Inculturation and acculturation in the translation of religious texts: the translations of Jesuit priest José de Anchieta into Tupi in 16th century Brazil

Paulo Edson Alves Filho Universidade de Sorocaba - UNISO
and Universidade de São Paulo - USP
John Milton Universidade de São Paulo - USP

Introduction

This article will examine the translation of religious texts by the Jesuit missionary José de Anchieta (1534-1597) in Brazil in the 16th century. The article shows that the translations of Anchieta contain a large amount of inculturation, a readiness to mix Catholic and native Indian terms, in order to achieve the catechism of the Indians, their acculturation into Catholicism. We see this readiness to mix Christian Catholic terms and concepts from the spiritual world of the Brazilian Indians as having much in common with the "dynamic equivalence" found in the work of Eugene Nida. The article will initially examine the background of both Spanish and Portuguese colonizers of what is now called Latin America; it will then look at some of the characteristics of the Tupi Indian language; and will finally analyze a number of Anchieta's writings in Tupi in which he translated certain important Christian concepts into Tupi.

The Views of the Early Missionaries in Latin America

The strategy of the first Franciscans who settled with the Aztecs in the early 16th century, trying to convince them of the superiority of the Christian God and thus the need to have the natives converted to Catholicism, was that of using the thinking system of the natives and operating in the logic of the Other (the Aztecs in this case) in order to convert them, as a "natural" consequence of their own way of thinking (Monteiro 1995: 98).

This maneuvre was apparently successful in the early days of Mexico: in the first decade of their presence in Central America the missionaries made several million baptisms among the natives. But the Franciscans knew they should go beyond baptism and promote a deeper cultural change. In order to do so, they adopted the Indian way of life and rapidly learnt the mechanisms of the Aztec culture: they managed to learn Náuatle (the Aztec

language) and other minor native languages so they could translate the Catholic texts and write grammars (Ibid.: 99).

This use of local languages also helped turn Catholicism into a native religion, i.e. to bring Europe into the Americas. The Franciscans were successful with their particular way of preaching God's words, as by inserting Christianity into the lives of the indigenous peoples they both helped to preserve the local traditions and supply a process of translation through which the Indians could recognize their own gods and holy entities in the European religion.

In building churches over ancient pagan shrines they used a replacement process in which the local gods and entities would not be forgotten; and in systematically using the vernacular language they would not delete the native intellectual tradition on which Christianity would be superimposed.

For the Europeans involved in the colonization process, the perception of the Indian imaginary, their way of looking at the world, was something utterly new. In fact, the scenario where the New and the Old World met was puzzling for both sides. From the very first contact between Christopher Columbus and the Indians from Central America, cultural differences rapidly emerged. As an example, Columbus writes in his travel diary that the Indians were willing to exchange things regardless of their true value (at least for the European sense of value) and ignored the potential loss or profit one side might have from these exchanges. He "gave them several worthless things that caused them to be very happy. They [the Indians] would not mind if they received pieces of broken pots in exchange for chunks of gold" (Todorov 1999: 45). Columbus' remark illustrates the perception the European had about the natives: they saw the Indians as "silly idiots" (Ibid.: 46) and in terms of religion, the Indians were depicted as "primitive", with their religion, their rituals, beliefs and their way of life seen as "devilish".

This conceptual classification of the Indian religion was mainly motivated by two elements. The first was the Judaico-Christian imaginary and conception of pagan worship accepted in Europe since the Middle Ages. The second was that the Indian culture contained cannibalism and worship of elements of Nature such as thunder. Translated into the European religious code, this would be equated with a clear sympathy for the Devil, often found in pagan worship in Europe.

This quite natural tendency to relate the "new" to the "ancient" can also be seen in the way in which the Amerindians accepted the Europeans. The white and bearded Aztec god *Quetzalcoatl* had come from and gone to the East; the Inca God *Viracocha* was also white and bearded, and the East was the Mayan heroic ancestors' homeland (Galeano 1976: 29). The Amerindians just needed to move a step forward to conclude the European was their returning god. Thus, on seeing the arrival of the Spaniards, the Indians projected their godly entities on to the white men.

As they came from a distant land, across a huge sea in big ships, bearing strange powers and bringing useful objects, the Tupi Indians associated them with important tribal shamans, who roamed from village to village, healing and foreseeing the future, delivering words of promise about a place of delight, known among the natives as the "Land of No Evil". Those great shamans – called *Caraíbas* by the natives – had a discourse that would be frequently used by the Jesuits, who also were lonely wanderers and preachers of immortality and were easily also seen as *Caraíbas*. This term was also used to define the Portuguese conquerors in general, with their promises, weapons and illnesses (Fausto 1992: 386).

"It is in the context of this dislocation of meanings, this 'semantic adventure'", in the expression of Meliá, that one may better understand the place occupied by the conquerors in the indigenous cosmology" (Fausto 1992:386)[1]. Eric Cheyfitz, in his *Translation and Empire*, claims that the people Europeans found in the New World lacked all civilized signs such as clothing, property, technology and speech (as the Europeans considered their languages to be "mere jabbering"). This radical cultural and linguistic difference required them to rethink substantial parts of their world view and how to deal with this new encounter: What or who are the "savages"? Where did they come from? Can or should they be transformed into Europeans? (in Robinson 1997: 64).

Cheyfitz' statement opens up further discussions that are beyond the scope of this article, but it makes it clear how the Catholic Church, particularly the Jesuit Order, at Anchieta´s time, had taken a step ahead and already had a plan to deal with the "savages" in colonial Brazil.

By contrast, the black African people did not motivate the same political or social questions as the South American Indians did. America and its innocent and genuine native

people attracted the attention of the Europeans and forced the reordering and expansion of the Christian nation, different to the African people, who had been conceived in the European imaginary as descendants of Ham and cursed by God with eternal slavery, according to the Bible.

