



**QUEEN'S
UNIVERSITY
BELFAST**

A historiographical overview of mission and politics in twentieth century Angola and Mozambique

Morier-Genoud, E. (2022). A historiographical overview of mission and politics in twentieth century Angola and Mozambique. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 53(1). Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15700666-12340251>

Published in:
Journal of Religion in Africa

Document Version:
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Queen's University Belfast - Research Portal:
[Link to publication record in Queen's University Belfast Research Portal](#)

Publisher rights
Copyright 2022 The Author.

This is an open access article published under a Creative Commons Attribution License (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution and reproduction in any medium, provided the author and source are cited.

General rights
Copyright for the publications made accessible via the Queen's University Belfast Research Portal is retained by the author(s) and / or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing these publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

Take down policy
The Research Portal is Queen's institutional repository that provides access to Queen's research output. Every effort has been made to ensure that content in the Research Portal does not infringe any person's rights, or applicable UK laws. If you discover content in the Research Portal that you believe breaches copyright or violates any law, please contact openaccess@qub.ac.uk.

Open Access
This research has been made openly available by Queen's academics and its Open Research team. We would love to hear how access to this research benefits you. – Share your feedback with us: <http://go.qub.ac.uk/oa-feedback>



BRILL

A Historiographical Overview of Mission and Politics in Twentieth-Century Angola and Mozambique

Eric Morier-Genoud | ORCID: 0000-0002-9680-098X

School of History, Anthropology, Philosophy and Politics,
Queen's University Belfast, Belfast, UK
e.morier-genoud@qub.ac.uk

Abstract

Academic studies of mission and politics in Angola and Mozambique began in earnest in the late 1980s. This article describes what the literature built on, what debates it engaged in in the 1990s, and how the literature has evolved since. It looks at writings and discussions about politics, African Christianity, anthropology, photography, the 'boomerang effect', and Pentecostalism, among others. The objective is to offer a panorama of the literature, a sense of its evolution, and identify some areas for further research.

Keywords

Mozambique – Angola – historiography – mission – colonialism – politics

Before the 1990s there were few studies about missionaries and politics in colonial Angola and Mozambique; most of these were by religious individuals who were or had been missionaries. Many of these writings were hagiographic books and articles, usually focusing on an institutional and narrowly religious history. Academic work began to emerge in earnest in the late 1980s. At first studies were particularly interested in the correlation between religion and politics. Within two decades, however, the spectrum of topics considered had widened and the field began to blossom, with articles and books looking at politics in a broader way in relation to social processes, identity, anthropology, and photography.

While the number of studies about Angola and Mozambique in the twentieth century was relatively modest given that they refer to only two countries, it was sufficiently high to generate debates early, some of which were lively. The present article offers a panorama of the historiography produced over the last half-century on missions and politics in colonial Angola and Mozambique. It looks at the path travelled, the achievements attained, the aspects that are missing, and the opportunities that exist. It starts by discussing the origins of the field before focusing on three areas of particular importance, namely African nationalism; African reception, action, and reappropriation; and new trends in the historiography.

1 Where Are We Coming From?

Until the 1960s, most studies of missions and missionaries in colonial Angola and Mozambique were authored by clergy and church members. Whether Catholic or Protestant, authors were concerned first and foremost with the history of their own institutions (Malton 1902; Grandjean 1917; Pinho 1933; Correia 1934; Monnier 1947; Schebesta 1966; Garcia 1967; Garcia 1969; Lopes 1972). Many works were biographies or autobiographies of great men, great couples, and, though more rarely, great women (Hogue 1905; Haley 1926; Junod 1933; Keys 1959; Veloso 1965). They tended to be hagiographic in nature and, more often than not, to avoid any direct discussion of politics. When they did, it was from the perspective of the difficulties faced by a particular religious institution or individual; and how these challenges were overcome or how they shaped the dynamics of subsequent missionary developments.

In the 1960s the historiography on Angola and Mozambique began to discuss missions and politics more directly as a result of three related dynamics. The first was the development of African nationalism and the start of the liberation war in Angola in 1961, and in Mozambique in 1964. This led some churches and clerics to consider politics more openly and to (re)position themselves. The second dynamic relates to the reforms the churches underwent, in particular the Catholic Church with Vatican II. These theological developments led to novel perspectives on politics as visible in liberation theology. Finally, the third dynamic was triggered by the reforms introduced to the Portuguese colonial state in the 1960s in reaction to the previous two developments, which led to a reform of the policy on the relationship between state and religion. The Portuguese colonial state revisited its absolute alliance with the Catholic Church and began to work at co-opting (some) Protestants and Muslims (Cahen 1998, 2000a, 2000b). To ground this new religious policy, beginning

in the early 1960s the colonial state began to promote studies on church-state relations, missionaries, and non-Catholic faiths.

Three, if not four, authors did work that sustained or fed into the policy reform of the state-religion relationship. António da Silva Rego penned three volumes on socio-missionary questions in Africa. His first volume analysed Portuguese missions and some of their difficulties in operating in Africa (Rego 1960); his second, and third, looked at missiology, the long history of Portuguese missions, and the challenges of nationalism and anticolonialism (Rego 1961, 1962). Júlio Gonçalves, the second author, published a two-volume work about Protestantism in Portuguese Africa (Goncalves 1960). In the twentieth century the Portuguese state regarded Protestants as an 'antinational' threat. The third author is Eduardo dos Santos who wrote a classic book about the Portuguese state and the 'missionary problem' (Santos 1964, in Portuguese and French). Santos also did extensive research and published widely on Angolan prophetic and magical traditions (Santos 1958, 1962, 1969, 1970, 1972).¹

A bit less political but no less important was the study by Maria da Conceição Tavares Lourenço da Silva on female Catholic missionaries in Portuguese Africa, who constituted the majority of missionary personnel in the colonies (Silva 1960). Two additional studies, published a few year earlier, need to be mentioned here. Although they dealt primarily with the 'Goa question', the *Padroado* on which they focused also applied to Angola and Mozambique (Rego 1957; Wenzel 1958). On Islam there were two texts that focused on Mozambique, where about 10 percent of the population identified as Muslim at the time (Rebello 1961; Monteiro 1972).²

A concomitant strand of work in the 1960s and early 1970s is made up of memoirs of Protestant and Catholic clerics who penned testimonies after leaving or being expelled from Angola and Mozambique. The first such author is Ralph E. Dodge, a Methodist bishop who wrote about his work after the Portuguese state revoked his residence permit first in Angola in 1961 and, when he then moved to Mozambique, there as well in 1962. The Portuguese secret police saw Dodge as too liberal and 'anti-Portuguese' (Dodge 1964, 1986). The second memoir was written by Cesare Bertulli of the Catholic White Fathers, who penned a testimony after he and his whole congregation were expelled from Mozambique in 1971. In his reflections he discussed the hardship his congregation had faced and the political stand it had chosen to take to save a church that had, in his view, become compromised by an unholy alliance with an authoritarian colonial state (Bertulli 1974). The third, similar volume published in those years was that of Anglican pastor John Paul, who returned to England in 1968 after spending thirteen years in northern Mozambique and entered into contact with the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) toward

the end of this period (Paul 1975). These three memoirs were all forcefully anticolonial, in stark contrast to the Portuguese publications discussed earlier. Because of their engagement, they addressed very directly and critically the question of missions and politics in colonial Angola and Mozambique and thus became quite influential not only among a general readership but also among academics.

Equally radical were a few volumes published just before independence among progressive Catholic circles in Portugal that denounced the Portuguese authoritarian regime and its alliance with the church in Portugal and its colonies. Prime among these was a compendium of documents, edited by José da Felicidade Alves, that showed a clash between the Roman church and the Portuguese dictatorship. In his preface Alves explained that his book was only the first step of what needed to be done, namely a full critical history of the last forty years of Portuguese history (Alves 1969). In the same vein, Carlos A. Lima published in 1970 a series of documents related to a conflict between the bishop of Beira in Mozambique and the state in relation to censorship and the suspension of his diocesan newspaper (Lima 1970). In 1973 four lawyers published documents of the first trial in which the Portuguese state accused Catholic missionaries in Mozambique of 'crimes against the security of the state' for allegedly having supported the liberation war (Santos et al. 1973). While offering no analysis, these compendia were original in their perspective by putting in the public realm little-known documents that provided the basis for a critical analysis of church-state relations in Portugal and its colonies.

