


MAJOR BRAND ATABIACHIN: MISMATCHES BETWEEN THE ETHICAL AND THE EMIC

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ABSTRACT

Afro-Brazilian cults have long aroused interest in various areas of scientific knowledge, not only in Brazil, but also in other poles of academic production in the fields of social sciences and humanities, with emphasis on approaches to sociology, anthropology, education, musicology, ethnomusicology, linguistics, pedagogy, artistic expressions, and history. The concept of Afro-Brazilianness activates a complex of values and meanings that dialogue with the notion of national identity present in the literature of the segments mentioned above. This article then pursues the problem that emerges from the mismatch between the ethical voice of academic approaches and the emic voice of the population with African oral tradition cultures in Brazil.

Keywords: Afro-Brazilian. Oral Tradition. Ethnomusicology. Identity.

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INTRODUCTION

TRUTHS OR LIES?: DIVERGENCES BETWEEN THE ETHICAL AND THE EMIC

The concepts and lines of understanding of values and practices of Brazilian tradition disseminated by the media and entertainment arenas and cultural policies are structured in studies systematized by methodologies that are reliable for their scientific content. However, there are divergences between the fruits of these studies and the truths defended by representatives of cultural expressions of oral tradition in Pernambuco. This data proved to be more expressive in my eyes when the testimony of an active pai de santo from the metropolitan region of Recife pointed out to me that in the recent past it was common to omit data during academic records, also highlighting that much of the information passed on in academic research and journalistic interviews would have an unreal content with the truth of the aforementioned cults in scientific observation. This revelation had been pointed out to me as a recurrent and legitimate form of resistance of local Afro-Brazilian cults to possible harmful actions of the dominant society on their peripheral realities.

Mariana Schlikmann (2016), in her article entitled 'the trajectory of African studies in Brazil', points out that in the process of "inventing" a nation, the black element emerged as a politically necessary factor. This author (Ibid, p. 418) refers to Gilson Brandão de Oliveira Júnior (2010, p. 14) when this author identified that at the beginning of the institutional process of African studies in Brazil, there was a predominant attempt to construct standard references centered on a Portuguese link, "associating the emergence of our country with contact with Europeans/Portuguese" (OLIVEIRA JUNIOR, 2010, p. 14). This approach also pointed out that, supposedly, the Portuguese element was responsible for the "discovery and ethnic amalgamation" that characterized the formation of a national identity (Ibid). From this perspective, according to Oliveira Junior, "Brazil's roots were rooted in Europe, and, in this conception, Brazil was born due to Portugal, with its traditions and cultural habits coming from the old continent" (Ibid). This author, in Schlikmann (2016, p. 418), also observed that, in 1845, Carl Friedrich Philipp Von Martius, and later in 1877, Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, considered that there was in Colonial Brazil an ideological tendency to reinforce "Brazil's European traits and ties, minimizing the African presence in the country and the miscegenation of the Brazilian population", as observed by Bittencourt and Correa (2011, p. 8).

However, as Schlikmann (2016, p. 418) observed, Von Martius became the first to recognize Africans as a significantly influential part of Brazil's identity history, even though for this author the role of Africans was considered 'small and inferior' (SCHLIKMAN, 2016, p. 418). From this perspective, as pointed out by Lilia Moritz (1993), in Schlikmann (Ibid),



the theories developed in the 19th century revealed a tendency towards scientific racism, as they considered that there were distinct races among men. Such approaches reveal that in the process of constructing national identity, the white cultural element began to be hierarchically inserted as more "evolved", while the black came to be characterized "only in negative terms" (MORITZ, 1993, p. 82). These data pointed out here indicate the multifaceted content that governs the history of perspectives that emerge from ideas about the term Afro-Brazilianness.

In its origin, the term Afro-Brazilian emerged in the mid-20th century after the Brazilian elite strategically perceived some African cultural aspects as representatives of national identity. Thinking about present values, arising from or consequent to cultural manifestations of African origin, implies considering multifaceted social arenas between social inclusion and exclusion. This complex of relations that emerged from the process of construction of an African identity in Brazil is projected in the imaginary and in the symbolic that governs, in the common sense of Brazilian society, the ways of being, feeling or perceiving oneself as bearers of black culture. This specific data represented trends in theoretical approaches around the transatlantic mobility of African cultural matrices, and respective contexts of cultural intersection and interracial conflicts.