Spain had a double task in conquering the New Land: territorial conquest and a spiritual mission, and this would result in a dispute between the Church and colonizers. The Church and the Crown would stand up for the faith and the principles that ruled the world as both wished to spread the Christian Message among the “barbarians”. The Church, always active in the colonizing process, tried to persuade the Crown and the colonizers to behave in a more humane way but this did not always happen.

The issue of who the South American Indians were and how Europeans should treat them was widely discussed in the 16th century by theologians Juan Ginés de Sepulveda, Bartolomé de las Casas and Francisco de Vitoria. All three Spaniards, despite having different views about the American natives, agreed on one point: they had to accept the rule of the Spanish because the Spanish were mentally superior, and divine and natural laws gave the Spanish the right to conquer and enslave the native peoples of America. The consensus of the Spaniards was that the native worship in the New World were all related to demonolatry. Few agreed with Las Casas, who said, “those idolatries were a sincere reflection of religious expression” (Vainfas 1995: 27).

The “Spiritual Conquest” in Spanish America, particularly in Peru and Mexico, was carried out firmly and clearly. Secular authorities, priests and missionaries saw idolatry in the Indians’ religions and treated it as a crime which could even bring the death penalty.

This can also be seen in the way in which the Spanish explorer Hernán Cortés treated the Indians. He considered it vital that the Indians subjected themselves not only to the Spanish throne but also to the 'mysteries of Christ'. This was important as the Church had ruled that enslavement and war could only be made on groups that had rejected the Gospel. Before attacking native Americans, Spaniards were required to read them the *Requerimiento*[2], a statement offering them the chance to accept Christ and the Spanish Crown or face annihilation. Intriguingly, this document, with its barbarous absurdity of giving the Indians the choice of accepting an unknown religion and government or being killed, was read aloud in Spanish. Translation, or the lack of it, was the key for not

delivering the message to the natives. Afterwards, if they still chose not to submit to God's will, violence was permissible, regardless of whether the listener actually understood. This shows us how the Catholic Church and Crown walked hand in hand towards “translating the Indians”, even though it included an act of non-translation as, in this particular case, the message was meaningless for the audience.

In the *Requerimiento,* battle, subjugation, enslavement, death and robbery were the fault of the Indians, not of the Spaniards, as the latter would leave the “choice” of accepting the European domination over the American soil and souls up to the Indians.

The Jesuits in Brazil and the Portuguese Colonizers

Differently from the experiences of the Spanish with the Mayas in Mexico and the Aztecs in Peru, the Portuguese colonizers did not find any signs of “idolatry” or “paganism” such as idols or masks, and, as a result, the Portuguese Jesuits and colonizers generally viewed the Brazilian Indians as an atheistic people, as “people who have no knowledge of God or idols; they do not adore anything, do not know God; only call the Thunder Tupã, which means divine thing.” (in Vainfas 1995: 26)[3]. The Jesuit Manuel da Nóbrega[4] saw the Brazilian Indians as a “blank paper” regarding their faith, where anything could be written.

The Jesuits, the Christian order Anchieta belonged to, largely used the strategies of the Franciscans in their early conversions in Mexico, aiming at cultural convergence or inculturation, joining Catholicism to elements of the Indian cultures, translation and equivalence. As an example, the Jesuits used the fact that the *arani* mythology predisposed their people to accept the idea of a single God and the existence of a heavenly world. In addition, the Christian ritual, with its pomp and music, attracted the natives and resulted in a smoother conversion.

Despite this weaker perception of the Brazilian Tupi Indians by the Portuguese, their worship and rituals would be soon read about in European travel accounts from Brazil. The first account was written by Nóbrega and is contradictory regarding his statement that the Tupis did not have any religion, as he states that from time to time sorcerers from distant lands showed up in the tribes and the Indians welcomed them with dances and

feasts. These sorcerers had a stick with a calabash on the top, a magic tool that engaged in a conversation with them, making predictions and giving the Indians advice.

The second account, written by the French priest, Andre Thevet, states that these sorcerers[5] were people with bad lives who devote themselves to serving the devil.

The third chronicle was written by Hans Staden, a German who was shipwrecked and washed ashore at Itanhaem[6]. After the Portuguese made him chief commander of a small coastal fort, he was captured by the Tupinambas. He spent nine months with the Indians, escaped being eaten, and after returning to Europe, produced one of the most comprehensive accounts of the Brazilian Indians. He affirmed that the Indian ceremonies were a silly superstition.

The last account was made by Jean de Lery, a Frenchman who also joined one of the Tupi ceremonies and produced a rich description of the Indian rituals.

These four descriptions, despite some minor differences, give us a somewhat homogeneous image of the ceremonies and how their dances and rituals were very important for the Tupi religion or worship, neglected by the first observations made by the European.

The accounts of the friars Simão de Vasconcelos, Yves d´Evreux and Manuel de Nóbrega had in common the conception of the missionary action as a resumption of human evolution: Europeans and Amerindians had descended from the same population nucleus, they both had the seeds of Christianity, the true religion, and the priests and missionaries would have the task of guiding the natives, the “lost tribe”, to the same evolutionary stage as the Christian Europeans. Conversion, through the knowledge of the Sacred Writings and the improvement of faith, would bring purity and virtue to them, lost after Adam had eaten the forbidden fruit.

For the friar Yves d´Evreux[7], the “savages” always had the knowledge about God as their single God was *Tupã*, the same name as thunder. According to d’Evreux, even before the Europeans arrived in America, the natives knew the Maker as, according to the European observers, natural religion had left traces in their heart. However, they did not know not about the essence, Unity, or Trinity, which they could only discover after conversion to the Christian faith.

This was the peculiar context in which the catechetical mission of the Jesuits would operate the "cultural translation" from 1549 on. They were committed to preaching Christianity to the natives whose cultural features the Europeans knew virtually nothing about.

The Jesuits' activities in Brazil, supported by the Portuguese Crown, lasted some 200 years. Their missions in South America had roots in the Portuguese maritime discoveries, which would carry out the necessary expansion of the Christian faith to all pagan people. The convergence of the interests of the Portuguese Crown and the Catholic Church was quite normal, and in the first decades of the colonization process, the mission would follow the directives of the Portuguese Government.

