, fight) (see page 120), some pretos velhos (spirits of old black slaves) and many lesser spirits of enlightenment.

Xangô is a very ancient deity and he was present at the creation of the earth. His adventures took him many places, from the deserts to the cities. Some of these adventures were recorded during interviews with a Dona Iara.

³The hatchet is a symbol of Xangô all over Brazil, the New World, and among the Yoruba of Nigeria (Bascom 1972).
She prefaced her remarks with the comment that these tales were revealed to her by Xangô and could not be found in any books on Spiritism. Some of these tales she learned during her development at Jorge's center. Some of the symbols which appear in these tales are common to Xangô in the New World (see Bascom 1972). The most common symbols are: fire, stones, fighting for justice, the physical attractiveness of Xangô to women, and tests of strength. (This section is my English translation of a taped interview with Dona Iara, September 7, 1975):

I am going to begin to discuss Xangô, the patron of our order and the supreme entity who rules our house. As you know, our house is organized and structured around Xangô. Xangô is St. Jerome in the Catholic church. On the 30th of September, the end of this month, we are going to pay special homage to our father, Xangô. Xangô is the key to our hearts, our courage, our reason for continuing as mediums. He gives us the kind of courage we need in our daily lives.

Xangô once lived in human form, material form, on earth. He was a beautiful man. Tall and with an imposing stature. His skin was brown and he was physically attractive to the feminine sex. Xangô was strong. He lived during a time when there were many battles to be fought. Xangô fought in these many battles, perhaps under a divine protection that even he did not know about. He never lost a battle. At this time, his weapon was

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4 Bascom (1972:14) found that Cuban Lucumi also say that Chango was a light skinned mulatto and attractive to women. The Lucumi male admired Chango for his machismo.
During this period, there were kings, lords, and slaves. The slaves had to work to support the luxurious lives of the lords. There were many battles, too. Xangô led a whole military brigade. These kings constantly called upon Xangô to fight in their wars. He had a great reputation since he never lost a battle. For many years he engaged in warfare for the cause of justice. He spilled blood with his sword. Xangô eventually tired of this fighting. At the very moment that he tired of the fighting, Christ changed the structure of the fight. Xangô would no longer have to battle with the sword but with the power that God gave to him. This power is the same power that we espiritas (i.e., people who practice spiritism) fight with. It is not of the sword or arms but of the divine arms called love, humility, justice, and truth.

If I were to tell you all the episodes in the life of our father Xangô, it would have to be a very long list because there were so many happenings. The deeds or works that he left upon the face of the earth are numerous. I will relate a few of those I know.

There were two brothers who were both soldiers, huge, giants of men. They wanted to learn the art of battle from Xangô. They had heard about his great reputation among the kings and lords and they knew that he was greatly respected. They wanted to know how he got kings to bow to him. Their real motive, however, was to try and learn the origin of Xangô's power and to try to supplant it or destroy it. Thus, they approached Xangô and asked him to teach them his military strategy. Our father Xangô taught them everything but

5The sword is more commonly depicted with Ogum, São Jorge.
there were some things he could not teach them because these are the things which Deus gave to him. These things cannot be taught to another person. Thus, what was of the material, Xangô taught. But the reason that he won all the battles was that he was a medium. His power was divine and so he could not teach them or reveal to this his real secret.

As I said, the 30th of September corresponds to Xangô's passing from material form to spiritual form. But before his death (materially) he left the military life, the life of war, and he went to live in a stone house in the forest. This was a time of many pitfalls and problems for him. One of his trials included meeting some people (enemies) who wanted to put him into a pot of boiling oil. But when they put him into the oil, it cooled down immediately.

The brothers (above) did not give up either. They set a trap for Xangô. They wanted to burn our father Xangô so they set him inside a bonfire. The fire put itself out because Xangô represents fire itself. He represents a blaze or flame of light that never goes out for those who believe, those who respect it, and those who seek to understand why they are children of Xangô, and those who try to understand their mission in life. Xangô is a steady flame which never goes out. He always protects and gives aid to his children on the earth. He was always assisting the humble and giving power to the weakest, protecting and supporting them.

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6 According to Bascom (1972:3) Shango was greatly feared by the Yoruba because when he spoke fire came out of his mouth. Bascom (1972:10) quotes Freitas and Pinto (1970) as saying that Xangô St. Jerome of Umbanda is usually associated with lightning and celestial fire.
There is another episode in the life of Xango. It involves two Indian girls both of whom were in love with Xango. Xango was in love with only one of these young girls. The one he loved had a child. The rejected lover was jealous of this favored girl so she stole the child one day and placed it out near the edge of a waterfall. At this waterfall, many beasts of prey came to drink at sunset. Xango saw these things, I do not know if he saw with his spiritual eyes or with his material eyes, but he saw that the child was out on the edge of the waterfall. At the very moment in which a lion was coming by to satisfy its hunger, Xango returned the child to the arms of its mother, safe and sound.

Now inside the stone house where Xango spent the remainder of his days, he has a friend to keep him company. He domesticated the very lion (who was about to eat the child). A savage lion is easier to tame and turn into a friend than many men who would call themselves civilized and humane. They are much more like beasts. Thus Xango could never be their friend. The only thing he got from these men (the brothers and other enemies) was one trick after another. In the same manner that Xango saved this child, he saves many people by enlightening them. He brings peace and protection to many kingdoms, to many powerful superior people. This is the patron that we have Patricia, this is the stone of Xango. He is symbolized by the stone and the stone represents eternity. It cannot be destroyed. The stone traversed the centuries and years, intact, and in this way the Warriors of Justice are secured. It was in the stone that our cacique (leader) received the order to establish this house. He was transported (in a dream) to the waterfalls where there existed a large stone. Beneath this stone was the symbol of a small hatchet and an arrow which were entrusted to him in order that Xango could continue the journey that had already begun. The Guerreiros de Justica must continue the fight that Xango began.
The orixá-saint pair of Ogum-St. George is another premier entity in Evangelized Umbanda. Ogum and St. George are believed to be one in the same. St. George is the name given to this spirit in the Catholic church and Ogum is that given in Umbanda. Ogum-St. George is depicted mounted on a white horse, wearing armor and carrying a sword. He is dressed in a white uniform that is trimmed in red. The sword of St. George symbolizes the strength of his power. A green plant known in Porto Alegre as the espada de São Jorge (sword of St. George) is placed on the altars in Evangelized Umbanda and is sometimes grown in pots kept indoors. This plant is believed to ward off the evil eye (mal olhado). On April 22, a special celebration was held for Ogum-St. George. On that day, the cult leader told the following story about Ogum's past life.

There was a small village in a foreign country that had a large lake located near it. Dwelling in this lake was a large animal who harassed the local people. The villagers could not retrieve water or fish from the lake because this large animal would come up and try to kill them. The government of the village made an agreement with this animal. In exchange for allowing the villagers to fish and draw water from the lake, the villagers were willing to sacrifice one of their number every five days to the animal. The animal agreed. One day a young girl of seventeen was being prepared for sacrifice. She did not want to die. She prayed to Deus to send someone to the village to rescue her. She prayed very hard. In answer to her prayers, São Jorge came to the village.
He heard about the plight of the girl and went out to the lake where he met the animal and killed it. The girl was overjoyed when she heard the news.\(^7\)

Ogum-St. George, according to informants, became a soldier at a very early age. When he was just seven years old, he was confirmed by seven forces on the astral plane. In the songs dedicated to him, the seven swords and seven forces became the weapons of his devotees and aid them in their battles against evil and injustice.

Oxossi-St. Sebastian\(^8\) is another very important orixá-saint pair in Evangelized Umbanda. His symbol is the arrow and he, as the song goes, commands in the forests. Under his jurisdiction are the Indian spirits who are also associated with bows and arrows and the forests and hunting. The following episode in the life of Oxossi-St. Sebastian was related by a medium working in his line, Dona Bette.

\(^7\) This legend of St. George and the dragon is very ancient in origin and is just one of the legendary acts attributed to him. The dragon episode is traced to the twelfth and thirteenth century A.D. (Catholic Encyclopedia 1909:7).

\(^8\) According to a legend, St. Sebastian was an official in the imperial body guard and had secretly done acts of love and charity for his brethren in the Faith. When he was finally discovered to be a Christian, in 286, he was handed over to the Mauretainian archers who pierced him with arrows, he was healed by St. Irene, and finally killed by blows of a club (Catholic Encyclopedia 1912:13:668).
Oxossi-St. Sebastian was a captain in the military guard of the court of Emperor Diocleciano. He was a confidant of the emperor. Oxossi was Christian and the Emperor was pagan. When the Emperor learned of this he ordered Oxossi killed. Oxossi later became an orixá in Umbanda.

The orixás head a complex of spiritual lines and phalanxes in which the entities are ranked in descending order according to their possession of spiritual enlightenment. Since the orixás are so close to the astral plane and thus so powerful, they cannot incorporate or possess spirit mediums without causing them great physical harm. Thus instead, the various orixás send the lesser spirits under their command down to the earth to perform works of charity on their behalf. The major possessing spirits are the caboclos ("Indians" and indigenous people from around the world), the pretos velhos (spirits of "old black people," formerly slaves), and the criancas (spirits of "children"). Possession by any one of these spirits is welcomed by a medium but possession by a fourth type of spirit, known as exu, is avoided if possible. Exu spirits are discussed last here.

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9Diocletian (Valeruis Diocletianus) was the Emperor of Rome from 284-305 A.D. and distinguished himself in the many wars against Britain, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Nile, and Persia. He is also famed for his relentless persecution of the Christians of the empire. According to the Council of Nicomedia in A.D. 302, he resolved to suppress Christianity throughout the empire (Catholic Encyclopedia 1909:5:7).
The Indian spirits belong to many different lines among which are the 'Juroma, da lua (moon), do sol (sun), do fogo (fire), das Matas Virgems ("Virgin Forests") and in the line of the warriors. One special line of Indian spirits is known as the Linha Demanda ("claim" or "fight"). This line is believed to be effective against witches and sorcerers, and acts as a spiritual police force whose responsibilities resemble those of the military police of Brazil. In Rio de Janeiro's Umbanda and Macumba centers, Yvonne Maggie Alves Velho (1975:48-49) found that a demanda is a war of the orixás waged for the benefit of people. It is very dangerous and it can even kill the person for who the losing orixá fought. Orixá is broadly used here to refer to any divinity or supernatural figure who enters into contact with a human through possession (Velho 1975:166). The Indian spirits counteract the evil works done by people who are envious, jealous, or in other ways wish harm to other people. Adjectives such as fierce, strong, and courageous are used to describe these spirits. The Indian spirits often deal with problems requiring these traits. The most powerful spirits of this category, according to informants, are found in the lines of Xangô and Oxóce.

The old black spirits also descend to work several times a week. During the Work for Charity, the cult leader calls those old black spirits in the phalanxes and lines commanded by Father Joaquim de Luanda, São Benidito, São
Joao da Mina, and those under Xangô. Although the old black spirits work every week during the year, the thirteenth of May is recognized as their special day because it is the anniversary of the emancipation of the Brazilian slaves. On this day, special sweets and occasionally even beer are brought to the center in their honor. A special green plant associated with these spirits known as Arruda is brought in large bunches to the center. After the old blacks possess their mediums, they hand their clients small sprigs of arruda. A purple and yellow star made of flowers is outlined on the floor in front of the altar in honor of the old black spirits. A small altar room that doubles as the cult leader's consultation room is reserved for the old blacks. They use this room to hold consultations during the weekly sessions. On Saturdays the old black spirits work alongside of those spirits from the Linha Oriente in the large altar room. In contrast to the Indian spirits, the spirits in the Linha Oriente and the old black spirits are said to be calm and quiet.

The criança or children spirits are associated with a line of spirits commanded by the Catholic twin martyrs Saints Cosmas and Damian. In Evangelized Umbanda this line descends into the center on the last Tuesday of each month. Their arrival is celebrated with a party, complete with balloons, cookies, and candy. The children spirits like to play on the floor and fight with each other. According to informants,
spirits of deceased youngsters ranging in age from a few months to seven years are in this category. Generally they are Brazilian in nationality but there can also be others represented. It is said that clients come to consult with these spirits because they have powerful curing knowledge. In the words of one médium, the spirits in this line have the power to limpa tudo ruim (i.e., "cleanse all evil"). Part of this power derives from the purity of children and part from the twins Saints Cosmas and Damian who, according to mythology, were once physicians famous for their healing power. Before we look at the Catholic origin of this line, the Afro-American and African traditions are described.

First it should be noted that the criança category is found in most Umbanda cosmologies (see E. Pressel 1971, 1974). In the Afro-Catholic religions of Batuque (Porto Alegre) and Candomble (Salvador), a similar type of possession behavior is called ere (Herskovits 1966:210, orig. 1943). Ere is a state of semi-possession marking the return of a person to a normal state of consciousness after the trance: The ere is described by Herskovits's informants as "the childishness that goes with every god." Thus there is a tradition of childish behavior and possession trance preceding this tradition in Umbanda.

The association of this childish form of possession trance with twins has its roots in both African and Catholic
religion. The Fon of Dahomey give special attention to the birth of twins, believing them to possess supernatural power. Furthermore, twins are thought to have much magic or gbo. In the following passage, Herskovits (1967:II:260) explains the association of twins and magic:

If the mother of twins mistreats them she will face poverty, for her twin children know gbo that will keep her efforts from prospering; if twins are well treated their parents will become rich. Dahomean folklore contains a cycle of tales which recounts the feats of valour of a pair of twins called Zinsu and Zinsi, who contest in exhibitions of magic skill with toxosu (Dahomean children born with anomalous physical traits), over whom they invariably prevail.

Likewise in the culture of the Yoruba, twins receive special attention. Twins or ibeji possess supernatural power which can cause the death of their parent whose sex is the same as theirs. Bascom (1969:74) says that the Yoruba twins are not deities but when they die they retain the form of children in heaven, and spend their time in play.

Finally, in the Afro-Catholic vodu cult of Haiti, twins (marassa) have some of the same features as the crianca of Umbanda. Metraux (1959:146) says twins, living and dead, are endowed with supernatural powers which makes them exceptional beings. Dead twins are deified. They are also associated with the Catholic Saints Cosmas and Damian. Although possession by twins is rare, Metraux (1959:147) found that:
Those they do seize become like little children, 'tyrannical and capricious.' They roll on the ground, get up, walk uncertainly and ask for food.

Let us turn now to the influence of Catholic mythology on the spiritual line of Cosmas and Damian. In the following selection from my fieldnotes, two spirit mediums, Donas Bette and Iara, talked about the power of these saints, and how it was tested by an evil king and a sorcerer.

São Cosme and São Damião suffered the persecution of the world. Their material bodies suffered the pressure of envy, jealousy, and evil. They could not escape this pressure of this destiny. One day the bloodthirsty emperor Diocleciano took notice of the activities of these two brothers and their great faith in God. Their God was unknown to him. He was determined to learn about the Catholic religion and Christ. Most Christians were persecuted in this period. Many were put to death.

Diocleciano decided to set up a test between the religion of these twin brothers and the power of one of his sorcerers at court. First, the emperor tempted the brothers to give up their faith by offering them great riches and opportunities. But they refused all. Thus the test between the power of their God and the power of the sorcerer was arranged. The sorcerer's power was embodied in his cobra and the venom of this snake. The sorcerer challenged the brothers to allow themselves to be bitten by the cobra and to test the power of their God by demanding that he keep them from dying. The sorcerer told them: "One bite from the mouth of this snake with his powerful venom is certain death. I have already been bitten but have the power to protect me from death. I want you to do the same." São Cosme and São Damião responded: "No, it is you who are
bragging about your power and it is you who want to supplant the power of our God. We know that he is a god of justice. We respect our God for this and bow to his power. You are the one who must allow your hand to be bitten in order to prove that you really have the power that you are bragging about, not us." The emperor was surprised by these events. The sorcerer allowed himself to be bitten by the cobra. Almost at once he swelled up, began to suffocate, and became bloated. São Cosme and São Damião watched. Then the sorcerer began to make a plea telling the two twins that if they helped him he would convert to their religion. He shouted: "Save me, I am dying!" São Cosme and São Damião extended their hands out toward the sorcerer and asked God, our Christ, to help this brother all consumed by venom. They asked that he be saved and given mercy. The serpent disappeared in the air. He consumed himself, leaving only a smell of sulfur, a horrible smell of brimstone. The sorcerer recovered. He was converted to the power of São Cosme and São Damião.

These events provoked the anger of the Emperor Diocleciano. He redoubled the persecution of the families of São Cosme and Damião. Their families were sacrificed, their relatives were tortured. All because these two twins would not give up their faith. They were thrown into the sea and the sea returned them. Many punishments were applied to them but they survived them all. Then Diocleciano ordered them decapitated. They were killed but they moved on the spiritual level and continued to help people spiritually.

According to the Catholic Encyclopedia (1908:403-404), Saints Cosmas and Damian were twin brothers, born in Arabia. They practiced the art of healing in Cilicia, Asia Minor, where they had a reputation for not charging the poor and for converting many people to their faith. During the Roman
Emperor Diocletian's persecutions of the Christians, Cosmas and Damian were captured and tortured. While they survived this, they were eventually beheaded. The Catholic Calendar sets aside the 27th of September as their special day.

The final category of spirits are the *exus*. Exu spirits are spirits who "work for money," who demand payment for their services. They are often used to counteract or negate the evil forces of enemies. The cult leader Dona Ana said that these spirits were a necessary part of the defense of the Umbanda center. Although everyone is liable to exu possession, it is not sought or desired since they cause people to engage in antisocial acts. For example, a female exu spirit known as *pombagira* may possess a woman and make her paint herself up and go out on the streets like a prostitute. However, if a husband and a wife are both possessed by exus, then they will have a happy relationship. In the centers practicing Evangelized Umbanda, exu spirits have a special spot near the entrance to the altar room that is known as the *ponto de encruzilhada* ("Point of the Crossroads"). Since a person entering from the street may have been under the harmful influence of exu spirits, that person must be relieved of such influences. The Point of the Crossroads has the power to draw away such harmful effects.

The spirits of the crossroads, the *exus*, are used to combat black magic and problems of the *demanda* category.
Demanda ("claim" or "fight") is the name given to a category of problems which are believed to derive from such strong emotions as hatred, envy, or jealousy. When these feelings are directed toward a victim either through thought or by contracting evil spirits, they can disrupt the life of that person. In Rio de Janeiro's Umbanda and Macumba centers, Yvonne Maggie Alves Velho (1975:48-49) found that a demanda is a war of the orixás waged for the benefit of people. It is very dangerous, and it can cause the death of the person for whom the losing orixá fought. Orixá, according to Velho (1975:166), is broadened to refer to any divinity or supernatural figure who enters into contact with a human through possession. When a person suspects that they are victims of these evil events, then on a small slip of paper, they write their name, their problem, and the name of the exu whose help is solicited. This paper is then placed under a rock on the floor near this spot and the problem will be dealt with by these spirits. The Place of the Crossroads is marked by the flag of Brazil which, as the symbol of the nation's strength, aids in the fight against the evil. In Umbanda of Sao Paulo, Pressel (1971) found that exu spirits are identified as foreigners. This identification was not made explicit by Porto Alegre informants but the association of exus with foreigners and the placement of the Brazilian flag (the symbol of nationalism) on the Place of the Crossroads within the center presents an
intriguing image. Umbandists of São Paulo describe *exus* spirits as spirits without light (*espiritosesempluz*) or as suffering spirits (*espiritossosfredores*). While the Porto Alegre Umbandists recognize the existence of such spirits and their relationship to the transmission of disease and suffering, they do not always identify them as *Exus*. Some *Exus* are spirits without light and suffering spirits but informants made it clear that not all such spirits were *Exus*. For example, some of these spirits were called *irmãozinhos* ("little brothers"). It was generally felt that these spirits were not inherently evil. Even though they caused people harm and brought sickness, they did so out of a desire to seek "enlightenment" and aid in reaching the next highest level in the spiritual hierarchy. Informants in Evangelized Umbanda associated spirits without light with Batuque. Since such spirits do not know how to distinguish good from bad, they become the helpless tool of the Batuqueiro.

**Ritual**

The two major rituals in Evangelized Umbanda are the *Trabalho de Caridade* (Work for Charity) and the *Trabalho de Oriente*¹⁰ (Work of the Oriente). The first is held on Mondays and Thursdays. Even though there

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¹⁰The *Trabalho de Oriente* is similar to the 'sessions of vibration' held by Kardec Spiritists (Camargo 1968:20).
is some variation in the *pontos cantados* (literally, "sung points") from Monday to Thursday, the major features are the same. The songs for Thursday are recorded and translated (see Appendix D). They reveal the complex relationship among the spirits of the Umbanda cosmology. The second ritual, the Work of the Oriente, salutes the Incas, Mayas, and Hebrews and focuses on the *triangulo do fogo* ("triangle of fire"). This ritual appears to be unique to the Umbanda cults described in this dissertation.

**Trabalho de Caridade**

The Work for Charity is the major ritual of Evangelized Umbanda. The following brief description reveals the major supernatural beings and the most important ritual elements. The Work for Charity is held at the center twice weekly between the hours of 7:30 p.m. and 1:30 a.m. The mediums arrive early and stop and chat with their friends before they retire to a small rear dressing room where they change into the plain white uniform typical of their center. One female medium attends the pharmacy, a small drug counter, at which herbs, perfume, candles, candy, and Avon products are sold during the evening. The male secretary hands out small numbered tickets to the visitors and the *sociais* ("paying members") as they arrive. There are two separate numbering systems -- one for social members who are given numbers within the first series and another for the visitors
who receive numbers in the second series. The secretary keeps track of how many clients wish to see the cult leader, and he limits this number to twenty per evening.

Each medium changes from street clothes into the uniform of the center. Men dress in plain white tunic tops and straight legged pants and women wear plain white dresses; both sexes wear white tennis shoes. Then as each medium enters the sala de conga ("altar room") he stoops over to knock three times on the floor forming a small triangle. This simple salute to the altar and the spirits may be elaborated upon by some mediums who prostrate themselves full length on the floor in front of the altar. A short prayer may be recited in front of the altar. After the salute and the prayer, the medium walks over to a particular ponto ("point" or "place") within the room where he or she will remain for perhaps the next four hours. The new developing mediums stand in parallel rows facing the altar until the consultas ("consultations") begin whereupon they assume the various roles of escrevedor ("scribe") and porteiro ("doorman" or "usher").

Defumação ("Defumagation") A male medium assistant proceeds with the defumagation of the center, the mediums, and the clients. This is done with special "astral perfume" and incense. The incense consists of a blend of herbs burnt in a special censor. The astral perfume is sprayed into the air in front of the altar, into the four corners of the
altar room, and onto the hands of each medium. Finally, it is brought out to the waiting clients and visitors. The censor of burning incense follows the same pattern. The purpose of the defumagation is to help cleanse or discharge the mediums and the clients of any lingering evil fluids that they may have attracted to themselves during the normal course of their day. It is also a form of protection against the spirits without light who are believed to linger about the center during the sessions.

Calm music is piped through a loudspeaker system serving the altar room and the clients' waiting rooms. The male medium assistants place the cult leader's microphone in the middle of the altar room in anticipation of his lecture. Throughout this period of preparation, the mediums stand inside the altar room, concentrating in readiness for spirit possession trance. Depending upon what time they arrive, some mediums will stand for three to four hours.

Roupas para firmar ("clothes for blessing") is called out by the cult leader as he walks from room to room greeting friends and clients. Some clients have with them the clothes of a friend or relative who is sick or troubled. These clothes will be blessed, defumagated with incense and astral perfume and thus have the evil fluids discharged from them. It is believed that clothing picks up the vibrations of the person who wore them. So in the case of illness, an odor or aura is left in the clothes which must be cleansed by a
spirit medium if the person is going to recover. The clothes are brought to the altar where the cult leader or his assistant sprinkles astral perfume on them and places a few rose petals among them. They are then returned to their owner.

**Radiações de luz** ("radiations of light") are collected from the clients by the male medium assistant or by the cult leader. These radiations of light are small slips of paper which contain the name, the address, and the problem of a person who needs special help. They are submitted on the behalf of people who cannot easily attend the works themselves if, for example, they are from another country. The name of the entity from whom help is being sought is also written on this paper. After the papers are collected, they are placed underneath a stone on the altar. The stone symbolizes the deity known as *Xangô*, the spiritual protector of the center. It is believed that these messages will be transmitted during the Work for Charity up to the astral plane where the various entities will attend to them.

"Greetings" After the preparations are finished, the cult leader comes to the microphone to address the visitors. He begins by welcoming his "brothers and sisters" to the Work for Charity. In his opening announcement, he reminds the clients that the ritual *passe de caridade* ("pass for charity") is an important part of the Monday and Thursday meetings and that it is entirely for their benefit. This pass has the power to help them solve their problems. The
only requirement that they as petitioners must have is a pure heart, one which is devoted solely to God and Jesus Christ and one which is free of evil thoughts and intentions. The pass and the spiritual consultations help a person counteract the negative influences of suffering spirits who are responsible for making one smoke, drink, and perform other misdeeds that can prejudice one's spiritual development.

"Opening prayer" The cult leader turns toward the altar to recite the opening prayer in which he beseeches God, the Virgin Mary, and Jesus to give all present the spiritual guidance they need, to allow the entities of light, protectors, and guias ("guides"), and all the spirits in the falanges ("phalanxes," i.e., a military troop in compact formation) of the Guerreiros de Justica ("Warriors of Justice") to descend into the center this evening. He repeats this prayer adding Xangô São Jeronimo ("St. Jerome"), the protector of the fraternity, to the list of entities addressed.

Palestra ("lecture") On Mondays and Thursdays the lecture lasts thirty to forty-five minutes. The lecture generally covers a point of doctrine, but the cult leader can also use the opportunity to make announcements about upcoming events, to explain the meaning of Evangelized Umbanda to those attending for the first time, or to point out that the spirits of light do not smoke, drink, or dance. He may also discuss the origin of a particular celebration
for one of the deities.

Pontos Cantados ("Sung Points") are short hymns or prayers that invoke the power and the force of the entities. With each song the mediums invite the entities to enter the center. The cult leader calls out each one and the mediums sing each according to the tradition of the center. In Evangelized Umbanda, these songs are sung without drum or percussion accompaniment. Their cadence is deliberate and slow. It is important that each one be correct, otherwise it will not have the desired effect upon the session; the words and melodies are practiced every Tuesday during the classes held for development. The song leader, a female spirit medium, must make sure that the mediums know the correct words and tempo. The importance of this role cannot be underestimated since if the songs are incorrect the entire session can be prejudiced.

Trabalho de Oriente and the Triangulo de Fogo

The Work of the Oriente is a special ritual performed every Saturday afternoon and evening. This work is totally devoted to spiritual curing and purification. The Linha Oriente (Oriental Line) consists of highly evolved, enlightened spirits usually said to be the spirits of intellectuals, doctors, thinkers, and philosophers. Their origin is in "Eastern" religions that are identified with Hebrews, Arabs, Hindus, Egyptians, and of other highly evolved societies of
the past such as the Incas and the Mayas. Old black spirits
work alongside of the spirits in this line as both are be­
lieved to work with the powers of the mind and not the power
that comes from physical strength. The old black spirits
working with the Oriental Line may descend in the full
"roupagem dos pretos velhos" (literally, "apparel or outfit
of the old blacks," i.e., the stereotyped role behavior of
this spirit category). They are enlightened spirits -- the
wisemen and the curers of their tribes. There is some feel­
ing among the cult leaders that those spirits within this
line are more difficult to handle, and thus require a stronger
medium. The female cult leader, Dona Ana, received the dis­
incarnated spirit of a medical doctor of this line, and under
his influence during possession trance, she performed oper­
ações astrais ("astral operations") on her clients. Another
feature of the spirits in the Oriental Line is that it is
their mission to indoctrinate and educate their clients.
Thus, a large part of the Saturday evening work is taken
up by a lecture.

The Work of the Oriente consists of two sections: a
late afternoon session in which ritual passes are featured,
and an evening session which focuses on a ritual known as
the triangle of fire. The preparations for the afternoon
session include the defumagation, the clothes for blessing,
the radiations of light, the "greeting", the opening prayer,
and a song to St. John the Baptist. Two groups of mediums
work in this session. One group receives the old black spirits. They work seated on low benches that are placed along the walls of the center. A second group includes mediums in various stages of development who are arranged around three or four chairs standing in the center of the altar room. See the diagram below:

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  Altar

X   X   X   X   X
X O X X O X X O X X O X
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One medium stands behind the chair with her back toward the altar. This is usually a medium con guia ("with guide," i.e., one who has completed development). She is assisted by two mediums in early stages of development. The clients are ushered in and directed to sit down on the chairs. There is no verbal communication between mediums and clients. The clients are "defumed" with incense and astral perfume before they sit down. The ritual pass consists of removing negative fluids and influences from the bodies of the clients. These negative influences sometimes include backward spirits (espiritos atrasados). Their removal from the client occurs as they pass through the body of the mediums. In this manner, backward spirits receive enlightenment and move onto a higher astral plane. The three mediums stand, concentrate, and hold their hands, palms down, toward the client's head and shoulders.
They are drawing radiations of light from the astral plane to the client and in this manner are discharging the client of negative influences.

During the afternoon session, the old black spirits and the cult leader hold private consultations for their clients. This first part, known as the passe de oriente ("oriental pass"), ends late in the afternoon after all the clients are attended. Occasionally there is an overlap between the normal completion time of the afternoon ritual and the start of the evening ritual, the triangle of fire.

The triangle of fire is a purification and healing ritual. This is not an individual consultation or a ritual pass, but rather a collective purification rite for the entire congregation. This is the only occasion in which the director plays the role of priest or minister and in which the clients form a collective body or congregation. The triangle of fire begins at approximately 8:30 p.m. and ends around 11:30 p.m. The congregation of clients, usually the regulars at the center, enter and stand within the altar room in parallel rows facing the altar. The mediums stand around the outside walls of the room facing in toward the clients. The cult leader stands at the altar and directs the work.