In Brazil, the lines of interest associated with the presence of peoples and cultures of African origin were marked by the conception of miscegenation of races. The Brazilian people would then have in their culture determining elements of an expressive pattern projected and represented in behavior. Music, like other expressive modes of a Brazilian identity, was then constituted of structural value under references of tradition and customs coming from Africa and inserted in Brazil. Expressiveness of singing, dancing and rhythmic sounds to the beat of drums have since then constituted the hallmarks of customs and traditions of African peoples, which public policies have tended to consider predominant among the classes of political minority in Brazil. As stated in historiographical studies, these customs historically tended to be considered primitive and savage by cultural perspectives of European origin, mainly because they could be associated with religious rituals designated as pagan according to a Judeo-Christian view of the dominant class.

The concept of Afro-Brazilianness emerged in addition to terms such as 'negro' and 'negritude', among others coming from the root 'neg' to indicate dark-skinned people or carriers of cultures associated with them. Such a relationship between the skin color of Africans and their descendants nourished value judgments in different senses, predominantly pejorative, in addition to skin tone, being associated with unwanted values of the behavior of subaltern classes.



In this regard, Debora Dettman Matos (2010), in her studies in the fields of legal sciences, observed the occurrence of a theoretical logic of differentiation of human groups based on the biological and anthropological sciences under the designation of bioanthropological theories. This branch of studies, as attested by Jacques Maritain (...), came to be postulated with the objective of defending the ideology of racial superiority. Dettman, in his article, "Scientific racism: the legacy of bioanthropological theories in the stigmatization of blacks as delinquents" points out that, although there were records of discriminatory conceptions since antiquity, it was only from the end of the 19th century that the logic of discrimination emerged in defense of the real race on a scientific basis. This author allows us to understand that interracial confrontation has historically tended to stimulate political actions of social defense against supposedly dangerous ethnic groups. Dettman states that these theories, "although they had a great variety, were characterized by the use of the inductive method (observation of the delinquent) and in the formulation of laws that related cause (biotype) and effect (crime committed)". And in his argument, Dettman also observes that "it is not a mere coincidence that the stigmatized groups are precisely the groups once called 'inferior' or 'potentially criminal'", as happened with blacks and Indians [among other human groups] in Brazil.

Etymologically, the word "negro", in Greek, means nekros in association with ideas and imaginaries alluding to concepts of "death", "dead", "corpse". From the Latin niger and nigur, the term negro comes to mean black, dark, tenebrous, of bad omen, funereal, cursed, unhappy, bad, perverse, malevolent, perfidious. These planes of meaning have become fertile for distinct and diverse forms of daily relationship of society's common sense with individuals representative of an African origin in Brazilian expressive behavior.

I also note that part of this category officially recognized as Afro-Brazilian, and identified as blacks, did not inherit or does not have direct links with a cultural and expressive pattern of identity of the peoples who came from Africa as slaves. The latter (Indians, descendants of Indians, gypsies, new Christians, etc.), in fact, became invisible to the eyes of the dominant portion of society, which built only interests around conflicting arenas between white individuals and black-skinned individuals. Thus, some people included in the list of blacks and Afro-descendants, bothered by their susceptibilities (and consequent social disadvantages added to the so-called blacks), do not accept to be confused or called blacks, while others do not accept to be literally called blacks; these degrees of reactions are consequently linked to prejudices and respective stereotypes that each term carries from place to place.



The imprecision of conceptual terms of categories arbitrated by the intellectual elite has been revealed, over time, as inconsistent, from the perspective of individuals included in categories marked by racial prejudice. This data also points out that the arenas of relationship between Afro-descendants and society are open, partial and imprecise, generating friction and forms of identity resistance.

This category of finding, as a problem induced in an investigative terrain, emerged to my eyes during my ethnographic visits in the capital and in the interior of Pernambuco since 2003, in studies developed in the fields of ethnomusicology, when testimonies and testimonies pointed out the existence of disparities between ethical concepts conveyed in the academic literature and in cultural policies, and emic concepts that are based on empirical conceptions and orally inherited from practitioners of expressive activities, designated by the scientific literature as Afro-Brazilian. On the one hand, theorists attribute values and meanings to the actions and behaviors of Afro-Brazilians based on findings published in the literature of folklorist and Africanist studies. And on the other hand, the emic practitioners, predominantly older in expressive activities of oral tradition [such as coco de roda, rural maracatu, maracatu de baque virado, mazuca, caboclinho, ciranda, umbanda, xangôs, etc.] told me, based on the legitimacy of their voices, that their respective empirical experiences and cultural heritage acquired by orality, point to errors in the literature.