In order to control the Catholic Church in its colony, Portugal created the *Conselho Ultramarino*[8] and the *Mesa da Consciência e Ordem*[9], agencies that would determine the guidelines for the missionary expeditions and the activities developed among the Indians. The Portuguese Crown organized and sponsored the evangelical expeditions, the building of churches and even supplied a special support for the Indian villages, the *aldeamentos* Thus the Church was in the service of the Portuguese Empire and monitored the aims of the conquest and colonization of the newly found land.

The Church in Colonial Brazil had to follow the Council of Trent guidelines, which described the missionary norms from Rome for the New World and the basic points of the Catholic doctrine regarding what should be transmitted to new and potential converts.

The Portuguese Crown, through the *Padroado*[10], sponsored the Church to carry out its activities in the colony, and in the first hundred fifty years of colonization both were allies in protecting the Indians from the violence of the colonizers. The Jesuits organized the Indians resistance against the slavery and killing promoted by the colonizers, particularly in the south of Brazil.

However, from the second half of the 17th century, the Jesuits became increasingly independent of the Portuguese government. Their behavior was seen as the beginning of an independence movement which was against the interests of the Crown. The missionary priests in *Sete Povos das Missões*[11] were seen as rebels, who kept a work force (the Indians) away from the needs of the local colonial administrators and who were intent on forming a breakaway state from the Portuguese and Spanish Crowns.

From 1756 on the Portuguese expansionist policy, under the Marquis of Pombal[12], encouraged the colonizers to dismantle the Jesuits' control over the indigenous administration. Pombal, who took a number of steps that gradually reduced the power of the Jesuits in Portugal and in their colonies, particularly in Brazil, turned against the Society of Jesus as it was acting almost as a completely autonomous state. In 1759 he expelled the Society from Portugal, closed all colleges and missions, confiscated all the Society properties and arrested a large number of priests. Thus the period of inculturation came to an end. Pombal alleged that the Jesuits resisted abandoning the missions, which had been decreed by the Treaty of Madrid signed by Portugal and Spain in 1750, and the missionaries were encouraging the Indians to resist the Spanish and Portuguese. Pombal also convinced France and Spain to abolish the Society in their own countries, which actually took place between 1764 and 1767, and sponsored a three-volume work called *Dedução Cronológica* [Chronological Deduction] which blames the Jesuits for all the misfortunes that had occurred in Portugal in the previous two centuries.

Along with suppressing the Society of Jesus in Brazil, all colleges and schools run by the Jesuits were closed, and the use of Tupi in educational establishments was banned. Since then Portuguese has been the standard language of schools in Brazil, and it was elected as the official language of Brazil by the first Constituent Assembly in 1823.

The Tupi language

When the Portuguese arrived in the 16th century, there were from two to four million Indians in Brazil. Generally speaking, the Guarani Indians were found from the south of Sao Paulo state the Rio Grande do Sul state, further south, and the Tupinambas were found along the coastline from Sao Paulo state to the east of Maranhão state in the north of Brazil. They all belonged to the linguistic branch of Tupi-Guarani, which included a total of 39 derivative languages.

Tupi, or Tupinambá, was the main language spoken in Brazil in the 16th century due to the fact it used by the Jesuits and the colonial administration. Eduardo Navarro mentions the fact that knowledge of Tupi was very widespread in Brazil in the 17th and early 18th centuries, spoken by members of the colonial administration, Indians, Africans and Europeans alike (Navarro 2001: 52). Although pupils at the Jesuit schools were taught

to read and write Portuguese and Latin, the medium of instruction was Tupi. Indeed, Tupi, known as "a língua geral" ["the general language"] was called by the Jesuits, the "grego da terra"["Greek of the land"], the language to spread the Gospel, as Greek was for St. Paul, and Jesuit missionaries in Brazil were obliged to learn Tupi (Pompa 2003: 87-88). The Jesuits used Tupi in order to get closer to the Indians "As it was spoken in the catechism and by the backwoodsmen, it was an instrument of the spiritual and territorial conquests of our history, and knowledge of Tupi, however superficial it may have been, has been part of our national culture" (Lemos Barbosa in Navarro 2001: 52)[13].

In fact, it is easy to imagine a scenario in which Brazil could have become a genuinely bilingual country, as Paraguay is, where all the population still speaks both Guarani and Spanish.

Tupi has given thousands of terms to Brazilian Portuguese, was important for the literature of the Colonial, Romantic and Modernist period and has been central feature of affirmation of a Brazilian cultural identity. Many cities, regions and towns have Tupi names, such as "Sorocaba" and "Jundiai" (meaning respectively "Split Land" and "Catfish River"), which were named after their own physical-geographical features in Tupi. The influence of Tupi is also noticed in the cuisine, fauna and a large number of everyday expressions in Brazil.

The Tupi language has the following features:

1) It was an oral language with no written symbols to represent it.

2) Tupi did not have inflections. The grammatical concepts were expressed by prefixes, suffixes, by word order and by special particles. For instance:

ixé a-syk (lit.: I me-arrive)
endé ere-syk (lit.: you you-arrive)
a´e o-syk (lit.:he him-arrives)

3) There were neither definite nor indefinite articles

4) There was no grammatical gender. Usually, when gender distinction was needed equivalent words were used for "male" or "female", although there were words for specifying the kinship of man or woman. "Son", with reference to man was *ta-yra*. With reference to woman, it was *membyra.* "Uncle" (the father's brother) was the same as father: *tuba* or *uba.* "Uncle"; when meaning the mother's brother, is *tutyra.*

5) There were expressions, particularly interjections and adverbs, which could only be used by men or women. For instance, *pá* was used when a man would say “yes” and *e é* when a woman would say “yes”.

6) Differently to Portuguese, nouns and adjectives were the same in plural or single form.

7) The difference between subject and object was shown by the internal order of the phrases, except for pronouns.

8) Nouns, infinite and participle verbs had their own forms for past and future tenses.