The ritual begins with an opening address to the congregation explaining the nature of the Work of the Oriente and the triangle of fire. A lecture of some length is begun and
the theme set for the night is elaborated at each break in the ritual. The initial lecture can last as long as an hour and a half. The cult leader explains that the superior light and power of the astral plane which is embodied in peace, love, and truth has the power to counteract witchcraft and sorcery. The radiations of the astral plane are called down into the center to purify everyone present, discharging them collectively of evil. The following entities and phalanxes are saluted:

Salve! todo oriente universal
Salve! Os Guerreiros do sol (sun)
Salve! Os Guerreiros da lua (moon)

The director explains that the "warriors of the sun" and "moon" are symbolized by justice, love and truth. The force of the Hebrews, Incas, and Mayas are hailed next. This salute to the Incas and Mayas is punctuated with the drum beat of a special metal gong. The cult leader calls the power of the Incas, Mayas, Hebrews, and "indigenous forces," and as he does this he begins a drum crescendo, beating both faster and louder and suddenly stopping, starting slowly and then speeding up again. Finally, he stops abruptly. The effect of this salute upon the mediums is visual proof that the power of the Hebrews, Incas and Mayas is present. Several mediums and even some of the congregation have been driven into an altered state of consciousness. They lose control and crash uncontrolled to the floor. This contrasts to the possession trance typical of the warriors, old blacks,
Indians, and children. The drum beat is reserved for the Saturday ritual alone. The effect of this drum crescendo upon the clients and the mediums seems to be an example of what Goodman (1973:199) refers to as driving:

In the sense that the complex manipulation to which the subject was being subjected was driving him into the altered state, not unlike the cheers of spectators driving an athlete to greater exertion. In psychological experiments, the term is used to describe an arrangement in which the subjects are exposed to rhythmical sounds or flashing lights that drive them into altered states of consciousness.

The altered state of consciousness produced by the drum crescendo pattern was not interpreted by informants as possession by spirit but rather as being the presence of an abstract force or supernatural power originating on the astral plane and sent down into the center to help purify the group.

The triangle of fire follows shortly after the drum crescendo. This is the high point of the purification ritual. The cult leader tells the congregation to make their special pedidos ("requests") to the superior astral plane. The cult leader assures the congregation that the guerreiros (warriors) are fighting all evil forces on their behalf, including again witches and sorcerers. The triangle ritual has the power to purify both body and soul.

Three spirit mediums who are deep in trance start to walk forward to the altar. They bow down to the altar, knock
three times on the floor and slowly stand up. One medium, Dona Iara, will carry a large pottery bowl of flaming' perfume-alcohol around the room. She will stop in front of each medium and the congregation as a group. Throughout this ceremony, Dona Iara is deep in trance: her eyes are moist and glassy, and she sweats profusely. The congregation sings the ponto: Guerreiros do Fogo (Warriors of Fire) as the three mediums proceed around the room. This ritual takes approximately twenty-five minutes to complete. The cult leader continues with his lecture until the mediums have again returned to the altar. The ritual is finished when the entire body, congregation, mediums, and director, join hands and sing the Hymn of Umbanda.

**Hino de Umbanda**

Refletiu a luz divina
com todo o seu esplendor!
E do reino de Oxalá
onde há paz e amor.

Luz que refletiu na terra
Luz que refletiu no mar
Luz que vem de Aruanda
para tudo iluminar.

Umbanda é paz e amor
é um mundo cheio de luz
é força que nos dá vida
é a grandeza nos conduz.

Avante filhos de fé
como a nossa Lei, não ha!
Levando ao mundo inteiro
a bandeira de Oxalá!
Trans: Hymn of Umbanda

Reflect the divine light
with all your splendor!
It is the reign of Oxalá
where there is peace and love.

Light that reflects on the earth
Light that reflects on the sea
Light that comes from Heaven
in order to illuminate all.

Umbanda is peace and love.
It is a world full of light.
It is the force that gives us life,
the greatness that guides us.

Forward children of faith
with our Law, não ha!
Carrying to the entire world
the banner of Oxalá! (repeat)
CHAPTER V

THE ROLE STRUCTURE OF EVANGELIZED UMBANDA

The social structure of Evangelized Umbanda cults can be described by focusing on four basic statuses and roles: the cult leader, the spirit medium, the spirit guide, and the client. The way in which relationships between these statuses and roles are structured is related to the domain of action that we focus on -- the "material" or the "spiritual." The names of these domains derive from a distinction which Umbanda mediums themselves make between the parte material ("material part") and the parte espiritual ("spiritual part"). The former refers to the physical or material body and the latter refers to the spirit self and the spirit guide. The material domain includes those activities performed by mediums when they are not "incorporated" or "possessed" by spirits. This mainly concerns the business affairs of the center such as paying rent and utility bills, buying supplies for the works, organizing the charity drives, collecting membership dues, cleaning and maintaining the building, decorating for festas (parties for the orixás) and preparing the altar room for the weekly sessions. The structure of role relationships within this domain resembles
a centralized federation in which authority filters from the top down. The cult leader and the president of the social members are at the top of the hierarchy. In order of descending authority, there is the cult leader, the president, the secretary, the male assistant to the cult leader, the mediums con guias (with spirit guides), the medium aspirante ("aspiring medium"), the cambonos ("new mediums") and the social members. The domain of the spiritual represent those activities performed while the medium is incorporated or possessed by a spirit guide. These include giving ritual passes and consultations. Most of these activities occur during the weekly sessions held in the cult house. In rare cases, they may also take place in a medium's home. The structure of role relationships within this domain form a loose confederation which is composed of the chefe espiritual ("chief spirit") of the entire center and the spirit guides of the working mediums. The guides represent many different lines of spirits, each working with different powers and techniques of curing. The spiritual "boss" is technically the chief spirit of the cult leader. Thus, the cult leader and the chief spirit or the dono da cabeça ("master of the head") of the cult leader theoretically head up both domains of activity.
The Cult Leader

A cult leader may be either male or female but females frequently outnumber males. Of the three thousand registered centers kept track of at the Union of Umbanda, Mr. Mendes said that eighty to eighty-five percent are headed by women. In my own smaller survey of thirteen Umbanda centers, five or thirty-five percent are directed by men and eight or sixty-five percent are directed by women. Of the two centers of Evangelized Umbanda that were observed regularly, one is headed by a male who is referred to here as Jorge and the other is headed by a female known here as Dona Ana.

A cult leader may be called by a number of different terms: o chefe, o director (or a directora), o cacique (Indian chief), o meu pai (or a minha mãe), o senhor (or a senhora), paizinho (or mãezinha). The cult leaders in Evangelized Umbanda did not allow themselves to be addressed as either mãe or pai de santo (mother or father in sainthood) because these terms are used in the traditional African derived Batuque and Candomblé cults. A cult leader's responsibilities revolve around the organization and administration of the cult house, both materially and spiritually. The duties that are mentioned most often are: teaching the Umbanda doctrine to the mediums and clients; giving consultations to everyone who needs one; helping people; initiating and confirming the new mediums; setting a good example.
for the mediums; and preparing oneself for spiritual work through maintaining a healthy body and mind. The success of a cult leader in meeting these responsibilities is determined by the number of clients he or she can attract to the center. A good cult leader has a well run center with crowded rooms full of waiting clients.

The cult leader's rights, i.e., the expectations and demands placed on mediums and clients, are made clear during the lectures and the classes for developing mediunidade ("mediumistic abilities") (see pages 151-152).

In order to become a cult leader, a person must first develop mediunidade under the tutelage of another director. It is said that the decision to enter the position of cult leader is based upon a supernatural call or spiritual order which comes to the medium in a vision or a dream. For example, Jorge says that he began working as a spirit medium under the director Cavaleiro de São Jorge (Knight of St. George) who runs a large Umbanda center in Porto Alegre. He says that he had a vision in which he received a spiritual order telling him to leave his former cult leader and open up his own center. During this vision, the three symbols which now compose the insignia of the cult appeared to him -- a machadinha ("hatchet"), a flecha ("arrow"), and a espada ("sword"). The pedra ("stone") which is the symbol of Xangô also appeared. Xangô, who is Jorge's chief spirit, became the patron and protector of Jorge's new Umbanda center.
Stones line the altar in the cult house, and mark each special ponto or sacred place within the altar room. It is said that these stones defend the center against evil.

The symbols in the cult leader's vision and his or her chief spirit are embraced by the members of the newly forming center. In Jorge's case, for example, Xangô, the stone, the sword, the arrow, and hatchet give their supernatural protection to all the initiated mediums and frequenters of Evangelized Umbanda. According to Jorge, Xangô is a great guerreiro ("warrior") or military figure. The Portuguese word guerreiro is used by Jorge to characterize all the spirits that descend into the Umbanda center, all the mediums, and all the frequenters. The spirits, the mediums, and the frequenters are all like warriors fighting for justice, love, and truth. Guerreiros are also a category of spirits, military figures. The theme song of Evangelized Umbanda emphasizes the image of "Warriors of Justice."

Somos guerreiros de justica
Mesangeiros de Oxalá!
Nosso lema e ser Caridade sempre practicar
Na Seara do meu pai quero muito trabalhar.
Avante todos os Guerreiros a bandeira sempre desfraldar.

Guerreiros de Justica aqui estamos nos.
derramai as vossas bençãos pra que podemos trabalhar.
Em ti nos confiamos, e muito queremos dar.
Dentro da grandiosa Força da Fraternidade.
Com as armas da verdade
houreremos sempre a lutar
Soldudos firmes e fortes
Caminhar para se elevar.
Marchando em passos firmes
sabereamos conduzir a chama da Justica,
do Amor, e da Caridade.

We are warriors of justice
Messengers of Oxalá!
Our motto is to always practice charity
In the field of my Father I want very much
to work.
Forward all warriors, the flag always unfurled.

Warriors of Justice, here we are.
You lavish your blessings so that we can work,
In thee we confide, and much we want to give,
inside the magnificent Force of the Fraternity.
With arms of truth
we would always fight
welded firm and strong
on the road to elevate ourselves
Marching in firm steps
We know now to lead the call of
Love, Justice, and Charity.

It is perhaps not surprising that Jorge became a medium
and eventually a cult leader since his parents were both
mediums before him. Jorge is about fifty, married, a father
of several children, and a grandfather. His cult life is
somewhat separate from his family and business life. His
wife only rarely attends the works. Jorge is six feet tall
and presents an imposing figure, towering above the long
line of clients that he attracts to his center. The mediums
at his center claim that he has initiated more than two
hundred mediums since 1965. Among these is Dona Ana, the
second cult leader in Evangelized Umbanda.

Dona Ana frequented Jorge's center for five years before
she received a spiritual order from Xangô telling her to
open up her own own center. (See pages and for details
on Dona Ana's decision to develop mediunidade.) She confided in Jorge about this communication, and he told her that she would have to decide very soon whether to follow it. Jorge told her that working in two correntes ("chain," but also "current" as in electric current) of mediums is dangerous because the combined supernatural power is strong enough to make her ill. Nevertheless, Dona Ana was undecided for some time. She continued to work as a medium in her old center while at the same time she organized and opened her own. During this period, she experienced reoccurring headaches. Finally Jorge told her that she must leave his chain of mediums altogether. She was depressed by the thought of leaving the center at which she was initiated. However, Dona Ana felt rather strongly about her mission; she believed that she was not at fault, since this was a spiritual order. On further consideration, she decided that two strong cult leaders working with the same patron Xangô could not continue long at the same center -- the Choque ("shock," "conflict") would be too great. Furthermore, she told herself, the atmosphere at Jorge's was too noisy and too confused for her. Besides this she said she believed her chief spirit, the disincarnated spirit of a medical doctor of the Linha Oriente needs peaceful, calm working conditions. Finally, she believed that it was her mission to bring the enlightened teachings of Evangelized Umbanda out into the poorer neighborhoods that surround the
city where the people have no alternative but to go to Batuque for spiritual help. This mission could be accomplished because her husband owned land and a small house in just such an interior neighborhood. She set up her center right next to this house in what was once a small construction shed.

Although the spiritual order gives the medium the authority to open up her own Umbanda center, there are many other factors influencing its ultimate success. Since Dona Ana made her decision just prior to our first meeting in June of 1975, I had the opportunity to observe firsthand many of her problems, to discuss them with her, and to provide her with a sounding board for many of the topics of her lectures and class. Once the decision to split away from her "home" center was made, Dona Ana announced it to Jorge and to some close medium colleagues. Almost at once she came under strong negative sanctions from these people. At first her former cult leader questioned the validity of her spiritual directive, and then, once he accepted it, he delivered her an ultimatum -- either she continued to work with him or she left for good. Rumors circulated around the center saying such things as she was not well prepared, she needed more doctrine, she did not have enough well-prepared mediums, etc. In order to break away, Dona Ana had to overcome this pressure and muster enough confidence in herself and in her chief spirit to believe that she could
direct and run a center. She had to feel that her spirit guides were enlightened enough to educate the new mediums. She had to also feel that her guides had enough authority to combat interfering mediums and clients who might wish to influence the direction of the new center. Dona Ana believed that a new cult leader required the confidence and support of her husband and family, since the opening of an Umbanda center initially required an enormous investment of time and money. All of these take away from the time which Dona Ana had to devote to her roles of wife and mother.

The choice of a site, a name for the center, the recruitment and education of the mediums, and the attraction of a steady clientele or social membership are the most pressing problems facing the new cult leader. Dona Ana made the site selection rather easily since her husband had purchased land years before in a small outlying neighborhood. On this plot of land, they constructed a small brick, one room, single story house, presently occupied by their daughter, her husband and child. Next to this house, a small wooden construction shed was converted rather easily into an Umbanda center. The shed was approximately seven feet wide, fifteen feet deep and eight feet high. The room was divided by a small curtain which enclosed an operating table. The altar and table of ritual paraphernalia were set in the front half along with three small benches that doubled for client seats and the benches of the old black
spirits.

The new center was painted blue and had a tile roof. A name was chosen but no sign was hung on the outside of the building to advertise its presence. Dona Ana feared that if the center attracted too much attention during this early stage, the wrong kind of people might start to hang around. She named the center Vila Nossa Senhora de Fatima; Associadade Espirita Linha de Oriente. The name includes its location and emphasizes its concern with curing within the Linha de Oriente. In Porto Alegre, the Linha de Oriente ("Oriental Line") is associated with special curing ceremonies, and the spirits working within this line are believed to be highly evolved intellectuals, doctors, and foreigners. The name Associadade Espirita is chosen because Dona Ana preferred not to confuse her center with a terreiro or a tenda. These two words are closely connected with Batuque. By using this name, she intended to show her doctrinal relationship with kardecismo, a higher, more intellectual form of spiritism.

During the three and a half month period that I visited her center, Dona Ana continued to experience difficulties with her mediums. She had to recruit them primarily from the local area; although toward the beginning of September 1975 she did have two mediums, a married couple, from Porto Alegre working with her. A total of seven mediums, six women and one man, made somewhat tenuous commitments to
development. The women ranged in age from nineteen to the mid-fifties and the man was middle-aged. They were all relatively poor and of lower class status. One medium, named Antonieta, was eager to continue her development but had to quit in September or October due to pregnancy. Another, named Maria, was always present for the sessions but she was engaged in a continuous struggle with her "husband," a spirit medium in Batuque, who did not approve of her affiliation with Dona Ana's new center. Another woman was already working in the chain of another center in Porto Alegre where her cult leader was upset with her for working with Dona Ana. Each medium had some problem making a firm commitment to Dona Ana. Their attendance was somewhat sporadic during this initial period. Dona Ana urged them to save money for their uniforms. But at about twelve cruzeiros or $1.13 per uniform, the price was still too high for most of them. Dona Ana blamed their husbands who would not give them the money. But in general this was an extremely poor neighborhood.

Besides poverty, Dona Ana was faced with the fact that most of her potential mediums had previous experience and training at Umbanda centers whose practices concerning possession trance and client consultations stood in sharp contrast to hers in Evangelized Umbanda. Thus, the reorientation and reindoctrination of these mediums became the focus of her classes on mediunidade and her lectures.
Perhaps the least difficult obstacle to overcome was the attraction of clients. During the period of observation, the center attracted approximately thirty-five clients on Tuesdays and about the same number on Saturdays. The clients came from the local neighborhood and were on the whole poor. As word of the center and Dona Ana's power spread, an occasional client traveled by bus from Porto Alegre. However, the organization of paying social members was still far in the future.

The duties of the two cult leaders Ana and Jorge include the delivery of lectures to the mediums and the clients. Every medium who is asked about the responsibilities of their cult leader includes the lecture. These lectures are an important tool for communicating the rights of the cult leader as well, since the rights of the cult leader are the duties of the mediums and the clients. In the view of the two cult leaders themselves, the lectures are included in the works because the medium, clients, and the "congregation" need spiritual indoctrination and education.

The lectures are often an instrument of the director's propaganda announcing the virtues of his or her "truth" and denouncing the competition. According to this view, Evangelized Umbanda is distinguished from other types by the following criteria: 1) the mediums do not charge for their services; 2) the mediums do not smoke, drink alcoholic
beverages, or dance the *gira* or "turn around;" 3) the cult leader is not a *mãe* or *o pai de santo* ("mother or father in sainthood"); 4) the *santos* ("saints") do not possess the mediums; 5) the mediums do not suggest offerings or *despatchos* to *exu* in the cemeteries; 6) the mediums work only with enlightened spirits; and 7) the divine master Jesus Christ aids in the works.

The lectures are used to announce upcoming events of the center such as the ritual calendar for the year and the dates of charity teas and fund raising soups. Over a four month period, the topics of seventeen different lectures at the centers of Ana and Jorge covered the following areas: moral issues concerning the nation and the individual; great strides made in Umbanda today; details of Umbanda doctrine; sanctions against deviant possession trance behavior, and the curing process. The moral issues analyzed by the lectures concerned the question of divorce, the problem of racism, the disobedience of today's youth, and proper sex-role behavior. The question of divorce was brought to the Brazilian public in a national referendum of 1975. The fact that the Catholic church was officially against it and the high rate of divorce existing in so-called advanced countries like the U.S. were suggested in the lectures as reasons why divorce was not a very good trend. It was defeated. Racism was presented as a foreign idea, infiltrating Brazil. For example, Jorge warned Umbandists to avoid this type of
behavior. The lectures admonished the Brazilian youth who run around in automobiles, drink and smoke cigarettes. Such behavior was interpreted as a threat to the nation's future. Umbanda parents were warned to teach their children respect for their elders. The proper behavior of young women especially concerned Jorge. He warned young girls to stay out of the cars of their boyfriends, pointing out that unwanted pregnancies result from too carefree a lifestyle. The lectures often turned to the subject of the medium's behavior. This public recrimination of undesirable behavior, especially that attributed to a spirit guide, was usually an effective sanction against such activities. Finally, the curing process needed explanation because not everyone who came seeking a cure would receive it in the same length of time. Clients were warned against expecting instantaneous cures. Sometimes a cure might be delayed for months. Dona Ana was convinced that even Jesus Christ could not instantly cure everyone who came to him.

The cult leaders also like to point out the progress made by Evangelized Umbanda. The presence of children at works was seen as particularly significant.

The Medium

The medium is a person who is recognized as the designated aparelho ("apparatus") of a spirit or spirits. The common names for such people are medium, or Umbandista. The
most basic feature of the role is a quality called mediunidade ("mediumistic abilities"). It is an ascribed characteristic which is said to be inheritable and God-given. One cannot acquire it or get rid of it. A person can only develop it through study, concentration, spiritual guidance, and proper training. Both cult leaders and mediums claim that most people possess some mediunidade. Some people may discover their medium abilities by accident through spontaneous spirit possession; others may be born into families where mediunidade is common and is inherited generation after generation. Still others may be unaware of it until it is identified for them by other mediums and cult leaders.

Once the quality of mediunidade has been recognized, the next step is development. Several other qualities and attributes are necessary to development, but these qualities are not present in equal amounts in all people. The development of mediunidade requires a special kind of person. Informants stressed that the person must be able to withstand pain and suffering. These things are sent by the spirits as tests to determine the sincerity of the person. General 'suffering' is one spiritual test that must be endured without complaint. The examples given by informants and which they themselves experienced, include a long, painful throat condition, the obstruction of education due to unforeseen events, and marital difficulties. At times these very
spiritual tests help the cult leader to identify undeveloped mediunidade. Other role qualities mentioned as important are patience, kindness, morality, purity, and motherliness.

A medium must be the 'picture of health,' that is, the parte material or physical body must be pure and healthy. The body is the apparatus of the spirits; thus, it must be a suitable receptacle. Once spiritual development is begun, the medium is able to control the evil and backward spirits who are believed to cause illness and suffering. A medium can help maintain a healthy body by refraining from smoking and drinking. High moral standards are to be observed in order to keep the medium pure, since purity is a necessary precondition for spiritual work. A medium can help maintain her state of bodily health and protect it from negative spiritual influences by observing a purification rite known as a banha descarga ("discharge bath"). The ingredients of this bath may be purchased at local Umbanda stores. The rite is to be observed faithfully prior to every work that the medium attends. The failure to do so can result in a weakened and unprotected body which succumbs easily to negative influences. In a woman's body, the discharge bath keeps evil influences from attaching themselves to the sex organs. The bath functions to keep the material part of the medium healthy so that she may work spiritually during the trabalhos. A medium is expected
to practice charity and to extend help to everyone who needs it. In fact, these are the two most important tenets of Evangelized Umbanda.

One final expectation exists in the minds of Umbandists concerning the role attributes of the medium. There is a belief among informants that women will more often be mediums than men. Cult leaders and mediums alike believe that women are accustomed to suffering in life and to enduring trials with patience. According to Dona Ana, who is both a cult leader and mother of seven, and grandmother,

Women suffer more than do men, both on the spiritual level and on the material level. This history of suffering makes women better suited to be mediums. Women suffer usually because of their spouses. If a woman is sexually suffering then all in her life is wrong. Women learn to suffer with patience and resignation.

Men, on the other hand, are more brutal than women, more accustomed to violence, and thus there is the expectation that they cannot accommodate themselves to the rigorous demands of the medium role. (The male cult leader is an exception, of course, and he often uses his own sacrifices and sufferings as examples for his mostly female mediums to follow.)

Developing Mediunidade: a rite of passage

The status change marking the entrance to the medium role is elaborated by a lengthy period of transition known
as desenvolver mediunidade ("to develop medium abilities"). The transition period involves three to four years of training and study. It is useful to view this period of role learning as the transition phase of a rite of passage.

Rites of passage are ritualized role changes which were originally associated with life crises events such as birth, puberty, and death. VanGennep (1909) recognized a common serial order to such rites: 1) separation, margin or transition, and reaggregation. More recently, Turner (1969) has delved deeper into the 'transition' phase of the 'rites of passage,' separating it, in turn, into three stages: the preliminal, liminal, and post-liminal. He is interested in the 'transition' between two 'states' or "any type of stable or recurrent condition that is culturally recognized" (1969:94). The liminal stage (or "limin," signifying "threshold" in Latin) is one in which the "characteristics" of the ritual subject ("the passenger") are ambiguous; he passes through a cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming states" (1969:94). One of the key attributes of "threshold" people is ambiguity in the sense that they are not yet associated with any status in the social structure. As Turner (1969:95) says, they are 'betwixt and between' positions and as such do not exhibit the normal role signs indicating a particular social status. They are people who possess nothing which is symbolically represented by either stripping them naked or dressing them
in uniform clothing. As a group of neophytes, they are all alike regardless of former social position, wealth, or family connections. The neophytes, as Turner points out (1969:95), are expected to show humility and passivity, to be obedient to instructions, and to accept arbitrary punishment without complaint. Out of their common experience as neophytes, they develop an intense comradeship.

Out of this liminal stage with its unique blend of lowliness and sacredness, of homogeneity and comradeship, there develops a state of "communitas." Turner (1969:96) argues that in such a state we have a model of society "as an unstructured and relatively undifferentiated comitatus, community, or even communion of equal individuals who submit together to the general authority of the ritual elders." Opposed to the 'communitas' model is one of society as "structured, differentiated, and often hierarchical system of politico-legal-economic positions with many types of evaluation, separating men in terms of more or less" (1969: 96).

In what Turner (1969:67) calls the 'dialectic of the developmental cycle,' each individual's life experience contains alternating exposure to structure and communitas, to 'states' and transitions. At any given moment, role changing makes incumbencies of fixed positions coexist with many passages between positions.
Pre-liminal phase

In the pre-liminal phase the person learns of the presence of mediunidade and decides whether or not to develop it. The cult leader plays a significant part in the recruitment of new mediums. In fact, this is one of their major responsibilities. Since the quality of mediunidade predisposes a person to spirit possession, a medium is believed to be attractive to spirits, especially to those in need of enlightenment. Such spirits, known variously as irmãosinhos ("little brothers"), espiritos sofredores ("suffering spirits"), espiritos sem luz ("spirits without light"), espiritos atrasados ("backward spirits") may attach themselves to the unsuspecting medium candidate. This attachment is not exactly possession in the sense of a complete identity change but it can cause certain changes in a person's life. These changes include excessive crying or sobbing, prolonged illness, unexplained events, difficult problems, and unusual occurrences. Occasional uncontrollable and spontaneous possession trance is also a sign of undeveloped mediunidade. A cult leader's duty is to warn future mediums that resistance to development is dangerous. Resistance is often encountered in the husbands of future mediums. Husbands do not always believe in the mediunidade of their wives. Every medium questioned felt that the consent and cooperation of the husband is essential. However, if it is impossible to obtain, then the spiritual order ought to
take precedence over this resistance.

The young woman in the following example was convinced by the cult leader, Dona Ana, that she had mediunidade. The proof lie in the fact that she had attracted a little brother spirit into her house who was causing her husband to drink in excess. Dona Ana told her that she could learn to control such events if she developed her mediunidade.

A young woman named Consuela came to the center to receive help and advice concerning the drunkenness of her husband. Her husband refused to attend with her so she brought some of his clothes along to be ritually cleansed of evil influences. (This is an example of roupas para firmar or "clothes for blessing"). When Consuela entered the circle of mediums, she was immediately possessed by an irmãozinho (a little brother) who threw her violently down to the floor. Dona Ana sent the irmãozinho away after she enlightened it with a little lecture. She told Consuela that this spontaneous possession was a sign of undeveloped mediunidade. Dona Ana said that mediums are known to attract backward spirits. These spirits linger in the medium's home, disrupting the home-life. In this case, the drunken state of Consuela's husband was attributed to the backward spirit who had manifested himself that afternoon at the Umbanda center.

There are many other 'preconditions' of mediunidade which involve a whole series of events, frustrations and life crises situations. The following two life summaries of Dona Ana and Dona Thelma are examples of 'status ambiguity' arising from life crises difficulties which are severe enough to induce persons to question their role adequacy
Dona Ana was born in 1941 in an area bordering Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul. Both Ana and her husband are descendants of the Italian immigrant families settling in this area in the late 1800s. In 1955, at the age of fourteen, Ana married her husband, who was then age twenty-one. Almost immediately, she became pregnant with her oldest daughter, Fatima. Following this child came two more -- one who died and the other who was given up for adoption to a woman who had no children of her own. Ana told me that this son no longer recognizes her as his mother -- a fact which she finds difficult to accept but necessary, since the boy now has a better opportunity in life. The next son was born in 1958. With two babies and a house to care for, Ana could not continue her education. She had almost completed the Brazilian equivalent of high school before she married, and she had hopes of finishing; however, her husband was jealous of the men that she might meet at class and so he refused to let her attend school.

After the birth of their second daughter in 1964, Ana and her husband moved to Porto Alegre. In that same year, she had another daughter, and then in 1970 she gave birth to her youngest son. In 1969 her oldest daughter, Fatima, ran away from home with a young boy. Two years later, Fatima gave birth to Ana's first grandchild. After Fatima left, Ana had to do all the housework and childcare alone.
Between 1963-1970 Ana began to re-experience a serious throat condition which she suffered from all during her childhood. The physicians that she consulted were unable to help her. In desperation, she went to a Batuqueiro. The remedy included making offerings to Exu in the cemetery. Ana found that this remedy worked fairly well during this seven year period. But after 1970, she could no longer pay for works in Batuque guaranteeing that her throat condition would not flare up again. Besides, Ana did not want to return to Batuque for help, since she felt that she had originally gone there only out of ignorance and desperation. It was at this stage in her life that she began attending the center of Evangelized Umbanda of Jorge. He identified her long history of problems, especially the throat condition, as being signs of undeveloped mediunidade. Once she began development, she claims that she was cured. She learned how to control the problems in her life.

In Dona Ana's life many difficulties surround life crises events. Her early educational goals are frustrated when she makes her first major role change -- from that of young girl to that of mother and wife. The birth of her first four children within the short space of three and one-half years, the death of one of them and the need to give another away to a friend must be interpreted as severe crises situations. Perhaps this stimulated the return of her "throat condition" which as an incurable illness drove her to a
Batuqueiro for help. Between 1963 to 1970 three more children are born, her throat condition is slightly abated due to Batuque, and her eldest daughter who still lives at home helps her with the housework. Then, the daughter runs away, the throat condition returns, and Ana seeks help in Evangelized Umbanda. Jorge identifies her problems as undeveloped mediundade -- and at last Ana is told by a recognized authority that her life will improve if she makes this status change to spirit medium. In fact it does seem to improve. Her next oldest daughter, Bette, is now helping her more with housework. She is able to attend the Umbanda center and develop her mediundade. Her husband buys some land in the interior and with the help of Fatima's "husband," builds a brick house -- one of the nicest in the neighborhood. Ana receives a spiritual order from Father Xangô to open up her own Umbanda center -- which she does and is fairly successful in attracting clients and mediums.

Thelma was born in 1941. She grew up in a small Italian colonial town, lying outside of Porto Alegre and bordering the German colonial settlements. Her family consisted of her father, mother, and brother, as well as other relatives living in the Italian colonial area. Thelma's father brought her up in the conservative tradition of the times -- she was educated to be a housewife.