After independence both Angola and Mozambique underwent a Marxist-Leninist revolution and a period of strong anticlericalism. As a result, little research was carried out or published on the subject of religion, even abroad. A trickle of work began appearing again in the early 1980s as both regimes shifted away from active anticlericalism, but these were mainly penned by religious authors who published histories of their church or of the Christian faith (Gabriel 1978; Carvalho 1982; Gabriel 1982; Henderson 1986; Ferreira 1987). When academics finally picked up the topic of mission and politics in the late 1980s, their perspective and questions were new, but they built on the literature of the 1960s and early 1970s none the less.

2 Missions and African Nationalism

Scholars who began to write about missionaries and politics in Angola and Mozambique in the late 1980s had a twofold interest. They were curious about the nature of church-state relations during colonial times, and they wanted

to know about the relation between missionaries and African nationalism. While the majority of scholars on this subject were secular, they were trapped in a perspective that I have called a 'political paradigm': that is, they wanted to know primarily about the politics of the missionaries in a narrow sense of the term. Along nationalistic lines, the main question they asked was whether missionaries or religious institutions had been in favour of colonialism or against it, and in favour of African nationalism or against it (Morier-Genoud 2019).

This debate took place on a continental if not a global level (Majeke 1952; Tiberondwa 1978; Gray 1982; Porter 2004). However, in relation to Angola and Mozambique it took on a particular twist in that authors also wanted to know whether there was a difference between Catholic and Protestant missionaries. Politicians had made the argument after independence that Catholics had not only been allied to the colonial state but had also been fascist, in contrast to Protestants who would have been in favour of African nationalism and decolonization. The debate had two aspects. First was the question of whether the Catholic church had been actively collaborating with the fascist colonial state. In a 2007 study of late colonial reform in Mozambique, Amélia Neves de Souto advanced that the Catholic institution had been part of the Portuguese imperial project and had offered 'ideological support'. Pushing the argument further, she contended that the 'the signature placed on the Concordat and Missionary Accord on 7 May 1940, apart from leading to a significant expansion of missions in Mozambique, was to intrinsically tie the Catholic church to colonisation and to *transform it into its ideological support*' (Souto 2007, 384, my translation and emphasis). In a more nuanced manner Michel Cahen had advanced a few years earlier that there had been a 'close integration' of the Catholic institution into the Portuguese colonial state and project in a process that was neither simple nor linear (Cahen 2000a). In other words, both authors argued that the church had been subservient to and working for the colonial state.

The second aspect of the question asked whether Protestant churches had been particularly anticolonial. Teresa Cruz e Silva was the clearest proponent of this view. Investigating the Swiss Mission in Mozambique in several articles and a book (Cruz e Silva 1992, 1998a, 2001), she argued that this institution had been uniquely favourable to an African nationalism it helped foster and form. Pulling the Catholic and Protestant arguments together, she explained that the Swiss missionaries

based their methods of education and evangelization on the retention of Mozambican 'national' rather than Portuguese culture, which was a fundamental contribution to the education of the 'native' population

and development of its political consciousness. Operating in the opposite direction and contrasting with the Portuguese 'nationalist' education which transmitted state-approved moral and ideological principles, the Protestants' and particularly the Swiss Mission's education took on a stronger political significance, as the general question of African decolonization and nationalism came to the fore in the 1950s (2001, 79).

From early on, this argument was contested by authors who tried to bring nuance and complexity to the question. In 1998 Didier Péclard argued that in Angola 'Protestant missions and the Catholic church were both agents of modernization in Angola' and that, citing Ernst Troelsch, their contribution to anticolonialism had been 'all but homogeneous and simple' (1998, 165). The same year Eric Morier-Genoud (1998) unpacked the diversity of Protestantism and Catholicism in Mozambique to make the same argument and trace the origins of the idea of an opposition between Protestantism and Catholicism to political actors. Severino Elias Ngoenha (1999) demonstrated that the relation of the Swiss Mission to African nationalism was strong indeed, but was actually quite singular in that it had in fact led to the emergence of an ethnic nationalism. On the Catholic side, Morier-Genoud (2002) published a paper that showed that the alleged collaboration between the church and the colonial state was much more complicated than described by most, and that the Concordat had been mutually agreed on with benefits for both. Various other authors contributed to and expanded this debate (Neves 2008; Dulley 2016; Stuart 2016). It may have been Benedict Schubert who brought a significant shift to the debate when, in 2000, he denounced what he called a 'dualistic' and 'propagandistic vision' of history that transformed 'tendencies into facts' and wrongly asserted 'that Protestants would have sided with the liberation movements while the Catholics would have continued to bless the Portuguese colonial system' (2000, 84, my translation).

This debate about a disparity between Protestant and Catholic died out in the 2000s as researchers shifted their approach to the question of missions and politics. Patrick Harries (1988) was a precursor in this respect, with an important article in 1988 about how Swiss missionaries had shaped the 'construction' of African ethnic identities in southern Mozambique. Building on this new focus on social processes and identity formation, Péclard analysed how the American Protestant missionaries in Angola helped the formation of a particular political culture among their believers, not more or less in favour of colonialism but different from political cultures in other parts of the country (Péclard 1988, 2015). Omar Ribeiro Thomaz (2001) examined the emergence of a national imaginary among African Christian elites in Mozambique, focusing on how a particular education engendered a particular worldview.

Other authors distanced themselves from the political paradigm by moving away from the hotly contested period of high colonialism. Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo (2009, 2012) analysed the political arrangement set up between the Vatican and Portugal for Africa in the nineteenth century and the nature of the Portuguese 'civilizing mission'; Hugo Gonçalves Dores (2015, 2021) explored missionary work in Africa between the time of the British Ultimatum and the 1930s; and, most originally, Helena Pinto Janeiro (2013) examined the financial dimension of religious and lay mission operations in Angola during Portugal's anticlerical First Republic beginning in 1910. As we see below, other authors ventured into yet other territories.

The political paradigm was undone further in the 2000s and 2010s with the publication of a series of biographies of missionaries, particularly African pastors and priests, who were involved in nationalism and decolonisation. This work emerged separate from the debate described above and was driven by the concern to rescue particular individuals from obscurity in the official record. Such was the case with Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, a priest and brother of the founder of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), or that of canon Manuel das Neves, a priest who was key to the earliest nationalist politics in Luanda, Angola (Besson 2002; Andringa and Sousa 2017; Lopes 2017). Carlos Alves published a compendium of primary sources about all Angolan priests who were exiled to Portugal before independence because of their nationalist sympathies (Alves 2015). In Mozambique two biographical articles and two monographs were published in the 1990s about Swiss Mission leaders during colonial times, Eduardo Mondlane and Zedequias Manganhela (Cruz e Silva 1998b, 1993, 2014; Faris 2014). More critical were the life histories of Mozambican pastor Uria Simango and priest Mateus Gwenjere who fell afoul of Frelimo during the liberation war and were executed after independence (Laweki 2019; Ncomo 2003). These biographies cumulatively added much nuance and complexity to the topic of religion and politics in Angola and Mozambique. In line with the historiography, they revealed that the situation had been more varied than the previously advanced black-and-white polarity had allowed for.

3 African Reception, Action, and Reappropriation

In the 1970s a shift in the study of missionaries began to take place, from a focus on missionaries and the expansion of the faith to an examination of the reception of the Christian message, its reappropriation by Africans, and the action of Africans in spreading the Christian faith on the continent. This reorientation reached a turning point in the early 1980s. In 1983 Norman Etherington

tellingly wrote in a bibliographic essay on the subject that, all things considered, 'perhaps the missionaries had done nothing for Africans which Africans could not have done for themselves' (Etherington 1983, 121). This was a dramatic change of perspective and of agenda in the analysis of the development and nature of Christianity toward looking at it from an Africanist vantage point. In Angola and Mozambique, this shift was not as obvious and clear as elsewhere on the continent and came rather piecemeal, but it still clearly unfolded from the late 1980s onward.