These data have been chosen as guidelines for argumentation because they problematize the flow of relations and truths between academia and orality. Methodologically, I resort to the use of the terms ethical and emic as categories of distinction between formal thought of globalized official origin and local thought linked to tradition and oral culture. I point out that the title "Atabiachin de Marca Maior", and the respective theme of approach, emerged in my analysis from the oral expression of the daily life of the xangô from Pernambuco revealed to me during testimonies of the oluôu Manuel Barbosa da Silva, Pai Dodê, between 2003 and 2004. This babalorixá who lived in the neighborhood of Casa Amarela, in Recife, Pernambuco, revealed to me the ways and strategies of resistance even when the practitioners of the xangô collaborated as informants of the ways of life and relations with the dominant society in the 20th century. Music, ringtones, celebrations and liturgical rites became, in these terms, to be understood and described by researchers and reporters as their informants initiated in the xangôs of Recife decided to reveal. What was true in such accounts? What has really come to be systematized by science?

In the light of this case reported by Pai Dodê about the testimonies and revelations of the perspective universe and resistance of black groups, this article seeks to problematize



the veracity of reports and the fragility of the academic records that have come to guide the scientific knowledge of African heritages in Brazil.

BRIEF LITERATURE REVIEW OF AFRICAN CULTS

From extensive experience in the technical function of the Mental Hygiene Service and as Interim Assistant of Assistance to Psychopaths of the State of Pernambuco, during the Federal Intervention of 1937, Fernandes writes about the black-fetishist cults of Recife, elaborating a broad approach and deep synchronic ethnography of the xangô, his relations with the police in a state of repression of the spiritist cults/house of fortune tellers/gypsies/etc; their magical practices, the process of enrollment in federations of African cults, some of which are the rivalries between terreiros; giving voice to the babalorixás in the framings of possession, state of saint, medical witchcraft and syncretism. This work becomes an ethnographic landmark in the literature on blacks in the Northeast and especially in Pernambuco, among other reasons for the emic approach of an observer, who from the officiality of his function at the political level begins to have a technical and influential proximity in the heart of the African cults established here.

In 1950, based on information recorded by the Folklore Research Mission (MPF) from extensive documentation in newspapers, documentary records, photos, field notebooks and records, Alvarenga wrote about the ritual, the ceremonies, the lyrics of the toadas, the instruments, the orixás and caboclos worshipped. In the same year, Merrian studied the Afro-Brazilian ritual in Bahia. Ribeiro (1952) carried out a study of the process of social adjustment of the Afro-Brazilian cults of Recife. Valente (1954) analyzes Muslim marks on the xangôs of Pernambuco. Koetting (1970) analyzes and creates notation for percussion used in West Africa. Wa Mukuna (1970) studies the influence of Bantu music on Brazilian music. Motta (1973/1975/1976/1980) provides a dense anthropological panorama through various approaches to Afro-Recife religions. Bastide (1978) studies candomblé in Bahia. Blacking (1978) studies musical changes. Kubik (1979) analyzed Afro-Brazilian music by pointing out parameters of African music in the wrists of 12, peculiar to the Yorùbá culture, and 16 of the Bantu.

Guerra-Peixe (1980) built a model and musical analysis of African matrices in the maracatus of Recife. Verger (1981) delves into mythological and comparative aspects of rituals in Africa and Brazil. Nettl (1983) musical studies in general on musical change. Andrade (1983) addresses the music of cults in the Northeast of Brazil. Augras (1983) studied how the mythical Nago religious traditions act on the personality of the individual. Carvalho (1984/1987/1991/1993), studied the cult of Xangô in Recife, its aesthetics,



meaning and function in the liturgical-musical ritual. Brandão (1986) analyzes the economic organization of the Xangôs of Recife. Behague (1986) studies the process of change from an ethnomusicological perspective of contextualization of the musical event. Lody (1987) addresses the religious ethnography of the material culture of the Xangôs and Candomblés. Carneiro (1988/1991) studies the xangô in the process of identifying the orixás in Bahian candomblé.