Thelma claims that she always resisted this upbringing -- arguing and pleading with her father to allow her to remain
in school through high school (ginasio). Despite this, her father made her quit school at the age of ten after the primario (first level). Thereafter she began a less formal period of training as an apprentice to an older woman of German-Brazilian ancestry. Thelma had the good fortune of growing up in the zone of conjunction between the Italian and German colonials, thus she was able to speak Italian, German, and Portuguese. This German-Brazilian woman taught her to cook, knit, sew and design her clothes. She maintains her wardrobe even today using these skills -- a talent which she believes causes jealousy among her co-workers and colleagues in Umbanda.

Thelma held fast to her desire for an education and she resisted all the suitors presented to her by her father. She was fourteen when she finally convinced her father to allow her to follow her chosen career. She was given permission, reluctantly after three months of begging, to live with the primary school teacher, to act as her assistant, and to be tutored in some advanced subjects.

Despite the fact that Thelma could have remained at the school indefinitely, she chose to leave her home and move to Porto Alegre. Her father never offered to help her financially with any of these relocations which forced her to become independent at a very early age. Thelma found a job in Porto Alegre, and she rented a room in the home of a preta (black woman). She began, at this time, to attend
night school, too. During this period of her life, her schedule was rugged — up and out of the house by 7:30 a.m. and not returning until after midnight. Thelma claims that the good natured treatment she received from this preta convinced her that she could marry a preto (black man) if he met all the other criteria that she set for a mate. This attitude, when expressed to her brother and father, prompted them to respond that, in such a case, neither she nor her spouse would be welcome in their homes.

Thelma still continued to desire an advanced education in 1974-1975. She intends to enter the Faculty of Medicine. However, she experienced severe problems in this respect. There are only fifteen openings for the medical school each year — last year (1973), Thelma passed the entrance exams but could not be admitted because her school records were lost in a fire. Thelma is convinced that her school records problem is "no accident" — someone is against her. She has not been able to get a verified copy of her records which the school authorities will accept. She told me that if she cannot enter medical school at UFRGS then she might apply to Uruguay or the U.S.

At work, Thelma says she must put up with the jealous quarrels of her fellow office workers. She believes that some workers are envious of her because she has been promoted more often than they have. She suffers because they pay to have evil "works" performed against her in Batuque.
Even though Thelma now claims that she will never marry, when she was younger she did become interested in three young men. Each time she fell in love and consented to an engagement, her boyfriend was tragically killed in an automobile accident. The last time, her boyfriend, a man of Spanish descent, was killed in an accident in the interior of the state. He was decapitated in the crash. She learned of his death from a casual acquaintance who evidently did not know that the two of them were engaged. It took her a long time to recover from the shock of this news. She believes that anyone to whom she becomes engaged in the future will meet a similar end.

Thelma became acquainted with Evangelized Umbanda through one of her closest friends at work. She accompanied this friend to various Umbanda centers, but she never found one to her liking. At one of these centers, she encountered a very good medium who was able to tell her all about herself and her problems. This medium performed a cleansing ritual called *decarrega* ("discharge") using gun powder and perfume. For a while at least, her troubles were relieved. But they returned.

During her first visit to Evangelized Umbanda, she consulted a spirit medium who like the previous one knew all about her and her problems. However, this time her problems were diagnosed as signs of undeveloped *mediunidade*. Jorge, the cult leader, called her to him at the altar and confirmed
her potential mediunidade. Thelma was not yet ready to accept this; she listened, she accepted the red rose which Jorge gave to her, but she did not intend to return.

A few weeks passed and Thelma's nerves were again shattered. The office workers were upsetting her more every day. One evening at night school, she knocked her notebook to the floor and it fell open to the red rose Jorge had given her. She decided to return to the center for a visit. Jorge was by this time upset with her for not returning sooner, and he lectured her about the dangers of neglecting development. She got mad and vowed to herself that she would never return. But she did. The circumstances surrounding this next visit contributed directly to her decision to develop mediunidade.

Thelma's close friend at work became seriously ill, running a fever so high that she had to be hospitalized. The doctors would allow no visitors. Thelma was very worried and feared that her friend might die. So, she decided to seek spiritual help in Evangelized Umbanda. She attended the Saturday evening session at Jorge's. During the ritual of the Triangle of Fire in which a bowl of flaming perfume symbolizing the curing power of the trabalho (work) travels around the room in the hands of a medium who is deep in trance and stops in front of various clients, Thelma prayed for her friend. The next afternoon she called the hospital to inquire about the sick girl. She was told by the doctor
that she could come over for a visit if she liked. Surprised, she asked him, what had happened? The doctor told her that during the night, his patient's fever went down and this morning the girl appeared to be in a perfect state of health. Thelma asked him how this occurred? He replied that some recoveries cannot be fully explained. After this conversation, Thelma decided to develop her mediunidade.

Thelma is bordering two public domain roles -- that of the mōça ("young girl") and the prostitute. Her desire for an education forced her to leave her family when she was still technically a mōça -- a young, unmarried, virginal woman. Without support, either financial or moral, from her family, she entered the working world at a very young age. She spent long hours at work and at night school away from her living quarters. Thelma reported that she was occasionally mistaken for a prostitute. Whenever she returned home late at night she had to walk home from the bus stop along a street which is a major pick up point for prostitutes. Thelma has been approached quite often. She says that men cruise by in their cars and pull up next to any single woman walking alone at night. She ignores them and hurries home.

Thelma's perception that she is the object of "evil" works in Batuque is similar to several situations reported by Pressel (1968:3) in which Exu spirits were used against someone in order to obstruct their progress in life, i.e.,
caminhos fechados (having one's paths mysteriously closed). Thelma did not use these terms but she did believe that her problems were more than just coincidental.

Liminal phase

The liminal phase begins when the candidate 'puts on the uniform', a public sign that she has decided to develop mediunidade, and ends four years later when she receives the necklace or guia, signifying the completion of the Seven Confirmations. Guia has two meanings: 1) a guia refers to a spirit guide specific to a medium, and 2) a guia is the necklace of beads which each medium receives at the end of development. Before this transition is complete, the new medium (cambona) must attend the classes (aulas) and works where she will be instructed in the proper role behavior.

Uniforms for the Guerreiros de Justiça ("Warriors of Justice") are designed by a medium at the center who is a skilled seamstress. This medium receives about $7.00 per uniform, providing her with a good source of extra income. More than anything else, it is the wearing of this uniform that separates the cambonas from the visitors and clients, since they may now enter the altar room and stand alongside of the other mediums. This physical separation is reemphasized by older mediums offering words of advice on development. Cambonas are told to avoid looking at clients and visitors during the pre-trabalho preparations and the songs.
They are advised to concentrate their thoughts on O Divino Mestre ("The Divine Master") and to stare open-eyed at the floor. If this counsel is heeded, the physical separation deepens as the cambona learns to enter the first levels of trance.

The cambona status entitles the medium candidate to enact two new roles: escrevedor and porteiro. The escrevedor (scribe) role can be played by cambonas who are at any stages of development. Occasionally developed mediums fill this role on nights that they are not prepared "to work spiritually," that is when for some reason they do not enter possession-trance. The scribe is at the beck and call of every entity giving consultations. The call for a scribe rings out, and he or she must quickly respond with pen and pad ready to write down a spiritual remedy or prescription. The scribe usually carries a small pad of printed instructions for the discharge bath which she gives out to clients at the direction of the spirit.

The porteiro (usher) role can be played by a cambona, or any other medium male or female who is not prepared to work in the evening consultations. The usher must make sure that each working spirit has a sufficient number (3 or 4) of clients waiting in line to see him. Another important duty is to keep the traffic moving smoothly through the altar room by ensuring that the clients enter and leave as quickly as possible. The usher must see to it that the lines of
waiting clients are straight and that the clients stand close behind each other. This not only keeps things orderly but performs the very important ritual function of separating "passed" clients from those still heavily laden with negative influences. A "passed" client must never be allowed to cut through the lines of waiting clients to get to the exit -- this would completely negate the ritual passe.

The role of usher is held permanently by male mediums who have completed the Seven Confirmations. Many men will never work in possession trance, assisting in passes or giving consultations. A male usher is always in charge of handing out the numbered tickets which regulate the flow of traffic in the altar room. Another calls out the numbers. Male ushers become deeply committed and attached to their role and take their responsibilities more seriously than do female cambonas who see this as a temporary sub-role. Friction can develop between the male usher and the female usher over which client is to wait in which line. The male ushers find it more important to balance the number of clients waiting in each line whereas the female ushers give in to the specific wishes of a client.

Male mediums at Jorge's never numbered more than fifteen. Only one-third worked in possession trance giving consultations or ritual passes. The remaining two-thirds were permanently in the role of usher and scribe. In the opinion of Dona Bette, an important female medium of the Linha de
Oxossi, men cannot refrain from engaging in activities like drinking and smoking that diminish the "aura" surrounding the body. Thus, they are not eligible to work in possession trance.

The cambona may also enter the role of passista in which she assists in the ritual passe held on Saturday afternoons. The passista stands alongside of a developed medium and helps this medium bring down the superior "radiations of light" that discharge the client of negative influences.

The high points of development are the ceremonies marking the Seven Confirmations of mediunidade. They are spaced out over a three to four year period according to dates set by the director. Their dates appear to be arranged depending upon two variables: 1) traditional times of the year and 2) the number of participants. There seems to be some flexibility since the director can decide when a group of cambonas are ready for the Triângulo do fogo ("Triangle of Fire") and/or initiation. On the other hand certain traditional times of the year are believed to be appropriate for the Trabalho do Mar ("Work of the Sea") (May) and the Cachoeira ("Waterfalls") (November).

Baptism generally precedes the other confirmations. Any person in the Umbanda cult can request a baptism. However, the baptism of the cambonas is a special event which is sometimes held in conjunction with the celebration of some orixá. For example, on January 20, 1975 the center
held the baptism of Oxossi for approximately seventeen women and three men in the cambono status. As in all other baptisms, each participant must choose a pair of ritual sponsors or god parents from among the body of mediums. The god parents are addressed as madrinha ("little mother") and padrinho ("little father") by the cambona. These ties are the basis for smaller, quasi-kin, friendship circles within the cult body. The new medium candidate literally becomes the "son" or "daughter" of two older, developed mediums. When asked if the entities could serve as the god parents of the cambonas, informants were doubtful. For example, Dona Bette was sure that the madrinhias and padrinhos could not be spirits.

The next confirmation is the Triangulo do Fogo ("Triangle of Fire"). The name is derived from the major event in which the cambonas stand inside of a burning triangle of fire which, it is said, discharges them of evil. This is believed to be the most important first step in development. After the completion of this ritual, the cambonas will be protected against the negative influences that they are believed to attract during the performance of their new cult roles of scribe and usher. In 1975, the Triangle of Fire came on July 7th. Eight cambonas (six women) and cambonos (two men) participated in the ritual. The cult leader Jorge presided over the ceremony which began with the following address:
This is an important step in your road of espiritismo. Think carefully about the seriousness of what you are about to do. If you think that this is not the time for you to begin, then speak out now. (No one spoke.) You come to this path of the Divine Master Jesus for your whole life—not just for one year or ten years but your whole existence.

He continued his speech with a warning to the cambonas to examine their motives. He cautioned them to make sure that they were coming into the cult body because they felt it necessary, not because he (the cult leader) wanted them to develop. After this speech, the triangle of fire ritual began. A large wooden triangle was placed on the floor in front of the altar. Along its wooden outline lay a line of gunpowder which was lit after each cambona stepped into its center. The gunpowder exploded with a flash of light and a cloud of smoke. This explosion symbolizes the spiritual cleansing of the cambona and future protection against evil influences. Those mediums who witness the ritual later discuss the supernatural strength and position in the cosmology of the guia-guerreiro (warrior guide) of the cambona based upon the intensity of the gunpowder explosion.

The third confirmation is Initiation. This ceremony marks another status change for the medium-candidate moving her from the position of cambona to that of aspirante (aspirant). At the Initiation the cambonas receive the guia de aspirante ("necklace of the aspirant"). Some
aspirants are allowed to work with clients giving consultations and ritual passes. The cult leader alone decides which of the medium aspirants are ready to work in possession trance during the works. The Initiation takes place usually several months after the Triangle of Fire in order to insure that the cambonas have time to consider the gravity of their position.

The Trabalho do Mar ("Work of the Sea"), the fourth confirmation, takes place in May. This elaborate two-day ritual marks the "opening of the heads and hearts" of the cambonas and aspirants to the force of the waters, the Orixá Iemanjá and the Orixá Ogum Beira-Mar (Ogum of the Sea Shore). Iemanjá receives special attention in the following ponto honoring her:

Um barco vai deslizando nas ondas
E dentro dele está cheio de luz.
E o barco da mamãe sereia
E o barco da dona do mar.

Rosas e cravos vou levar
pro dona todos os mares
Para pedir suar proteção
Para implorar o seu perdão.

De noite o céu salpicado de estrelas
E o lua com seus raios de luz
Oouco a voz da mãe sereia
Oouco o chamado de Oxalá.

(My trans:)

A boat goes sliding on the waves
and inside, it is full of light
It is the boat of Mother Mermaid
It is the boat of the queen of the sea.
Roses and carnations I am going to bring
for the queen of all the seas
to ask for her protection
to implore her pardon.

At night the sky is sprinkled
with stars and moonlight
I hear the voice of the Mother Mermaid
I hear the call of Oxala.

About fifty-three mediums and cambonas participated in the
Work of the Sea: fourteen cambonas (twelve women) and cam-onos (two men); three medium aspirantes (two women and one
man); and thirty-six mediums con guias (twenty-eight women
and eight men). The mediums and cambonas were baptized
with sea water, beer, and wine. The beer and wine are be-
lieved to give special protection against alcoholism. Sea-
water is of course sacred to Iemanjá and Ogum Beira-Mar
(Ogum of the Sea Shore).

The final confirmations -- Cachoeira (Waterfalls),
Pedra (stone), and Linha de Oriente and Pretos Velhos, were
not observed in 1974-75. According to informants, the
Cachoeira is held in the Mata (forest), symbolizing Oxossi
São Sebastião. The Pedra, also held in the forest, sym-
bolizes Xangô. The confirmation of the Linha de Oriente
and Pretos Velhos is held only once every three years. It
marks the final transition as the medium aspirante becomes
the medium con guia (literally with both the necklace and
the spirit). The guia or necklace symbolizes the complete
status transformation. The medium has completed development
and is able to work with the major supernatural powers and
spirits in Umbanda. She now knows the identity of her special spirit guia, the *dono da cabeça* ("master of the head").

The seven confirmations are the highlights of development but the classes for *mediunidade* are equally important. The *cambonas* and aspirants are expected to attend as many classes as possible during the four year period in which the Seven Confirmations occur. At the center of Jorge, classes for *mediunidade* were held every available Tuesday evening and they were open to the public. Dona Ana held short classes prior to her Umbanda sessions on Tuesdays and Saturdays. Although this was her procedure in 1975, Ana expected that this would change in the future when she would be able to attract mediums who are more dedicated to the role. Those observed during 1975 were still having trouble allowing sufficient free time for the works, let alone classes. I attended and took notes on the topics discussed at each class that the two cult leaders gave from June 16th to September 19, 1975. Overall, the topics were similar at the two centers, reflecting the fact that the doctrinal orientation of the two cult leaders was basically the same. As it was pointed out earlier, Dona Ana had been trained under Jorge. However, heavier emphasis was put upon recruitment of new mediums and the attraction of paying social members at Dona Ana's.
The topics can be roughly divided into two categories: one concerning the material part and the other the spiritual part. Topics concerning the material part of the medium focused upon preparations for possession trance. A great emphasis was placed upon the observance of food and other taboos prior to the works. The discharge bath is one that has already been mentioned. In addition, the cult leaders warned the cult body not to over eat on the days of the works because this makes it more difficult to receive the entity (to enter an ASC). Pork, feijão (beans), and churrascos (barbeques) were to be avoided. Since the daily fare of Barzilians observed in this study consisted of black beans and rice, and since the Gaúcho State is famous for its barbeques, this was somewhat of a hardship. The mediums who eat this food have offensive body and breath odor. Some mediums said that they never ate anything on the days of the works. Smoking and drinking alcoholic beverages are to be avoided at all times but especially on the days of the sessions.

These taboos are related to the ideal that a medium is a healthy, pure, individual. In this vein, the mediums are warned never to try to attend client:Π (i.e., enter possession trance) if they are feeling sick themselves. They should stay home until they are completely healthy. Above all, the scribes and ushers must never explain the absence of a particular spirit medium as illness to an inquiring client.
Behind this rule is the belief that illness derives in part from negative spiritual influences. If a medium is ill herself, this indicates to others that her spirit guia is not capable of protecting her from these influences. By implication, then, if this is so, how can that spirit help someone else?

Proper mental preparation is also important. The belief that the mediums' material part must be of the highest quality is extended to include peace of mind. The cult leaders' warning to mediums that they must maintain harmonious relations in their homes is directed at those who are also donas de casa (housewives and mothers). Such mediums are told to complete their housework before they come to the center, otherwise it is believed that these things will disturb their thoughts, making it difficult if not totally impossible for them to work in trance counseling clients. The morality of mediums has to be beyond reproach. Thus when gossip and rumors circulating among older mediums and their clients about the motives of younger developing mediums reached the ears of the cult leader Jorge, he was particularly disturbed. He lectured the class about the immorality of gossip and rumors and implied that such behavior would impede spiritual development.

The specific role behavior of mediums con guias, aspirantes, and cambonas was often criticized during the aulas: for example the fact that altar flowers that clients and a
few mediums donate were being given out freely by non-contributing mediums to their clients and other visitors was criticized. As Dona Bette explained, some mediums never contributed altar flowers but continually gave altar flowers out to their special clients. The behavior of scribes and ushers came under fire in several classes. The cult leader Jorge warned them not to chew gum or eat candy during the works. If this suggestion was too difficult to follow, then, it was suggested, that perhaps the cambona should stay at home. In addition, cambonas and scribes were told: 1) not to talk to clients; 2) not to allow clients to talk to each other while waiting in lines to see the spirits; 3) not to strut around the altar room with their hands in their pockets; 4) not to go to the window of the client's waiting room to converse with people; and 5) not to use the center as a meeting place to court their sweetheart. It was believed that these things detracted from the sacred atmosphere of the center.

Finally, the subject of the appropriate dress of mediums was discussed during several classes. At Jorge's center, the mediums were not allowed to wear anything over top the white and red cotton uniform -- any sweaters or shirts worn underneath on the colder evenings of winter (June to August) had to be either red or white. Tennis shoes had to be kept clean and white and women could wear only nylon stockings (or no stockings). The tolerance for deviance on the uniform
of mediums was much greater at Dona Ana's since most of her seven mediums were as yet unable or unwilling to purchase uniforms.

A large portion of the class topics dealt with the proper spirit role behavior or the spiritual part of the medium. Since the cult leaders could not directly confront a spirit identity and admonish its behavior, they used the classes as a way to show their displeasure over a specific set of behaviors. The public attention that was brought through a reprimand during a class was often enough to convince the medium to attempt to conform to the cult leader's norms on spirit role behavior. (This is dealt with more fully under the topic of Spirit Guia.) Mediums were told that they do not need to exhibit any "material" manifestations during possession-trance. However, backward spirits often make the medium groan and moan. This behavior is encouraged by Dona Ana, and it is used by her to show the clients that the backward spirit bothering them has now moved into the body of one of the mediums of the corrente. In other contexts, however, groaning is not proof that a powerful spirit entity is possessing the medium; it may be proof only that the medium is not very well prepared.

Detailed explanations about the spiritual part of mediums were presented during the classes, too. The medium's body is believed to be surrounded by a força magnetica (magnetic force) which rotates around two axes -- a
horizontal and a vertical. When a female medium comes into contact with evil or negative forces, there is always the potential danger of it resting in her sex organs, especially bothering the ovaries. The discharge bath, a ritual purification rite, is the primary defense against this danger. When a female bends over and groans during incorporation (possession trance), this is a sign that she has not taken the discharge bath. Male mediums do not have to worry about evil influences attaching to their sex organs, since the vertical and horizontal axis line crosses in the stomach area and not the area of the penis and testicles.

During the classes the cult leader acts as an intermediary between the chief spirit of the center and the spirit guides of the various mediums. Since the chief spirit has the authority to prescribe the order of the ritual, to determine the dress of the mediums, to define the limits of acceptable trance behavior, to limit the activities of the other spirit guias who work at the center, and to control the methods used in the works by these guias, the classes become the principal forum for communicating desires of the chief spirit. It is generally accepted by Umbandists that the guia has authority over the details of cures and strategies that are employed in problem solving, but even the guias are expected to accept the teachings of Evangelized Umbanda. What we have here is an attempt by the cult leader to set up guidelines for the spirit role without actually
denying the existence of a separate, strong personality of the guia. The cult leader tells the mediums that enlightened spirits never work evil or demand high payments for their services. However, the clients may give the mediums gifts and token payments for their services.

**Spirit Guia**

The spirit guia behavioral complex is another role within the Umbanda cult which becomes available to those mediums who complete development. It is presented here as a social role because 1) it has a label or name, i.e., guia or guide (Nadel 1957), 2) there are specific expectations engendered by this role name (Sarbin 1968), and 3) there are definite attributes or 'diacritical signs' providing cues to the audience that the role is being enacted (Nadel 1957:31). In addition, there is some precedent for this interpretation in the research of Bourguignon (1965), Willems (1966), and Pressel (1971). According to Bourguignon, the possession trance cult roles found in Haitian vodu allow mediums an entire set of alternate roles, some of which considerably change the social status of the participant. The Brazilian sociologist, Emilio Willems (1966:224-225) implies in his discussion of the reestablished 'personal community' of urban migrants and frequenters of Umbanda and Kardec cults that the spirits descending into the terreiros and centros become important social identities and authority
Each center, or terreiro, is believed to benefit from the regular presence of particular spirits knowledgeable in the affairs of each member, his aspirations, afflictions, hopes, and willing to assist, encourage, admonish or censure him and thus assume functions which are typically performed by the more influential members of one's personal community.

The Umbandists of Sao Paulo, according to Pressel, have incorporated the major spirits into their most immediate personal network:

The indulgent preto velho is like a grandfather; the stern caboclo is more like a father; and the child spirit is like a brother or sister. The anti-social exu, in contrast, is like a stranger. The functional importance of this set of symbols cannot be overestimated in the life of an individual who has left his family to migrate to the city (1973:315).

The spirit guias of Evangelized Umbanda become the major pistalões (i.e., "persons of influence") in the personal communities of their clients. Pistalão is similar in meaning to the U.S. slang for a person with "pull." As a pistalão, the spirit guide is intermediary between the earthly level and the astral level and among the various clients who come on a regular basis to consult with him. A pistalão is usually someone who has connections, who has jeito ("know-how") and who can cut through red-tape and other obstacles that complicate the path to success. The spirit guide is like a pistalão, and for the urban lower class
person the spirit guide replaces, or perhaps adds for the first time, a figure of authority to his personal community. This relationship is more fully explored in the section: "Spirit guia-client."

The identification of the spirit guide by the cult leader is one of the most important end products of development. This identification is aided, in part, by the correspondences which Umbandists make between their birth dates, astral signs, and the orixás. This set of correspondences, however, varies from medium to medium and cult leader to cult leader. Some level of consensus is reached among mediums through repeated discussions about their signs and the strength or weakness of the 'vibrations' typical of each one. Discrepancies do exist among mediums and between them and their cult leader. Mediums occasionally disagreed with their cult leader's interpretation of the strength of the 'vibration' associated with their birth sign, as is seen in the conversation between three mediums:

Ana, a new cambona, is asked about her birth sign by a group of mediums as they wait for the Saturday Work to get underway. Ana proudly answers that she is Capricorn and that the cult leader has told her that she will receive a very strong vibration (from the astral level) and eventually receive a very knowledgeable guerreiro. Ana has experienced some less pleasant side effects of trance. During the aulas she occasionally gets sick to her stomach and must ask permission of the cult leader to leave the corrente until she recovers. Ana interprets this as
evidence of her great potential as a medium. An older female cambona listens to this conversation with evident displeasure. She complains bitterly that her sign is also Capricorn and that the cult leader told her she would not receive a very strong vibration because of it. She vows to bring it up with him the next chance she gets. Another medium is listening and makes the comment that everyone is different, despite similar birth signs.

The astral sign only helps a medium determine which line of spirits she pertains to as an affiliate. Umbandists claim that they receive the "vibrations" of an entire line of spirits under the command of one of the seven orixás. If, for example, a medium pertains to the Linha de Oxossi, the elevated spirits of light under Oxossi's command -- guerreiros, and caboclos -- work through the body of their apparatus.

The relationship between the spirit guide and the medium may take one of three common forms: incorporado, encostado, or en transe. A spirit may completely incorporar (v. to incorporate) the medium's body and assume control of all outward material or bodily manifestations. The state of incorporado is an "emic" explanation similar to the cross-cultural "etic" category of behavior which Bourguignon (1976: 8) defines as possession trance: "a belief in possession that is used to account for alterations or discontinuity in consciousness, awareness, personality, or other aspects of psychological functioning." Umbandists describe someone
in possession trance as being bem incorporado (well incorporated). As it was pointed out earlier in this chapter, the medium's material part becomes the passive aparelho ("apparatus") of the spirit guide. When the guide leaves the body of the medium, all recollection of its actions during possession are blocked from the memory of the medium. This state of amnesia apparently varies in intensity, since mediums are able to relate incidents and other details of their client's problems. But the state of amnesia can often act as an impressive role segregating mechanism at times when the memory of such problems is inappropriate. For example, the spirit guide of Dona Bette works in the Linha de Oxossi and handles a large number of clients at the weekly works. On occasion, Dona Bette meets some of these people in places in which the enactment of her Umbanda spirit guide role would be highly improper. For example, one day at a local neighborhood supermarket, two strangers approached, thanking her for some advice which they claimed she gave them. Somewhat startled, Dona Bette told them that she was afraid they were mixing her up with someone else. In talking with them further she discovered that they were regular clients of her spirit guide. Dona Bette then explained to them that she could not discuss their problems or take credit for helping them since she, Dona Bette, was neither responsible for these events nor familiar with them.
A spirit may be encostar ("alongside of") a medium. A medium who has this relationship with a spirit is described as being encostado. A spirit who is "alongside of" a medium does not take over the medium's body or speak through the medium. Rather, the spirit sends spiritual communications or messages into the heart of the medium who later writes these messages down. These spiritual messages often form the basis of the lectures. While informants said that encostado did not involve a state of possession trance like that of incorporado, the spiritual messages are often written down while the medium is in an altered state of consciousness, since the mediums seem to discover that they have written these messages and are not totally aware of the thoughts forming in their minds as they transpose them on to paper.

Only rarely does a medium enter the third relationship -- that of being en transe ("in trance"). There seems to be two different explanations for such states. One explanation given by Dona Iara was described as an occasional brush with extremely highly elevated spirits, those close to the orixás. Since the orixás themselves cannot incorporate a medium, they send highly evolved messengers in their place. Even the slightest contact with such spirits can put the medium "in trance" -- a state which Dona Iara said was exhilarating. Another explanation was given by the cult leader Dona Ana. She described being en transe when her
spirit journeyed to hospitals and performed operations on his patients. Both women noted that one side effect is severe headaches.

Of these three spirit-medium relationships, the first one, incorporado, is most characteristic of female mediums, since every female medium observed working during the sessions enacted the spirit-guide role. The female cult leader Dona Ana worked incorporada and encostada. It was often difficult (for the observer) to separate the two role enactments. Several things were recognized as signs of incorporation by Ana's clients and by Ana herself. Whenever she gave lectures and performed ritual passes, she worked encostada but during the astral operations she was bem incorporada (i.e., definitely possessed). Her clients addressed her as O Senhor since she was incorporated by a male spirit, a physician. In Ana's own analysis of a previously recorded session of one of her lectures, she identified the presence or absence of an entity based upon the tone of her voice -- if she sternly scolded her clients, correcting their behavior with authority, then she attributed this behavior to her male physician. If she was questioned by a client about her brusque manner, she invariably denied responsibility for her actions, saying Eu não tenho culpa ("I am not at fault"), it is the entity who commands and orders people around.

The male cult leader Jorge, on the other hand, never worked incorporado at any of the works. He was the
filho de Xangô, meaning that he was the "son" of Xangô, working with spirits in the lines and phalanxes commanded by Xangô, but he was never observed in possession trance. He appeared to give all of his lectures encostado. Jorge claimed that he no longer needed to write the messages before he delivered them, since they entered his heart and mind directly from the spiritual level. As it was pointed out earlier, the majority of male mediums did not give consultations to clients -- that is, they were not possessed or incorporated during the sessions. Of the nine or so regular male mediums, only about three or one-third were observed to hold regular client consultations. At the small center run by Dona Ana, six of her seven mediums were women. Sometimes two men were encouraged by Ana to work incorporado but they did so only occasionally.

The trance state which accompanies spirit possession is learned as part of the development process. The altered state of consciousness is learned in an atmosphere heavily laden with incense and perfume, and of considerable noise and distraction -- the hustle and bustle of clients entering the center, the piped-in recorded music, the last minute preparation of the altar and cult leader's microphone. The mediums and cambonas practice concentrating during the classes and Saturday works. The period allowed for concentration during the weekly Work of Charity varies and depends upon the arrival time of specific mediums. In any case, this concentration
practice seems to require a considerable amount of time and effort. The mediums learn to enter trance by consciously blocking out outside sensory stimulation. Such devices as staring on at a chosen spot on the floor are common. The additional requirement that the eyes must be open increases the difficulty of this learning process. Cambonas learn to listen to the voice of the cult leader, signaling the start and end of prayers, songs, and other ritual events.

The repetitive nature of the prayers and songs of the Work of Charity give the developing mediums some verbal stream of consciousness to focus upon and again to help them concentrate. Informants claim that it is more difficult for mediums to learn to enter trance in this fashion once they have learned another trance complex in another Umbanda center.

One of the most desirous and prestigious achievements is controlled trance behavior. Controlled trance means the ability to retain an upright posture, open eyes, and a calm facial expression. Uncontrolled trance behavior is defined as anything which deviates from this behavior such as grunting, shouting, bending over suddenly, falling to the floor, shaking, trembling, dancing, and smoking pipes or cigars. Lack of control during trance is, as was seen in an earlier section of this chapter, a topic of classes and lectures.