Although not about the twentieth century *per se*, the most powerful African-centred work on missionaries came with John K. Thornton and a few other scholars who focused on the kingdom of the Kongo that converted to Christianity more than 400 years ago, well before 'Columbus crossed the Atlantic' as Thornton puts it (2013, 53). This is a powerful and important story because an assumption of many works on missionaries in Africa, particularly those concerned with religion and politics, was that the Christian faith had been brought to Africa and imposed on Africans by modern European imperialism. Yet here was a case of an African kingdom whose king *chose* to convert centuries before Christianity was mixed up with modern imperialism (Saccardo 1982–83; Thornton 1983, 1984, 1998; Croegaert 1996; Gray 1999; Ferrer and Nocca 2003). Years later Linda Heywood, with Thornton, drew implications from this story not just for the history of Africa but also for the history of the Americas and the history of religion there (Heywood and Thornton 2007; see also Thornton 2016; Reginaldo 2005; Castro 2014). In turn, Cécile Fromont (2014) explored the visual culture that emerged in the Kongo around 1500 and evolved over subsequent centuries. Focusing on the late nineteenth century, Jelmer Vos (2015) looked at the revival of Christianity and the arrival of Protestants in the Kongo when the Portuguese incorporated the kingdom into their own empire.

Focused more strictly on the twentieth century, much research has been carried out on African Christian churches since the 1980s. Of much interest to researchers has been the Tokoist church in Angola. Following Bengt Sundkler's typology, we can call this church 'Ethiopian' in that it emerged from a split of a missionary organization, the Baptist church (Etherington 1979; Sundkler 1948). Early authors such as Alfredo Margarido and F. James Grenfell explored the history and nature of this institution and its leader as well as its relation to colonialism (Margarido 1972; Gonçalves 1984; Grenfell 1988). António Custódio Gonçalves was concerned more narrowly with politics, focusing on Tokoism during the high colonial period (Gonçalves 2003). Similarly, Pedro Pinto focused on the political aspect of the movement, investigating the Portuguese

colonial state's repression of it and that of the Jehovah Witnesses, a movement the Portuguese secret police conflated with the Tokoist church (Pinto 2015). More recently, in a series of articles and a monograph Ruy Llera Blanes explored the past and memory of the past within the Tokoist church as well as its prophetic nature, dynamics, and style of leadership (Blanes 2009, 2014, 2015). Two further authors considered a number of other prophetic or 'neotraditional' institutions or movements in Angola, individually or jointly (Viegas 2016; Fernandes 2014).³

There has been much less research on African churches in Mozambique. In 1999 Ulla Alfredsson and Calisto Linha offered an introduction to African 'independent churches' in contemporary Mozambique (1999). Victor Agadjanian (1999) presented a panorama of Zion churches in the country in the 1980s and 1990s. In Sundkler's typology referred to above, Zion churches are a subgroup of African independent institutions, Pentecostal and faith-healing in nature, deriving from a movement born in Zion, Illinois, in the United States (Sundkler 1948; Etherington 1979). Today they constitute a legally recognised religious category in Mozambique.⁴ In 2000 anthropologist Peter Fry (2000) explored the interplay between African independent churches and beliefs in spirits. In 2005 Gerhard Seibert (2005) published an article that offered a history of the Zion movement as a whole in both colonial and postcolonial Mozambique, discussing at length the strong opposition these kinds of churches faced from the colonial state, resulting in a limited and largely clandestine expansion. Pedro Pinto (2005) presented a study in 2012 on the Jehovah Witnesses in Mozambique that, as in Angola, overlapped with other African religious movements and faced much repression from the colonial authorities. Lastly, several authors explored the medical aspect of African independent churches, most notably James Pfeiffer and Tracy Luedke who focused on their healing practices (Pfeiffer 2002, 2005; Luedke 2007; Gatti 2012).

In terms of the missionary organizations of European origin, authors since the 1980s have explored both their African dimensions and their Africanization. Among Protestant churches, studies have been conducted on 'daughter churches' of missionary organizations. For example, Jan van Butselaar (1984) explored the origins of the Presbyterian church in Mozambique, the 'daughter' of the Swiss Mission, while Leo Spencer (2013) reconstructed the history of the African wing of the Congregational Church in Mozambique, focusing on its lead African missionary, Kamba Simango.⁵ In Angola Lawrence W. Henderson wrote a biography of the Congregationalist pastor Jesse Chipenda to learn, as he explained, 'about the establishment, growth and consolidation of African Christianity in a particular part of tropical Africa – Angola' (Henderson 2000,

back cover). Other authors have looked at African evangelists or laymen and lay women as a group. Alda Saúte (2004, 2005) thus explored the training of evangelists in the Catholic church in southern Mozambique and the relation between the Anglican mission, education and the African laity. Zélia Pereira (2004, 2017) investigated the training of Catholic evangelists and other elites in central Mozambique, while Maria da Conceição Neto (2012) looked at the emergence of Catholic elites in Huambo, Angola. Morier-Genoud (2019) analysed the conversion of Africans and the training of African seminarians in central Mozambique to understand the growth of an African institution in the bosom of the colonial and missionary Catholic church. In Angola we already met various authors who conducted research on the first African priests in the territory (Besson 2002; Andringa and Sousa 2017; Lopes 2017; Alves 2015; Cruz e Silva 1998, 1993, 2014; Faris 2014). In addition, Iracema Dulley (2014, 2015) explored the work of African catechists. Concerning later decades, specifically after independence, Luciano da Costa Ferreira, José Luzia, and José Nunes looked at the transformation of the Roman Catholic Church in Mozambique and in Angola with the development of Christian African 'base communities' (Ferreira 1987; Luzia 2017; Nunes 1991).

What is still missing in the historiography of Angola and Mozambique are studies looking at the reappropriation of the Christian missionary message by African converts and the intellectual history of the African laity and believers along the lines opened by Paul Landau (1995) and Derek Petersen (2012). What we have at present are mainly theological discussions about how best to adapt the Christian message to local cultures or Christian anthropological studies of local culture, ideas, and beliefs with an aim to improve missionary work and Christian conversion.⁶ The authors who come closest to an intellectual history of conversion or the reappropriation of the Christian message are Dulley, who studied the symbolic disputes at Catholic missions on the Angolan *planalto* to understand their resulting 'codes of communication' (2010, 17); Péclard, who looked at the 'economic ethos' that developed at the Philafricaine mission in Angola (1995) and, more widely, the development of elites in colonial southern Angola and the historical production of a particular (rural) 'imaginary' among missionary subjects in that region (2015); and Devaka Premawardhana (2018), who engaged in an existential-phenomenological study of conversion to Pentecostalism in contemporary northern Mozambique, looking specifically at how people live and think about their own conversion (and deconversion). Much could still be explored on that basis and hopefully will form the basis for further studies on the history of the reappropriation of Christianity and the intellectual history of African Christian converts in Angola and Mozambique.

4 New Trends

While church histories returned in force in the 1990s and 2000s, particularly in Mozambique (Henderson 1990; Sousa 1991; Correia, 1991; Baritussio 1997; Grenfell 1998; Valler 1998; Sousa 1998; Tomás 1999; Xavier 2000; Marime 2002; Costa 2002; Antunes 2003; Martins et al. 2010; Colombo 2016), several new trends emerged in secular academia. A first new line of enquiry focused less directly on political topics, looking instead at various cultural issues, two of which became predominant. The first is the focus on anthropology and missionaries. Harries and Morier-Genoud investigated the role of the Junods, father and son, in Anglophone ethnology and ethnography and their role in the establishment of the academic anthropological discipline and its separation from missionary anthropology in the early twentieth century (Harries 1981, 2007, 2017; Morier-Genoud 2011). Deborah Gaitskell analysed the role of Anglican Dora Earthy, a rare female missionary, and her contribution to Anglophone southern African anthropology (Gaitskell 1998, 2012). Paulo Jorge Valverde did similar pioneering work in relation to missionaries and anthropology in Portugal, looking at how religious individuals contributed to the professional academic record but were eventually effaced from it (Valverde 1992). More recently, Lorenzo Macagno made a most original contribution by looking at the Mozambican pastor Kamba Simango and his role as an African intellectual in shaping anthropology globally, not least thanks to his collaboration with Franz Boas in the 1910 and 1920s (Macagno 2012, 2019). Lastly, Portuguese and Brazilian scholar Josivaldo Pires Oliveira focused on the ethnographic work of priests from the congregation of the Holy Spirit, known as 'Spiritans', in Angola (Oliveira 2018a, 2018b).