9) There were few abstract nouns which indicated quality or similarity as "injustice", "goodness", "color", "beauty", "distance", "size” , etc..

10) The concrete element of *Tupi* was evident on the classifying prefixes — *a* for roundish things, *pó* for long things, *pý* for wide things, *apé* for similar surfaces. Thus, either *sýma* or *asýma* mean "even surface", but *asýma* was used for qualifying round objects with even or smooth surface, e.g. *ybá asýma* "smooth fruit".

11) The nouns and adjectives related to states of mind and inner qualities were related to organs of the body or external sense: eyes, mouth, nose, hands, feet, etc.: *îesarekó* "consider" = "to have eyes for "; *tesaetá* "many eyes" = carefully; *tesapóra* "projecting eyes" = "exhilarated ".

12) *Tupi* featured two different pronouns for “we”: *iande* included the second person (I or we & you); *ore* excluded the second person, (I & he or they without you).

13) There were no grammatical tense categories. The verbs, in its simple tense, meant an accomplished action at any time, particularly in the past.

14) The affective language was well developed. Special terms expressed feelings and states of mind along the speaker’s narrative; boredom, wraith, tenderness, doubt, assurance, opinion based on someone else, etc.

Anchieta and the Role of the Catholic Priest

According to Maria Antonia Grandville (1979), the role of the Catholic priest was redefined by the Indians: they did not see him as someone in service of God who was present among a certain people, but someone that had an important position according to the tribal status. He came from a messianic land, from overseas, and had enough power to speak in favor of the Indians whenever necessary.

One role he performed was that of doctor. The Jesuit instructions for confessors stressed that they were doctors rather than judges, who would cure the illnesses of the soul. And in the catechesis, the Jesuit priests would substitute the shamans and be the new

(witch) doctors of the Indians (Pompa 2003: 67-69). And of course, the missionaries also acted as medical doctors in curing the Indians of diseases (brought from Europe) with medicines from Europe.

The priest had strength to demand, to talk and to make decisions with the authorities on behalf of all the community, since he was the bearer of messianic hope, introducing a new dimension through the message proclaimed to the natives about a better, safer and milder land, free from the bad things that torture them.

The Indians heard this message. And they accepted it as it provided a door to paradise, which was somehow equivalent to that of their religious traditions and rituals. For this reason, the Indians accepted the rites of the Catholic liturgy and were prepared to enter the world of the white people, ultimately accomplished by baptism, which symbolized the final passage to the messianic universe brought by the European (Grandeville 1979: 23-24).

Thus we can see that Anchieta had a ready audience and shaped his catechetical work to fit certain the Indian beliefs, allowing a high level of inculturation, mixing Jesuit Catholicism with Indian beliefs. Indeed, the Jesuits, always prudent, and anxious to maintain the trust of the Indians, were quite tolerant of this hybrid culture and were prepared to accept the persistence of certain Indian rituals, which they called “jogos”[“games”] (Pompa 2003: 68).

The *corpus* he produced was mainly made up of poems and plays written in Portuguese, Spanish and Tupi. In his attempts to spread the Catholic message and thus encourage the acculturation of the Indians, Anchieta created a new theatre that was neither totally Indian nor shaped by rigid foreign standards, which did not intend to teach religion but rather to promote the basic aspects of Christian precepts (Anchieta 1977: 44).

Anchieta uses a large number of pagan and Christian elements in the plots of his dramas, which were written to be performed by the Indians who were being catechized. His plays mix the natural and the supernatural, realism and symbolism, dance and music, despite the apparent incompatibility of Indian habits, values, tradition and psychology to the Church moral and spiritual values (Ibid.: 46). Anchieta was a scholar of Tupi and completed the Tupi grammar, finally published in 1595 in Coimbra, of Father João de Azpilcueta Navarro, S.J., who died in in 1555. He also wrote sermons, homilies, confessionals, prayers for saints and plays such as *“At Christimas Feast”* [*Na Festa de*

Natal], *"In the Village of Guaraparim"* [*Na Vila de Guaraparim*], *"At Saint Lawrence Feast"* [*Na Festa de São Lourenço*] (Ibid.: 46) which were clearly inspired in form, meter and even the choice of characters (angels and demons), by the plays of Gil Vicente.[14].

Anchieta adapted the contents of his plays to the Indian environment and thus created a unique corpus of situational-specific work for the audience found in 16th century Brazil. His plays contained words and rhymes in Tupi, though the rhythm and cycles were Portuguese:

> *Jandé, rubeté, Iesu*
> *Jandé rekobé meengára*
> *Oimomboreausukatú*
> *Jandé amotareymbára.* (Anchieta 1954: 559]
> (Jesus, our true Father)
> (The Lord of our existence defeated our enemy)

This new element for the colonized societies simultaneously conveyed the familiar and the extraneous: most of the words were from the natives' language – the only exception in the excerpt above was the word "Jesus" "Iesu" – and this element was just a part of a more complex structure to deliver the inculturizing message to the Indians.

The strategies for accomplishing cultural translation

One of the Jesuit enterprises was the practice of "cultural translation" in the sense that it tried to transfer a set of concepts from one culture to another, which were not exactly or totally unrelated to each other, and the results were often unexpected, as Alfredo Bosi (1992: 65) states:

> "In the passage from a symbolic sphere to another, Anchieta found obstacles which at times could not be solved. How could the Tupis be told about the word sin if they had no such notion, at least according to what was registered throughout the Middle Ages in Europe?"[15]

The strategy Anchieta chose to operate the implementation of Christianity in the New World was frequently to look for some corresponding element in two languages with

unequal results (Ibid.: 67) as, for instance, translating "angel" as "*karaibebe"*, or *"a flying shaman"*.