To summarize, the following preconditions of trance include: an atmosphere of incense and perfume, concentration, repeated practice, meditation upon the repetitive songs
and prayers, decreased sensory stimulation through long periods of immobilization due to standing for several hours, and intense close quarters, especially during the summer months.

The trance complex observed at these two centers of Umbanda stands in sharp contrast to those which I observed at other centers in Porto Alegre and Rio de Janeiro. In fact, this complex seems to be unique among Umbanda centers and much more common to Kardec centers (Camargo 1961). The more common methods to induce trance observed at other centers included increased rather than decreased sensory stimulation through drums and bells, increased physical activity rather than decreased through vigorous trance dances known as the gira, or twirling around. In many centers, physical contact between the cult leader and those mediums trying to enter trance commonly put them rather quickly into an altered state. Blowing on the ears, taps on the head, and pressure on the back of the neck were all observed to induce trance. Sometimes, the cult leader took the hands of the medium and gently swayed her back and forth, which again seemed to induce the desired state rather quickly. These trance inducing behaviors are also reported to exist in the northern Batuque cults of Belem, Para (Leacock and Leacock 1972:191-192) and among Umbanda cults of São Paulo (Pressel 1971:176-177).

Informants of Evangelized Umbanda do recognize the distinctions between their trance complex and those of other
centers. In fact, they point it out proudly to anyone who cares to listen. They believe that their trance complex allows them to receive more powerful entities of enlightenment than those of other systems. Furthermore, they claim that the development of mediunidade which is such an outstanding feature of the transition to the role of medium is the most important distinction between Evangelized Umbanda and other types of Umbanda. The emic interpretations lay stress on the belief that the spirits received in incorporation are more highly evolved which is supported in their minds by the achievement of controlled trance behavior. In other words, the highly evolved spirits working through them do not exhibit the stereotype "material" manifestations or behavior patterns which they quickly attribute to less evolved spirits. If we drew an arrow to explain the cause and effect relationship between the spirits received during possession trance and the trance complex itself, the diagram would be as follows:

\[
\text{TRANCE} \quad \text{SPIRITS} \\
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{Controlled} & \text{Highly evolved} \\
\text{Uncontrolled} & \text{Less evolved}
\end{array}
\]

A medium will be possessed by several spirit guias: guerreiros (warrior-soldier), caboclos (Indians), pretos velhos (Old Blacks), criancas (children), and occasionally,
exus. The chief spirit or chefe espiritual of the medium, also called the dono da cabeca (master of the head), is usually a guerreiro (warrior-soldier). Based on the identification of this warrior-soldier, the medium becomes the affiliate or filho (child) of a whole line of entities, i.e., Linha de Oxossi, and she may receive any number of entidades de luz (spirits of light) within this group.

The role enactment of each spirit category follows a set of guidelines which correspond to expectations about how one feels and acts during possession trance. This is referred to as the roupagem ("apparel", or "outfit") of various spirits. According to the roupagem of the warrior-soldier, a medium stands straight with legs slightly apart, eyes open, face rigid. These outward signs may be accompanied by some important perceptual changes, as reported by Dona Iara:

> When my guerreiro incorporates me I am large, very tall. Everyone else is little and far away. My hands are huge. I am strong. I have on a military uniform with the ensignia on my sleeve.

While it is agreed that all warrior-soldiers are men, their nationality seems to include not only the Riograndense soldiers of the 19th century but also soldiers of foreign wars such as the French General Napoleon Bonaparte who is the warrior-soldier of Dona Ana, the cult leader.

From the outside observer's point of view, there does not appear to be too much difference between the roupagem
of the warrior-soldier and the Indian. The Indians' stance is similar to the warrior-soldiers'. The mediums, however, report a perceptual difference, knowing when they are possessed by one or the other. Again the spirit medium Dona Iara reported that when incorporated by an Indian spirit she could "see" herself with the complete roupagem of the Indian -- arrows and bows and native dress. Informants pointed out the various sheaths of bows and arrows lining the walls of the cult house as examples of the roupagem of the Indian spirits.

The roupagem of the old black spirits and the children spirits is clearly defined and easy to spot. The old black spirit walks completely bent over in a crouched position, muttering and laughing softly to himself. Such spirits always attend to clients while seated on low benches. The roupagem of the children spirits include pacifiers, balloons, candy, and small toys. The children are playful, engaging in squabbles with each other over the candies and toys brought to the center to honor them.

Again, some perceptual changes were noted by informants concerning the roupagem of the old blacks. The cult leader Dona Ana describes her preta in detail.

My preta is a large, fat, black woman with big lips and a wide nose. In the past whenever I received my preta, I danced and laughed, since I did not have the power to resist this manifestation.

As this statement indicates, the ability to resist the
roupagem of certain spirits seems to be one of the outcomes of spiritual evolution. Dona Ana further explained that even though she did occasionally receive her preta, she no longer exhibited the typical behavior. Another informant, Dona Bette, who was never observed with the roupagem of an old black spirit, said that she did receive one occasionally but that he was more enlightened and thus did not behave as is commonly expected.

The same situation occurred with the children spirits. While most mediums did receive these spirits on the last Tuesday of every month, the actual behavior during incorporation followed a continuum from the full roupagem of the children to behavior typical of the Indian spirits and the warrior-soldier spirits, that is, of complete control. Several mediums who were asked to interpret photographs taken during a party for the children spirits explained their controlled behavior in two ways: 1) their controlled behavior during crianca possession resulted from their own spiritual evolution, i.e., they were able to control their trance behavior; and 2) sometimes more evolved entities descend pretending to be criancas and assume some of the stereotyped behavior of this spirit category and exclude that part which they think is not dignified. One young cambona, Dona Thelma, refused to even come to the center on those evenings that the children spirits were supposed to descend into the center because she could not yet control
this manifestation.

_Vidas antepassadas_ or "former incarnations" partly determine the type of spirit a medium receives during possession trance. Umbandists claim that twelve incarnations are necessary to achieve ultimate spiritual form. Beliefs about reincarnation are based upon the distinction between the material part and the spiritual part of each person. The material part refers to the physical body which can change drastically with each separate incarnation. Skin color, language, nationality, even sex can change from one life to the next. The spiritual part of the medium can be subdivided again: there is the person's spirit and the possessing spirit guia(s). The spirit self of the medium is constant and unchanging throughout the many incarnations. However, complete memory of each incarnation is not always available to the present material part of the medium. The material part or body of a medium may have to endure extreme poverty and deprivation, but this is not a reflection upon the true position of the spirit self. The cult leaders of Evangelized Umbanda on the one hand point out the poverty of their centers and on the other praised their spiritual excellence.

According to Pressel, the Brazilian concept of a 'spiritual self' is the same as Goodenough's (1963:178) concept of personal identity. She says:
For Brazilians the spiritual self represents an individual's inner worth or dignity and how it is expressed stylistically in nearly all spheres of living. Inner worth and integrity of a person are sharply distinguished from his social value. For Brazilians it is quite possible for a highly valued person to be poor in monetary means, but rich in terms of a spiritual self (Pressel 1971:195).

The major guia and the spiritual self of each medium are in communication with each other. The guia knows the details of the past incarnations of the medium and may sometimes reveal these things to the spiritual self. More often though a person discovers evidence of other incarnations casually and during possession trance. The following incident is given by mediums as evidence of another incarnation.

If you see a person on the street or anywhere and you say to yourself, "I know that person from somewhere" but actually you have never met them, then this is your spirit who recognizes the spirit of the person even though the physical body is different. Your spirit knows the person from another incarnation.

The same incident was related by another medium who added that if you immediately like or dislike another whom you hardly know, then this is again related to past incarnations. Enemies are often spiritual, since their ultimate origin may be in one of several past incarnations.

The belief that the category of spirit one receives in possession trance is determined by past incarnations is commonly held for old black spirits and Exu spirits. The
cult leader Dona Ana interpreted her own possession by a preta velha spirit as evidence that she had been a black woman herself in one of her past incarnations. In fact most mediums agree that there is a correlation between receiving an old black spirit and having been once incarnated as a black person. Two separate personal experiences of my own support this view. On one occasion I assisted Dona Ana late in the evening with a session. While I waited for her to finish her last client, I sat on one of the benches normally reserved for the old black spirits. The room was poorly lit with a few candles. Dona Ana's client remarked to her that a preta was present near the altar. Dona Ana later told me about this incident and she pointed out that the client may have been right -- that is, in one of my past incarnations I may have been a black person. On another occasion after I decided to develop my mediunidade, I questioned the spirit medium Dona Bette about the possibility of my receiving an old black spirit. She was quite sure that I would not, since she doubted very much that I had been a black person in any previous life. While the two incidents are anecdotal they do demonstrate the relationship drawn by Umbandists between past incarnations and spirit possession.
Spirit Medium-Client Relationship

The spirit medium and client interaction takes place normally within the altar room at the Umbanda center. The cult leaders warn their mediums against holding private consultations within their homes because if, for example, there is a backward spirit responsible for the problem of the client that they deal with, then this spirit may leave the client only to remain in or near the vicinity of the medium's home or family. For this reason, most works take place within the confines of the center where the proper ritual preparations and precautions can be observed (defumigation with incense and astral perfume, the protection which the stones of Xangô give the center, etc.). The primary interaction occurs during the Work of Charity that is held each Monday and Thursday evening. Clients and visitors crowd the waiting rooms of the center while the mediums prepare to receive their spirit guides. On the regular sessions perhaps as many as 250 people come to talk with the spirits and on the special days, festas, this number reaches as high as 500 or 600. Before each client enters the altar room, he must remove his shoes. Then as their number is called by an usher, each client rushes into the room to wait in the appropriate line. Silence is maintained in the altar room by the usher and by the occasional urgings of the cult leader. Those remaining clients stand packed close together, conversing about various topics, sometimes
including which spirit guide they are about to see.

The problems, illnesses, and other assorted difficulties brought to Umbanda centers exhibit an infinite variety of symptoms and outward manifestations, but their underlying causes are more narrowly defined. Social, economic, and personal problems and disruptions in the lives of clients may have a spiritual origin and thus be treatable by Umbanda mediums. On the other hand, physical and psychological problems which do not readily respond to treatment by physicians may be responsive to treatment by spiritual physicians working through Umbanda mediums because the ultimate cause of these problems is believed to be spiritual, spiritual-physical, or spiritual-psychological (see E. Pressel 1977).

The problems and illnesses reported by medium informants and those observed during spiritual consultations fall roughly into six categories each of which defines a separate spiritual cause: 1) agitations caused by disincarnated spirits, 2) problems associated with **vidas antepassadas** (past incarnations), 3) **demandas** (claims or fights), 4) **mau olhado** (evil eye), 5) **provas mediunicas** (trials of undeveloped mediunidade), and less commonly, 6) negligence or ignorance of religious obligations. These categories often form interesting combinations in the different client cases.

Agitations caused by disincarnated spirits of dead people can range from drunken behavior to marital disharmony. The disincarnated spirits are called by several names:
espiritos astrasados (backward spirits), irmãozinhos (little brothers), espiritos sem luz (spirits without light), and espiritos mals (evil spirits). The first three are neither good nor evil. They cause people problems because they cannot seem to help themselves find a way to "evolve" to a higher spiritual level. Thus, they wander just above the earth searching for enlightenment. Sometimes they are used by evil people to harm others, but by themselves they are not inherently evil. It is believed by Umbandists that such spirits are responsible for many of the problems brought by clients to the spirit guides. There is a major difference in intent between the first three types of disincarnated spirits and the fourth, the evil spirit. Evil spirits originate with evil people, some of whom are believed to have committed suicide. Unlike the others, evil spirits do try to harm people intentionally. According to Pressel (1977:339) such spiritual agitations are a major cause of the paulista client's problems.

An unhappy disincarnate spirit may agitate the "fluids" in an individual, bringing illness or various kinds of personal problems. In some cases a spirit may come to disturb an individual to get revenge for actions committed in a previous incarnation. In other instances the spirit is merely perverse and/or ignorant, thus disturbing the life of an innocent victim. The latter type of spirit needs to be enlightened in an Umbanda center as to its proper behavior.
Some problems or illnesses are attributed to past incarnations. According to Camargo (1961:100-102), illnesses attributed to past incarnations may be classified as "karmic illnesses," since they are similar to those problems handled in the form of spiritism known as Kardecismo. Umbandists in Porto Alegre referred to such problems as those associated with past incarnations which is the label to be used here. Sins that were committed in another life can be redeemed through the trials and tribulations of one's present life and thus are used to explain some of the difficulties the client is experiencing when he consults the spirit guide.

The category of causes known as demanda covers a wide range of symptoms including problems with work, home, family, or spouse. A demanda is initiated by another person who dislikes, is envious of, or hates the client. The evil doer pays for a work in Umbanda, Quimbanda, or Batuque in which an evil spirit or evil thoughts and intentions are sent deliberately after the victim in order to make him ill or in some other manner ruin his life. The demanda resembles in some ways the category referred to as "magical etiology of illness" by Camargo (1961) and Pressel (1977):

A coisa feita (thing done) refers to an exu work of black magic performed in Quimbanda. It frequently involves blocking the paths of the client's competitors in business or love. Bringing illness is one means of accomplishing this aim (Pressel 1977:339).
The mau olhado (evil eye), also common in Sao Paulo (E. Pressel 1977), entails a direct glance from the eyes of some person which is believed to emit a force or a power. When it is cast intentionally, the evil eye has the power to destroy its object. It can, for example, wreck wood-tile floors by causing the tiles to crack, ruin careers, disrupt engagements, and impede the progress of one's life. The old black spirits are able to detect it as a source of a client's problem. Statements of praise from people who may actually be envious or jealous are a sign that it has been cast.

The next category of causes is labeled próvias mediunidade (trials of undeveloped mediunidade). A person who has medium abilities is believed to be attractive to disincarnated spirits seeking a pathway to higher spiritual enlightenment. Such spirits can disrupt the life of the undeveloped medium because she as yet does not have the proper training deemed necessary to control such events. Physical ailments such as a sore throat or psychological disorders identified as the "nerves" may be placed in this category. Almost any difficulty and/or unexplainable event surrounding a life crisis situation is interpreted as a test sent by God to help the medium neophyte develop mediunidade. E. Pressel (1977:339) says that in Sao Paulo the category of problems, identified there simply as mediunidade, is a catch-all for any problem which is difficult to explain.
The final category is far less common to Evangelized Umbanda than the others. Negligence or ignorance of religious obligations are believed to be the ultimate cause of certain problems. By placing her client's problems in this category, Dona Ana causes some uneasiness in the client. There is criticism of their past religious preferences implied in this diagnosis. Dona Ana says that many people believe that they can buy relief from the many problems of life by paying mediums in the competing religion Batuque to "feed the saints." These feedings are offerings to the orixá-saints of Batuque. According to Dona Ana, these saints, unlike the benevolent spirits of Evangelized Umbanda are vindictive when neglected or ignored. If a client can no longer make the necessary payments to the Batuque medium to buy the offerings, then the original problems return full force. Whenever Dona Ana identified this as the source of a client's problem, a certain amount of fear and anxiety is invoked in the client. Giving the person a small lecture, Dona Ana places the blame for his present situation on the person himself, although the ultimate cause is negligence of religious obligation. Such people are told that they should have known better in the first place than to seek help in Batuque. But, then Dona Ana becomes sympathetic and agrees to help them because, after all, she experienced these very same problems. The six types of spiritual causes are summarized on the table on page 201.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Etiological Category</th>
<th>Implied Ultimate Cause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Spiritual agitations</td>
<td>espíritos atrasados, sem luz, irmãozinhos, espíritos mals disrupt the lives of people hoping to seek enlightenment or due to the evil intentions of other people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Vidas Antepassadas</td>
<td>sins committed by the person in another incarnation which have shown up in the next life as problems or illnesses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mau Olhado</td>
<td>a direct glance from the eyes of some person believed to embody a power or force which can destroy its object, wreck a person's life, or cause general disruption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Provas Mediunicas</td>
<td>tests sent by God to be endured by a person with mediunidade; undevolved mediunidade can make it difficult for a person to handle the disincarnated spirits which find the medium an attractive avenue to spiritual evolution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Demanda</td>
<td>hatred, envy, jealousy directed toward a victim either by thoughts or by contracting evil spirits to disrupt a person's life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Negligence of religious obligations</td>
<td>paying the santos to relieve oneself of problems and restore one's health; neglect of these obligations, once initiated, can bring the return of the original problem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Treatment: the therapeutic procedure

The casual visitor and the regular client to the Umbanda center have several treatment options available in the various services rendered by the mediums and their spirit guides. But even before he benefits from these services, the client/visitor may assist in his own treatment by initiating certain supplementary "cures" which commonly precede and complement the spiritual consultations. The behavioral modifications recommended by the cult leader in the lectures, the discharge bath, *roupas para firmar* ("clothes for blessing"), and the radiations of light are all procedures which the client/visitor can initiate on his own without the intervention or advice of a spirit guide. First, the general behavioral modifications which form the subject of the lectures warning against smoking, drinking, immorality, and harboring evil thoughts and intentions against others are the basis of all the therapy at the center. Secondly, the client/visitor is supposed to perform an individual purification rite, known as the *banha descarga* ("discharge bath") even before he comes to the center. This bath is believed to give the person some protection against negative influences that can alter the balance of the supernatural fluids or spirit emanations that are believed to surround the human body and influence the person's health and general well-being. These spiritual fluids or emanations have three sources:
1) one's own innate spirit; 2) the spirits of the dead which are floating about freely; and 3) spirits of living persons close by. Bad fluids are often associated with the exus. An individual surrounded by bad fluids is sickly and trouble-ridden. A healthy individual free from anxiety is said to have good fluids (Pressel 1977:338).

Informants in Evangelized Umbanda believed that evil influences can be picked up almost anywhere that one goes. The unsuspecting client experiences a general depression which adds to his other problems, complicating them, and making his situation even worse. Therefore, a discharge bath is an absolute necessity as a general health measure. In addition, since there are always crowds of people waiting to see the various spirit mediums, the clients constantly come into contact with potentially harmful influences right within the center itself. Ushers and scribes pass out small slips of paper to clients at the direction of the spirits describing the discharge bath:

**BANHOS DE DESCARGA COM ARRUDA, GUINÉ, E QUEBRA-TUDO:** Fazer segundas, quintas, e sábados, se possível às 6,00 ou 18,00 horas. Ponhas as ervas numa vasilha e despeje água fervendo em cima, deixe tapada e após passe no coador. Tome o banho de higiene, e despeie o chá do pescoço para baixo. **NÃO** ponha na cabeça. **NÃO** pode se enxugar. Ponha as ervas depois de coadas no campo ou água corrente, onde ninguém pise. Lave o chão do banheiro com água limpa afim do chá usado ir embora pelos encanamentos.
DISCHARGE BATH WITH ARRUDA, GUINÉ, AND QUEBRA-TUDO: Make Mondays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, if possible at 6 a.m. or 6 p.m. Put the herbs in a bowl and "dump" boiling water on top (of them), leave covered and later run through a strainer. Take a hygenic bath, and dump the tea from the neck down. DO NOT put (it) on the head. DO NOT dry yourself. Put the herbs left in the strainer in the field or in running water where nobody walks. Wash the floor of the bathroom with clean water (so that) the related used tea drains out and down the plumbing.

From the directions for this bath it is clear that a great deal of care must be taken with the dirty water. The evil fluids are trapped by the water after being discharged from the body, and remain dangerous and polluting to others.

The concept that evil fluids are polluting is involved in another common ritual cure which concerns the clothes of the client. Many clients bring in their own clothes or those of some sick or troubled person in order to have them "blessed" and discharged of bad fluids. Roupas para firmar (clothes for blessing) are blessed at the altar and sprinkled with rose petals. In this manner it is said that they are discharged of the bad fluids. This rite is necessary since it is believed that bad fluids cling to the clothes of the person and therefore must be cleansed in order to prevent pollution. Any item of clothing may be brought in -- bras, underpants, slips, blouses, baby clothes, etc. This service is often performed for people who are too ill to attend the sessions themselves.
Another preliminary service which is available to clients is the *radiações de luz* (radiations of light). As it was explained on page 125, radiations of light involve a slip of paper on which is written the name, address, and problem of some person. The name of a particular spirit or category of spirits is placed on the paper as well. The type of problems handled by radiations of light are found in all six categories. Radiations are more of a supplement to other procedures than a substitute for them. Radiations of light can even be sent to Exu spirits to enlist their aid in the spiritual battle which the *demanda* requires.

In order to go beyond these preliminary therapeutic measures, the client initiates a relationship between himself and one of the mediums *con quias*. This is done when the client comes in front of the medium and makes a *pedido* (request). In the request, the client may be seeking a spiritual favor, a solution to a social, economic, or personal problem, or a "cure" for an illness. The request initiates a spiritual process in which the spirit guide acts as *pistalão* or intermediary for the client in transmitting the request up through that hierarchy of spirits to which the spirit guide pertains, i.e., the line of spirits. Messages, cures, information, and advice from the astral plane make up the content of messages delivered to the clients.

While each client problem requires individual spiritual attention, there are some common elements in every cure:
the ritual passe and/or passegente (literally, "people pass"),
the remedies, and the consultation. These elements are not
found necessarily in the above order: The ritual pass may
come before or after the consultation. The passe and
passegente differ primarily in the number of mediums in­
volved: the passe includes one medium con guia and one
client and the passegente ("people pass") consists of three
or seven mediums and one client. The passegente is normally
reserved for the seriously ill, especially for those clients
who suffer from "nerves of the head" (nervos da cabega).
In such instances a medium must never point her fingers
directly at the head of the person because his head is con­
sidered "weak." The medium's hands are believed to draw
supernatural force down from the astral plane to assist in
the passe and thus direct the force toward the client. The
supernatural force is a curing, healing power and when a
person's head is weakened from the nerves, pointing the
fingers at the head can actually make him worse than before.

The passe and passegente have two functions: a cleans­
ing function and an exorcising function. The client is
cleansed of evil influences and any disturbed fluids
(believed to surround his body) are set in order as the
medium whips her hands around the client's body drawing the
evil influences away from it. The mediums move their hands
in a downward motion, culminating in a fist. Opening the
fist symbolizes that the evil has been thrown away from the
client. The client is exorcised of a disincarnated spirit (if necessary) during the passe/passegente as the clinging spirit is drawn away from the client and into the body of the medium. The disincarnated spirit as well as the client benefits from contact with the body of the medium. This spirit is said to leave the client's body, enter into the medium's, move up through the stomach and lodge momentarily in the medium's throat. It stays there for a few seconds, choking the medium. Then it leaves the medium's body by going out through the top of her head. A slight jerk and upraised arms signal that the spirit has left the body of the medium.

Agitations of a disincarnated spirit and the exorcising function of the passegente are demonstrated in the following case of Quintano.

Quintano (male, white, approximately age 40) entered the circle of seven mediums for a passegente. As he waited for the cult leader to begin, one of the seven mediums suddenly bent over, groaning and crying.

Cult leader: (Pointing to the medium and looking at Quintano.) These are not the actions of this medium but are those of a suffering spirit, an irmãozinho.

Cult leader: (to the irmãozinho) What do you want to tell us?

Irmãozinho: I do not like this man. (Crying harder than before) This man harmed me.

Quintano nervously watched the medium.
Cult leader: (to Quintano) What about this? Do you know of anyone whom you harmed?

Quintano: No, I do not remember anyone, but only God knows for sure.

Cult leader: Well, the wrongs done to this irmãozinho may have been committed in another life. Now don't worry, this irmãozinho is going to leave here more enlightened than before.

Cult leader: (to Quintano) Take a banha descarga, drink blessed water, and return here for a passejente on next Saturday.

Two weeks later Quintano returned on Tuesday for a passejente. When he entered the circle of mediums, he read a short palestra about the virtues of Espírito Santo (the Holy Spirit).

Remedios (remedies) are commonly prescribed along with follow-up passes and passegentes. Remedies range from antacids which can be purchased at any pharmacy to herb teas made from local plants. Sometimes a client is told to collect a green plant known as arruda and to place it in a cup of water. This plant is left overnight soaking in the water at the bedside of a sick person. It is said that this mixture collects anger which is believed to linger in the atmosphere causing sickness. The arruda plant is associated with the old black spirits who use it in their curing practices. Another remedy consists of rose petals and water kept overnight and drunk the next day as a remedy for upset stomachs.

Client cases are often handled by combining several of these standard techniques of curing. In this case below, I
approached the spirit guide of the medium Iara about an upset stomach:

The spirit guide asked me what my trouble was? I replied that my stomach was upset. He gave me a pass first. Then he warned me about the "ambiente" (atmosphere) in other Umbanda centers (which I visited) because evil influences were trying to enter into my body and make me sick. He told me that I was nervous about my research project and that this was causing my digestion to be off. He directed me to eat "suave" foods for the next few days. He beckoned an escrevedor (scribe) over and told her to write down the name of a remedy available at the pharmacy, Solvabel. I was instructed to take it three times a day for the next week. The spirit guide gave me some rose petals to put into a cup of water--after one day I was instructed to drink the water and refill the cup. Finally, I was instructed to take a banha descarga before visiting any other Umbanda center.

The "cure" combined many aspects and covered several possible causes of my physical problem -- the upset stomach. The pass protected me from attracting disincarnated spirits, the drug store remedy and the direction to eat mild foods were intended to deal directly with my upset stomach as was the rose petal water. The discharge bath focused on the balance of supernatural fluids surrounding my body which was disturbed by disincarnated spirits. In my case the cure depended upon a complex interaction between biological, psychological, and spiritual forces operating in my life.
In the next three cases we have examples of three of the six etiological categories: the evil eye, the demanda, and provas mediunicas. In two of the three, agitations provoked by disincarnated spirits contributes to the overall problem. I took notes on each case at the centers of Dona Ana and Jorge where I enacted the role of doorman and usher between June and the end of August 1975.

In the following client case, the problems of Joselice's husband began when someone cast the evil eye and then were further complicated by an evil spirit.

Joselice came to the Saturday trabalho de oriente. During the session, she was violently possessed and thrown to the floor by what I later learned was an espirito mal. The cult leader stepped forward to question the spirit.

Cult leader: What is your name? What do you want?

Espirito mal: (no answer, pause, then the spirit shouted out) I am going to destroy this woman and her family!

The cult leader gave Joselice a ritual pass in which the espirito mal was exorcised. Joselice's husband was present too and the cult leader gave him a pass at the altar before directing him to take his wife home.

Later in the week Dona Bette explained the background of this incident to me. She knew Joselice well; they were comrades. Joselice's husband was a traveling salesman. He did very well in his business. After a while his success, according to Dona Bette, attracted the attention of some envious people or person (unidentified). This person(s) put the evil eye on him and ever since he has had problems. He started to drink, to
fight with Joselice, and to fool around with other women. His business declined. Joselice begged her husband to come to the Umbanda center for a ritual pass, but he had refused up until that Saturday night. According to Dona Bette, after this incident their life and relationship improved.

Marital disharmony, conjugal infidelity, drunkeness, and business failure were attributed to envy which is symptomatic of the evil eye. The espírito mal complicated the problem, but during the exorcism it voiced the complaint of Joselice: She and her family were being destroyed by her husband's behavior. Joselice tried to change her husband's behavior by publicly relieving him of some of the responsibility for it, that is, by putting the blame on an unidentified person who is envious of them and by attributing his unacceptable behavior to an evil spirit.

In the following case, a medium named Cecilia fought a _demanda_ directed against her by her sister-in-law. This incident was discussed during the classes for development at Jorge's center.

Quarreling and fighting broke out unexpectedly among the family of Cecilia: her brother, her parents, and her husband all bickered with each other for no apparent reason. Cecilia took this problem to the spirit guide of Dona Bette for help. The spirit guide told her during a consultation that he would visit her that night in a dream and tell her why her family quarreled.

The spirit guide told Cecilia that her sister-in-law, being jealous of her work as a medium in Umbanda, had instituted a _demanda_ against her in Batuque. The
sister-in-law was a Batuque medium. Since Cecilia was a medium in Umbanda, she was not directly bothered by this demanda herself but rather her husband, brother, and parents were all affected. Once Cecilia learned about the demanda she was able to use her spirit guias in Evangelized Umbanda to counteract this demanda.

The consanguineal kin of Cecilia quarreled among themselves and with her husband. This kin group, according to the data above, did not usually quarrel like this. The source of the trouble was pinpointed in the only other outsider besides Cecilia's husband, her sister-in-law. In addition to this stressful interpersonal relationship, Cecilia and her sister-in-law belonged to competing religions -- Umbanda and Batuque. The struggle moved away from the family level to the cultural level of religion, and with the identification of the problem as a demanda the struggle became one which mobilized the spirits and entities in two major religions. Dona Bette, who related this discussion, said that after this demanda was revealed to Cecilia the situation improved among the family members. Perhaps the struggle became so abstract that neither Cecilia nor her sister-in-law felt directly concerned about the outcome which could then relieve some of the tension between them.

Occasionally provas mediunicas are linked to agitations caused by disincarnated spirits because a person with medium abilities is believed to attract these spirits. (This Ana is not the cult leader.)
(July 1975) Ana and her thirteen year old daughter attend the center for the first time today. The daughter enters the corrente of mediums first and receives a passegente. Ana watches from outside the circle. Suddenly, she enters an altered state of consciousness and begins to laugh out of control. Laughing softly at first, Ana continues in louder, higher, and shriller tones. The cult leader allows the daughter to leave the corrente, turning her attention toward Ana. At this moment, the cult leader seems to enter a deeper trance state herself, and shouts at Ana "leva!" ("away"). Following this, Ana is given an energetic ritual pass by the cult leader and is hit on the forehead between the eyes. Ana finally stops laughing and calms down.

Turning to Ana's daughter and to the other visitors in the room, the cult leader explains that Ana possesses a great amount of mediunidade which is evidenced by this outbreak of laughter. This laughter is caused by a backward spirit. She continues to say that people who are in an advanced stage of mediunidade and who have not taken the necessary steps to develop will attract these spirits to themselves. Ana is included in the corrente of mediums and assists in the passegentes for the remaining clients.