D'Anunciação (1990) develops a notation system for percussion instruments in Brazilian music. Lühning (1990) develops an emic study on Afro-Brazilian music in Salvador. Aron (1991) develops a view of West African music and makes a study of rhythm, formulating comparisons of African standards in Western music. Carlini (1994) deals with the volume and locations through an analysis of the field notebooks of the Folklore Research Mission of 1937, with historical data of the xangô. Segato (1995) analyzes the relations between the mythology of the xangô and the premises of contemporary society. Brasil (2000) studies musical changes in babassuê based on the MPF of 1937. Oliveira (2001) studies percussion of black-African origin. Cardoso (2001) describes some aspects of symbolism in Candomblé Ketu. Vatin (2001) comparison between nations of candomblé in Bahia. Carcenac (2002) studies traces of musical miscegenation between Africa and Brazil. Marc Gidal (2013) comparatively observes the control of the musical creativity of devotees of candomblé, umbanda and quimbanda, concluding that candomblé presents a rigid vertical regulation in the expressiveness of its representations, so that the faithful tend to discipline their conduct according to a more orthodox order than among all other Afro-Brazilian religions. Gidal points out that umbanda tends to reveal a more horizontal structure of regulation, as it becomes more syncretized. In its classification, Umbanda composes a set of heterodox liturgies, of a wide and differentiated variation from Candomblé by a syncretic character, according to a greater or lesser degree of hybridism with Catholicism, Kardecism and, let's say, popular Catholicism. In this criterion, flexible levels of permissibility are revealed in the face of the musicality expressed, tolerating or promoting innovation in syncretic and hybrid liturgies, and this fact is underlined by Gidal as decisive for the adhesion of new faithful. Another significant fact of this study is that musical participation in these religious, orthodox or heterodox confraternities of African origin includes the sharing of behaviors and ideas, and there are even hierarchical levels in this field. For Gidal, sharing influences everyone to have an equivalent devotional commitment to the liturgy, in private life. This commitment is watched over and regulated ostensibly by guiding spirits, who punish or protect. Gidal observed that in Candomblé the musical structure was centered on the circular dance in a counterclockwise direction, with chants in pentatonic melody and with



a question-and-answer structure in a speech that seeks fluency in African languages, predominantly in Yoruba. This musical structure, says the author, was accompanied by the percussion of three drums, peculiar bells and bells, and by ritualistic processes of incorporation of spiritual entities (Ibid.). His approach alludes to people trained for the trance of spirits. This data needs to be reviewed since this state of immersion in the psychosensory and psychosomatic sphere induced by *music and suggestive context* is not achieved by just anyone, but only by those who have didactic or methodological instruction. Matory deals with the problem of ambivalent and polarized relations in studies of Afro-Brazilian religion (2009). In his speech, this author demonstrates how individuals, whether priestesses, merchants or academics, can make and influence the religious practices of Candomblé through individual ideas, interests and motivations. And he also points out problems about concepts of African purity in his studies. This is how it is summarized what I have considered, since the first references, for the design of the state of the art about the studies associated with xangô in the perspective that I pursue.

The data that emerge from these and other studies indicate that there are still hidden truths to be unveiled, and that they nurture taboos and fears in the imagination of society's common sense. Were they truths or myths?

THE VOICE OF THE INVESTIGATIVE TERRAIN

The documents used in this analysis were the field notebooks of the Folklore Research Mission (MPF) organized by Mario de Andrade in the first half of the 20th century. These data were collected from 1938 and 1998, and are part of the MPF collection organized by Oneyda Alvarenga, and which are currently managed by the São Paulo Cultural Center, which has the originals of this important research recently made available on DVD-ROM with the support of Caixa Econômica Federal and other agencies.