The second less-directly political theme that emerged in the 2000s focused on missionaries and photography. Much of this research began to appear in publications from 2015 onward. The pioneers appear to have been Mădălina Florescu and Harley Abrantes Moreira. Florescu (2014) explored the photographic archives of the Spiritans congregation in an attempt to tackle the methodological problem of how to recover the local history of postabolition Angola. In turn, Abrantes Moreira (2014) analysed images published in Brazilian Baptist magazines at the time of Mozambique's decolonization. He shows not only the stereotypes that were used in this imagery but also their evolution over time. In a valuable contribution soon afterward, João de Castro Maia Veiga Figueiredo analysed the photographic work and distortions of two Spiritan missionary-photographers in Angola. He unpacked how these missionaries selectively portrayed their mission as 'cozy places' and naturalised

'a specific, gendered division of labor' (2017, 366, 382). Partly related to this, Ana Rita Amaral examined the Spiritan contribution to secular and missionary museums in Portugal. In her doctoral research she explored the acquisition, exposition, and 'museification' of two collections of objects gathered by priests in Angola, and showed how the missionary drive went hand in hand with the collectors' ethnographic interests (2018). Worth mentioning here as well is the work of Ann Ellis Pullen and Sarah Ruffing Robbins who studied the diary of a missionary working in Angola through the lens of gender (Robbins and Pullen 2011; Pullen and Robbins 2015). Quite original too is a small opus on music at the Methodist church in Mozambique between 1890 and 1968, and a study of women and dance in the Anglican church in northern Mozambique (Jaime 2017; Van Koevering 2005).

A second recent advance in the historiography relates to what historian David Hollinger has called the 'boomerang effect' (Hollinger 2012). Along the lines of the new imperial history approach, this work looks at the effect missionary work in Angola and Mozambique had on the 'home front', that is the sending countries of Portugal, the United States, and other states in Europe.⁷ Harries opened this line of investigation in relation to the colonial period and Switzerland with a 1998 article on how work by the Swiss Mission in Mozambique and South Africa helped the Swiss to conceive their nation, and one in 2000 on its impact on ideas of race at home (2000, 1998). In 2011 Morier-Genoud (2011) published an article on the transnational career and contribution of a missionary and its impact in Switzerland. Similarly, following a transnational perspective, Kate Burlingham examined in her Ph.D. dissertation how Congregational missionary work in Angola shaped the foreign policy of the United States (2011). Linked to this 'boomerang' perspective, three authors have looked at 'reverse mission' work by Angolan Christians in Europe in recent decades. Rui Blanes (2013) has focused on Pentecostals and Tokoists in contemporary Lisbon, while Ramon Sarró and Anne Mélice (2010) have explored the work of the Kimbanguist church between Angola and Portugal. It can be anticipated that this new approach will expand in coming years. One can also hope for more work on the role of missionaries in the formation of ideas of race, nation, and science and other aspects in Portugal and other countries connected to Angola and Mozambique. Note that studies discussed earlier about photography and museums overlap with and hence also contributed to this transnational 'boomerang' line of inquiry.

Finally, a last area where research has expanded greatly in recent years relates to Pentecostal missionary work. The research tends to focus on recent years and particularly on the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG),

which is possibly the most controversial religious institution in the two countries under consideration. Linda van de Kamp has been very prolific, offering a book and various articles about different facets of this institution's activities in Mozambique, among them globalization, South-South collaboration, gender, and demons (Van de Kamp 2012, 2013, 2014, 2019). Anaxsuell Fernando Silva and Karen Susan Silva Pititinga Rosa (2017) have similarly focused on this church in terms of a 'new global religious cartography' of Angola, while Natalia Zawiejska and Linda van de Kamp (2018) examined the church's 'multipolarity' in Angola. In a more critical tone, Blanes and Natalia Zawiejska (2019) analysed the church's 'antirevolutionary' nature in Angola, and Livia Reis Santos (2019) did similar work in relation to the church in Mozambique. Premawardhana (2018), in turn, deconstructed the UCKG narrative about and focus on globalization, multipolarity, and success. In a study on the church in the rural parts of northern Mozambique, he showed that conversion was often temporary and reversible, as well as not infused with the meaning church leaders would like it to be. As mentioned earlier, a few authors have also looked at other Pentecostal churches, usually Afro-Pentecostal (Zion), and focused particularly on their healing practices (Pfeiffer 2002, 2005; Luedke 2007; Gatti 2012). What is still missing is a consideration of a broader spectrum of Pentecostal churches from countries other than Brazil (for example, Nigeria, Ghana, or South Africa) and from earlier historical periods. Indeed, there are some long-established Pentecostal churches in Angola and Mozambique, whether Afro-Pentecostal or missionary organisations such as the Assemblies of God. Their histories and works beg the question of how these organizations compare to more recent movements, as well as how the two have articulated to each other.

5 Conclusion

This review of the historiography of missions and politics in twentieth-century colonial Angola and Mozambique aimed to offer a panorama of the research on the subject and the progress made, or still being made, on this topic, as well as point to areas that are still lacking. In relation to the themes considered, the overview has uncovered much progress in the research, both quantitatively and qualitatively. This reflects a returning interest in religious affairs in secular academia generally and returning interest for the study of missionaries more specifically. New approaches, such as cultural history and new imperial history, have opened new ways of thinking on the subject and brought a steady stream of new researchers to the field. Missionary archives have also proved

important in that they are particularly rich for studies of the colonies and of Portuguese imperialism, and usually relatively easy to access.

After independence in 1975 a nationalist paradigm emerged and came to dominate the historiography on colonial Angola and Mozambique, a change from the preceding focus on mostly religious histories. The nationalist paradigm led to works that were binary and teleological in nature, which led to sharp critiques. Since the 1990s and 2000s this nationalist perspective has been superseded by a flurry of approaches and research agendas that included examinations of the role of missionaries in identity formation, the nature of church-state relations in practice during the full colonial period (not just high colonialism), and the nature and evolution of the colonial state's religious policy. Scholars have also begun to consider more strongly the African dimension of missionary works as well as new churches and, in line with a wider historiography, new questions about the role of missionaries in the formation of images, perceptions, science, race, identity, and gender.

These new lines of research have made the field grow and become more diverse. In view of the wealth of archival material that exists, much of which is still left to be explored, one hopes and can expect more research and publications in the near future on the subject of missions, missionaries, and politics during the twentieth century. It is still necessary to investigate a wider range of churches, particularly Pentecostal and Afro-Christians to unpack more fully the Catholic institution and to investigate underresearched issues such as the colonial state's religious policy, the political imagination of believers, and the reappropriation of faith. It would be useful also to engage in comparison between Angola and Mozambique and to explore the connections between the two countries. It would finally be valuable to investigate other connections, whether regional or international, horizontal or vertical, including links with the World Council of Churches and the Vatican.

References

- Agadjanian, Victor. 1999. 'As Igrejas zionias no espaço sócio-cultural de Moçambique urbano (anos 1980 e 1990)'. *Lusotopie* 6, 415–423.
- Alfredsson, Ulla, and Calisto Linha. 1999. *Onde Deus vive: introdução a um estudo das igrejas independentes em Maputo, Moçambique*. Maputo: Instituto Nacional do Desenvolvimento da Educação.
- Alpers, Edward. 1999. 'Islam in the Service of Colonialism? Portuguese Strategy During the Armed Liberation Struggle in Mozambique'. *Lusotopie* 6, 165–184.
- Alves, Carlos Laberto. 2015. *Esperar pela hora de Deus: O exílio forçado de sacerdotes angolanos em Portugal entre 1960 a 1974*. Luanda: Mayamba Editora.