When trying to classify the Indians by the realms of Heaven and Hell, the Europeans were projecting their own European ideas onto them, in other words, seeing the Indians as their shadow as they brought their "own Lucifer in the bilge of their ships"[16] (Vainfas 1995: 25). In ethnological terms, the colonizers seemed not to be aware of the concept of "Otherness". For instance, the devil seemed to be extraneous for the Mayas, Aztecs and Tupis. The deities of the native were rather neutral, neither good nor bad, very different to the Christian God. They would not fit at all into the European dialectical vision of the universe, in which opposite forces were seen as reciprocal and complementary. The Indian entities did have massive and destructive powers but were not exactly related to whatever the Christian considered, for example, as "devilish".

The originally Jewish God brought by the Portuguese would be named *Tupã* in the conversion-translation made by the Jesuits. *Tupã* was the Indian supernatural entity related to thunder. From this moment on, *Tupã* would assume a new status: it would be the supreme god, would have a mother (*Tupansy* – Holy Mary), who would also be its daughter and would have a house and a kingdom (Bosi 1992: 67).

In order for the Manichean-European religious perspective to be inserted in the Indian religion, *Tupã* would need an opposite force to represent the dark side and the devil, which Anchieta would name *Anhanga.* Anchieta chose *Anhanga* as the concept of devil for the Indians. *Anhanga*, according to the Indian imaginary, was the protector of the jungle and animals and had amazing powers and skills, able to shift form and shape and torment human beings. In this new model introduced by the Jesuits, the powers of *Anhanga* were increased: it would take on the role of Prince of the Darkness and would be directly responsible for all bad habits of the Amerindians such as cannibalism, polygamy, drunkenness from *cauim*[17], and all other "devilish" rituals for European eyes. Indeed, Anchieta might have made this choice as a result of the fear *Anhanga* inspired in the natives rather than for its very diabolical essence.

Bosi states that the most efficient method of destroying the bad habits of the Indians was quickly discovered: generalizing fear among the natives and extending it to all entities

that might be manifested in the native trances and ceremonies, demonizing any events that facilitated the path for the return of the dead (Ibid: 69).

In this period, witches and sorcerers were persecuted all over Europe. The imaginary of the men from Europe on American ground was dominated by the vision of parallel forms of religion, i.e., pagan worships, and thus the tendency was to interpret the worship of the Indians as a kind of "demonolatry". As, in Europe, pagan rituals and worship were condemned and suppressed, in America the Europeans had to likewise exterminate the heritage of paganism (Mello e Souza 1993).

It is no surprise that Anchieta chose the Devil as his most common character in his plays. Through the Devil's speech, he would designate the Indian ritual and behavior as devilish (e.g., anthropophagy, polygamy, communication with the dead, etc.), circumscribing them and delivering a message against them.

Cannibalism and polygamy were key elements for the Indians' social lives, and those which most disgusted the missionaries. But the Indians did not relate them to *Anhanga.* Cannibalism was the result of warfare and important for the tribe's supremacy over their enemies. A prisoner of war would be kept for several months, treated well and sometimes given a wife. But on an appointed day he would be killed and prepared for a feast. Old women drank the blood and mothers smeared blood over their breasts. The body was roasted and eaten by the entire village and their guests. If the prisoner had been given a wife, she wept for him, but then she also joined the feast. The executioner was forbidden to feast and had to go into seclusion to protect himself and the village from the prisoner's ghost. This cannibalistic treatment given to the enemy was justified for two reasons: revenge and incorporation of the brave soul of the enemy into the executioner's own soul.

Polygamy was a useful and meaningful practice for daily tribal life: while one woman was working out in the field the other (or others) would look after the children and work in the village.

Dealing with and translating these elements, Anchieta reorganizes their places in the *Tupi* imaginary: *Tupã,* with its divine powers on one side; *Anhanga* and the barbarian customs, such as polygamy and cannibalism, on the other. But the difficult and uncertain task of the Jesuit in establishing and translating new definitions would not cease by then. Not only were they dealing with two very different cultures, they also had two very

different source and target languages. *Tupi* was basically a "concrete" language, i.e., with no as many words to describe abstract ideas and concepts as Portuguese (or any other European language) had.

Eduardo Navarro (Navarro 2001) provides a set of other words and expressions that were translated by Anchieta with no exact conceptual equivalence in order to transmit the catholic dogma. As mentioned above, the word "angel" was translated into Tupi as *karaí-bebe*, which meant "sanctity which flies". This neologism derived from *karai* (Indian prophet) and *bebé* (adjective: winged). For the Indian it might have been a weird concept of a flying shaman and certainly the idea of angel would not have been clearly depicted according to its biblical definition. The same happened to the idea of "sin", translated into Tupi as *tekó-aíba, tekó-poxy,*or *tekó-angaipaba* (bad life or bad culture of a people). Actually, the concept of sin involved a broader array of definitions. Sin would be a transgression of God's known will or any principle or law regarded as embodying this. It meant that "sin" would not exactly be the definition of bad life according to the "Indian life" but rather to the "European way of life". Thus, "sin", translated as "bad life", would be even more entangling, as it lacked a prior knowledge of God's will, which therefore could supply human beings with a definition of a "good" or "bad" life.

In the list of "unequal" translations Navarro points out the expressions *ratá* (the fire of Anhanga, related to "inferno", a definition of a place with eternal suffering, a concept totally extraneous for the native) and *moro-potar-e´yma* (literally: "not to desire people sensually"), which would be used for "purity", as *Tupi* was too concrete a language to bear such an abstract idea. It is clear that the choice Anchieta made for delivering "purity" into the native language was loaded with ideology, in this case, the most suitable way of disagreeing with the Indians' sexual behavior, which hardly followed Catholic principles.

The conclusions Vicente Rafael reaches in his study (Rafael 1988: 20-21) on translations of the Christian doctrine into Tagalog language in the Philippines can be compared to the translations made by Anchieta, who kept "untranslatable" words in Portuguese. Such highly charged terms, from the perspective of the Church, like *Domingo* [*Sunday*], *Virgem Maria* [*Virgin Mary*], *Santa Igreja* [*Holy Church*], *tentação [temptation] and Reino* [*Kingdom*], remained untranslated in order to punctuate the flow of Christian

discourse in the vernacular. In the interest of conversion, translation prescribed and proscribed the language with which the natives could receive and deliver God's Word.