All the information pointed out here follows ethnomusicological conceptions referring to those recorded in 1938 in an effort to contextualize the musical practices of the Afro-Brazilian cult under appreciation of the Nagô and Jeje-Nagô tradition, in the voice of the memory of Pai Dodê. The data revealed in testimonies and testimonies emerged in interviews during the object of recording toadas and respective toques aos orixás, verifying the points of continuity and change in the liturgical practices of candomblé houses located in Alto Santa Izabel, Casa Amarela, a neighborhood in the metropolitan region of Recife. This academic investigation conferred the respective return to the sources as an integral and fundamental part of this musical research work. The methodology used was the comparative analysis of the practice of candomblé registered in 1938 with that practiced in



the years 2003 and 2004, after 66 years of the MPF records. The central points of this approach, of ethnographic comparison between data collected in the first half of the 20th century and testimonies collected at the beginning of the 21st century, started from topics listed in the notebooks of the respective MPF collection, based on the methodological basis of an ethno-historical appreciation elaborated by Merrian, in the search to identify, as defined by John Blacking (1973:17), the processes of musical and extramusical cognition of this rite for an understanding at the structural and functional level of the musical production of the xangôs in Pernambuco.

The field research was basically carried out in Alto Santa Izabel, Casa Amarela, Recife, Pernambuco, using open and participant observation, semi-structured interviews guided by the informant's voice, which gave me a certain freedom in the use and order of questions about the daily life of the xangôs in order to better contextualize the universe of the cult of the orixás, making use of the oral and life history of Pai Dodê.

Born on April 3, 1923, Manoel Barbosa da Silva, Oluôu named Pai Dodê [Mané Dodê], was the son of Severino Dionísio de Albuquerque (deceased in 1932 when Pai Dodê was 9 years old) and Maria Barbosa da Silva (deceased at the age of 84). In his memoirs, he said that on June 23, 2005, he would complete 50 years of òyáwó à Iyemojá Dodê (the date of his initiation into the liturgy of the xangô). His reports pointed out that it was made (initiated) at the White House of Engenho Velho (the first Candomblé House in Brazil), Salvador, Bahia. And that its initiator, also referred to as mãe de santo was Juliana Baraúna, Mãe Tété. He also mentioned that he had been initiated into the cult of the Sacred Jurema and Umbanda by Maria Isabel de Santana, known as Maria Gola da Mustardinha. These data are significant for us to situate his life path in Afro-Brazilian cults, and consequently to consider his revelations about the ways of relating to scholars and collecting scientific data.

Considering it necessary to better understand the documentary information and the facts arising from the field research, I sought to expand the field of collection, through complementary interviews with people from other local terreiros, such as: José dos Santos, babalorixá named Zezo de Xangô, born on December 8, 1947, and initiated in the cult of the orixás in 1959 as a rodante ogan (the one who always manifests himself); José Antônio, born in the city of Carpina/PE in 1929, bearer of the religious title of babalaô ibualama, with more than 50 years as a babalorixá; and Diva da Silva Santos, iyalorixá named Diva DE Iyemojá [Mother Diva], born on July 6, 1944, initiated in xangô in 1954. I also sought to expand data about Pai Dodê's testimonies through complementary interviews with people who did not belong to the circumscribed area of observation, such as: Amaro Paulo Dias, known as Paulo Dias, Interim President of the Federation of Afro-Brazilian Cults of



Pernambuco, located at Rua José Bonifácio, 650, 1st floor, Torre, in the city of Recife. Communication Professional; Manuel Salustino Cândido, known as Manuel Maiá, former President of the Federation of Afro-Brazilian Cults of Pernambuco, who lived at Rua Marcílio Dias 27-A, Água Fria, in the city of Recife; Tony Mayowa Lawson, born on December 10, 1982 in the city of Lagos, former capital of Nigeria, who in 2004 was in transit in the city of Recife due to a scholarship in Portuguese Language carried out at the Federal University of Pernambuco, with the purpose of studying Accounting Sciences at USP.

INHERITED STIGMAS

The terrain revealed, through testimonies and testimonies, that the initiates of African religious cults in Pernambuco feel uncomfortable with stereotypes directed at them by the common sense of the dominant society, even though there are programs and actions of cultural policies disseminating values of inclusion of this category of people in the social daily life. However, the emic reports point to dissatisfaction in the way they predominantly see themselves conceived as a danger and an example of social stain. This way of looking was indicated by the interviewees as a mark of a personality created under white and Judeo-Christian reference. In such emic reflections, this way of perceiving them by the common sense of society was evidenced in value judgments that predominantly place on their heads a derogatory stigma of worshippers of demonic manifestations. This state of affairs, in their perspectives, indicates that initiated practitioners and sympathizers of religions of African origin have experienced repressions and social conflicts with strong repercussions in the depths of their ego, in part, through the discourse of those who, not believing in the orixás, point out the existence of a common pattern of the psychic unconscious in all those who identify themselves and/or who are arbitrarily identified as "xangozeiros"². This typology of classification has in its use a diversity of applicability, with a predominance of those that designate the people of xangô as true sorcerers capable of atrocities at the physical, psychic and spiritual levels, because, in the eyes of the dominant society, they are supposed to be carriers of all kinds of moral and personality disorders.