- Alves, José da Felicidade, Padre (ed.). 1969. *Católicos e política de Humberto Delgado a Marcelo Caetano*. Lisbon: Tipografia Leandro.
- Andringa, Diana, and Victória de Almeida e Sousa. 2017. *Joaquim Pinto de Andrade: uma quase autobiografia*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento.
- Antunes, Diamantino Guapo. 2003. *A semente caiu em terra boa: Os Missionários da Consolata em Moçambique; 75 anos de evangelização ao serviço da igreja local (1925–2000)*. Turin: Edizioni Missioni Consolata.
- Areia, Manuel Laranjeira Rodrigues de. 1974. *L'Angola traditionnel: une introduction aux problèmes magico-religieux*. Coimbra: Tipografia da Atlântida.
- Baritussio, Arnaldo. 1997. *Mozambique: 50 anni di presenza dei missionari comboniani*. Bologna: Editrice Missionaria Italiana.
- Bertulli, Cesare. 1974. *Croce e Espada in Mozambique*. Rome: Coines. (translated into Portuguese as *A cruz e a espada em Moçambique*. Lisbon: Portugália Editora).
- Besson, Emmanuelle. 2002. 'Autour du procès de Joaquim Pinto de Andrade: L'église catholique et l'Angola colonial 1960–1975'. *Le Fait Missionnaire* 12, 1–126.
- Blanes, Ruy Llera. 2009. 'Remembering and Suffering: Memory and Shifting Allegiances in the Angolan Tokoist Church'. *Exchange* 38, 161–181.
- Blanes, Ruy Llera. 2013. 'Prophetic Visions of Europe: Rethinking Place and Belonging among Angolan Christians in Lisbon'. In Ruy Blanes and José Mapril (eds.), *Sites and Politics of Religious Diversity in Southern Europe: The Best of All Gods*. Leiden: Brill, 17–35.
- Blanes, Ruy Llera. 2014. *A Prophetic Trajectory: Ideologies of Place, Time and Belonging in an Angolan Religious Movement*. Oxford: Berghahn.
- Blanes, Ruy Llera. 2015. 'The Angolan Apocalypse: Prophecies, Imaginaries and Political Contestations in Post-War Angola'. *Social Sciences and Missions* 28.3–4, 217–234.
- Blanes, Ruy Llera, and Natalia Zawiejska. 2019. 'The Pentecostal Antirevolution: Reflections from Angola'. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 49.1, 34–58.
- Burlingham, Kate. 2011. "'In the Image of God": A Global History of the North American Congregational Mission Movement in Angola, 1879–1975'. Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University.
- Burlingham, Kate. 2015. "'Into the Thick of the Fray": Black Missionaries, American Adaptive Education, and the Foundations of United States Foreign Relations with Angola'. *Social Sciences and Missions* 28.3–4, 261–287.
- Cahen, Michel. 1998. 'Le colonialisme tardif et la diversification religieuse au Mozambique (1959–1974)'. *Lusotopie* 5, 377–395.
- Cahen, Michel. 2000a. 'L'État Nouveau et la diversification religieuse au Mozambique, 1930–1974. I. Le résistant essor de la portugalisation catholique (1930–1961)'. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 40.158, 309–349.
- Cahen, Michel. 2000b. 'L'État Nouveau et la diversification religieuse au Mozambique, 1930–1974. II. La portugalisation désespérée (1959–1974)'. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 40.159, 551–592.

- Cahinga, Jerónimo. 2002. 'África, a missão da esperança e a especialidade da inculturação'. *Missão Espiritana* 2.2.
- Carvalho, Emílio J.M. de. 1982. *Heróis Angolanos do Metodismo*. Luanda: Imua.
- Castro, João Figueiredo de. 2014. 'Lições a partir da ação spiritana em Angola e uma breve defesa da sua utilidade para uma melhor compreensão das religiões Afro-Brasileiras'. *Mneme: Revista de humanidades* 15.34, 190–223.
- Colombo, Irmã Dalmazia. 2016. *Passos proféticos de crescimento 1963–2015: Diocese de Lichinga*. Maputo: Paulinas.
- Colombo, Rosy, and Dalmazia Colombo. 1988. *Mozambico: i valori religiosi del popolo Makua*. Bologna: Editrice Missionaria Italiana.
- Correia, Francisco A. da Cruz. 1991. *O método missionário dos Jesuítas em Moçambique de 1881 a 1910: Um contributo para a história da missão da Zambézia*. Braga: Livraria Apostolado da Imprensa.
- Correia, P.M. Alves. *Missões franciscanas portuguesas de Moçambique e da Guiné*. Braga: Tipografia das Missões Franciscanas.
- Costa, Carlos G. 2002. *Um bispo para a eternidade D. Ernesto Gonçalves Costa*. Braga: Editorial Franciscana.
- Croegaert, Luc. 1996. *L'Évangélisation du Royaume de Kongo et de l'Angola*. Rome: Pontificia Università Gregoriana.
- Cruz e Silva, Teresa. 1992. 'Igrejas protestantes no Sul de Moçambique e nacionalismo: o caso da 'Missão Suíça' (1940–1974)'. *Estudos moçambicanos* (Maputo) 10, 19–39.
- Cruz e Silva, Teresa. 1993. 'Zedequias Manganhela: notas para uma releitura das relações Estado colonial-Igrejas protestantes, na década de 70'. *Estudos moçambicanos* 13, 27–49.
- Cruz e Silva, Teresa. 1998a. 'Educação, identidades e consciência política: a missão suíça no Sul de Moçambique (1930–1975)'. *Lusotopie* 5, 397–406.
- Cruz e Silva, Teresa. 1998b. 'The Influence of the Swiss Mission on Eduardo Mondlane (1930–1961)'. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28.2, 187–209.
- Cruz e Silva, Teresa. 2001. *Protestant Churches and the Formation of Political Consciousness in Southern Mozambique (1930–1974)*. Basel: P. Schlettwein.
- Cruz e Silva, Teresa (ed.). 2014. *Zedequias Manganhela*. Maputo: Marimbique.
- Dodge, Ralph E. 1964. *The Unpopular Missionary*. New York: F.H. Revell.
- Dodge, Ralph E. 1986. *The Revolutionary Bishop Who Saw God at Work in Africa*. Pasadena, CA: William Carey.
- Dores, Hugo Gonçalves. 2015. *A missão da República. Política, religião e o império colonial Português (1910–1926)*. Lisbon: Edições 70.
- Dores, Hugo Gonçalves. 2021. *Politics and Religion in the Portuguese Colonial Empire in Africa (1890–1930)*. Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press.

- Dulley, Iracema. 2010. *Deus é feiticeiro: Prática e disputa nas missões católicas em Angola colonial*. São Paulo: Annablume.
- Dulley, Iracema. 2014. 'Indexation and Displacement: Spiritan Missions and their Catechists in the Central Highlands of Angola'. *Africana Studia* 23.2, 97–112.
- Dulley, Iracema. 2015. 'A historiografia sobre a "conversão" nas colônias portuguesas na África e a trajetória de Jesse Chiula Chipenda'. *África* (São Paulo) 35, 57–86.
- Dulley, Iracema. 2016. 'Missões católicas e protestantes no Planalto Central angolano: continuidades e descontinuidades'. In Carlos André Silva de Moura, Eliane da Silva Moura, and Harley Abrantes Moreira (eds.), *Missões, religião e cultura: estudos de história entre os séculos XVIII e XX*. Curitiba (Brazil): Prismas, 291–314.
- Etherington, Norman. 1979. 'The Historical Sociology of Independent Churches in South East Africa'. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 10.2, 108–126.
- Etherington, Norman. 1983. 'Missionaries and the Intellectual History of Africa: A Historical Survey'. *Itinerario* 7.2.
- Faris, Robert N. 2014. *Liberating Mission in Mozambique: Faith and Revolution in the Life of Eduardo Mondlane*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications.
- Fernandes, Odílio. 2014. 'Os azares de Nossa Senhora da Muxima: Um percurso de trocas, movimentações milagrosas e intolerância'. *Revista Angolana de Sociologia* 14, 1–18.
- Ferreira, Luciano da Costa. 1987. *Igreja ministerial em Moçambique: Caminhos de hoje e de Amanhã*. Lisbon: Tipografias Silvas.
- Ferreira, Silva. 2005. 'Inculturação da fé: breves apontamentos'. *Missão Espiritana* 7.7, 37–40.
- Florescu, Mădălina. 2014. 'Post-abolition Angola in a Post-colonial Mission Archive: A Preliminary Contextualisation of a Photograph from the Spiritans' Mission in Malange, Northern Angola, 1904'. *Social Dynamics* 40.1, 66–84.
- Fromont, Cécile. 2014. *The Art of Conversion: Christian Visual Culture in the Kingdom of Kongo*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Fry, Peter. 2000. 'O Espírito Santo contra o feitiço e os espíritos revoltados: "civilização" e "tradição" em Moçambique'. *Mana* 6.2, 65–95.
- Gabriel, Manuel Nunes. 1978. *Angola cinco séculos Cristianismo*. Lisbon: Literal.
- Gabriel, Manuel Nunes. 1982. *A Diocese de Malanje*. Lisbon: Diocese of Malanje.
- Gaitskell, Deborah. 1998. 'Religion Embracing Science? Female Missionary Ventures in Southern African Anthropology: Dora Earchy and Mozambique, 1917–1933'. *Basler Afrika Bibliographien Working Papers* 5.
- Gaitskell, Deborah. 2012. 'Dora Earchy's Mozambique Research and the Early Years of Professional Anthropology in South Africa'. In Patrick Harries and David Maxwell (eds.), *The Spiritual in the Secular: Missionaries and Knowledge about Africa*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 187–220.