In the following extracts from The Lord's Prayer and The Ten Commandments, "Sunday", "kingdom" or "temptation" were not translated at all and kept in Portuguese:

"*Eimoeté* ***Domingo***" (Anchieta 1992: 143)

(Remember to keep the Sabbath Day)

Orê rûb Ybàkupe tekóar,Ymoete pyramo,nde rera toikó T´our nde ***Reino*** (Navarro 2001: 62)

(Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name; Thy kingdom come)

Ore moar ukar ume iepe ***Tentação*** *pupé* (Ibid.: 63)

(lead us not into temptation)

This choice of keeping some words in Portuguese also shows how inadequate Tupi was for the task of expressing God's truth and, to repair this lack in the natives' language, Tupi itself needed to be reformulated and to incorporate an enhanced vocabulary with words from the foreign language, considered by the colonizer as superior and thus more adequate to express God's precepts[18].

Rafael also points out a hierarchy emerging from this translation chain (in Robinson 1997: 85): God's Word was suitable in Latin. Spanish, the language of the Empire, was situated one step below – in the case of Colonial Brazil, Portuguese – and less suitable for this purpose. At the bottom of this hierarchy Tagalog was found – at the same level Tupi – and was even less suitable for the purpose of expressing the divine truth. Rafael concludes that "the farther away from God a language and its culture are, the less able they will be to participate in what Rafael calls 'the divine commerce', the exchange of prayers and answers, gifts and gratitude between God and believers" (in Robinson 1997: 86).

Regarding this hierarchy proposed by Rafael, not surprisingly neologisms, such as *tupãoka*[19], were also generated along with effort of spreading Catholicism among the Indians. In blending *Tupã* with *sy*[20] (*Tupãsy*), Anchieta believed to depict a clear image of the mother of Jesus, but he did not translate the term *Virgin* to Tupi:

(...) morausúberekosar, seémbae ***Virgem Maria****!* [21]

(…pious, sweet Virgin Mary!)

Rafael's opinion on the inferiority and inadequacy of the colonized language regarding the lack of appropriate words for godly matters might explain why Anchieta maintained key words in Portuguese. The Hail Mary prayer shows clearly his translation choices:

Ave Maria, ***graça*** *resé tynysémbae,*
(Hail Mary, full of grace)
nde irúnamo Jandé Jará rekóu
(the Lord is with you)
imombeúkatúpýramo ereikó kuña suí
(Blessed are you among women)
imombeúkatúpýrabé nde membyra, Jesus
(and blessed is your son, Jesus)
Santa Maria *Tupãsy,*
(Holy Mary, mother of God,)
eTupãmongetá oré iangaipábae resé,
(pray to God for us, sinners)
koyr, irã oré jekýi oré rúmebeno
(now and at the hour of our death.)
Amén, Jesu
(Amen, Jesus)

In other cases, Anchieta even created words mixing Portuguese and Tupi as found in the Articles of Faith:

Arobiar Túbamo sekó
(We believe he is the Father)
Arobiar Tayramo sekó
(We believe he is the Son)
Arobiar ***Espírito Sántoramo*** *sekó*
(We believe he is the Holy Ghost)

In adding the Tupi suffix "*rámo*", which means "the status of", to the Portuguese expression "Espírito Santo", which means Holy Ghost, Anchieta seemed to emphasize the condition of this entity and to make it more familiar to his audience. This resource also resembled the guidelines Pope Gregory I transmitted to missionaries who converted pagan people in Great Britain around the 8th century. His instructions were that the pagan elements should not be discarded in as far as they could be embedded into the Christian precepts, as he believed it would be impossible to extirpate all elements from these souls, which were considered rough and barbarian (Brandão 1978: 14).

Anchieta, orientated by this very premise, was not only concerned with the natives' language when dealing with the translation at the linguistic level but was also creative in terms of cultural translation. In ethnography, this cultural translation is the process consolidating a wide variety of cultural discourses or messages into a target text that in some way has no defined and single source.

In the play *Recebimento do Padre Marçal Beliarte* [The Reception of Father Marçal Beliarte] (1589), one may notice that Anchieta used several "source texts" to produce the final "translated" text. The play, as well as most of other plays he wrote, features a number of devils and *Tupansy* in a fight between Good and Evil. His style, plot and characters are clearly based on Gil Vicente's works, with Good always winning. The conversations of the characters are in Portuguese and Tupi. Anchieta introduces into this representation an important "translated" Indian element familiar within the Indian code of conduct and skillfully diverts it from its original meaning in the native universe of symbols: one of the devils (*Makaxera*) is killed in a traditional Tupi ritual of cannibalism by a courageous Indian under the command of *Tupansy,* i.e., mother of Jesus. Shortly before killing the Devil, the Indian *Añangupiara* says:

Kueseñey, Tupansy	(As before, the Mother of Jesus)
Nde reytyki, nde peabó	(has ruined and smashed you)
Aé xe mboú korí	(so she has sent me here)
Ko aikó nde akánga kábo	(to split your head)
Nei! Ejemosakói	(defend yourself, tough beast)
Tajopune, marandoéra	(I will hurt you, false face)

(The Indian smashes the Devil's head)

Te! Ajuká Makaxera	(Ready! I have killed Makaxera)
Omanongatú moxy	(Evil does not exist anymore…)
"Añagupiara" xe rerá!	(I am Añagupiara!) (Anchieta 1977: 245)

With this violent scene, so common in his plays, Anchieta reinforces the Christian message. Though in the ritual proceedings of the Indians the sacrifice of a captive was meant to periodically nourish the virtues of the warriors, in the rewriting of the Jesuit, this same sacrifice is performed to get rid of the evil. In his "mistranslation" or "rewriting", Anchieta envisions the ritual as a process of "extirpating" rather than "incorporating" since "the words of colonized population can be 'cited' or 'translated' or 'reread / rewritten' by colonizers in way to reframe the colonized culture in the interest of colonial domination" (Robinson 1997: 93).