Ana's uncontrollable laughter during an altered state of consciousness was attributed to a backward spirit who was possessing her. This type of spirit possession indicated to the cult leader that Ana was a potential medium. The key symptom of this diagnosis was the inability of the undeveloped medium to handle spiritual agitations. In the life of a medium many events such as this and other personal and physical problems are believed to be tests of the will and
desire of the medium to continue with development.

The therapy dealt first with the immediate symptoms — the laughter and the altered state of consciousness. The cult leader brought Ana into the corrente of mediums and exorcised her of the possessing spirit who caused the laughter. She shouted leva! (away), administered a ritual passe, and hit Ana between the eyes to bring her out of the trance. Next the cult leader allowed Ana to join the circle of mediums and assist in the trabalho for the remainder of the day. This temporary role/status change brought Ana into a group in which alterations of consciousness and occasional spirit possession were acceptable standards of behavior. Ana became part of the therapy group itself. Long-term development of mediunidade was encouraged by the cult leader in order to insure that Ana could master such events in the future by herself.

Consultations are a private, confidential matter between the spirit guide and the client. Therefore, the details of client problems are difficult to collect from mediums who honor this confidentiality. In addition, there is the added barrier to memory which possession trance ideally imposes through the reported period of amnesia following this altered state of consciousness. It appears that for many cases handled by the mediums the details are indeed blocked out afterward, and, at any rate mediums only discuss them reluctantly. Neither cult leader in this study approve of
discussions between mediums and between mediums and clients about these matters. Thus, the following data collected about the details of five client cases that were handled by Dona Bette's guides are somewhat special. Dona Bette discussed these cases over an extended period of approximately six months in response to questions of mine and in illustration of a particular point she was trying to make. She by no means made it a practice to reveal to me or anyone else the confidential matters of her clients. Dona Bette rarely mentioned these people by name but for the sake of clarity I have given each client a fictitious name. The cures demonstrated in these cases were offered in response to social and economic problems rather than other types of "illnesses."

It is, therefore, difficult to discern just how widespread this manipulation of people and resources is among the clients of other spirit mediums. However, it is clear from talking with clients and observing the popularity of specific mediums (as evidenced by the numbers of clients seeking their advice) that some mediums are believed to receive more "enlightened" spirits than are others. Enlightened spirits very quickly establish reputations for giving intelligent advice and for knowing powerful cures. Such a medium attracts a steady core of clients who seek help on a wide range of problems and difficulties. It is my contention, as these cases will bear out, that spirit mediums collect a whole storehouse of information about their clients
through the consultations. This body of information becomes a workable resource for the medium and it can be dispensed much the same as are the other cures and remedies. Access to such resources and the spiritual authority to manipulate them may result in considerable power, i.e., "the ability to act effectively on persons or things, to make or secure favorable decisions which are not of right allocated to the individual or their role" (Smith 1960:18-19) over their distribution and allocation to needy clients.

Case 1

In the first case, the client is a young woman whom I shall call Margarita. Margarita's problems began after her husband deserted her and their children. She came to the Umbanda center to discuss her problems with the spirit guide of Dona Bette. The spirit guide told Margarita that he knew why she had to suffer so much in her present life. It was because in one of her past lives (that is, in another incarnation), Margarita had been a man and while a man, she had also deserted her wife and family. Margarita's punishment caught up with her in her present life. She who was formerly a man was now finding herself in the same unpleasant situation. This was Margarita's punishment and there was very little that the spirit guide could do about it except provide the suffering young woman with the knowledge of her past incarnation. However, the spirit guide was not
unsympathetic to the plight of Margarita's children, since he believed that they were the innocent victims in this situation.

Margarita's problem is common among Brazilian women of lower class status according to Umbanda spirit mediums. The spirit guide provided an explanation for the cause of Margarita's problem in the sins of another life which absolved her of any immediate responsibility for the fact that her husband had left her. But the solution involves another problem brought to the spirit guide to solve.

Case 2

The second case involves an elderly and wealthy man whom I shall call Roberto. Roberto was a regular client of the spirit of Dona Bette. He suffered with an "illness" which had plagued him for many years. He was very interested in finding a cure for it, once and for all. The spirit guide told Roberto that if he wanted to get better then he should contribute some of his wealth to help others. He should be charitable. Dona Bette's spirit guide encouraged Roberto to give financial help to the children of Margarita, the client in case one.

Here we have the solution of Margarita's problem being tied to the cure of an illness of Roberto. The spirit guide has in effect been able to reallocate specific resources (the wealth of Roberto) and to rechannel these resources toward
the supposed advantage of both clients -- Margarita's children and Roberto's health.

In the third case we have an example of information in the form of gossip being used to foreward a female client whom I call Antonia about the infidelity of her husband. Clients often say that they are told startling and surprising things by spirits who seem to know so much about them even before they know themselves. Among the clients of one spirit guide, gossip is common and it can be useful.

**Case 3**

During a consultation with the spirit guide of Dona Bette, Antonia was told that she was going to be in for a "big surprise" concerning her husband. Antonia returned to the Umbanda center about one week later and recounted these events. It should be noted that Antonia and her husband were not getting along well together for some time preceding this event. One day during the week, Antonia was walking down the street when she saw her husband up ahead conversing and walking with a strange woman. Antonia caught an approaching bus so that she could avoid meeting them face to face. Later on Antonia discovered that her husband was not going to work as he said he was but was instead going to this other woman's house. This woman paid him to come to see her. Antonia decided to confront her husband with what she knew about him and then she would throw him out of the house.
After the confrontation, Antonia's husband went directly to the other woman's house and described to her what had happened between him and his wife. This woman listened to him, and then she decided that she did not want him anymore either. So now he had no one. In Dona Bette's words to me: "He chose the wrong road and he had to stay on it."

The solution to this problem was to forewarn Antonia about the infidelity of her husband. Antonia was told that a surprise concerning her husband was about to be discovered. In all likelihood, she already knew that something was wrong concerning him as they quarreled a lot lately. However, the spirit guide of Dona Bette put her on the alert. Antonia was able to save face by asking him to leave and in this manner to punish him before he had a chance to leave her. In a small way perhaps this revenge would cure her of her problems by at least making them less painful for her.

Case four is somewhat different from the first three in that it involves the distribution of goods to a client out of the common coffers of the Umbanda center. Spirit mediums do have access to certain common funds which may occasionally be used to help an especially needy client.

Case 4

The client in this case is Dora. Dora lives alone with her young son. Ever since her husband deserted her, Dora worked to support herself and her child. She began to
experience a "breakdown" at work in which she cried and sobbed uncontrollably. At first her boss told her to go home and return later when she recovered. However, her crying spells did not stop and eventually she was fired. Dora consulted with the spirit guide of Dona Bette about her problem. He directed her over to the secretary of the Umbanda center who gave her some money to tide her over until she could find another job. The case of Dora again shows the difficulties which a woman alone has as she tries to work and raise a small boy at the same time. The solution to Dora's problem was a practical one, although temporary, involving the common funds of charity of the Umbanda center.

The fifth and final case in this series handled by the spirit guide of Dona Bette involves a young spirit medium whom I refer to repeatedly in this dissertation as Iara. Iara came to Porto Alegre from an interior town and found employment as a domestic servant. At that time about seven years ago, Iara was illiterate and could barely write her name.

Case 5

When Iara first began to work as a spirit medium, she stayed late in the evenings assisting in the Umbanda sessions until the last client was attended. Iara was very dedicated to her new role as medium and she was anxious to learn all that she could about becoming a medium. This enthusiasm got
her into trouble with her employers who objected to her many late nights at the center. Her employers eventually fired her. Iara was then in a difficult position, since she knew very few people in Porto Alegre outside of those whom she met at the Umbanda center. Iara went to the house of Dona Bette and related to her what had happened. Dona Bette decided to hire Iara as a part-time domestic servant in her own house. Iara was given a small room and her food in exchange for her services as a maid. Dona Bette took an interest in the life and future of Iara. She encouraged her to begin attending the adult night school classes which the national and the state governments were offering free to anyone who desires to educate themselves. Dona Bette helped Iara purchase some furnishings for an apartment so that one day she could move out and into a place of her own.

Meanwhile Iara consulted with the spirit guide of Dona Bette at the Umbanda center. From these consultations, the spirit guide was aware that Iara had a keen interest in medicine and wanted to become a doctor. The spirit guide decided to help Iara reach her goals. One of his other clients owned and operated a chemical lab which processed blood samples for the area hospitals. The next time that this client came to the center for a consultation, the spirit guide asked him if he could hire Iara in his lab. He agreed to do this and in 1975 Iara still worked in this lab.
This demonstrates two levels of help which mediums and their spirit guides can render to others. By helping Iara find temporary employment within her home and by encouraging her to start school, Dona Bette began a permanent solution to Iara's problems. The spirit guide used his influence and connections to secure a better job for her. The spirit medium thus has the ability to contact potential patrons and to influence them to help his other clients. This case demonstrates how spirit mediums have the authority through their spirits to reallocate goods -- employment -- among their network of clients.

Astral Operations

The tradition of performing operações astrais (astral operations) reached a zenith in the spectacular operations attributed to the now deceased spirit medium Arigo (McGregor 1961). While possessed by the disincarnated spirit of a German physician named Doctor Fritz, Arigo reportedly performed serious and risky eye operations using only a dull kitchen knife. Arigo's success was well known and his patients even included some relatives of then President Kubichek. Attempts to prove or disprove the veracity of Arigo's skills failed due in part to his untimely death in the 1960s. At the very least, Arigo's fame set the stage for the performance of less spectacular spiritual operations by local mediums. The female cult leader Dona Ana is one
Astral operations as their name implies are surgical operations performed on the astral plane. (Umbandists separate the astral plane from the earthly plane in their cosmologic view, see page ). Spirit physicians perform these operations using special mediums as their vehicles. According to Dona Ana, the medium must be particularly well prepared materially and highly evolved spiritually, that is, she must be pure and healthy and she must be near the end of her twelve reincarnations. The spiritual physician who possessed Dona Ana was affiliated with the Linha Oriente, the line of curing. During the astral operations, Dona Ana described the spirit as being encostada (beside her) and incorporada (possessing her). The spirit doctor was beside her giving her directions to relay to the patient before and after the operation and incorporated or possessed her during the actual operation. The incorporation included certain perceptual changes: for example, Dona Ana said that she could feel the glasses of the physician resting on her nose. The spirit first entered her head and then moved down into her arms and hands. Photographs taken during several operations were shown to Dona Ana who pointed out the serious, stern facial expression of the possessing spirit. The operation itself is a simple affair in which the right hand of the medium rests a few inches above the patient's body. The position of the hand above the body varies according to
the disorder attended to. No knives or other surgical implements were used during any of the operations observed in 1975. The 'surgical' instruments, according to Dona Ana, were used on the astral plane; thus making them invisible during the operation to observers.

Astral operations are used just as the other more common techniques (remedies, radiations of light, *passes, passegentes*). Following the operation, the clients are advised to return to the center for follow-up *passegentes* and consultations with the cult leader. Astral operations are reserved for more difficult spiritual disorders. During the three and one-half months which I observed the center of Dona Ana, only about ten to twelve percent of the clients cases ended in astral operations (about 10 of 250 people). Eight astral operations were personally witnessed by me and photographs of several were recorded.

The astral operations followed a standard procedure. Seven of the eight operations were performed on Tuesday morning. The dates were set ahead of time when the client consulted with the cult leader for the first or second time. Dona Ana arrived at the center about an hour before the operating time in order to change into her uniform. Concentrating and meditating before the altar, she received the spiritual physician. The clients usually arrived about 10 a.m. and on the average waited 30 to 45 minutes until the cult leader was ready. One other medium attended the morning
operations, acting as an assistant to the spirit physician.

The clients are allowed to enter the small center and sit on the little benches reserved for the old black spirits. When the spirit physician is ready (i.e., when Dona Ana has entered an altered state of consciousness), he turns away from the altar and faces the client. The client is questioned about the background and history of any previous treatment. Each client is discharged of evil influences by the smoke of the incense urn and fumes of the astral perfume which the medium assisting the spirit physician brings to them. In some cases, the client may be given a ritual passe by the spirit physician prior to the operation. After these preliminaries, the client is directed to the operating table which lines the back wall of the center. The client's body is screened from view behind a curtain. The spirit physician tells the patient to open his clothes to the area afflicted, to lie down, and to think only good thoughts.

During the operation itself, the spirit physician asks the patient if he feels anything. If he says no, then the spirit physician responds that it is because the body has been anesthetized spiritually. If he answers yes, he is told to relax and not to worry, since this is a sign that the operation is in progress. The spirit physician also asks the patient about his general health. He may give the patient specific instructions to follow at this time.
The following two operations are typical of the dialogue exchanged between the spirit physician and the patient.


Spirit: How are you feeling, Moacir?
Patient: Much better now.
Spirit: Good. Now do not eat any pork, heavily salted food, sweets, or feijão (black beans) for the next week.

Pause
Spirit: (Holding her right hand just above the stomach) How are you feeling now?
Patient: I am beginning to feel hot.
Spirit: Good. Keep thinking positive thoughts.

Later
Spirit: Get up, button your clothes and sit on the bench. Wait a few minutes before you leave the center. Return this afternoon for a follow-up passe. Bring a bottle of water to be blessed.

June 10, 1975. Problem: Sex organs and bladder area. Lucia has waited for more than an hour. She brought her grandmother along to be attended to as well.

Spirit: Get up on the table, open your clothes, lie back and relax.

While Lucia is doing this, the medium walks toward the altar and draws a chalk symbol on the floor (ponto riscado), a sign that the spirit is present.

Spirit: Have you seen a doctor, my child?
Patient: Yes, I had a physical exam recently. The doctor gave me a remedy.

Spirit: Your problem is serious, you will not get better right away.
(To the assisting medium) Are you feeling anything?
Ans: Yes. (to Lucia) You do not feel anything because you have been anesthetized, right my child? Think good thoughts. We are working with the entities of enlightenment, none of that other (reference to Batuque and evil spirits).
Spirit medium jerks and then turns to Lucia, smiling and says: Well you are going to be great. We are getting help on the astral plane from Espirito Santo (the Holy Spirit).

Lucia gets up from the table. Dona Ana tells Lucia to continue to come in for passes. She says: Do not use any remedies from the pharmacy. If you do you will prejudice the astral operation. The medicos da terra (doctors of the earth) do not understand what is spiritual and what is material. Now, drink a lot of water every day. Do not have sexual relations with your husband for the next thirty days. You must explain this to him. It is important.

In both dialogues, the patient cooperates with the spirit physician by not questioning the authenticity of the operation. The patient responds to the questions of the spirit physician emphasizing the positive aspects of her condition. While seven of the eight dialogues recorded followed this pattern, one old woman, a grandmother of the patient Lucia, was not an eager participant. She was present only because her granddaughter had urged her to come. It was obvious that she did not really believe in the powers of the astral operation.


Spirit: Sit down grandmother and think positive thoughts.
(The spirit medium turns toward the altar to recite a long prayer to the entities of enlightenment, beseeching their help from the astral plane.)

5 minutes later

Spirit: How do you feel? Do you feel any better now?
Patient: I do not feel anything.
Spirit: (Laughs) Wait, you will. (He attend to Moacir and Lucia first and then returns to the grandmother.)

Grandmother is instructed to get on the operating table, to remove her coat, and to open her blouse and skirt to the problem area. Then she is told to lie back and relax.

Spirit: Do not be afraid. Relax. Do you go to a doctor?
Patient: Yes.
Spirit: What does he tell you?
Patient: no response
Spirit: You have a headache, too, don't you my child? Now, do not travel anywhere for the next three days. Come here to me for a passe on Tuesday and Thursday.

(Operation continues as the medium holds her hand above the woman's chest area.)

Spirit to Lucia: Wash grandmother's hair in warm water every other day at 2 p.m. Bring in some boiled water to have blessed and then have her drink it.

The grandmother did not return that afternoon or the following Tuesday for follow-up applications as she was instructed to do. When she finally returned, Dona Ana examined her hair for evidence of the boils, and finding none, she told the grandmother to continue the same treatment for one additional week. Both Lucia and the grandmother cut their hair short since their astral operations. A few weeks passed before the grandmother again returned. This time she said that her head boils were back. Dona Ana advised her to continue the warm water baths and warned her not to go to the medical doctor. On June 24, 1975 Dona Ana decided to hasten
the grandmother's recovery. A ritual in which the Triangle of Fire was part took place in order to "discharge" the grandmother of all lingering evil influences which delayed her recovery. A small wooden triangle was placed on the floor of the center and a line of gunpowder was drawn along the edges. After the grandmother stood inside of the triangle, Dona Ana lit the gunpowder which exploded with a flash of light and cloud of smoke, symbolizing the spiritual discharge. Later in July, Lucia came alone to the center and reported that her grandmother had gone home and was no longer continuing her treatment. Dona Ana responded that if the head boils returned it was not her fault, since the grandmother could no longer come in for passes.

From the summary table of astral operations on pages 231-232, we can see the following trends. Sixty-two percent of the patients are women averaging forty-two years of age. The remaining thirty-two percent are male whose average age is slightly higher at fifty-three. Undeveloped mediunidade and its corollary, agitations provoked by disincarnated spirits, were identified as the ultimate cause of the patients' problems sixty-two percent of the time. Three women and two men suffered the consequences of undeveloped mediunidade. In eighty percent of these cases, Dona Ana recommended development as the only possible long-term therapy. During the period of observation, however, none of these patients made a permanent commitment to development.
Of the short-term therapies administered, everyone received an astral operation and follow-up passes were recommended. In an additional twenty-five percent of the cases, dietary taboos were prescribed and in only one case (12.5%), a taboo on sexual relations for a period of one month was advised.

An analysis of "recovery" reveals that in eighty-seven percent of the operations, some progress is reported at the follow-up passes. Twenty-five percent of the patients discontinued the recommended therapy before the advised time and thus did not make progress toward recovery. In one case, no progress was reported at all because the therapy advised by the cult leader was not followed. The patient's husband would not allow her to develop her mediunidade and therefore "recover."

The high percentage of patients for whom the long-term therapy of developing mediunidade was recommended reflects, at least in part, the belief that many people are potential mediums. But it also reflects the desire of the cult leader to build up her circle of active mediums. Including the astral operation cases with the twenty other cases on which notes were taken in 1975, Dona Ana identified mediunidade as the source of the client's problem and encouraged its development in fifty percent of the cases. She actively recruited mediums in order to expand the monetary resources of her center and to insure its future success.
### Table 3

**Summary of Astral Operations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Client</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Symptoms</th>
<th>Ultimate Cause</th>
<th>Short-term</th>
<th>Long-term</th>
<th>Recovery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M 50</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Weakness, soreness in arms, infected foot, ASC spirit poss.</td>
<td>Undeveloped mediunidade; Material problem</td>
<td>Astral Operation; passes Vitamins; see medical doctor; wash foot</td>
<td>Development</td>
<td>Progress reported; Did not develop during period observed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F 45</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Stomach upset</td>
<td>Agitations caused by spirits</td>
<td>Astral operation; passes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Progress reported</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F 40</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Stomach upset</td>
<td>Undeveloped mediunidade</td>
<td>Astral operation; passes; mild diet</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sporadic progress; not committed to short-term therapy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M 50</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Cancer</td>
<td>Undeveloped mediunidade</td>
<td>Astral operation; passes</td>
<td>Development</td>
<td>Progress reported; No commitment made to develop; long recovery foreseen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F 26</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Nervousness, crying, ASC and spirit poss.</td>
<td>Undeveloped mediunidade; Spiritual agitations</td>
<td>Astral operations; passes</td>
<td>Development</td>
<td>None reported; Could not develop; husband against it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Development not recommended because cult leader did not like this woman.

(b) Diagnosis of Spirit Physician.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Client</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Symptoms</th>
<th>Ultimate Cause</th>
<th>Short-term</th>
<th>Long-term</th>
<th>Recovery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>Breathing difficulties, head boils</td>
<td>Spiritual agitations; Old Age</td>
<td>Astral operations; passes; warm water head baths; triangle of fire</td>
<td>Yes, for a time; symptoms returned, treatment discontinued</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Stomach upset, Disgestion</td>
<td>Agitations caused by spirits; later interpreted as undeveloped mediunidade</td>
<td>Astral operation; passes; mild diet</td>
<td>Development</td>
<td>Progress reported; did not begin to develop during period of observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Bladder irritation; Problem with sex organs</td>
<td>Agitations caused by spirits</td>
<td>Astral operation; passes; drinking blessed water; abstain from sex relations</td>
<td>Progress reported</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Effectiveness of Umbanda Curing

As we have seen, the visitor/client initiates a relationship with the Umbanda cult in order to "heal" himself of some problem, be it social, economic, personal, or physical. At the first stage of his contact with the cult, the visitor/client, as an individual acting on his own, can initiate a series of therapeutic measures to ensure his own health, at least temporarily. These include the behavioral modifications suggested by the lectures, the discharge bath, the radiations of light, and the "clothes for blessing."

At this point, what I am going to call Stage I in the healing process, the visitor/client deals directly with the spiritual realm without the need of an intermediary, a pistalão. Stage I therapeutic measures can be used on and off almost indefinitely, depending of course on the severity of the visitor/client's problem and on his own analysis of whether or not these measures are effective. In addition, in Stage I, the visitor/client can go from one Umbanda center to another where he initiates similar therapeutic measures on his own behalf. Theoretically, at least, the visitor/client could continue forever in this manner but in reality must go on to Stage II.

Stage II is characterized by a visitor/client tie to one medium con guia who acts as a pistalão on the client's behalf. The pistalão, both the medium herself as a receptacle of the spirits and the spirit guide who intercedes for
the client, attends to the person's problem after the *pedido* or request is made during the consultation. The therapeutic measures characteristic of Stage II can include any or all of those in Stage I plus the ritual *passe/passegente*, remedies, and the astral operations. Depending upon the spiritual diagnosis of the problem, the treatment either ends at this stage or it continues into Stage III. In this last stage the visitor/client makes a role change and enters the role of *cambona*. In this role, she begins to develop her own *mediunidade*. The therapy commits the person to a long-term relationship with the cult and Umbanda. Stage III places the new developing medium in a similar position as the visitor in Stage I in that she is now able to deal more directly with the spiritual level. One of the intermediaries has been eliminated. The new medium acquires a permanent spiritual *pistalão* of her own. Part of the long-term therapy toward complete recovery of the new medium is this role/status transition from that status of patient to that of healer.

Just how effective is this therapeutic process or any religious healing process for that matter? How are the positive statements of clients about their own progress to be evaluated? Without knowing, of course, the clinical, in the western medical sense, evaluation of the mental and physical health of the clients prior to their visit to the Umbanda center and lacking a follow-up evaluation after
their treatment, we will never know for sure in this sense. But even so, the cultural definitions which Umbandists use to evaluate their own state of physical and mental health are germane to the determination of whether or not the treatment is effective.

The question of the effectiveness of religious healing has received considerable attention from psychiatrists (Torrey 1972, Frank 1974) and anthropologists (Kiev 1974, Bourguignon 1976). The psychiatrists and some anthropologists (Kiev 1974) emphasize the common structural arrangement of psychotherapeutic settings (both in western psychiatry and non-western system of folk therapy) and its impact on the healing process. While not totally ignoring the cultural definitions operating and surrounding the psychotherapy, they point out that healing takes place regardless of the cultural explanations. E Fuller Torrey's *The Mind Game: Witchdoctors and Psychiatrists* (1972) attempts, almost by the title alone, to show the underlying similarity he sees between the techniques of some forms of psychiatry and "primitive" psychotherapies: Psychosocial therapies (patient history, p. 63), confession (p. 64), suggestion (p. 66), conditioning and group therapy (p. 66). According to J. Frank, the shaman's role is that of physician, magician, priest, moral arbitrator, representative of the group's world view, and agent of social control (1974:vii). The shaman's success, according to Frank (1974:vii), "often
depends more on his ability to mobilize his patient's hopes, restore his morale, and gain his reacceptance by his group than on his pharmacopeias."

Kiev (1974:3-4) discusses the effect of psychotherapy on "mental illness," which he sees as having a common underlying biological basis which sets limits on the treatment which in turn accounts for the fundamental similarities of psychotherapies throughout the world. As he points out:

It seems not unlikely then that mental illness is manifested in certain basic structural mechanisms and processes that reoccur together with certain regularity in the different clinical syndromes providing a substratum on top of which the different cultures impose differences in content (Kiev 1974:19).

While this may very well be true, the difficulty in applying this across the board to the type of treatment received in Umbanda is that the problems brought by clients may not all be mental illness, and even spirit possession does not seem to be considered as necessarily indicative of mental illness.

E. Bourguignon (1976a) rightly points out the difficulty and even questions our ability to adequately devise a cross-cultural meaning for such words as "effectiveness," "cure" and "heal." She asks:

Is the patient who is released as 'cured' healed?, though he may simply move on to another healer, or experience the same or different symptoms within a week, a month, a year? (1976a:5).
Most of the literature dealing with religious healing is
descriptive (as is this dissertation) with little or no
effort made to determine effectiveness of healing (Bourguignon 1976a:6). Offering a definition of religious
healing, Bourguignon suggests:

the therapeutic activities of persons
who are specialists in dealing with
supernatural beings and/or forces
(shamans, diviners, etc.) as these are
conceptualized and experienced in
given societies, or the healing of
individuals that is experienced as,
in some sense, supernatural (1976a:7).

Unlike Kiev (1974), Bourguignon does not define healing in
terms of faith although she does not discount that some
amount of faith (confidence, trust, hope, suggestion) plays
a role in therapeutic encounters (1976a:7). Placing greater
emphasis upon the individual cultural context of the healing
process, she argues that though the line between religious
and empirical healing is difficult to draw,

the techniques used are or may be con-
sidered equally important from the
healer and patients' view, regardless
of whether the outside observer con-
siders some to be simply hocus pocus
or as involving inert substances
(1976a:7).

Whereas Kiev, Frank, and Torrey seem to dismiss the
specific cultural categories of illnesses treated by the
healer in order to underscore the cross-cultural similari-
ties in structure and technique characterizing psychotherapy,
the element of cultural definition can determine the
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technique of healing used as much as anything else and perhaps even more. "Healing," as Bourguignon (1976a:8) argues, "presupposes a complaint, a disease, and the utilization of procedures and/or substances to treat the patient." Symptoms are present and interpreted according to certain cultural definitions. The cause is then determined and the therapeutic procedures will depend upon the causes identified. Thus, if the symptoms reveal a cause totally unheard of in western medicine, the therapeutic procedure followed may also involve techniques that are culturally specific. As Bourguignon points out the initiation of a person suffering from uncontrolled spirit possession into a religious cult does not rid the person of the original problem. Rather, the status transformation inherent in the role change allows the person to use his 'affliction' to the benefit of others as well as himself. As she says:

Surely, in Western medical practice a man who believes himself to have a supernatural mission will not be considered cured until he has given up this belief and the mission with it (1976a:1).

Thus, looking only at the structural similarities between folk psychotherapy and western psychiatry does not sufficiently explain why or why not some religious healing is effective. The specific definitions of causes, treatment, and cure must not be forgotten in the determination of cross-cultural explanations of religious healing.
CHAPTER VI
THE BRAZILEIRA

Introduction

Many of my informants in Evangelized Umbanda told me repeatedly that women are better suited to the spirit medium role than are men. They pointed out that women seem to be able to adapt to the 'suffering' and other demands which are, they believe, inherent in this role. Although I was not able to get much beyond this answer when I asked the direct question of why more women are spirit mediums than men, later in the year of fieldwork I began to understand what these informants meant by better "suited." In the first half of this chapter I shall present a composite image of the Brazilian woman which persists throughout Brazilian historical development, which appears in novels, and which Brazilian sociologists have described in their discussions of family structure. The usefulness of novels, magazines, and popular songs is proven in studies on Latin American women, especially where there is an attempt to separate image from reality (see Knaster 1976:29 for a review of recent papers on this methodology).
This literary image of the brazileira does not, of course, completely reflect the real brazileira. But there are specific attributes and qualities of the image which I found existing in the view of themselves and their relations with men held by the women in this study. The last section of this chapter concerns data from Porto Alegre. It is not my purpose to prove that the Porto Alegre women strive to live up to the ideal image but only to show that some of the qualities which are attributed to it are ones which they also attribute to themselves. These role qualities are best revealed in the domestic roles of wife and mother and in the role expectations placed upon male and female relations. I do not intend to imply that the data in this chapter ought to be taken as conclusive. Since many more questions need to be raised in this area, more research is needed before these data can be anything but indications for future research.

These data are drawn from formal, written questionnaires given primarily to the non-cult women and from informal conversations with the same women and with the cult women. In addition, their responses were supplemented with observation of male-female interaction wherever it took place.

The Historical Brazileira

The Brazilian social historian Gilberto Freyre (1946, 1964) locates the origin of the ideal brazileira in the
historical development of the patriarchal family structure. This structure is tied to the economic system of monocrop latifundia which was the basis of Brazil's economy for three centuries. The major features of this complex included a patriarchal ruling family, slaves and workers, and such products as sugar, cocoa, coffee, gold, cattle, cotton, and rubber. In the patriarchal family the male head holds absolute life and death authority over all of his heirs. Historically, this meant that he ruled two families composed of his legal "white" wife and her offspring and his many mixed-blood concubines and their heirs. The core family and the peripheral family were united economically and politically by the latifundia system but separated socially.

Out of this patriarchal family structure there develops the ideal brazileira who is, according to Freyre (1964:74), the opposite of the ideal patriarch in that she is weak, beautiful, delicate, and motherly. She is concerned with domestic activities such as childcare, sewing, and embroidery. An elaborate "cult of the woman" develops surrounding her with an exaggerated code of etiquette and an erotic literature which emphasizes her sexual attractiveness (Freyre 1964:78). In sexual relations as in all other relations between men and women, the ideal brazileira is passive and submissive to her husband's or lover's demands. She must suffer her husband's marital infidelities with patience and silence and at the same time she must make sure that she
does not offend his honor by engaging in extramarital love affairs. Freyre (1964:75) thinks that this exaggerated sexual differentiation reduced social, political, and economic competition by allowing the complete domination of men. Finally, and in conclusion, Freyre (1964:73) summarizes his position by saying:

Patriarchalism, the close unity of the family, is, if not the substance of Brazilian society in this century, still an active force and explains much about the Brazilian, his ethos, and his social behavior.