- Garcia, António, S.J. 1967. *Caminhada gloriosa do passado ao futuro ou o Amanhã da Missão: Actividade de Missão em Angola; Actividade de formação em Portugal; A congregação do Espírito Santo ao serviço de Cristo na Igreja; Centenários: Angola, 1866–1966, Portugal, 1867–1967*. Lisbon: Instituto Superior Missionario do Espirito Santo.
- Garcia, António, S.J. 1969. *História de Moçambique Cristão*. Lourenço Marques: Diariográfica.
- Gatti, Marzio. 2012. 'Pratiche e rappresentazioni religiose nelle igrejas zione a Maputo'. In Luca Bussoti, Marzio Gatti, and Laura A. Nhauelque (eds.), *La religione nel Mozambico contemporaneo*. Pavia: Ibis, 15–41.
- Gonçalves, António Custódio. 1984. 'Analyse sociologique du Tokoisme en Angola'. *Anthropos* 79, 473–483.
- Gonçalves, António Custódio. 2003. *Tradição e modernidade na (re)construção de Angola*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento.
- Goncalves, José Júlio. 1960. *Protestantismo em África*. Vol. 1: Introdução ao Estudo do Protestantismo em África, and Vol. 2: Contribuição para o Estudo do Protestantismo na África portuguesa. Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar.
- Grandjean, Arthur. 1917. *La Mission Romande: ses racines dans le sol suisse romand, son épanouissement dans la race Thonga*. Lausanne: Georges Bridel.
- Gray, Richard. 1982. 'Christianity, Colonialism, and Communications in Sub-Saharan Africa'. *Journal of Black Studies* 13.1, 59–72.
- Gray, Richard. 1999. 'A Kongo Princess, the Kongo Ambassadors and the Papacy'. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 29.2, 140–154.
- Grenfell, F. James. 1988. 'Simao Toco: An Angolan Prophet'. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28.2, 210–226.
- Grenfell, F. James. 1998. *História da igreja baptista em Angola 1879–1975*. Queluz: Centro de Publicações Cristãs.
- Harries, Patrick. 1981. 'The Anthropologist as Historian and Liberal: H-A. Junod and the Thonga'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 8.1, 37–50.
- Harries, Patrick. 1988. 'The Roots of Ethnicity: Discourse and the Politics of Language Construction in South-East Africa'. *African Affairs* 87.346, 25–52.
- Harries, Patrick. 1998. 'Missionary Endeavour and the Politics of Identity in Switzerland'. *Le Fait Missionnaire* 6, 39–69.
- Harries, Patrick. 2000. 'The Swiss Mission and the Theory and Practice of Race'. *Le Fait Missionnaire* 9, 41–54.
- Harries, Patrick. 2007. *Butterflies and Barbarians: Swiss Missionaries and Systems of Knowledge in South-east Africa*. Oxford: James Currey.
- Harries, Patrick. 2017. 'From the Alps to Africa: Swiss Missionaries and Anthropology'. In Helen Tilley and Robert J. Gordon (eds.), *Ordering Africa: Anthropology, European*

- Imperialism, and the Politics of Knowledge*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 201–224.
- Helgesson, Alf. 1994. *Church, State and People in Mozambique: A Historical Study with Special Emphasis on Methodist Developments in the Inhambane Region*. Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia 54. Uppsala: Swedish Institute of Missionary Research.
- Henderson, Lawrence W. 1986. *Galangue: The Unique Story of a Mission Station in Angola Proposed, Supported and Staffed by Black Americans*. New York: United Church Board for World Ministries.
- Henderson, Lawrence W. 1990. *A igreja em Angola: Um rio com várias correntes*. Lisbon: Editorial Além-Mar.
- Henderson, Lawrence W. 2000. *Development and the Church in Angola: Jesse Chipenda the Trailblazer*. Nairobi: Action Publishers.
- Heywood, Linda, and John Thornton. 2007. *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundation of the Americas, 1585–1660*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hogue, Wilson Thomas. 1905. *G. Harry Agnew: A Pioneer Missionary*. Chicago, IL: Free Methodist Publishing House.
- Hollinger, David A. 2017. *Protestant Abroad: How Missionaries Tried to Change the World but Changed America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Jaime, Simão. 2017. *Entreter para converter: A música coral na Igreja Metodista Episcopal em Moçambique (1890 à 1968)*. Maputo: Kulungwanba.
- Janeiro, Helena Pinto. 2013. 'La Primera República portuguesa y las misiones católicas y laicas en Angola: financiación y poder'. *Historia y política: Ideas, procesos y movimientos sociales* 29, 161–191.
- Jerónimo, Miguel. 2009. *Livros brancos, almas Negras: A missão 'civilizadora' do colonialismo Português, c. 1870–1930*. Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais. Translated as *The 'Civilising Mission' of Portuguese Colonialism, 1870–1930*. 2015. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Jerónimo, Miguel B. 2012. *A diplomacia do império: política e religião na partilha de África (1820–1890)*. Lisbon: Edições 70.
- Junod, Henri-A. 1933. *Ernest Creux et Paul Berthoud: les fondateurs de la Mission Suisse dans l'Afrique du Sud*. Lausanne: Mission Suisse dans l'Afrique du Sud.
- Keys, Clara Evans. 1959. *We Pioneered in Portuguese East Africa: A Methodist Missionary's Memoirs of Planting Christian Civilization in Mozambique*. New York: Exposition Press.
- Landau, Paul. 1995. *The Realm of the Word: Language, Gender and Christianity in a Southern African Kingdom*. Portsmouth: Heinemann.
- Langa, Adriano. 1990. *Inculturação e a vida consagrada*. Maputo: s.n.
- Langa, Adriano. 1992. *Questões cristãs à religião tradicional africana*. Braga: Editorial Franciscana.