In "*Na Aldeia de Guaraparim"* the norms of the religion of the Portuguese Empire become even more evident through his rewriting / translation. The Devil, or *"Anhanga"* speaks in favor of the Indians' customs, which the Church would frown upon. Anchieta thus moves a set of elements pertaining to the Indian daily life to the realms of the Devil in order to have an open field to insert the Christian definitions of proper behavior. The following is the Devil's speech:

Iemoyrõ, morapiti	*(You grow furious and kill people)*
Io'u, tapuia rara	*(You eat each other, you catch enemy Indians)*
Aguasá, moropotara	*(you take concubines, give yourself to sensual desire)*
Manhana, syguaraiy:	*(you spy, prostitute yourself)*
Naipotari abá seiara	*(I don´t want anyone stop doing such things)*

(in Navarro 2001: 65)

Anchieta mixes Iberian drama, Catholic precepts and Indian ritual in the same melting pot, and all these source elements are translated / rewritten in order to work in favor of his missionary purposes, demonstrating the high degree of inculturation to promote the acculturation of the Indians.

Adone Agolin summarizes the techniques which Anchieta used to translate Christian concepts:

- The introduction of Portuguese or Latin words;
- Neologisms comprising partly of Portuguese or Latin and partly of Tupi, usually the suffix;
- The selection of one meaning among a number of a specific Tupi word;
- Syntactic constructions to elaborate concepts for which no suitable solution could be found in Tupi (in Pompa 2003: 92-93).

Conclusion

Anchieta chose to use Tupi words and expressions, such as *Tupã, Anhangá* or *karaibebé,* to deliver the Christian message in an inculturated corpus, one which apparently joined Christian to Tupi elements, but a deeper analysis shows this strategy was superficial, as their original meaning and imaginary values were drastically changed in the colonial and religious context. The Jesuits kept them in their discourses as familiar symbols, but the meaning of these symbols was completely reshaped in the cathechetical ideology, whose aim was to acculturate Indians to the Christian ideology. Thus these terms take on new values in everything that was written by the missionaries. They also clear up way for a series of new elements which were totally foreign for the Indians. Words and expressions kept in Portuguese, such as *Santa Cruz* (Holy Cross) and *pecado* (sin) were loaded with concepts Indians lacked of until then.

It is our intention to propose that the translations of Anchieta into the Tupi have also much in common with the concept of dynamic equivalence, as proposed by Eugene Nida, in the way that Catholic concepts are adapted to the Tupi-Guarani world in the quest for Indian converts. Perhaps we can make a generalization here: a religion which feels it needs to convert souls, or where there is pressure to do so, will facilitate understanding of its texts, as Nida proposes in his advice for missionary translators. Traditionally, Islam and Judaism, have, of course, been non-missionary religions, and have never tried to convert souls, and neither religion has ever been responsible for making facilitating translations of its main works. Until relatively recently, the Catholic religion made few linguistic concessions and maintained the Catholic mass. But the Vatican's 1969 instructions on translation, entitled *Comme le prévoit* (CLP), which remains the official charter of liturgical

translators today, sanctioned the adaptation and inculturaltion of liturgical texts by translators and the creation of new ones which would better suit their audience. And it seems that, since then, Catholic “dynamic equivalence” has, on occasions, gone as far as its Protestant counterpart. Examples are a psalter produced by the International Commission for English in the Liturgy (ICEL) which neutralizes the gender of God the approval of a Eucharistic prayer which follows the traditional language about God the Father and Son with the Indian concepts of “Being, Knowledge and Bliss”, corresponding to a Sanskrit expression, *saccidananda*; and the use of the Hindu concept of *dharma* (a oneness with the universe) in describing the fall of humanity as "*dharma* declined", with the "the decline of *dharma*" signifying the social disorder which sin causes. Consequently, "The work of the prophets and of Jesus Christ:" he explains, "is to re-establish *dharma*, to bring about order in the lives of people and thus create a just world which bespeaks the kingdom of God." (Father Puthanangady in Beall 1996).

Paulo Edson Alves peaf@usp.br
John Milton jmilton@usp.br

Bibliography

Anchieta, Joseph S.J. (1954). *Poesias. Manuscrito do século XVI, em português, castelhano, latim e tupi*, tr. Maria de Lourdes de Paula Martins. São Paulo: Comissão do IV Centenário.

Anchieta, Joseph S.J. (1977). *Teatro de Anchieta*, ed. Armando Cardoso. São Paulo: Loyola, 1977

Anchieta, Joseph S.J. (1992) *Doutrina Cristã Tomo I: Catecismo Brasílico* São Paulo: Loyola, 1992.

Bassnet, Susan (ed.) (1999). *Post-Colonial Translation: Theory and Practice*, London: Routledge.

Beall, Stephen, M. (1996), “Translation and Inculturation in the Catholic Church”, in *Adoremus Bulletin*, Online Edition - Vol. II, No. 6: October 1996.

Bosi, Alfredo (1992). *Dialética da Colonização.* São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.

Brandão, Helena H. N. (1978). *Uma Análise do Discurso Catequético de Anchieta.* M. A. dissertation, FFLCH-USP. São Paulo.

Cardoso, Armando. (1992). “Pe. Joseph de Anchieta, S. J.”. In Cunha, Manoela C. (ed.). *História dos Índios no Brasil.* São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.

Fausto, Carlos. (1992). “Fragmentos de História e Cultura Tupinambá”. In Cunha, Manoela C. (ed.). *História dos Índios no Brasil.* São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.

Galeano, Eduardo (1976). *As Veias Abertas da América Latina*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Paz e Terra.

Granville, Maria Antonia (1979). *Ação Catequética do Padre Anchieta Observada a Partir de Algumas de Suas Composições Teatrais.* M. A. dissertation, FFLCH-USP. São Paulo.

Hoornaert, Eduardo (1982). *A Igreja no Brasil Colônia.* São Paulo: Ed. Brasiliense.