The Literary View

The "cult of women" and the ideal brazileira are central themes in historical novels of the nineteenth and twentieth century. Ann Pescatello (1973) examines the brazileira as she emerges in the works of two famous Brazilian writers — Joaquim Machado de Assis, whose personages reflect nineteenth century urban bourgeois development in Rio de Janeiro of southern Brazil, and Jorge Amado who writes about the twentieth century earthy individuals who populate Bahia of northern Brazil. Pescatello (1973) focuses upon two interesting complexes which she labels the "martyr complex" and the "purity of name and honor syndrome." The former is characterized by "self-denial, intellectual vacuity, and capacity for humility and sacrifice which characterizes the long-suffering sisterhood of submissiveness" (1973:32). The
latter sees marriage consummated by "suitable" partners, that is, sexually unblemished females (Pescatello 1973:32). This syndrome carries over into marriage which is seen as a legal contract for social considerations and not for purposes of love. In addition, Pescatello (1973:56) finds that among the middle and upper classes, the passive feminine ideal is a primary image. The moral paraphernalia of female chastity, necessity for motherhood, and double sex standards are guarded by spinsters, discussed by males, and urged upon daughters by their mothers. Motherhood does seem to bring fulfillment to women but it is the ability to bear sons that is its goal. Pescatello argues that the birth of a son provides women with a sense of fulfillment and vicarious achievement since their sons can fulfill for them desires they have dreamed of for themselves.

Both Freyre and Pescatello find that this ideal Brazileira image is best exemplified in the upper classes and is historically associated with "white" skin. The mulattoes, caboclas, and mixed bloods are found in the lower classes and fill roles as domestic servants, prostitutes, and concubines.

The Brazileira and the Latin American Woman

Before we look at some sociological and ethnological research on this subject, it is important to point out that the cult of women syndrome, the martyr complex, and the
"purity of name and honor" syndrome are not unique to Brazil but have a long tradition in Latin America in general. The contrast between the male and female which we see emerging on the Brazilian scene is well defined by the ideal types of machismo and marianismo. Although the machismo complex is well documented in Latin America, the marianismo complex has only been recently identified and defined by Evelyn P. Stevens (1973). Similar to Freyre's position, Stevens contends that these two complimentary role types originated in an early sexual division of labor which ascribed tasks based upon assumed attributes of the individuals or groups who performed the tasks. After some time the attributes established a separate reality which makes it possible to use them as value judgments in ways quite unrelated to their original purpose. Stevens further argues that the machismo should be regarded as an ideal type and not as an actual pattern of behavior. She defines machismo as a cult of virility which is characterized by:

exaggerated aggressiveness and intrasigence to male-to-male interpersonal relationships and arrogance and sexual aggression in male-to-female relations (Stevens 1973:90).

Marianismo is a cult of feminine spiritual superiority which teaches that women are semi-divine, morally superior to and spiritually stronger than men (Stevens 1973:91). A woman's supposed inner strength gives her an infinite capacity for humility and sacrifice which she needs to deal with the
macho. She is patient with men and submissive to their will. This syndrome of self-abnegation, according to Stevens, masks the actual power exercised by women within the family. The sexuality of the aggressive macho has been suggested as being the source of the population explosion of many Latin American countries. Kinser (1973) suggests that macho values and behaviors are over-exaggerated and not solely responsible for the rising birth rate.

The image of the secluded, early-wedded, chaste, non-working Latin American woman also departs dramatically from reality. Youssef (1973) shows that many Latin American women of this century marry late in life, and many never marry at all. She argues that circumstances, rather than attitudes and ideals surrounding men and women, form a greater determinant of behavior patterns.

Thus, the images portrayed in these ideal types, the macho and the maria, may not, in fact, reflect completely the real attitudes, values, and behavior patterns. However, research is generally lacking which tries to examine the extent to which these ideal types may actually influence behavior and under what conditions.

The Brazileira: Reality vs Image

Returning to Brazil, the sociologist Antonio Candido (1972) argues that the strength of the patriarch in the structure of the family tends to obscure the active role
which females have or had in domestic life. Candido (1972: 291) draws his data from historical accounts of southern Brazil in the area of the state of Sao Paulo. Within the domestic sphere the Paulista woman, as the head of the house, directed the work of slaves and retainers in the kitchen as well as in other tasks such as spinning, weaving, and sewing. She was in charge of making clothes for the slaves, her husband, and her children. Under her supervision, servants performed the artistic work of lace making and bordering. The housewife was in charge of providing food for the slaves and retainers, of managing the keeping of poultry, fruit growing, gardening and children. She directed all commemorating activities. As Candido (1972: 296) says:

All this, which constituted the proper domain, the cultural and social universe of the woman, would hardly permit the mothers the indolence and the passivity attributed to them.

Candido (1972:296) found that sexual transgressions committed by the male against the female did not always go unnoticed or uncontested. He says that women were able to align their families -- their parents and brothers -- against their husbands. Some even had the husband's mistresses put to death.

To what extent has the image of the brazileira permeated and influenced modern Brazilian women in the middle class? Emilio Willems (1953), a Brazilian sociologist,
describes the modern family structure of the middle class of São Paulo. He finds evidence in behavioral norms and institutions which seem to indicate that this image may be close to reality. Characterizing the modern family relationships of the upper classes are two complementary complexes of behavior -- "the virginity and the virility complex." In the virginity complex there is a belief that female virginity is a necessary prerequisite to marriage. This belief has led to the following institutional arrangements -- segregation of the sexes, chaperonage, and family-controlled courtship. The legal code supports any husband who discovers after marriage that his wife is not a virgin and allows him to annul the marriage. Gossip and public opinion, at least in the 1950s, strongly supported the virginity rule. The alternative roles to those of wife and mother such as domestic servant, spinster, concubine, or prostitute were not attractive to women which is seen by the fact that some submitted to surgical operations to restore their physical virginity.

By the tenants of the virility complex, male honor is bound to female morality. Thus even after marriage, women are restricted in their sexual activities to their husbands. In addition, males learn from an early age that they are expected to be sexually aggressive. Frequent sexual intercourse is believed to be both healthy and essential to manhood. After marriage a Brazilian male may continue an
active sex life outside of his family. But since he is also in the position of husband and father, he must fulfill his primary role obligations as provider and protector of his family. According to Willems (1953), as long as the male fulfills his role obligations to his wife and children then his family will usually overlook his sexual activities.

Do these two complexes contrast or complement each other? Soeiro (1975:505) asks: "how can stress be placed on both male virility and on female chastity?" She answers:

There is, in fact, no contradiction involved, as they are mutually dependent values. If virginity were not valued for the female, then machismo would lose its meaning for the male. Moreover, in the context of a class society, upper-class masculine virility and female chastity are both dependent on the permissive sexuality of the lower-class female. Hence the rise and necessary persistence of the stereotype of the sexy mulatta (1975: 505).

The research on the lower class family structure indicates that it is seldom patriarchal and most often nuclear and even occasionally matrifocal. Willems (1953) study of two rural communities in Sao Paulo state shows that the institutional arrangements which support the virginity complex are also absent. Marriages are seldom legal and only occasionally religious. Males do not seem honor bound to retaliate female sexual transgressions either before or after marriage. Marital arrangements are more fluid and change with greater frequency and ease than those among the
upper classes. Several other ethnological studies on the rural lower classes support this picture of family relationships (Wagley 1953, Hutchinson 1957, Forman 1970).

One exception to this pattern is found among the Italian colonos of Rio Grande do Sul. Azevedo (1961) reports that the family structure is essentially patriarchal and male heirs inherit their father's land. Daughters receive dowries and after marriage become the co-proprietors of their husband's property.

Andrew Pearse (1961) analyzes family relationships in the urban favelas (slums) of Rio de Janeiro. He concludes that the most important unit is the nuclear family and within it the mother-child tie is the most enduring. The male may theoretically be the head of the family but in his absence the female assumes day-to-day control over family affairs and the children.

It seems then that the traditional institutional arrangements which supported and produced the ideal brazileira are absent in the lower class. This is clearly shown by the studies just reviewed but what is not shown is the extent to which this image may still be influencing the behavior of women and their definitions of their roles. In the following sections I shall present data which indicates that the image of the ideal brazileira exists in Porto Alegre and that it does seem to be related to role attributes of the mother, the wife, and the young girl. Finally
these role expectations influence the interaction between men and women, too. The material is arranged in the follow­ ing order: symbols of the brazileira in Porto Alegre, family structure and family relationships, mothers and sons, socialization of boys, socialization of girls, the young girl, the virginity rule, and the 'suffering' of women. By so doing, we can move from general symbols of women that are presented through the media of mass communi­ cation to the reported male-female relations as they are described by female informants. Data on family structure reveals two major types: the nuclear family and the female-­ centered family. Authority patterns demonstrated in nuclear family relationships exhibit a tendency toward adherence to the ideal of male dominance and female submissiveness. This trend is more apparent in the non-cult than the cult group. Members of the cult group, by the fact of their medium status, are actually engaged in a role which can undermine male authority in the private domain. Despite this fact the cult women still stressed the belief that it is desirable to have the husband's consent prior to developing mediunidade. They also stressed the importance of being able to balance the role demands of mother, wife, and medium. The next four sections -- mothers and sons, socialization of boys, socialization of girls, and the vir­ ginity rule -- briefly describe the development of adult male and female role expectations and provide a background
for the final section -- the 'suffering' of women.

The Porto Alegrense Brazileira

Popular magazines, songs, and television broadcasts are all forms of mass communication which affect the Porto Alegrense woman's view of herself. There are at least three examples of this image and each one reflects a slightly different aspect of the brazileira. The image which reaches middle class women is that portrayed by the magazine Claudia. Following a format similar to Glamour, Redbook, and Good Housekeeping, Claudia is aimed at the woman who has time, talent, and money enough to undertake such super-domestic tasks as interior decorating and design, artful cooking, and other skilled crafts. A Claudia is the modern housewife who pays close attention to her clothes and appearance. She is a successful mother and wife and has a good relationship with her husband because she either does not have any marital problems or has learned to ignore and to cope with them.

There is another less fortunate variation of the brazileira who is depicted in the once popular song Amelia, era mulher verdade ("Amelia, she was a true woman"). Amelia lives only for her husband and children. In silence, she suffers her husband's extra-marital affairs. She continues to pamper him and call him by such terms of endearment as Querido ("dear") or o meu amor ("my love"). Amelia barely
has enough money to buy food and clothing for her children. She manages the household by denying herself any bit of luxury. Her husband wastes his money on women and extra-domestic activities. But Amelia, as the song goes, was a true woman, meaning that she was a truly dedicated wife and mother who never raised a word of protest against her impossible condition.

Although this song was popular in the 1950s, there is a modern day version of the Amelia who is symbolized by the popular comic strip character the Supermãe ("Super-mother"). A supermãe is today's Amelia. She focuses all her attention upon her children, especially her grown son. She fusses over him as if he were still a child and through him she hopes to better her own position in life. The supermãe is an elderly Amelia who is no longer concerned with her husband but who has now diverted all of her attention to her children.

Family structure and family relationships

The nuclear-conjugal family structure is the one most encountered among the women in my sample (100% of the married women and 58% of the entire sample). Among the non-cult women, this type of family dominates marital relations. The only exceptions occur in the cases of the widows who tend to become the focal point for their children's families. In one case, an elderly widow named Dona Leona lives next
door to her married daughter and son-in-law and owns property in common with them. Among the cult women all of those who are married live in a nuclear-conjugal family. One single girl was raised in such a family in the Italian colonial zone but during the time of fieldwork she lived alone in a rented room. An additional three single women live or did live within a matrifocal family either during the period of fieldwork or during their childhood. Three single cult women live alone or with other women in rented apartments.

The male and female relationship within the conjugal family structure, in general, adheres to the principle of male dominance and female submissiveness. There are specific areas in which males and females each had authority and power. These are most clearly outlined in the assignment of economic tasks (see next section for details). The non-cult women said that the husband had the last word in all matters concerning the family and its ties to the public sphere. For example, they mentioned that the financial arrangements which affect the household are handled by the husband. He chooses the family car and decides on family vacations and outings.

Among the cult group male authority in domestic life seemed to depend upon the level of the male's day-to-day participation in family life and the strength of mind of the female. One cult woman, Dona Ana, said that the amount of responsibility assumed by a woman depends upon her level
of intelligence. Male-female interaction in the domestic sphere was difficult to observe among the cult group because most women were encountered during the day within their homes when their husbands were absent or in the evenings at the Umbanda center to which they came alone. Most of the data comes from the women's opinions about men, and, of course, represents a female bias.

Both the cult and non-cult women said that a married woman needed the consent and approval of her husband in order to engage in extra-domestic activities. The extra-domestic activities of non-cult women are confined to their tea parties, birthday parties, and visiting or shopping trips. The cult women's primary extra-domestic activities revolve around their mediumship and work at the Umbanda centers. As it was shown in Chapter V, the role of medium demands a considerable amount of time. The cult women mentioned over and again the desirability of having their husband's consent before developing mediunidade. In addition, two female cult leaders stressed that mothers with young children should not develop mediunidade because they cannot devote the required amount of time to either role, and consequently, they would fail in each. Another male cult leader warned his mediums not to come to the center if they had not completed the housework. The marital difficulties which stem from this neglect would so disturb them that they are not able to work effectively at the center.
Mothers and sons

Frequent observation of the relations between mothers and children enabled me to pick out some fairly consistent patterns. Mothers of both groups doted upon their sons—petting, spoiling, and fussing over them. The non-cult women felt that the education of sons through the university level, if possible, was more important than for daughters. However, daughters were educated through the colégio (i.e., roughly equivalent to high school), and if they could pass the entrance exams, then through the university as well. The mothers of the cult group gave their sons more attention than daughters, too. Although these mothers felt that education of sons was important, they did not feel that their sons would be able to go to the university. However, they were willing to work as domestic servants and in other menial jobs to help buy the books for the education of their sons through the colégio.

The attention that is given to sons begins at an early age, and it may continue throughout the life of the child. The following two cases represent the more extreme types of attention that mothers give their sons.

Ana is a mother of three boys—two live at home and one lives with an adoptive family. Ana gave up her second son in order that he might be raised in a family where he could have a better opportunity to advance in life. Her youngest son, Sandro, is the recipient of an enormous amount of family attention. He is spoiled and encouraged in his
displays of aggression and selfishness. He is rarely spanked or scolded by his mother or sisters. If they want to alter his behavior, they bribe him with cookies or pop. During our conversations, he constantly demanded his mother's breast to suckle even though she has no milk. He is three years old. The eldest son, age seventeen, is seldom required to assist in the housework or in the care of his younger siblings. He attends school, plays soccer, and watches television. His mother may ask him to help her but she does not order him to.

In the next case we see the extension well into adulthood of this intense relationship between a mother and her son.

Dona Leona discussed her son with me many times before I actually met him in person. During the Christmas holidays, she woke up early and began preparations for an elaborate noon-day meal. She cooked and baked all morning. When dinner time came and passed without her son showing up, I found her crying in the kitchen. She told me that her son was breaking her heart by not coming for lunch. She then told me that he was fifty-six years old, living with a woman, and that he had not been previously contacted about the dinner. She simply decided that he might come by so she began the meal. Dona Leona had many opportunities to give her son lunch, and during these meals, she (age 76) was constantly up and down bringing food and drink to him. She prepared enough food for four people and when he could eat no more, she lamented, tearfully, that he was not eating properly.
Socialization of boys

There is a marked contrast between the socialization of lower class and middle class boys. Beginning at about age five, lower class boys can be observed playing in groups that are formed of their comrades from the neighborhood. Usually this play is violent and unsupervised. It begins in the early morning and continues all day. The boys play games of war which involve pointed wooden sticks to be used as swords, sling shots, and bows and arrows. The swords and missiles from their sling shots were hurled fast enough and hard enough so that minor injuries did result. The boys continued their play fighting for hours, and, at times, their games covered two sides of the street. Half position themselves behind a barricade and hurl sling shots at the other half. Cats and stray dogs are also major objects of their aggression.

Older boys of this class play soccer on open grassy fields which are found in outlying neighborhoods. Their time is divided between this sport, school, and watching television.

Boys from middle class families engage in supervised games and activities. They usually attend school four hours per day for academic work and an additional few hours per week for supervised sports such as classes in judo. Their free time is directed toward homework and toward leisure play within locked courtyard walls. Occasionally, they are seen riding bicycles along the sidewalk or street in front
Socialization of girls

Daughters of the middle class cult and non-cult women are expected to help in the housework but only after school hours. They also engage in regulated activities within their homes or the homes of their friends.

Daughters of the lower class cult women seem to enjoy an early period of freedom and play which can last up until the age of eight or nine. Before this age, they are not required to take on any major responsibility, and they are treated much the same as little boys. When a girl reaches the age of eight or nine she is given increased responsibility within the house. Daughters of this age were seen tending younger siblings, washing clothes (by hand), cleaning the house, and running errands for day-to-day food supplies. The demands of these domestic tasks often interrupt the education of these girls. Whenever the mother has to be away from home, the daughter is expected to stay home and tend the house and younger children.

Young daughters not only take care of younger siblings and do the housework they are also under the authority of their elder female siblings and other female relatives. The following illustrates this:

Dona Fatima (age 19) lives with her husband and baby daughter in the interior. Her mother comes out to visit
her each Tuesday and Saturday. Whenever her mother is present in Fatima's home, Fatima waits on her. Her mother rarely assists her daughter in any of the housework. When one of Fatima's younger sisters is present, both the mother and Fatima sit down and they are waited upon by the youngest girl. This pattern was observed at lunches, birthday parties, and whenever elder and younger women from the same family were together.

This pattern of descending authority among females within the same family may be characteristic of lower class families. Andrew Pearse (1961) observed a similar principle of hierarchy within the lower class favela families of Rio de Janeiro.

The Môça ("Young Girl")

One of the most significant role changes marking the life cycle of women is pregnancy with or without marriage. This status change is reflected in the customary usage of the term môça ("young girl"). The role of môça is a transitional one moving a person from a young, immature girl to that of mother and/or wife. While a wife may be any woman who lives with a man more or less permanently but who is not legally or religiously married, a môça may be any young woman without children. Students and working girls fall into this category, too. Although no definite upper limits regarding age appear to exist, a single woman past the late twenties and who has never had children moves into a rather
ambiguous position. She is getting too old to be classified as a mēca (depending on her appearance) and since she never had children or married she cannot be a mother or a wife. Even as late as the 1960s an unmarried woman had two public role choices — that of a prostitute or that of a dependent relative attached to the home of a family member. Women who lived alone, isolated from their families, unmarried and without children were and are to some extent considered to be prostitutes or at the very least to be suspected of immorality (Levy Cruz 1967). The ambiguity of the social status of the aging mēca was expressed by several single women who recounted incidents of being propositioned on the streets.

Young women were observed in public walking with eyes downcast so as not to catch the eyes of men they passed in the streets. Girls who stared directly into the eyes of men became the subject of catcalls, pinches, and "too friendly" gestures. Mēcas observed with their boyfriends in public places were generally smothered with affection and male dominance -- young men place their arms around the shoulders and necks of their sweethearts so that the girl's faces are completely hidden from sight. Young single girls were rarely observed in public places unaccompanied at least by another girl. If girls went out shopping or to the cinema, they were observed in pairs, walking with arms linked.
The virginity complex which is traditionally a middle class value set was discussed with single working women in Porto Alegre. These women were about equally divided between the middle and the lower middle classes. The average age was above thirty so their responses reflect those of the "aging mocas." The virginity rule, as they defined it, placed women in an ambiguous position, since proof of virginity rested upon a test through sexual intercourse. When a young man made a proposal of marriage to a girl, he then had the right to demand proof that the girl was a virgin. After the proof had been given, the girl who obviously was no longer a virgin, was still in a position to be rejected by her fiancé. These women expressed the opinion that the virginity rule is less important than a goal of marital fidelity for both partners of a marriage. As one woman, Dona Thelma, put it: "A man will soon forget whether or not his bride was a virgin and will only remember if she was faithful to him after their marriage."

The 'suffering' of women

The members of the non-cult group were asked to list the three most difficult problems facing women. Ninety percent said that the number one problem in a married woman's life was the infidelity of her husband. Some women said that the discovery of an unfaithful husband would be the greatest shock in their lives. Others, taking a more
pragmatic view, said that an unfaithful husband was not so much a problem as something that happens in the life of a woman. There is an expectation that this will happen and an adjustment to the event is all that is needed. Most (95%) of the women felt that if a married woman has good relations within her house, then she has a pretty good life.

Jealousy, sex, and separation were considered to be minor problems stemming from the first one of the unfaithful husband. Again, a few women did not view separation as a problem for women but rather as a liberation from an unpleasant situation.

The education of children and sufficient money to run the household were the next two most often mentioned problems. A married woman with a house full of children must have enough money to take proper care of them and to educate them.

The married cult women also felt that an unhappy conjugal relationship stemming from an unfaithful husband is a primary problem for women. The cult women think that an unfaithful spouse is more or less out of their control since men are not as moral as women. Men, it is believed, cannot be expected to confine their sexual activities to one single woman. However, they did feel that if women have good sexual arrangements with their husbands, then their lives are happier. Money was mentioned as an important problem especially if women are suffering in their marital life. Money could
ease the suffering.

In two cases married cult women trace the origin of their 'suffering' back to their husbands. One source of Dona Ana's 'suffering' is the immorality of her husband, and his insistence, early in their marriage, that she refrain from her education at night school. She said that he was jealous of other men who she might meet at school. Dona Bette 'suffered' before she made the decision to develop her mediunidade and she said that her marital problems were the source of this suffering.

The idea that women 'suffer' because of men seems to be related to the value which women place upon being a successful mother. Whenever these women talked of suffering they related it back to husbands who do not take their role as provider and protector of the family seriously. Instead of using their income to support the family, these husbands waste it on other women. The example of Dona Leona and the story of her suffering is typical of this problem.

Dona Leona comes from the interior area surrounding Porto Alegre. She is of German origin and her husband is Spanish. He is now deceased but when they were married they moved to Porto Alegre. As a traveling shoe salesman, he bought shoes in Novo Hamburgo and sold them around the state. Dona Leona claims that she suffered considerably while he was alive because he gave her barely enough money from his shoe sales to make ends meet within the household. The rest of the money that he made he took and
spent out on the streets on women. Dona Leona says that after he died, she was able through her son who is also a traveling salesman to purchase her house and some additional rental property.

Similar stories of 'suffering' were related to me by even the poorest women. Dona Leonita, a cult woman from an outlying neighborhood, suffers because her husband has 'nada na cabeça' ("nothing in the head"). Their house is run down and unpainted. She said that her husband is jealous of any relationship she might have with other men even including her own son. Her husband is absent from the home for long periods of time. However, Dona Leonita turned to Batuque and Umbanda to help her rectify her problem. She talked about the Batuque trabalhos she had made against him to get revenge. Dona Lourdes, also a cult woman from this area, described her pre-marital freedom to attend dances and fondly talked about the good times she used to have before marriage. She said that now, of course, she does not do these things. She has two children and is pregnant with a third. Dona Lourdes said that she performs all the housework on Saturdays and as soon as her husband gets home from work he messes up the house. But Lourdes said, she just leaves the mess until next Saturday when she will clean again.

The 'suffering' syndrome seems to revolve around three things: husbands and their infidelity, money, and children.
The unfaithful husband wastes money on other women which his wife could use for the running of the household and the proper care of the children. Both non-cult women and cult women seemed to agree upon this. Although these findings are not conclusive, it seems that women from the lower classes are just as concerned about good marital relations as the middle class women and both groups say they 'suffer' because of their husbands. Without such good relations they cannot be successful wives and mothers. The frequency with which these problems seem to be encountered by women is reflected in the types of client problems brought to two mediums. Marital difficulties, unfaithful husbands, and the desertion of women and their children comprise between thirty-five and forty percent of the client problems brought to Dona Ana, a cult leader and to Dona Bette, a spirit medium.

Modernization and economic roles of women: the private and public domain

It is usually assumed that modernization is a form of social change which is a universally progressive process and that this change will benefit the overall status of women. As women are incorporated into the urban work force, as this argument goes, their social status automatically improves. It is also assumed that more satisfaction derives from urban work -- either domestic or factory -- than rural
work. However, as Mintz (1971) has shown, many peasant and rural women have exercised important and powerful roles, especially as traders. Urban work open to women, despite the promises of modernization, remains primarily in the area of domestic service. Chaney (1973b) found that two out of every five Latin American women in the workforce are domestic servants. Mintz (1971) demonstrates that modernization, urbanization and technological change, accompanying the incorporation of women in the urban workforce -- by actually reducing the economic alternatives available to women of some rural societies -- can have regressive effects.

In this section the process of modernization affecting the public and private economic roles of the women in this study is analyzed. The roles within the public domain are represented here by employment opportunities and by clearly economic roles, i.e., those which pertain to the ways in which goods and services are exchanged and redistributed within the social system (Hoebel 1972:344). The public domain economic roles are influenced by the progress of Brazil's economic development and by traditional definitions of private domain economic roles of women. This became clear to me as I read through economic reports that documented female participation in the labor force. Brazilian economists and census takers are biased towards a specific ideology which defines the proper domain for women. This
is clearly seen in the section of this chapter that deals with socially productive (i.e., that which contributes to economic development) and socially unproductive work (i.e., that which does not contribute to economic development). Within the modern, economic context, economists and census takers consider traditional female economic roles to be socially unproductive.

This ideology so intrigued me that I organized my Porto Alegrense data around the concepts of socially productive activities and socially unproductive activities. The traditional economic roles which are ascribed to women fall primarily within the private or domestic domain. They include three categories of economic activity: the housework, the domestic crafts, and the domestic service. Housework sums up the basic economic activity of women, and out of it derives the other two. Although housework does not bring any monetary reward to women, the domestic crafts and domestic service are sources of income. They include services which are rendered to clients in the public domain. Such services are low paying, and they are not highly valued by society. The economists and census takers who are reviewed in this chapter do not consider them to be socially productive. Domestic domain economic roles have the following characteristics: 1) they are ascribed by sex to females; 2) they are either low paid or unpaid; 3) they are unfulfilling; 4) they are unskilled; and 5) they are unproductive.
Women cannot contribute to social production unless they are employed in the public domain. Public domain economic roles are tied to industrialization, and they require new skills which are learned extra-domestically. The public domain economic roles have the following characteristics: 1) they are sex-integrated; 2) they are paid; 3) they are fulfilling; 4) they are skilled; and 5) they are socially productive.

The requirements that accompany entrance into the public domain economic roles put about eighty percent of Brazilian women out of the competition for public employment. Even among those who are economically active, according to census takers and economists, only twenty percent are involved in social production. Thus the economic roles open to Porto Alegrense women are primarily those for which their traditional private domain economic skills cannot be applied. A few but steadily growing number are able to participate in higher paid, skilled, and socially productive work. The significance of this finding lies in the fact that while Brazil is experiencing the greatest period of economic growth and progress in her history, women are basically left out, and they are even losing ground as their traditional domestic economic roles are being replaced by public domain roles for which they, as yet, do not have sufficient skills to enter. This problem is faced by Latin American women in general.
Meri Knaster (1976:15) points out that it is often difficult to determine the participation of Latin American women in the economy:

Women's contribution to the economy is neglected by virtue of the relegation of working class women to the most unstable, least skilled, and low-paying employment--domestic service, prostitution, and street vending--and the low status accorded such activities. Women's contributions to production, reproduction of labor power, and in the service sector are not in the aggregate data of census material. The invisibility of these contributions occurs because they may not be formally considered as labor force participation or because their remuneration is not officially registered.

Brazilian women and the economic "miracle": the Public Domain

The impressive economic development experienced by Brazil in the decades after World War II has been called an "economic miracle." How this miracle affects the lives of women is difficult to determine from sources on economic development. But from the data which is available, it appears that so far the miracle has been good for only a small percentage of Brazilian women. The "economic miracle" refers to an economic growth rate averaging ten percent annually in real terms from 1968 to 1974. According to Stefan H. Robock, a specialist on the Brazilian economy, "Brazil has increased its national output by an amount equal to its total cumulative economic growth over all the
previous centuries of its history" (1975:1). The traditional Brazilian economic pattern follows a "boom and bust" cycle which emphasized one major export crop after another beginning with Brazilwood in 1500 and ending with rubber and coffee between 1850 and 1930. But during the last fifty years (1920–1970) the emphasis has been on steady industrial development. The importance of such development has implications for the whole nation, and it is not just a regional phenomenon as were the traditional export items subject to the "boom and bust" cycles.

Before we look closer at some specific studies on female employment, it is helpful to review the participation of women (between 1940 and 1970) in the various sectors of the economy. On Table 4 (page 270) we have an index of female economic activities taken from the Fundação Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE 1975:35). The table is divided into two major sections -- those women who are 'economically active' and those women who are not. Note that Brazilian economists and census takers have concluded that approximately eighty-three percent of the women surveyed are 'economically inactive' for this period. Among those who are 'economically active', we can observe the following employment trends: 1) there has been a steady decline in their participation in agriculture, forestry, logging, hunting, and fishing; 2) the services have always represented the largest sector employing women; 3) the social services
### Table 4

Population Present, 10 Years Old and Over Per Sector of Activity: Female

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ECONOMIC ACTIVITY</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
<th>Persons 10 Years Old and Older</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, forestry, logging, hunting, fishing</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation, communications, and storage</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social services</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public administration</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other activities</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOT ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE</td>
<td>80.8</td>
<td>86.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ABSOLUTE NUMBER TOTAL**

|                  | 14,603,238 | 18,469,715 | 24,622,009 | 33,305,630 |

(Adapted from IBGE 1975:35)
are steadily expanding the opportunities that they offer for female employment; and 4) all the other categories combined have never employed more than an average of six percent of the 'economically active' women.