- Laweki, Lawe. 2019. *Mateus Pinho Gwenjere: Um padre revolucionário*. Westville: Reach Publishers (with an English translation by the same publisher).
- Lima, A. Carlos. 1970. *Aspectos da liberdade religiosa: Caso do bispo da Beira*. Lisbon: Diário do Minho.
- Lopes, Félix. 1972. *Missões franciscanas em Moçambique, 1898–1970*. Braga: Editorial.
- Lopes, José Manuel da Silveira. 2017. *O cónego Manuel das Neves: Um nacionalista angolano; Ensaio de biografia política*. Lisbon: Vega.
- Luedke, Tracy. 2007. 'Spirit and Matter: The Materiality of Mozambican Prophet Healing'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 33.4, 715–731.
- Luzia, José. 2017. *A igreja das Palhotas: O renascer da igreja católica em Moçambique; Os ministérios dos Animadores Leigos; Sementes de futuro*. Prior Velho: Paulinas Editora (revised edition of a 1989 booklet).
- Macagno, Lorenzo. 2012. 'Franz Boas e Kamba Simango: epistolários de um diálogo etnográfico'. In Wilson Trajano Filho (ed.), *Travessias antropológicas: estudos em contextos africanos*. Brasília: ABA Publicações, 127–157.
- Macagno, Lorenzo. 2019. 'Anthropology and Pan-Africanism at the Margins of the Portuguese Empire: Trajectories of Kamba Simango'. In Warwick Anderson, Ricardo Roque, and Ricardo Ventura Santos (eds.), *Luso-Tropicalism and its Discontents: The Making and Unmaking of Racial Exceptionalism*. Oxford: Berghahn, 68–88.
- Majeke, Nosipho. 1952. *The Role of Missionaries in Conquest*. Johannesburg: Society of Young Africa.
- Malton, W.H.C. 1902. *The Story of the Diocese of Lebombo*. London: The Church Review Newspaper Company.
- Margarido, Alfredo. 1972. 'The Tokoist Church and Portuguese Colonialism in Angola'. In Ronald Chilcote (ed.), *Protest and Resistance in Angola and Brazil*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 29–52.
- Marime, Benedito. 2002. *Arquidiocese do Maputo: sessenta anos de história (1940 a 2000)*. Maputo: B. Marime.
- Martínez, Francisco Lerma. 2009. *Religiões africanas hoje: Introdução ao estudo das religiões tradicionais em Moçambique*. Maputo: Paulinas.
- Martínez Ferrer, Luis, and Marco Nocca (eds). 2003. 'Coisas do outro mundo': a missão em Roma de António Manuel, Príncipe de N'Funta, conhecido por 'o Negrita' (1604–1608), na Roma de Paulo V: Luanda, Exposição documental. Vatican City: Urbaniana University Press.
- Martins, J., M. Viera, M. Ferreira, and A. Lourenço. 2010. 'Irmãs Missionárias do Espírito Santo: presença em Angola'. *Missão Espiritana* 18.18, 75–82.
- Monnier, Henri. 1947. *Fondation et développement de la Mission philafricaine en Angola 1897–1947*. Lausanne: Mission Philafricaine en Angola.

- Monteiro, Fernando Amaro. 1972. 'Traços fundamentais da Evolução do Islamismo, com vista à sua incidência em Moçambique'. *Separata da Revista de Ciências do Homem da Universidade de Lourenço-Marques* 5.
- Morier-Genoud, Eric. 1998. 'Y-a-t-il une spécificité protestante au Mozambique? Discours du pouvoir post-colonial et histoire des églises chrétiennes'. *Lusotopie* 5, 407–420.
- Morier-Genoud, Eric. 2002. 'The Vatican vs. Lisbon: The Relaunching of the Catholic Church in Mozambique, ca. 1875–1940'. *Basler Afrika Bibliographien Working Papers* 4, 16.
- Morier-Genoud, Eric. 2011. 'Missions and Institutions: Henri-Philippe Junod, Anthropology, Human Rights and Academia between Africa and Switzerland, 1921–1966'. *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions- und Kulturgeschichte* 105, 1–27.
- Morier-Genoud, Eric. 2019. *Catholicism and the Making of Politics in Central Mozambique, 1940–1986*. Rochester, NY: Rochester University Press.
- Ncomo, Barnabé Lucas. 2003. *Uria Simango: Um homem, uma causa*. Maputo: Edições Novafrica.
- Neto, Maria da Conceição. 2012. 'In Town and Out of Town: A Social History of Huambo, (Angola), 1902–1961'. Ph.D. dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- Neves, Tony. 2008. 'As igrejas e o nacionalismo em Angola'. *Revista Lusófona de Ciência das Religiões* 7.13/14, 511–526.
- Ngoenha, Severino Elias. 1999. 'Os missionários suíços face ao nacionalismo moçambicano: Entre a tsonganidade e a moçambicanidade'. *Lusotopie* 6, 425–437.
- Nunes, José. 1991. *Pequenas comunidades cristãs: O ondjango e a inculturação em África/Angola*. Lisbon: Universidade Católica Portuguesa (Biblioteca Humanística e teológica).
- Oliveira, Josivaldo Pires. 2018a. 'Ciência e missionação no sul de Angola: O Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias e as etnografias dos padres da congregação do espírito santo'. *Cadernos de Africa Contemporânea* 1.1, 43–55.
- Oliveira, Josivaldo Pires. 2018b. 'Etnografias missionárias no sul de Angola: danças rituais e celebração do boi sagrado na escrita do padre Carlos Estermann'. *Canoa do Tempo (Brazil)* 10.2, 8–21.
- Paul, John. 1975. *Mozambique: Memoirs of a Revolution*. London: Penguin.
- Péclard, Didier. 1995. 'Ethos missionnaire et esprit du capitalisme: La mission philafricaine en Angola, 1897–1907'. *Le Fait Missionnaire* 1, 1–97.
- Péclard, Didier. 1998. 'Religion and Politics in Angola: The Church, the Colonial State and the Emergence of Angolan Nationalism, 1940–1961'. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28.2, 160–186.

- Péclard, Didier. 2015. *Les incertitudes de la nation en Angola: Aux racines sociales de l'Unita*. Paris: Karthala.
- Pereira, Zélia. 2004. 'Les Jésuites et la formation d'élites au Mozambique, 1961–1974'. *Le Fait Missionnaire/Social Sciences and Missions* 14, 75–116.
- Pereira, Zélia. 2017. *Africanos e Jesuítas: Experiência missionária dos jesuítas em Moçambique*. Lisbon: Theya.
- Petersen, Derek. 2012. *Ethnic Patriotism and the East African Revival: A History of Dissent*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pfeiffer, James. 2002. 'African Independent Churches in Mozambique: Healing the Afflictions of Inequality'. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 16.2, 176–199.
- Pfeiffer, James. 2005. 'Commodity Fetichismo: The Holy Spirit, and the Turn to Pentecostal and African Independent Churches in Central Mozambique'. *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* 29.2, 255–283.
- Pinho, Moysés Alves de. 1933. *Esboço historico da Missão da Huila, 1881–1933: a proposito de sagração da nova igreja*. Huila: Oficinas da Missão.
- Pinto, Pedro. 2005. 'Jehovah's Witnesses in Colonial Mozambique'. *Le Fait Missionnaire/Social Sciences and Missions* 17, 61–124.
- Pinto, Pedro. 2015. 'The Persecution of Jehovah's Witnesses in Colonial Angola (with a Digression on the Inception of Tokoism)'. *Social Sciences and Missions* 28.3–4, 327–372.
- Porter, Andrew. 2004. *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Premawardhana, Devaka. 2018. *Faith in Flux: Pentecostalism and Mobility in Rural Mozambique*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Pullen, Ann Ellis, and Sarah Ruffing Robbins. 2015. 'Seeing Mission Work through a Gendered Lens: Nellie Arnott's Personal Portrayal of Women's Work in Angola'. *Social Sciences and Missions* 28.3–4, 288–326.
- Rebelo, Domingos José Soares. 1961. 'Breves apontamentos sobre um grupo de indianos em Moçambique (A comunidade ismaílica maometana)'. *Boletim da Sociedade de Estudos da Colónia de Moçambique* 128, 83–89.
- Reginaldo, Lucilene. 2005. 'Os Rosarios dos Angolas: irmandades negras, experiencias escravas e identidades africanas na Bahia setecentista'. Ph.D. dissertation, Universidade Estadual de Campinas.
- Rego, António da Silva. 1960. *Alguns problemas sociologico-missionarios da Africa negra*. Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, Centro de Estudos Políticas e Sociais (Estudos de Ciências Políticas e Sociais, no. 32).
- Rego, António da Silva. 1957. *Le Patronage portugais de l'Orient: Aperçu historique*. Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar.