Such modes of representation witnessed to me in the field by those who feel excluded took on a new meaning after Pai Dodê indicated the existence of the common resource among Afro-Brazilians who were members of African rituals, which covered or made invisible their truths before the observer lenses of scientific methodologies. In their perspectives, reporters and researchers were curious intruders who asked too many

² According to Carl G. Jung, terms such as *xangozeiro* are products of the collective unconscious that generate non-personal processes of the individual acquiring real and/or pejoratively conduct and personality, which in turn are potentially constituted by a racial and ethnic inheritance of memories and typical behaviors.



questions and, because they did not know the secrets of their orally inherited traditions, could be deceived by false statements. At this point in my investigation I discovered the emic resource of resistance called 'atabiachin', and the possible and imaginable reality of an imprecision and deception present in the literature since the first scientific records. After all, what is true in what we know about our culture?

PROBLEMS OF AN ATABIACHIN

Candomblé is the crystallization of an entire cultural synthesis of African mythology. In it we find marks peculiar to different nations. In the construct of this verification, I came across, at first, a complex and intricate arsenal of classification nomenclatures that said little by themselves, as if codified for a few to understand; certainly, the result of the effort of those who do not share the world of relationship between the faithful and the orixás, to unveil the secrets that separate intellectuals from the bearers of ancestral knowledge. As Pai Dodê (2004) always said, "the whites and scholars who think they have the right to speak for us are great atabiachins, ignorant of the highest mark, who think they know everything, but know nothing [...]".

The filhos-de-santo are born, grow up and live in an environment physically and culturally determined by a past that transcends the material plane. They participate in this environment and make changes within a traditionally standardized conception, accepted, elected and corroborated by all equals. As understood by the literature and by the practitioners of the tradition of faith to the orixás, in this conceptual universe there is no room for conceptions guided by knowledge external to a ritual reality. In this order of perceiving this assertion, consequently the presence of researchers in the physical and conceptual space of Afro-descendants is given as an intrusion by those who, in the eyes of the people of Xangô, throughout an entire history of life, sought to disaggregate a sacred knowledge of African identity in Brazil.

The search for an understanding of this hidden reality that transcends the Western world, factually falls back on an arbitrary tendency to write what has never been written, to transcribe what has never been transcribed, to conceptualize, on Western bases, what has not been orally understood outside a dogmatic sense of oral tradition. The initiates of the xangô reported that the internal rule of their beliefs did not allow an uncontrolled opening of truths about the causal relations, influences and competing and consequent tendencies of their rituals and celebrations to the African deities. And in this sense there is the functionality of individuals committed to the zeal of the tradition of inherited secrets. These individuals



are those designated as caretakers of the orixás, also commonly called 'caretakers of the saint' or 'fathers of the saint'.

The conflicting obscurity of truths accessible to common sense represents for investigators a great effort to determine the amplitude of facts, phenomena and operations that enter this sphere of action. This reveals the mystical side that still lingers over part of the life stories of Afro-descendants. Would this be a feature of continuity? Or simply an effort of resistance?

Faced with the problem of a diversity and breadth of approaches and understandings of Afro-fetishist cults in Brazil, a certain abyss between emic truth and ethical truth has been revealed that makes articles and methodological approaches of the Brazilian African tradition seem mythical. The themes developed by academia, as well as by the media, carry something mysterious and insurmountable, further expanding a scientific mysticism around themes that seem fragmented from an African tradition, like pieces of a puzzle.

However, as Roberto Motta pointed out in a seminar in the specialization course in ethnomusicology held at UFPE in 2004, the people of the terreiro who enter the academic universe of universities and start to consider literature as a reference, tend to adopt as truth the possible lies recorded in the field, and the authoritative voice of oral knowledge, in the eagerness for resistance, it runs the risk of authorizing possible untruths as truth and tradition.

Do the revelations and scientific records of African rituals among Afro-descendants thus point to a course of terminological and semantic mismatches with the truths of the past? What is the content of truth and the power of lies?



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