Two separate studies of the participation of Brazilian women in the "economic miracle" show that although there has been a dramatic increase in the participation of women in education and employment categories previously reserved for men and that now women comprise twenty percent of the labor force, the employment of women is still heaviest in the service fields, including domestic service (Rubens Vaz da Costa 1974, cited in Robock 1975:11-12; Madeira and Singer 1975). The Madeira and Singer economic report draws the following specific conclusions about female participation in the work force during the years 1920 and 1970. First, the number of jobs created for women through economic development is less than the number of women in urban areas who seek employment. Secondly, the growth of domestic-remunerated services employing women in typical female chores are still important sources of income for women with no skills or education. Third, there is hidden unemployment among women in urban areas because the majority of women are either unemployed or employed in socially unproductive work. Fourth, the transformation brought about by development had contradictory consequences for the economic and social status of women especially in the secondary sector.
and in the production services where the elimination of domestic crafts and domestic service jobs removed a large number of women from economic activities. Madeira and Singer (1975:496) estimate that in 1970 more than three-fourths of the economically active women were found in subsistence agriculture and remunerated domestic work. They find this encouraging since in 1960 the proportion was more than four-fifths. According to the Anuario Estatistica do Brazil (1975), between 1940 and 1970 an average of eighty-two percent of Brazilian women were not counted among those considered to be active in economic affairs.

The role of women in the economic development of Rio Grande do Sul is more difficult to isolate. The available statistical data fails to break down the general economic sectors which therefore makes it impossible to tell which industries employed women and which did not. In the economic surveys of Rio Grande do Sul (FEE 1975), the various sectors of the economy are defined as follows: 1) the primary sector refers to agriculture, livestock, hunting, fishing, and the extraction of vegetal products; 2) the secondary sector refers to industry and manufacturing; 3) the tertiary sector refers to the service industries. On Table 5 (Percent of Working Population by Sex and Economic Sector RGS 1950 and 1970), we can see that in 1950 sixty percent of those surveyed were engaged in the primary sector, and out of that percent, only seven percent were women.
Table 5
Percent of Working Population by Sex and Economic Sector
RGS 1950-1970

1950
WORKING POPULATION OF 10 YEARS OR MORE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic Sector</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>738,902</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>96,925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>150,086</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>266,606</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>119,230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,155,594</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>237,555</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** IS-RGS 1975:19

1970
WORKING POPULATION OF 10 YEARS OR MORE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic Sector</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>868,794</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>175,966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>332,127</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>46,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>507,554</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>338,494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,708,475</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>560,460</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** IS-RGS 1975:19
By 1970 the percentage of those so engaged dropped to forty-six. During the same period, there was a corresponding increase overall in both the secondary and tertiary sectors. The percentage of women working in the secondary sector remained constant. In both 1950 and 1970 most of the women surveyed were employed in the tertiary sector. The table shows that the percentage of women included by census takers in the survey increased from 1950 at eighteen percent to twenty-five percent in 1970. This indicates that the percentage of women who are considered economically active rose during this twenty year period.

Domestic Domain Roles and Social Production

"Work" is defined as activity that is related to the production of goods and services (Madeira and Singer 1975: 490). Activity identified as "work" becomes increasingly specialized during economic development, according to their theory, and increasingly isolated from the home. Since Brazilian women are traditionally assigned house tasks, they are engaged in economic activity which is not considered "work" by Brazilian census takers and economists. Housework is not seen as contributing to social production, i.e., economic development, and since women are engaged in housework, the number counted as economically active remains extremely low. Implied here is a distinction between two spheres of activity: one of domestic tasks which is
associated with women; and one of "work" or activities contributing to economic development which is associated primarily with men and only some women. Keeping these definitions in mind, let us turn to the domestic domain economic roles of Brazilian women.

The activities performed by women within the domestic sphere include the housework, domestic crafts, and domestic service. The attitudes toward the domestic domain activities and responsibilities of women are summarized from the answers which were given to the following five questions.

1. What are the woman's (and man's) responsibilities in the house?

2. Do husbands and sons ever assist in housework? When?

3. Where do female and male responsibilities lie within the household?

4. What is your opinion of working mothers and their role in the housework?

5. What jobs are popular with women today? Are there "female jobs?"

Question 1: What are a woman's responsibilities in the house?

All of the women agreed upon the following definition for housework: the organization and running of the house. Housework represents a woman's major household responsibilities. These include the following areas:

a. food: tending fruit trees and gardens, shopping for daily
supplies, preparation of meals, canning and storage of food, serving and cleaning up after meals;

b. clothing: shopping for materials and/or finished clothes, designing, sewing, repairing, washing and ironing;

c. house maintenance: sweeping floors, washing floors, dusting, polishing, yard maintenance, minor repairs;

d. early education and child care.

The dona de casa or the housewife is any woman who is the recognized head of a household. She may be the wife or mother of the house's male head. She has the responsibility to see to it that housework is completed. The housewife can delegate all or part of her responsibilities to someone else but she maintains the authority to direct these tasks. Everyone agrees that the delegation of work is desirable. However, the ability to do so depends upon the presence of certain resources such as the money to hire full or part-time empregadas (maids) or the availability of daughters and female relatives to assist in the housework.

Members of the non-cult group are more concerned with hiring maids than are Umbanda women. Their responses emphasize the important role which they believe a maid can play in freeing the housewife from housework. They stress the fact that a woman without an empregada is so tied to her housework that she will not be able to go out to shop or to
attend reunions of her friends or to give teas. While this may be an overstatement, it does express their feelings on the subject. The non-cult women point to the problem of rising costs which make it more difficult to hire maids. Only two of the fourteen non-cult women employ full-time live-in domestic servants. The remaining twelve employ occasional part-time domestic help. Wagley (1971:116) says that middle class Brazilian families try to hire at least one domestic servant even though they have a hard time making ends meet. This seems to conform to my data from Porto Alegre. The reason behind this, according to Wagley (1971:116) is that the middle classes "tend to aspire to the aristocratic values of last century's landed gentry which are out of keeping with modern Brazil."

The main reason which the non-cult women give for wanting domestic help is freedom from the housework. Direct observation of two households in which part-time domestic servants were employed suggests that the amount of freedom gained is questionable. In both households, the housewife was kept busy supervising the servant throughout the entire day. Both women said repeatedly that they could not trust the hired help to work a full day without their constant supervision. In another case, a widow and her sister from the non-cult group told me that finding and keeping a trusted and reliable servant can be one of the major problems in a woman's life. Thus the stated advantage of more free time
may not outweigh the disadvantage of having to spend an entire day directing a servant. The motive for hiring domestic servants may still be the status which comes from having servants even if they are expensive and troublesome.

Regardless of the possibility of hiring domestic servants, all of the women agree that young girls must be skilled in housework tasks. There are two reasons for this: one is the rising costs of servants; and the other is the high prices of home appliances. Only one of the cult women employs a part-time maid. Dona Bette is middle class, and she rents out rooms in her three story house. She can afford to pay a servant to do washing, ironing and cleaning. But Dona Bette does all of the food preparation herself. Her daughter works, and she is, therefore, not expected to help in the housework.

Another cult woman, Dona Ana, relies heavily upon her two daughters' help in the domestic chores. She lives along the outskirts of Porto Alegre in a lower class barrio (neighborhood). Her small, four roomed, wood and tile roofed house is the domicile of two adults and four children. Since the age of nine, both daughters were trained in the skills of housework. Dona Ana often leaves her housework to her daughters because she is occupied with the opening up of an Umbanda center of her own. The time demands are great, and she is usually gone all day. Her daughters look after the house and tend to their younger brother. Dona Ana
has complete trust and confidence in them, and, consequently, she does not have to spend her free time supervising them. The amount of free time available to her is considerable when compared to the non-cult women who hire domestic help.

The other lower class, rural, cult women in the survey depend upon their siblings and friends to help them in the housework. This arrangement is reciprocal and temporary, and it is reserved for special occasions. For example, Dona Fatima helped her sister-in-law with the housework after the birth of a new baby. Dona Fatima's younger sister came out to assist her in the housework for two weeks during the winter. However, the daily performance of this work among these lower class, rural, cult women is their sole responsibility.

Question 2: Do husbands and sons assist with housework?

All of the women agree that husbands and sons are not expected to help a woman in the area. One exception which was mentioned about eighty percent of the time is illness. Another exception is associated with modern newlyweds who are both employed full-time. About thirty percent of the non-cult women say that their daughters' husbands help with the housework because their daughters are employed. One woman said that even though her daughter works she must still get up way before sunrise in order to complete the
housework.

Men, then, are not generally expected to help with the housework. Working women cannot necessarily rely upon their husbands for help. This expectation is widely enough held so that about one half of the single working cult women expressed their doubts about being able to find husbands who would tolerate either their career goals or their career in Umbanda. Thelma's case is an example. Thelma works as an accountant in a textile firm. She said that if she ever married it would have to be to someone who would not demand that she wait on him after she had just finished a hard day at work. Her future husband would be expected to help in the housework, too. Another working woman (age 34) is actively pursuing night school, working during the day for a chemical lab, and working several evenings a week as an Umbanda spirit medium. This woman, Dona Iara, also has doubts about marriage, saying that unless she can find someone who will tolerate all of her activities and help her with the housework, she will not marry.

A rather vivid example of the sexual division of labor within the domestic domain came when I made an unannounced visit to the rural home of Dona Fatima. She was absent from her home four days during which time she helped her sister-in-law with her new baby and her housework. When she returned home she found piles of pots and pans in the kitchen sink, rubbish and trash on the floor, and a general mess
left by her husband. When I arrived I was so astonished that I asked her what had happened? After she explained the situation to me, she said, simply, "homen é homem" (a man is a man).

Question 3: Where do female and male responsibilities lie within the household?

Non-cult and cult women agree that women assume the major responsibility for food preparation, clothing, and maintenance activities. It is agreed that both parents assume responsibility for the formal education of children and the choice of their schools. Approximately thirty percent of the non-cult women made a distinction between shopping rancho (shopping for large quantities of food) and daily shopping. These women say that their husbands assume the major responsibility in shopping rancho because this type of shopping is done in large supermarkets which sell imported beer, wines, cheeses and other special foods. These stores are relatively rare in Porto Alegre, and they are similar to midwestern Ohio Kroger "superstores." Men drive the entire family to these stores in the evening where they may spend an hour or more browsing through the aisles. The non-cult women say that their husbands spend far more money at these stores than they would ever spend.

Cult women did not make any distinction in the types of shopping. They believed that a female has the primary
responsibility in this area. None of the cult women did their shopping in these fancy supermarkets.

All of the women say that men assume responsibility for the financial and business matters of the house. The exceptions occur when the housewife is widowed or single where in either case she must attend to these aspects herself.

Question 4: What is your opinion of working mothers? Can they continue doing the housework?

The non-cult women favor extra-domestic employment which may be related to the fact that such a high percentage of those employed are in jobs valued as socially productive by society. On Table 7 we see that six out of fourteen or forty-three percent are employed, and, of that number, thirty-six percent are in socially productive work. In addition, non-cult women do not think that extra-domestic employment must necessarily conflict with their housework or their roles as wives and mothers. It is relevant to note here that the ages of the employed women range between forty and fifty-five and their children are either all in school or grown up and married. A smaller portion or thirty percent feel that extra-domestic employment is only necessary when extra money is needed for the education of children. These women are all unemployed housewives.
Strong disagreement is expressed by an elderly female, aged seventy-six. This old woman feels that if a woman works extra-domestically and if she is still fully responsible for the housework, then she will become old and skinny before her time. She will eventually lose the interest of her husband.

Among the cult women there are a variety of opinions. More than sixty percent do not think that a woman should work extra-domestically especially if she has young children at home. However, they recognize that it is often necessary to supplement the family's income. Table 6 reveals that none of the married women in Umbanda worked in socially productive work. The cult women also point out that a woman who has children, a full-time job, and all the responsibilities for the housework cannot devote much time to other extra-domestic activities such as becoming a spirit medium. They encourage women to wait until their children are grown or, if possible, to quit their jobs before they attempt to develop mediunidade.

One single female cult woman's opinion on this subject is strongly influenced by her role as an Umbanda spirit medium. Dona Iara is a very popular spirit medium, and her spirits attend long lines of clients weekly. She believes that working mothers are responsible for most of the problems of Brazil's young people. Dona Iara's spirits must deal with children who grow up without the guidance and direction of
their mothers or other relatives. She said many children, especially of the poor, have only their peers to counsel them. She believes that this is where the importance of Umbanda lies -- it teaches people, both the mediums and the clients, how to handle these problems of life. Dona Iara says that this is what developing mediunidade means -- the continued wisdom which comes from solving problems in the lives of clients. It is interesting that Wagley (1971:110) makes a similar point when he discussed the lower classes of large Brazilian cities. He says:

Members of the lower class live in the impersonal city without their kinsmen and lifelong friends of their rural neighborhood and without upper-class protectors.

And later, he says that:

a number of children attend schools.... others are not in schools and in any case, a school session takes up only three or four hours out of the day. These children are thus 'on the loose', subject to all the possibilities of crime and vice (1971:11).

Another cult woman, Dona Bette, expresses the opinion that work is good for women. It occupies their time and their minds and it prevents them from becoming bored and dissatisfied with their life. She says that a woman who works will quarrel less often with her husband and her entire family will benefit.
Question 5: What jobs are popular with women today? Are there "female jobs?"

All of the women surveyed agreed that if a woman has the necessary skills and education, she should be allowed to enter into any area of employment, and she should receive pay and opportunities equal to men. The following professions were listed as the most popular among women: professor or teacher; secretary; librarian; business; law; and medicine. Twenty percent of the single women interviewed had aspirations to enter medical school. The role of spirit medium is not considered to be a "job." It is said to be a vocation or a mission.

**Domestic service and domestic crafts**

Domestic crafts and domestic service, according to the Maderia and Singer (1975) report, provide income for about seventy-five to eighty percent of working women. The classification of this work as socially unproductive tends to obscure its importance as an income supplement. Domestic crafts can bring in an extra income to the family while at the same time allowing a woman to work within her home. One informant, Dona Bette, who is an Umbanda spirit medium, provides an excellent example of how domestic crafts can be put to productive and profitable use.

Dona Bette is of Italian ethnic background. She and her husband moved to Porto Alegre nineteen years ago. Her husband works as a carpenter and he is
self-employed. In 1975, Dona Bette lived in a well furnished three story house. She has five children. The two oldest sons attend the university and her daughter works for a law firm as a secretary. Her two youngest boys are in school. Dona Bette was able to help her husband buy their present house and send their sons to the university by putting certain artisan skills to profitable use. She ran (1960s) a small home shirt factory from the living room of their previous house. She designed the shirts and cut out the patterns. She hired three women to sew the shirts and several more to sell the shirts out on the street. This type of skilled artisan work was a totally domestic industry yet it was profitable enough to make a significant difference in the family's standard of living.

Another cult woman still supplements her husband's income in this fashion. Dona Zelia sells hand embroidered doilies but she does not receive the profits which Dona Bette was able to achieve. The Madeira and Singer (1975) study found that this type of cottage industry is now almost totally replaced by parallel industries in the public domain which are producing the same products. The growth of these industries gradually reduced the demand for domestic products. The machine-made items are more highly valued than the same hand-made products.

Domestic crafts used to be a very basic part of a young girl's training. Let us take for an example the case of Thelma, who is an Umbanda spirit medium.

Thelma is an Italian woman of thirty-one. She was raised in a small town in the colonial zone to the north of Porto Alegre.
She lived there with her father, mother, and brother until about fifteen years ago when she moved to the capital. Thelma's father believed that she should leave school after the primary level and become apprenticed to an older woman with whom she could learn the artisan skills of housework. Thelma was apprenticed to an old German woman who taught her how to knit gloves which is a rare skill. Thelma was also taught how to design and sew clothes, embroider, crochet, and cook. She says that she resisted this role but her father would not allow her to pursue any other. Eventually, she was allowed to work for a primary school teacher as an assistant. But she had to leave her home town and move to another in order to continue her education. In 1975 she was studying for the entrance exam to the medical school of the university.

Of course not all women have made artisan products for public sale. About seventy-five percent of the non-cult women bring their domestic crafts with them to the teas and work on them during their meetings.

Domestic service employment may be full or part-time. The role of full-time maid is attractive to lower class rural women who move into the city. This attraction is based on job security and the chance for upward social mobility. A maid who is employed by an upper class family is provided with room and board. The monthly wages average 350 cruzeiros and are below Rio Grande do Sul's minimum monthly salary of 494.40 cruzeiros (IBGE 1975:299). The major attraction then is not the salary but the free time which many maids have to pursue other activities. At the time of this study two cult women were maids and both spent all of their free time
developing mediunidade at the Umbanda center. It is also possible for maids to attend the adult night school programs such as the MOBRAL movement sponsors. The completion of night courses can often lead to higher paying jobs.

Now let us examine how the application of Madeira and Singer's definitions of economic roles affects a survey of the occupations of women in this sample. Out of the twenty-nine women, sixty-two percent are involved in socially unproductive activities and thirty-eight percent are engaged in socially productive employment. Compared to the national census and the Madeira and Singer report where only twenty percent of employed women are engaged in socially productive activities, the women in our sample seem to be doing somewhat better. Out of the fourteen cult women, fifty-seven percent are engaged in socially unproductive activities and forty-three percent are employed in socially productive work. This is compared to the fifteen non-cult women where we find that sixty-seven percent are socially unproductive and thirty-three percent are socially productive. Does this mean that cult women are in a better position since more of them are engaged in social production? Probably not because if we look closer at the sample, we see that age may have something to do with engaging in social production, and it may account for the difference between the cult and the non-cult women. Among the single or widowed cult women (average age: 27), forty-three percent are engaged in social
production whereas among the non-cult women of the same status (average age: 53), only thirteen percent are so engaged. Among married women in both groups the average age is closer: forty for the cult women and forty-six for the non-cult women and the percent who are engaged in socially unproductive activities is almost the same, too. But among the married women of the cult group no one is employed in social production whereas among the non-cult group some married women are employed in social production.

There seems to be some indication here that fewer working women will be employed in domestic and craft work in the future. The statements of my informants from the non-cult group indicate that fewer young middle class women of 1975 are being trained in the domestic skills and crafts. Daughters of this group are staying in school longer and preparing for jobs within the public rather than the domestic domain. Single women of the cult group are moving into socially productive employment as they acquire the skills that are necessary for such work.

Summary

The image of the Brazileira emerging from Brazil's historical development is one of contrasts. Accordingly, the Brazileira is passive and submissive in sexual and social relationships which involve men but she is aggressive and perhaps authoritarian in social interaction and
Table 6
Survey of the Occupations of Married Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cult Women (Average age 40)</th>
<th>Socially Unproductive</th>
<th>Socially Productive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Artisan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Domestic Service</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total of cult group (14)</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Cult Women (Average age 46.6)</th>
<th>Socially Unproductive</th>
<th>Socially Productive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Commerce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Supervisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total of non-cult group (15)</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>% of total of non-cult group (15)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7
Survey of Occupations of Single or Widowed Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cult Women (Average age 27)</th>
<th>Socially Unproductive</th>
<th>Socially Productive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Service</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Chemical Lab Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Accountant in Textile Firm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Commercial Typist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Subtotal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total of number of cult group (14)</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>% of total of number of cult group (14)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Cult Women (Average age 53)</th>
<th>Socially Unproductive</th>
<th>Socially Productive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Service</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Subtotal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total of number of non-cult group (15)</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>% of total of number of non-cult group (15)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
economic tasks performed within the domestic domain. The Brazileira struggles to provide her husband heirs and yet submits to his sexual transgressions and their illegitimate products. She derives strength from her knowledge of her superior moral position and yet she is resigned toward and patient with her husband's weaknesses and immoral behavior. Widows, on the other hand, enter the public domain and deal with aggressive, immoral men. The success of these widows indicates that underneath the image of weakness there is strength.

There is some continuity present in this ideal image and that of the Porto Alegre women's view of themselves. The dual nature of Brazilian women defined by passivity and submissiveness to male authority on the one hand and by aggressiveness and assertiveness in domestic domain activities on the other is recognized by women in this sample. The Claudia image of the successful middle class woman is sharply contrasted with the devious and practical supermãe who knows how to manipulate her world through her son. The suffering Amelia is so downtrodden that she cannot even assert herself in domestic affairs. As a lower class role model, she fails to represent the cult women, however, because unlike Amelia, most cult women have found an outlet for their frustration in the role of spirit medium.
Middle class and middle-aged non-cult women seem to defer more to male authority and to the value tenets of the virility vs. virginity complex than do cult women. This agrees with Willems' (1951) study of middle class people in Sao Paulo. Working girls, however, resent the unfairness of this system. The "aging mōca" finds herself in an ambiguous position which stems in part from this middle class value complex. As a working girl who attains the outward material symbols of middle class values, she is caught between the two traditionally acceptable roles for women: young virtuous girls or married women with children. This ambiguity is heightened by the affronts which she may suffer when her male counterparts mistake her for a prostitute.

The image of feminine suffering, the belief that women are morally superior to men (whether in fact they are nor not), the belief that women are more patient, kind and gentle, support the modern role definitions and expectations of the feminine life cycle roles of mōca, wife, and mother. The socialization of boys and girls among both middle and lower class cult and non-cult women realistically prepares the young for the strict sexual division of labor within the private domain.

Public domain economic opportunities for women restrict them primarily to traditional economic tasks originating in the domestic economic skills which lack social prestige.
in a developing industrial society. In addition to lacking social prestige, women receive very low pay for the economic roles which they do perform in the public domain.
CHAPTER VII
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Warriors of Justice: the gaúcho and the cosmology of Umbanda

Evangelized Umbanda is one unique variation on the national Umbanda religious cult. The documentation of this variation attests to the flexible and adaptable nature of this national folk religion. This is most clearly seen in the cosmology, ritual, beliefs, and mythology. The cosmology characteristic of Evangelized Umbanda is influenced by Kardec spiritism, national Umbanda beliefs, the local culture history of Rio Grande do Sul, Catholicism, and by the Afro-Brazilian religious cult of Batuque which preceded it in the state.

In the cosmology of Kardec spiritism there is only God and two categories of disincarnated spirits: the good or enlightened spirits and the errant or backward spirits. In this respect, the cosmology of Evangelized Umbanda is much more traditional and includes the common orixás-saints of national Umbanda. However, as in Kardec spiritism the possessing spirits are spirits of the dead and not the orixás. In Evangelized Umbanda the old black spirits, the
Indian spirits, the children spirits possess mediums or "work" at the center helping clients. On the other hand, the "backward" spirits of Kardec spiritism are included in the cosmology of Evangelized Umbanda where they are known as "little brothers," and "spirits without light." While some of these spirits may be exus, they are not always in this group.

As in national Umbanda cosmologies, the arrangement of spirits in Evangelized Umbanda includes many of the common orixá-saint equations. One is apparently unique to Rio Grande do Sul: the equation of Nossa Senhora dos Navegantes and Iemanjá. This equation was also typical of the Batuque cults of Porto Alegre in the 1940s (Herskovits 1943) which leads me to suggest that this equation in the cosmology of Evangelized Umbanda simply continues an already established pattern of syncretism. The continuing influence of Catholicism on the Evangelized Umbanda cosmology is most clearly seen in the celebration of Nossa Senhora dos Navegantes-Iemanjá wherein both the Catholic clergy and Umbandists and Batuqueiros join together in this public spectacle. Catholic mythology also continues to influence the mythology as is seen in the case of Saints Cosmas and Damian, or in that of St. George.

The cosmology of Evangelized Umbanda makes a concession to the primacy of the Gaúcho stereotype of Rio Grande do Sul. Representing the warrior-soldier figure of the state's
colorful military past, the spirit category known as the guerreiro overshadows those spirit types more common to national Umbanda cosmologies. Guerreiro becomes a label that is applied to orixás-saints, caboclos, pretos velhos, and crianças alike, though simultaneously represents a separate category of spirits. Following in the tradition of the brave soldiers of this state, the guerreiros fight for love, justice, and peace on behalf of each medium and each client.

This cosmology posits a separation between the material body and the spiritual soul or self. Bodies become the vessels of spirits permanently during a set lifetime and temporarily during spirit possession trance. The theory of possession trance in Evangelized Umbanda is heavily influenced by Kardec spiritist beliefs in reincarnation. In Kardec spiritism, the soul is incarnated in material form over and over again. There is no limit set on the minimum or maximum number of reincarnations necessary before the final union with God. However, in Evangelized Umbanda, the maximum number of reincarnations of the spiritual self is twelve. The Kardec Law of Cause and Effect requires that misdeeds be expiated in additional incarnations. In Evangelized Umbanda, specific situations, incidents, and problems in the lives of various clients are related directly to their past lives by the consulting medium. In addition, the material form which a person's spirit took during one
of the past incarnations has some influence on the category of spirit received during possession trance and on the amount of control a medium can exercise during the trance state. For example, informants explained (see pages 193-194) the relationship between receiving an old black spirit and having once been incarnated as a person of African ancestry. Control during the trance state is the aim of development and training, but some mediums are believed to be able to attain control more easily than others. It depends again upon the number of past lives and the progress made by the medium toward mastery of her material body. Informants discussed the desirability of being able to control the stereotyped roupagem (behavior) of the various spirit categories, especially that of the Indian, old black, and children spirits. It is significant that the ideal behavior during the trance state is the same as that typical of the warrior-soldier spirit category. The warrior-soldier is believed to represent the most highly evolved spirits.

Conforming to their desire to receive enlightened spirits, mediums and cult leaders in Evangelized Umbanda place the Linha Oriente in an exalted position. Spirits of this line come from beyond the borders of Brazil and originate in such diverse times and places as those of the Incas and the Mayas, those of the Hindus, the Hebrews and the Egyptians. In Porto Alegre generally and in these cults
particularly, the curing powers associated with the Linha Oriente are important enough to have a whole day and evening devoted to them. In Evangelized Umbanda, the ritual and ceremony of the "triangle of fire" is a collective therapeutic event in which the combined forces (intellectual, spiritual, medical) of the Linha Oriente are diverted into the center for the benefit of the congregation, mediums and cult leader. While this ritual resembles the Kardec vibration session, the spirits' attention is focused on those present in the cult house on that particular evening.

The ritual of the "Work for Charity" (described on page 192) follows a pattern common to national Umbanda rituals (see Pressel 1971) as it moves from prayers to announcements to lectures to the songs special to each spirit category. The arrangement and style of the ritual, however, is heavily influenced by Kardec spiritism. Calm quiet music and singing, without cigar smoking and liquor drinking spirits, the lengthy lectures of the cult leader, the call for "radiations of light" and "clothing for blessing" from the clients all combine to give Evangelized Umbanda its own unique style. But more than this, the order and pattern set by this ritual is believed to be influenced by and reflect the type of spirits working through the mediums. As Wallace (1966:71) suggests:

Much of the work of religion is done by ritual; ritual is not an arbitrary program of meaningless events. On the
contrary, the events that comprise ritual are highly meaningful; what makes them meaningful is a system of beliefs that rationalize ritual.

The ritual *pontos cantados* (Appendix D) are sung according to a set, deliberate beat, slow and methodical. There are never any percussion instruments used. No one dances the *gira* ("turn around") to induce trance. It is believed that this ritual pattern must be followed in order to invite the correct type of spirits — the most highly evolved, enlightened ones. While the verses of the songs are not entirely unique to Evangelized Umbanda, the ritual order and style are unique.

Cosmology, pantheon, myth, and belief are related in the following manner, according to Wallace:

A cosmology is a theory of the universe. It includes pantheon, myth, and various substantive beliefs about such matters as planes of existence (for example, heaven, hell, life, death, sleep, and dreams) and the relations of causes and effects (1966:71-72).

...both cosmology and values are expressed in one or more myths. Myths are narratives telling of events in the careers of supernatural beings, among themselves and in company with humans. ...myths in effect specify the pantheon, describe the origin of things, explain the nature of reality, and assert the proper organization of values; in other words, they are the formulation of the belief system (1966:74).

The tales about the *orixás Xangô, Oxossi,* and *Ogum* (see pages 106-112) are myths in Wallace's sense. The myths
about Xangô St. Jerome were collected from the female spirit medium Iara. She "received" these myths about Xangô from Xangô himself during a trance state. Before looking at this myth further, we can learn something about the meaning of the myth from an examination of the narrator, Iara. She is an Afro-Brazilian who grew up in a family of Batuque mediums. Thus from an early age, she was exposed to this traditional Afro-Brazilian religion. She claims to have been educated as a Catholic and was thus able to resist Batuque. Iara continually underscored the importance of the African heritage in Evangelized Umbanda but she firmly followed the dogma of her cult leader who is a light-skinned mulatto. There is an interesting parallel here: Iara has dark skin color and emphasizes the African heritage in Evangelized Umbanda while her cult leader, Jorge, has lighter skin and emphasizes the Kardec tradition in his dogma (Kardecism is associated with upper class, "white" Brazilians).

The myth of Xangô documents Xangô's African heritage — he has brown skin. He becomes a Christian (like Iara herself) and finally a spirit medium (again, like Iara does in her twenties). After his death, Xangô is transformed into an orixá-saint in Umbanda. This myth about Xangô, as well as those about Oxossi and Ogum, are 'culture hero' myths. To summarize, Xangô-St. Jerome is in both the pantheons of Umbanda and Catholicism. He is the patron of the cult house, and by his deeds, symbolizes the triumph of justice over
evil. *Xangô*, in his material form, conforms to the ideal macho -- he is well built, attractive to women, and aggressive. In the tradition of the Gaúchos of Rio Grande do Sul, *Xangô* is a soldier who engaged in many battles. His reputation spread and grew to such grand dimensions that kings sought his advice on military matters.

*Xangô*, the man and the soldier, continues fighting for justice on the material level using those weapons available to him. When he became a medium he had access to spiritual power. Armed with this new power, he could not be tricked by mere mortals. As happens to all spirit mediums, *Xangô* had to undergo trials and tests. Again it is his special spiritual power which helps him overcome all. Iara sees a clear parallel between this mythical reality and her own -- she, as a medium, can overcome all her problems and help others do the same. Her view is repeated by the cult leaders in the classes and lectures. This view of reality is supported by the entire cosmology and ritual of Evangelized Umbanda.