Mello e Souza, Laura de (1993). *Inferno Atlântico: demonologia e colonização.* São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.

Montero, Paula (1995). *Entre o Mito e a História*. Petrópolis: Vozes.

Navarro, Eduardo de Almeida (2001). “The Translations of the First Texts to Tupi, the Classical Indian Language in Brazil”, in *Crop*, no. 6, 51-73. São Paulo, Humanitas, 2001

Pagden, Anthony (1999). *The Fall of the Natural Man.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Paiva, José Maria (1982). *Colonização e Catequese.* São Paulo: Autores Associados.

Pompa, Cristina (2003*). Religião com Tradução: Missionários, Tupi e Tapuia no Brasil Colonial*. Bauru: EDUSC.

Rafael, Vicente L (1988). *Contracting Colonialism, Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society Under Early Spanish Rule.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Robinson, Douglas (1997). *Translation and Empire: Postcolonial Theories Explained.* Manchester: St. Jerome.

Todorov, Tzvetan (1999). *A conquista da América: A Questão do Outro.* São Paulo: Martins Fontes.

Tymoczko, Maria (1999). *Translation in a Postcolonial Context*. Manchester: St. Jerome.

Vainfas, Ronaldo (1995). *A Heresia dos Índios.* São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.

Wyler, Lia (2003). Línguas, Poetas e Bacharéis: Uma Crônica da Tradução no Brasil. Rio de Janeiro: Rocco.

Notes

[1] "É no contexto desse deslizamento de significados, essa 'aventura semântica'" no expressão de Meliá,que se pode entender melhor o lugar ocupado pelos conquistadores na cosmologia indígena." In Fausto, Carlos, "Fragmentos de História e Cultura Tupinambá", in *História dos Índios no Brasil*, p.386.

[2] This document, which intended to set the legitimacy of conquests on a firm basis of religion and legality, was formulated in 1512 based on the opinions of the legal scholar Juan López Palacios Rubios, and supported by a leading expert on church law, Fray Matías de la Paz. It would be the mechanism which enacted Spanish political authority over the peoples of the New World and was meant to be actually read aloud to Indigenous peoples by the invading Spaniards. It provided a script for the encounter that effectively stipulated the military decimation of the Indigenous peoples, their forcible conversion and enslavement. The invaders briefly explained that they came on behalf of the King of Spain, who had been granted possession of the listeners´ land and their entire continent by the Pope. The Indians were to be given a choice between voluntarily accepting Spanish rule and Christianity or being put to the sword, the survivors to be enslaved. The *Requerimiento* was in Spanish and did not itself contain any provision that it should be translated for it to be valid.

[3] "[...] gente que não conhece Deus nem ídolos; esta gentilidade a nenhuma coisa adora, nem conhecem a Deus; somente aos trovões chamam de Tupã, que é como dizer coisa divina." Priest Manuel de Nóbrega, in Vainfas, op. cit., p.26.

[4] Manuel de Nóbrega was born in Portugal in 1517 and died in Brazil in 1570. He entered the Jesuit novitiate in 1544 and embarked for Brazil in 1549. He was for the twenty years before his death the provincial superior of the Jesuits in Brazil, during which period he established numerous residences and colleges all around the the country. Among his works are a series of letters that describe his missionary work in Brazil, written between 1545 and 1555

[5] *Pajés* or *caraibas*, like the words in Portuguese, derived from *Tupi.*

[6] A village on the coast of the state of São Paulo

[7] Pierre Yves D´Evreux, French missionary, born in Normandy about 1570-d. in Evreux about 1630. He entered the Capuchin order and was prior of the convent at Evreux in 1611, when he was named one of the three missionaries to accompany Claude d'Abbeville to Brazil. They anchored opposite Marajo island, at the mouth of the Amazon, built houses and a chapel on the island, and were soon on friendly terms with the Indians. He led an expedition through the interior of Brazil, collecting medicinal plants and specimens and wrote an account (Histoire de la mission des P. P. Capucins, à l'Île de Maragnon et terres circonvoisines) of his voyage to Brazil, which was published in France in 1615.

[8] *Overseas Coucil* – translated by the author.

[9] *Table of Conscience and Order*

[10] Patronage

[11] Seven Reductions of Paraguay

[12] The Marquis of Pombal**,** or Marquês de Pombal, (born May 13 1699 in Lisbon, died May 15 1782 in Pombal) was a Portuguese politician and statesman, Prime Minister of King Joseph I throughout his reign.

[13] "Falada na catequese e nas bandeiras, instrumento das conquistas espirituais e territoriais da nossa história, o seu conhecimento, sequer superficial, faz parte da cultura nacional".

[14] Gil Vicente is called the "father of Portuguese drama", wrote plays composed to celebrate religious and national festivals and events in the life of the royal family. Vicente's works are usually in verse and also contain songs he wrote and music he composed, as well as other popular lyrics and melodies introduced for particular effect. His plays have been grouped under the headings of *autos* (the more religious plays), comedies and tragicomedies, and farces. His most famous plays include "Auto Da Barca do Inferno", "Exortacao da Guerra" and "Auto da Índia".

[15] "Na passagem de uma esfera simbólica para a outra Anchieta encontrou óbices por vezes incontornáveis. Como dizer aos tupis, por exemplo, a palavra pecado, se eles careciam até mesmo da sua noção, ao menos no registro que esta assumira ao longo da Idade Média européia?"

[16] "Os espanhóis (...) não desconfiavam de que era o próprio Lúcifer que haviam levado do Velho Mundo nos porões de seus navios".

[17] Wine made of fermented corn.

[18] Rafael provides some examples of untranslated Spanish words such as *Dios, Spiritu Santo* and *Jesu Cristo*.

[19] The blend of the words "Tupã" (God) and "óka" (casa) which meant "church".

[20] "*Sy*" in Tupi means "mother".
[21] Excerpt from the Hail Mary prayer *in* Anchieta, Joseph. *Doutrina Cristã Tomo I: Catecismo Brasílico* São Paulo, Edições Loyola, 1992. p. 148.