The cosmology, ritual, and mythology of Evangelized Umbanda presents a unique blend of beliefs from Kardec spiritism, Catholicism, national Umbanda religion, and the local history of Rio Grande do Sul. If we were to place the beliefs of this cult on the continuum established by Camargo (1961), it would have to be nearer to the kardecismo end. However, the influence of Afro-Brazilian Umbanda is
strongly seen in the cosmology, ritual and mythology.

The following conclusion is drawn: Evangelized Umbanda of Porto Alegre makes a concession to the local cultural traditions of Rio Grande do Sul by incorporating the spirit category of the *guerreiro* into its cosmology. This accommodation with the public stereotype of the gaúcho, a fighting cowboy -- pugnacious, belligerent, and spirited, ready to stand up for his rights and enter the combat on the side of justice and righteousness -- allows the people in this study to embrace the national Umbanda and mold it to fit their worldview.

The "feminine orientation" of the role of spirit medium

As we have seen in Chapter V entitled The Role Structure of Evangelized Umbanda, the four most important roles and role relationships involve the cult leader, the medium, the spirit guide, and the client. Only three of these four are humans, while the fourth is believed to be a spirit. Role analysis provided an important framework for this discussion by allowing the dissection of the specific rights and duties of each role. According to informants, each role/status is necessary to the existence of the Umbanda center, primarily because of the overlapping and interdependent nature of the role relationships. The cult leader and the chief spirit guide operate in two domains -- a material and a spiritual. The material domain concerns
decisions relating to the running and organizing the week-to-week affairs and events of the center. The cult leader heads a chain of command assisted by the officers of the paying social members. On the spiritual domain, however, the authority of the chief spirit over the spirit guides of individual mediums is not as clear cut. In this domain, spiritual conflicts over proper role behavior can develop. These are settled through the classes and lectures which are delivered by the cult leader and which define the duties of the spirit mediums.

The training and development of the medium is the duty of the cult leader and the chief spirit. The development process has been interpreted as a rite of passage whose final goal is a status transformation. The client is transformed into a spirit medium who, by virtue of her new status, becomes an intermediary between the earthly level and the spiritual level. The spirit medium needs her clients in order to continue her spiritual development. Services such as herb baths, remedies, ritual passes and astral operations, and goods and resource distribution are dispensed to clients in a therapeutic setting which allegedly brings them relief from their illnesses and problems.

Brazilian women enter this role in greater numbers than their male counterparts. In order to determine what factors influence this predominance, an analysis of a second role set in Chapter VI entitled The Brazileira, revealed
some important similarities in the role attributes and qualities attached to these roles and to the medium role.

As we have seen, Porto Alegre girls are socialized to accept authority, though not all do so willingly or completely. Girls are trained to be obedient to their parents, either one or both depending upon the circumstances, and to take responsibility in the domestic housework. Even non-cult women felt their daughters needed organizational and basic domestic skills in order to be successful in the roles of wife and mother. Young girls, once trained to accept the double sex standard, now question it. However, the public image of female submissiveness and male aggressiveness is upheld on public streetcorners, in bars and movie theaters, etc. where girls rarely go unaccompanied. Mothers and wives are expected to be loving, kind and patient with their husbands and children. Women of both groups paid lip-service to the requirement that men have control over their extra-domestic activities. Women suffer in life. This suffering arises from their inability to maintain harmonious relations with their male counterparts and to provide a home for their children and education for at least their sons.

The pre-initiation qualities most often attributed to mediums parallel those for the feminine life cycle roles. Mediums must be patient, kind, loving, pure in mind and body, and moral. Of course, the most significant quality
is mediunidade, but once this is identified, the neophyte needs some additional qualities in order to begin this status change. The classes and lectures require the developing medium to make an effort to attend regularly, to observe certain behavioral modifications such as giving up smoking tobacco and drinking alcoholic beverages. These things require obedience and responsibility. Trials and tests sent by God make the medium suffer. The ability to endure suffering is very important to spiritual development.

The attributes most commonly cited by Umbanda informants as defining a medium show a striking resemblance to those defining the feminine life cycle roles. If the successful performance of one set of roles makes it easier to enter into a new role with similar attributes, as Nadel (1957) contends, then it may be said that women have an initial advantage over men on this point. This leads to the conclusion that the spirit medium role is a "female oriented" one in which the traits defining the common roles of women in the private domain are extended to include some roles in the public domain. This facilitates the entry of women into the role.

The enhancement of social status via the role of medium

The medium role involves much more than simply the above role attributes and qualities. It places the occupant into a structure of role relationships involving both
spirits and people.

The connections through a spirit identity to a source of superior knowledge, to a source of valuable goods and services brings prestige to the role occupant. Popularity and public recognition evidenced by long lines of waiting clients transforms the person of low status, perhaps a domestic servant, into a respected, powerful person. The spirit medium role confers authority on the role occupant which cuts across the boundaries of public and private life. This authority derives from the spirit guide role. Prestige stems from the endurance required by the difficult development process. By means of spiritual authority the spirit medium can sometimes use her influence to reallocate resources among her clients (as in the five client cases of Dona Bette). Thus, through the ability to control the distribution of some valuable curing services and the potential to redistribute resources among clients enhances the social status of the spirit medium relative to her peers.

Finally, a medium learns through experience in medium-client interactions how to handle people and their problems. If she is ambitious, she may use her spiritual authority to move into the role of cult leader. In this position of leadership, she must be able to command authority, delegate responsibility, and demonstrate organizational skill -- all characteristics of today's modern business executives. If she is successful, her rewards may be financial as well as
personal.

Perhaps equally important to the explanation of why some women (and some men) find the medium role attractive is the present stage of economic development and the employment opportunities now available to women. Modernization has put lower and middle class women into the unattractive position of not having the skills necessary to fill jobs in the country's various industries. Those skills which are employable derive from traditional domestic oriented tasks of women and when these are transferred into the public domain they are paid low wages and given little prestige. Thus the public economic roles open to most women are also female oriented, that is, they stem directly from the female economic tasks performed within the private domain. Comparing the two sets of female oriented roles -- the domestic servant roles and the medium role -- the latter has some obvious advantages. As long as women such as the mediums described here strive for greater social and economic opportunities and as long as women remain outside of the benefits of modernization, I conclude that some women will continue to seek out the role of spirit medium as a viable option in an otherwise restrictive setting.
APPENDIX A
Data on Background

1. Qual é sua idade?

2. Onde você nasceu (estado)?
   a. no campo ou na zona rural sim ou não
   b. numa cidade pequena do interior sim ou não
   c. numa cidade grande do interior sim ou não
   d. na capital do estado sim ou não

3. Há quantos anos você está morando em Porto Alegre?

4. Estado Civil: casada ____ desquitada ____
   solteiro ____ viúvo(a) ____

5. Você tem filhos: sim ou não

6. Se você está casada, o seu marido tem emprego?
   sim ou não Que faz ele? ______________________

7. Você tem emprego?
   sim ou não
   Se positivo, que faz você? ______________________

8. Qual é sua religião? ______________________

9. Você frequenta:
   batuque sim não
   umbanda sim não
   espiritismo sim não

10. Grau de instrução: ______________________
One of the objectives of this research is to analyze the medium role in its social context. This involves the role structure within the Umbanda cult itself which is of course the most important immediate interaction setting. The second most important role system is that of lower and middle class Brazilian women, since there are many more women in the role of medium than there are men. Female spirit mediums are also mães (mothers), esposas (wives), mocas (young girls), donas de casa (housewives), friends, neighbors, employees, grandmothers, sisters, and sisters-in-law. They may sometimes have to shift from any one of these roles into the medium role within a matter of minutes; thus, the cultural ideologies which impinge upon the 'second' role system are important to the discussion of the role of medium.

In order to determine the role expectations of the mãe, esposa, mocã, etc., a group of twenty-nine women were asked a series of questions concerning their responsibilities in their homes and to their husbands and children or
if single then their expectations concerning male-female relationships. In this chapter, the data obtained from these questions, plus that from observation and interaction in the families of some of the women, are organized around the private or domestic and public domain distinction. These data which are collected on Tables 5, 6, 7 on pages 273, 290, 291, are interpreted in light of historical, social and economic models defining Brazilian women.

The twenty-nine women are divided into two opposing groups based upon their own admitted or denied affiliation with Umbanda. There are fourteen spirit mediums in what I refer to here as the cult group and there are fifteen women in the non-cult group. The cult women were encountered at the Umbanda centers of Jorge and Dona Ana, in their homes, and at special Umbanda functions held in special locations (the seashore, an auditorium). The written questionnaire on which Chapter IV is based was used with great difficulty among the cult group because many of them felt threatened by it. Therefore, much of the data had to be gotten from oral versions of these same questions which were asked casually in the middle of a general conversation. Observation and participation in the daily activities of some of the cult women provided data on family life.

The non-cult women were encountered at Cha (Tea) gatherings. Tea reunions are one of the primary forms of extradomestic meetings and social gatherings which these women
participate in. Tea reunions meet in the homes of the women, rotating the meeting place until each has her turn as hostess. The tea reunion members knew each other for many years and some of their members grew up together in the smaller interior towns. Sisters, sisters-in-law, friends, and comrades composed both of the tea reunions which I attended. Each tea group had a treasurer who collected dues each month. The collective pool of money went to fund small birthday gifts for each woman and an end of the year party. While the membership did change from time to time, the tea groups were rather stable meeting once each month for the past fifteen years.

The two groups are further differentiated from each other by urban or rural (interior) residence, civil status, presence or absence of children, level of education, ethnic or "racial" identity, and social class. Each variable will be defined and discussed next.

The twenty-nine women come from two types of neighborhoods. Eighty-seven percent live in neighborhoods falling within the city limits. Such neighborhoods surround the downtown area, o centro, and they are serviced by public transportation, public utilities such as electricity, water and sewer, public and private educational facilities, and other social services. Their streets are lit by gas or electric lamps and paved with brick or asphalt covering. Neighborhoods are not segregated by wealth, class, or
"race" so that it is not uncommon to see an elaborate home of brick and tile inlay architecture right beside a small, painted, wooden bungalow. Urban facilities serve most of the homes in these neighborhoods except for the shacks of the poor which sometimes appear on vacant lots and in other unused space.

As one travels further from the downtown area and into newly established neighborhoods, the urban conveniences diminish to almost nothing. Those neighborhoods furthest from the center of the city are also the poorest and most deprived of modern conveniences. Thirteen percent of the twenty-nine women -- all cult women -- live in these outlying neighborhoods. Residents of Porto Alegre refer to such areas as the interior. The interior is not only defined in terms of distance from the center of town but also in terms of the general lack of many urban conveniences. The roads leading into the interior separate from the paved asphalt and cement highways and twist through neighborhoods of small brick and wooden bungalows (basically of two rooms). The asphalt road ends and a dirt roadbed continues through the area passing by a primary school, a few small stores selling pop and sweets, a bakery, a butcher's shop. During the rainy winter months, the road changes into a sea of mud which becomes totally impassable for cars and buses and much more conveniently served by the very common horse drawn carts. Pigs, cows, chickens, and horses wander freely about
without attendance or notice. Some of the houses and small plots of land are privately owned. Private owners spend more time, effort, and money on the construction and appearance by using brick and tile and planting flowers and other green plants in the fenced-in yards. Shacks of unpainted, greying wood line a strip of land which is located between the road and a fence boarding the nearby fazenda.

Interior areas like this surround most Brazilian cities. Such neighborhoods apparently have appeared in response to a need for cheap housing among urban migrants. While they may not fit Wagley's (1971:105-109) criteria which defines urban life as stimulating, filled with economic and social opportunities -- a source of movimento (excitement) -- their inhabitants own some urban material culture such as television sets, radios, wrist watches, phonographs, and refrigerators. Urban movimento is just an hour and a half away by bus and taxi. Interior neighborhoods and other poverty stricken zones within Brazilian cities, known as favelas, do appear rural in culture with their domesticated animals and small garden plots. In the past, social scientists have considered them to be rural in orientation (Bonilla 1962, Pearse 1957). But more recently, Anthony Leeds (1973) presents the opposite view. Since favelados (people who live in favelas) are affected by 'supralocal' institutions such as taxes, ground rents, charges for utilities, draft notices, police pressure or interference,
vote solicitation and labor recruitment, they are more urban than rural. Leeds found that *favelados* do not always come directly from rural environments but more often from smaller cities and towns where, Leeds contends, they should have picked up some urban culture. In addition, *favelas* consist of people whose families have lived in the area for several generations. Finally, the 'rural' nature of their social institutions may be related to their peculiar relationship with people and institutions within the urban environment (Leeds 1973:34-35).

Of the four women or thirteen percent who live in the 'interior' two have recently relocated from another neighborhood lying much closer to the city center. One other moved into the area from another more distant area. Her house is a small wooden shack along the road and fence. The fourth woman's family located in the area when she was a child. Now she lives there with her husband and children.

The civil status of each woman is determined according to the following definitions: 1) 'married': those who had a religious or civil ceremony and/or who lived permanently with a man; 2) desquitada: separated legally from their husbands; 3) single: those who never "married" or who were not desquitada; 4) widowed: those who lost a husband. Most of the women are married: fifty percent of the cult group and sixty-six percent of the non-cult group claimed to be married. One half of the cult group is single and
fourteen percent of the non-cult group are single. Twenty percent of the non-cult group are widowed.

All of the married cult group had children. The average number was 4.5 per couple. Eighty-six percent of the non-cult group had an average of 2.5 children per couple.

Out of the fourteen cult women there are twenty-two percent who are illiterate, twenty-eight percent who have some education at the primario and fifty percent at the ensino medio. Among the fifteen non-cult women, six percent are illiterate, forty percent have had some education at the level primario, forty percent at the level ensino medio, and fourteen percent at the university level.

Now let us define the terms which describe this educational background. An illiterate person, as defined by IBGE, is one who is only able to write his name. A literate person is one who can read and write a short letter in a given language. The Brazilian educational system is divided into three levels: the primario, the ensino medio, and the university. The primario, theoretically, is free and open to any Brazilian who desires it. It is a general education taught to students from the ages of seven to eleven. The ensino medio is divided into two levels: the ginasio and the colegio. It includes seven years of additional education, and it is usually entered at the age of twelve and completed at age eighteen. The primario education is usually inadequate because it does not prepare a
student for entrance into the ensino medio. In order to enter this second level, a student is required to take an entrance examination. This examination is difficult enough so that most students require a year of extra preparation under the guidance of a tutor. The fees and expenses involved in entrance into the ensino medio make it difficult for the lower classes to attain. Once a student has entered the second level of education, he may spend four years in the ginasio receiving a general education, and three more years in the colégio where he specializes in the classico (Latin, Greek, modern languages, the humanities) or in the cientifico (sciences, mathematics, and modern languages). The other options at this level include schools of commerce, industrial apprenticeship, agriculture, and the normal. The normal school trains elementary school teachers. After instruction at the level of ensino medio, the student may choose to enter one of the faculties at the university.

The illiteracy rate in Brazil is thirty-three percent (UNESCO 1975), and, although it has declined by twenty percent since 1940, it is still a major problem for the country. The high rate of illiteracy is related to the traditional aims and goals of the educational system. Since the colonial period and until the industrial period, the educational system has been preoccupied with intellectualism and academia. Culture and education were synonymous, and they
were reserved for the elite classes (Leao 1972). The function of the educational system beyond the **primario** was to provide academic secondary schools which gave members of the elite class a humanistic education that could help them carry on their role of leadership in the social and political life of the nation. A secondary education was the mark of a gentleman -- a symbol of upper or at least upper-middle class status (Havighurst and Gouveia 1969:31). This elitist aspect of education did not change drastically until the 1940s and the advent of the industrial boom. In 1946, over fifty percent of the population was illiterate, there were a shortage of schools, a lack of trained personnel, and an antiquated system of education out of touch with modern needs (Wagley 1971:189).

In order to meet the demands of a changing society, the goals of the educational system had to be revised. According to Havighurst and Gouveia (1969:31), the modern educational system, beginning at the level of the **ensino medio**, was changed to reflect the following two social functions:

1. to give young people the general knowledge and technical skills they would need to become productive members of a technological society;

2. to prepare a substantial group of working-class and lower middle class youth for positions in the rapidly expanding middle classes.
The twenty-nine women in our sample are not too old to have benefitted from this change. If we take a closer look at the cult group we see that their average age is 33 years. Fifty percent had some education at the ensino medio, and of that group, twenty-one percent attended a commercial school, fourteen percent completed the colegio-cientifico, and fourteen percent went through the ginásio. The two women who comprise the fourteen percent who completed the colegio-cientifico are 31 and 34 years old. Both are single and both began their education late in life and completed it at night by attending the adult night school programs such as those sponsored by MOBRAL -- the Brazilian Adult Literacy Movement. Among the non-cult group, whose average age is 46, forty percent completed the ginásio and then took a commercial course. One woman completed the ginásio and normal school. She is now a teacher in the primario. Another woman completed the university and teaches the first year at the level.

Occupational Survey

The following is a list of the occupations of the cult women showing the occupations of the married women and their spouses as well as the occupations of the single or widowed women.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Married Women</th>
<th>Spouses</th>
<th>Single or Widowed Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dona de Casa (5)</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Domestic service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manual labor (2)</td>
<td>Chemical lab assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>Accountant in textile firm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisan crafts</td>
<td>Bricklayer</td>
<td>Clerk (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic service</td>
<td>Window fitter</td>
<td>Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Typist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this survey we can see that all of the spouses are employed in some type of manual labor except for one. The married women work in domestic related occupations and the single women in jobs which require special skills.

The next list is the occupations of the married women, their spouses, and the single or widowed women in the non-cult group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Married Women</th>
<th>Spouses</th>
<th>Single or Widowed Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dona de Casa (8)</td>
<td>Banker</td>
<td>Domestic service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Auditor</td>
<td>Dona de Casa (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Representative</td>
<td>Professora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manager of firm</td>
<td>Industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unknown (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisor in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>industry</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The spouses of the married women fill 'white collar' jobs in industry and commerce. It is significant that none of them are employed in manual labor.

**Ethnic Background**

The ethnic history of Rio Grande do Sul is thoroughly discussed in an earlier chapter of this dissertation. The
Brazilian census data available after 1950 does not index the population by 'color' or 'race' so it is impossible to do other than estimate the proportion of each in the modern population. It is commonly said that the people of the south are about eighty percent white (Wagley 1971).

In discussing Brazilian racial groups, Wagley (1968) introduces the concept of a 'social race' by which is meant that 'races' are social and not biological categories. The criteria for defining the various racial categories varies from region to region and these various definitions reveal much about the structural relationship between groups within the local population. Some of the common social races of Brazil include the categories: brancos ("white"), Indios (Indians), pretos ("blacks"), mulatos (Portuguese-negroes), cafusos (Negro-Indian), and cabras (Portuguese-mulattoes). These social race categories developed out of the socio-economic division of colonial society into the classes of master and slave. Wagley (1968:125) says that despite regional variations, the general rule of thumb which still applies to much of Brazil is that "The darker the skin the lower the class, and the lighter the skin the higher the class."

In order to determine the ethnic background of the twenty-nine Porto Alegrense women in our sample, two procedures were used. In the one, I asked for the ethnic background directly on the questionnaires. In the other, I was able through informal interviews and observation of physical
features to determine the ethnic background. The ethnic
categories mentioned were: Italian, German, Spanish,
African, and "Brazilian." The category "Brazilian" was
given many times in response to this question by people
who appeared very European to those who were more obviously
mulatto and Afro-Brazilian. The breakdown of the cult
group into these categories is as follows: 30% Italian,
36% Brazilian, 15% African, 15% German, 4% other; and for
the non-cult group it is: 46.6% German and 53.4% Brazilian.

Social Class

A determination of social class status is made based
upon a complex of factors. One factor that outweighed all
the others was the social class in which the women placed
themselves. The women in the non-cult group were asked to
rate themselves by social class on their questionnaires and
all fifteen said that they were in the middle class. I was
able to confirm this rating for six of the women through
direct observation of their lifestyle and by additional
questioning. I simply took the word of the remaining nine
because I had no chance to check it by any other means.

The determination of social class status for the cult
group was a little more complicated. I ranked them by class
based on data gathered about them from interviews and obser-
vations.
The following factors were considered:

1. the performance of manual labor — lower class;
2. the performance of 'socially unproductive work' — lower class;
3. the performance of white collar work — middle class;
4. the performance of socially productive work — middle class;
5. the construction and location of the house;
6. the quality and style of clothes;
7. the level of education;
8. the material inventory of the house;
9. the employment of a full or part-time maid;
10. the education of their children.

In order to place a woman in one class or another I also took into consideration Wagley's (1971:105-117) description of the Brazilian class system. Taking Wagley's middle class as an index, I decided whether or not the women in my survey were in that class, moving into it, or clearly not in it, and thus lower class. Wagley says that the middle class places a high demand upon consumer goods, better housing, improved bus and taxi transportation, and white collar employment. White collar jobs and government positions are the single most important criteria for entering this class. He says that the values of the middle class people are materialistic, that is, they buy stereos, television sets,
radios, electrical appliances, etc. They are fashion conscious, drive cars, and want better homes. They value education as a means of social and economic mobility. They disdain manual labor and attempt to hire maids to help in the housework.

Based on this list I decided that only seven percent of the cult women are clearly middle class, that another forty-three percent are moving from the lower class into the middle class, and that fifty percent are lower class. The group which is moving from lower to middle class is composed of six single working women who are acquiring many of the values and attitudes which Wagley says are middle class.
APPENDIX C
Role of Medium

1. Que idade você tinha quando começou a umbanda pela primeira vez?
2. Qual a religião anterior?
4. Por que você tornou-se um medium?
5. Com que idade você se tornou medium?
6. Há quantos anos você frequenta este centro como medium?
7. Por que há mais mulheres do que homens como mediums?
8. As crianças da sua família também frequentam umbanda?
9. Como a pessoa pode desenvolver a mediunidade?
10. Como os mediums sabem qual o tipo de espíritos ou entidades que recebem na incorporação?
11. Que-se deve fazer para ser um bom medium?
12. Por que a pessoa quer falar com o guia?
13. Quais são as suas responsabilidades como medium no seu centro?
14. Quais são as responsabilidades de diretor no seu centro?
15. O seu marido frequenta umbanda? Ele é medium? O seu marido gosta de umbanda?
APPENDIX D
Pontos Cantados

The following entities are particularly important in the Pontos Cantados of Evangelized Umbanda: Ogum São Jorge, Iemanjá, Nossa Sra. dos Navegantes, Mãe Oxum or Virgem de Conceição, Oxossi São Sebastião, Xangó São Jeronimo. In addition to these entities known as orixás, there are the pretos velhos (old black spirits), in the linha (line) of Pai Penidito, Pai Joaquim de Luanda, and Xangó. Another ponto celebrates the power of "our guias" and another the cabocla (Indian spirit) Jurema. As each ponto is sung, one or more of the mediums have entered into an altered state of consciousness. When all of the mediums have received their entities, the consultations begin.

The songs typical of the Trabalho de Caridade follow the same order each week. The following songs and their translations show the complex relationship between the orixás, the guerreiros, the pretos velhos, and the caboclos.

Ponto: Glorias a Deus, o meu pai
Glorias a Deus, Glorias a Jesus. (repeat)
Sou caboclo, sou forte, sou forte, sou guerreiro.
Sou São Jorge de Umbanda, Jesus de mensageiro.
Trans: Glory to God, my father

Glory to God, Glory to Jesus
I am a caboclo. I am strong, I am strong, I am a guerreiro.
I am São Jorge of Umbanda, Jesus's Messenger.

Ponto: Deus! Salve as nossas guias
Deus! Salve as nossas guias pela glória deste dia!
Viemos aqui pedir à Jesus e a Virgem Maria.
Que aumente as nossas luzes, Que possamos alcançar,
As puras vibrações neste conga!

Trans: God! Hail to our Guides
God! Hail to our Guides through the glory of this day!
We come here to ask Jesus and the Virgin Mary to augment our light so that we can reach the pure vibrations of this altar!

Ponto: Ogum São Jorge
Eu tenho sete espadas pra me defender
Eu tenho Ogum em minha companhia.
Ogum é meu pai, Ogum é meu guia.
Ogum é meu pai, Vive com Deus e a Virgem Maria.

Trans: Ogum St. George
I have seven swords to defend myself
I have Ogum in my company
Ogum is my father, Ogum is my guide
Ogum is my father, He lives with God and the Virgin Mary.

Ponto: Pretos Velhos
Quem vem, quem vem tá de tão longe?
São pretos velhos que vem trabalhar.
Quem vem, quem vem tá de tão longe?
São pretos velhos que vem trabalhar?
Ó daí-me forças pelo amor de Deus ó meu pai.
Ó daí-me forças nos trabalhos meus.
Trans: Old Blacks

Who comes, who comes, it is from so far?
They are pretos velhos who come to work.
(repeat)
Oh give me power through the love of God, my father.
Oh give me power in my trabalhos.

Ponto: Os Pretos Velhos na linha Xangô

Kenguelê, Kenguelê Xangô
Ele é filho de cobra coral.
(repeat)
Olha, preto tá trabalhando,
Olha, branco só tá olhando.
(repeat)

Trans: The Old Blacks in the line of Xango

Kenguelê, Kenguelê Xangô (no translation)
He is the son of the cobra coral.
Look, the black is working
Look, the white is only watching!

Ponto: Hoje é dia de Nossa Senhora

Hoje é dia de Nossa Senhora, de Nossa Mãe Iemanjá,
Calunga ê ê ê, Calunga a a a
Brilha as estrelas no ceu
Brincam no mar
Calunga ê ê ê, Calunga a a a

Trans: Today is the day of Our Lady

Today is the day of Our Lady, of Our Mother Iemanjá,
Calunga ê ê ê, Calunga a a a (no translation)
The stars shine in the sky
They play upon the sea,
Calunga ê ê ê, Calunga a a a

Ponto: Virgem da Conceição (Mãe Oxum)

Baixai, Baixai! A virgem da Conceição
Maria Imaculada, para tirar a pertubação.
(repeat)
Se tiveres praga de alguém
Desde já seja retirada
Levando para o mar ardente profundo do mar sagrado.

Trans: Virgin of Conception (mother Oxum)

Come down, Come down, Virgin of Conception
Maria Imaculada, in order to remove the perturbation.
If you attract a curse from someone
immediately it would be taken away,
transporting into the fiery sea, under the sacred water.

Ponto: Cobra Coral

Cobra Coral é pai, é chefe de congá. (repeat)
Vamos pedir, vamos implorar
Jesus daí fôrças e luz a todos as Orixas. (repeat)
Jararaca é minha cinta! Jiboia é minha manta!
(repeat)
Zimba que Zimba na Aruanda
Cobra Coral é rei de Umbanda.

Trans: Cobra Coral

Cobra Coral is (my) father, He is (the) chief of the altar.
We are going to ask, we are going to implore (that)
Jesus give power and light to all the Orixas.
Jararaca (a pit viper) is my belt, Jiboia (boa constrictor) is my scarf!
Zimba que Zimba in Arruanda (Heaven)
Cobra Coral is (the) king of Umbanda. (repeat)

Ponto: Entrei na Mata de Oxossi, Pisei na Pedra de Xangô

Entrei na mata de Oxossi, Pisei na pedra de Xangô.
(repeat)
Eu vou chamar este caboclo que é rei dos caçadores (repeat)
Trans: I entered the forest of Oxossi, I tread on the stone of Xangô.

I entered the forest of Oxossi, I tread on the stone of Xangô.

I am going to call this caboclo that is king of the hunters.

Ponto de Oxossi

Eu vi chover eu vi relampejar mas mesmo assim O Ceu estava azul.
Sambava pomba na palma de Jurema
Oxossi é dono de Maracajá, Oxossi é dono de Maracajá.

Trans: Oxossi

I saw the rain I saw the lightning but all the same the
Sky was blue.
The dove dances in the hand of Jurema
Oxossi is the owner of the Oselot.

Ponto: Ogum olha sua bandeira!

Ogum olha sua bandeira
Ela é branca com a cruz encarnada
Ogum em campos de batalha ele venceu a guerra e não perdeu soldados.
Ele venceu a guerra e não perdeu soldados.
Ó Jorge teus filhos te chaman.
Atende por favor, de Cristo tu és Ministro e de seus filhos és protetor.
De Cristo tu és ministro e de seus filhos és protetor.

Trans: Ogum, see your bandera!

Ogum see your bandera. It is white with a blood red cross.
Ogum, in the field of battle, won the war and never lost a soldier.
He won the war and never lost a soldier.
George your children call you.
Attention please, Christ is your Minister and the protector of your children. (repeat)
Ponto: Hino de Umbanda

Refletiu a luz divina
com todo o seu esplendor!
E do reino de Oxalá
onde há paz e amor.

Luz que refletiu na terra
Luz que refletiu no mar
Luz que vem de Aruanda
para tudo iluminar.

Umbanda é paz e amor
é um mundo cheio de luz
é força que nos dá vida
e à grandeza nos conduz.

Avante filhos de fé
como a nossa Lei, não há!
Levando ao mundo inteiro
a bandeira de Oxalá!

Trans: Hymn of Umbanda

Reflect the divine light
with all your splendor!
It is the reign of Oxala
where there is peace and love.

Light that reflects on the earth
Light that reflects on the sea
Light that comes from Heaven
in order to illuminate all.

Umbanda is peace and love.
It is a world full of light.
It is the force that gives us life,
the greatness that guides us.

Forward children of faith
with our Law, não há!
Carrying to the entire world
the bandera of Oxalá! (repeat)

Ponto: A sua machadinha brilhou

A sua machadinha brilhou. (repeat)
Quem manda lá na mata?
É Oxossi
Quem manda na pedra-de-raio?
É Xangô.
Quem arroja a pedra-de-raio?
É Xangô. (repeat)

Firmou a coroa de Zambi. (repeat)
É Xangô.

Trans: Your hatchet shines

Your hatchet sines. (repeat)
Who commands in the forest?
It is Oxossi.

Who commands the meteorite stone?
It is Xangô.

Who hurls the meteorite stone?
It is Xangô.

He secured the crown of Zambi. (repeat)
It is Xangô.
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COSTA, RUBENS VAZ da

CORREA, NORTON F.
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KARDEC, ALLEN

KIEV, ARI
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