- Rego, António da Silva. 1961. *Lições de missionologia*. Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, Centro de Estudos Políticos e Sociais (Estudos de Ciências Políticas e Sociais, no. 56).
- Rego, António da Silva. 1962. *Temas sociomissionológicos e históricos*. Lisbon: Junta de Investigação do Ultramar, Centro de Estudos Políticas e Sociais (Estudos de Ciências Políticas e Sociais, no. 58).
- Robbins, Sarah R., and Ann Ellis Pullen. 2011. *Nellie Arnott's Writings on Angola, 1905–1913: Missionary Narratives Linking Africa and America*. Anderson, SC: Parlor Press.
- Saccardo, Graziano. 1982–83. *Congo e Angola con la storia dell'antica missione dei Cappuccini*, 3 vols. Venice: Curia provinciale dei Cappuccini.
- Santos, Eduardo dos. 1958. 'A religião dos quiocos'. *Boletim do Instituto de Angola* 11, 27–52.
- Santos, Eduardo dos. 1962. *Sobre a religião dos Quiocos*. Lisbon: Junta de Investigação do Ultramar, Centro de Estudos Políticas e Sociais.
- Santos, Eduardo dos. 1964. *O estado Português e o problema missionário*. Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar.
- Santos, Eduardo dos. 1969. *Religiões de Angola*. Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, Centro de Estudos Políticos e Sociais.
- Santos, Eduardo dos. 1970. 'Movimentos proféticos em Angola e dinamismo interno das sociedades tradicionais'. *Ultramar* 39, 29–48.
- Santos, Eduardo dos. 1972. *Movimentos proféticos e mágicos em Angola*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- Santos, João Afonso dos, Carlos Adrião Rodrigues, António Pereira Leite, and Williem Gerard Pott. 1973. *O julgamento dos padres do Macúti*. Oporto: Afrontamento.
- Santos, Livia Reis. 2019. 'Estreitando alianças, criando crentes moçambicanos: notas sobre a cooperação entre a Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus e a Frelimo na cidade de Maputo'. *Revista de Antropologia* 62.3, 584–609.
- Sarró, Ramon, and Anne Mélice. 2010. 'Kongo and Lisbon: The Dialectics of "Centre" and "Periphery" in the Kimbanguist Church'. In Sandra Fancello and André Mary (eds.), *Chrétien africain en Europe: Prophétismes, pentecôtismes et politique des nations*. Paris: Karthala, 43–67.
- Saúte, Alda Romão. 2004. *Escola de Habilitação de Professores Indígenas José Cabral; Manhiça-Alvor: subsídios para o estudo da formação da elite instruída em Moçambique (1926–1974)*. Maputo: Promedia.
- Saúte, Alda Romão. 2005. *O intercâmbio entre os Moçambicanos e as missões cristãs e a educação em Moçambique: a missão Anglicana de Santo Agostinho-Maciene, 1926/8–1974*. Maputo: Promedia.

- Schebesta, Paul. 1966. *Portugals Konquistamission in Südost-Afrika*. St. Augustin: Steyler Verlag. (Portuguese version 2011).
- Schubert, Benedict. 2000. *A guerra e as igrejas: Angola 1961–1991*. Basel: P. Schlettwein.
- Seibert, Gerhard. 2005. 'Zion Churches in Mozambique since the Early 20th Century'. *Le Fait Missionnaire/Social Science and Missions* 17, 125–150.
- Silva, Anaxsuell Fernando, and Karen S.S.P. Rosa. 2017. 'The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God in Angola: The New Global Religious Cartography'. *Ciências Sociais Unisinos* 53.2, 234–241.
- Silva, Maria da Conceição Tavares Lourenço da. 1960. *As missões católicas femininas*. Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, Centro de Estudos Políticas e Sociais.
- Soares Tomás, Maria Helena. 1999. *Irmãs Franciscanas Missionárias da Mãe do Divino Pastor em Moçambique*. Braga: Livraria Apostolado da Imprensa.
- Sousa, José A.A. de. 1991. *Os Jesuítas em Moçambique, 1541–1991: No cinquentenário do quarto período da nossa missão*. Braga: Livraria Apostolado da Imprensa.
- Sousa, José A.A. de. 1998. *500 anos de evangelização em Moçambique*. Maputo: Paulinas.
- Souto, Amélia Neves de. 2007. *Caetano e o Ocaso do 'Império': Administração e guerra colonial em Moçambique durante o Marcelismo (1968–1974)*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento.
- Spencer, Leon P. 2013. *Toward an African Church in Mozambique: Kamba Simango and the Protestant Community in Manica and Sofala, 1892–1945*. Luwinda: Mzuni Press.
- Stuart, John. 2016. "'The Most Improbable Diocese of the Anglican Communion": Mission, Church and Revolution in Lebombo, Mozambique, 1961–1976'. *Social Sciences and Missions* 29.1–2, 93–117.
- Sundkler, Bengt. 1948. *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*. London: Lutterworth (2nd ed. Oxford, 1961).
- Thomaz, Omar Ribeiro. 2001. 'Contextos cosmopolitas: missões católicas, burocracia colonial e a formação de Moçambique (notas de uma pesquisa em andamento)'. In Peter Fry (ed.), *Moçambique ensaios*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora UFRJ, 135–153.
- Thorn, Susan. 1999. *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Thornton, John. 1983. *The Kingdom of Kongo: Civil War and Transition, 1641–1718*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Thornton, John. 1984. 'The Development of an African Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Kongo'. *Journal of African History* 25.2, 147–167.
- Thornton, John. 1998. *The Kongolesse Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684–1706*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thornton, John. 2013. 'Afro-Christian Syncretism in the Kingdom of Kongo'. *Journal of African History* 54.1, 53–77.

- Thornton, John. 2016. 'The Kingdom of Kongo and Palo Mayombe: Reflections on an African-American Religion'. *Slavery and Abolition* 37.1, 1–22.
- Tiberondwa, Ado K. 1978. *Missionary Teachers as Agents of Colonialism*. Lusaka: National Educational Company of Zambia.
- Valler, Vito. 1998. In *Africa con Francesco d'Assisi: 50 anni dei Cappuccini di Trento in Mozambico*. Bologna: Editrice Missionaria Italiana.
- Valverde, Paulo Jorge. 1992. 'Antropólogos e missionários: As estratégias de exclusão da figura do missionário na antropologia clássica'. Lisbon: ISCTE.
- Van Butselar, Jan. 1984. *Africains, missionnaires et colonialistes: Les origines de l'église presbytérienne au Mozambique*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Van de Kamp, Linda. 2012. 'Afro-Brazilian Pentecostal Re-Formations of Relationships across Two Generations of Mozambican Women'. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 42.4, 433–452.
- Van de Kamp, Linda. 2013. 'South-South Transnational Spaces of Conquest: Afro-Brazilian Pentecostalism, 'Feitiçaria' and the Reproductive Domain in Urban Mozambique'. *Exchange: A Journal of Missiological and Ecumenical Research* 42.4, 343–365.
- Van de Kamp, Linda. 2014. *Violent Conversion: Brazilian Pentecostalism and Urban Women in Mozambique*. Woodbridge: James Currey.
- Van de Kamp, Linda. 2019. 'Women and the Afro-Brazilian Pentecostal War in Mozambique'. In Judith Casselberry and Elizabeth A. Pritchard (eds.), *Spirit on the Move: Black Women and Pentecostalism in Africa and the Diaspora*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 67–88.
- Van Koevering, Helen E.P. 2005. *Dancing their Dreams: The Lakeshore Nyanja Women of the Anglican Diocese of Niassa*. Zomba: Kachere Series (Kachere Theses no. 9).
- Veloso, Agostinho, S.J. 1965. *D. Teodósio Clemente de Gouveia: Paladino de Portugal ao serviço de Deus*, 2 vols. Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar.
- Viegas, Fátima. 2016. 'Saberes e práticas de cura de mulheres carismáticas nas Igrejas Neotradicionais em Luanda: trajetórias de vida de três profetisas'. *Mulemba* 6.11, 193–240.
- Vos, Jelmer. 2015. *Kongo in the Age of Empire, 1860–1913: The Breakdown of a Moral Order*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Wenzel, Bernhard Josef. 1958. *Portugal und der Heilige Stuhl: Das portugiesische Konkordats- und Missionsrecht; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Missions- und Völkerrechtswissenschaft*. Lisbon: Agência-Geral do Ultramar.
- Xavier, Geraldo Manuel. 2000. *A Igreja Metodista Unida e a Revolução Angolana (ensaio sócio-histórico)*. São Paulo: Gráfica São José.
- Zawiejska, Natalia, and Linda van de Kamp. 2018. 'The Multi-Polarity of Angolan Pentecostalism: Connections and Belongings'. *PentecoStudies* 17.1, 12–36.

Notes

- 1 Apparently unrelated to politics, Areia published a book titled *L'Angola traditionnel: une introduction aux problèmes magico-religieux* (Areia 1974).
- 2 For the Portuguese policy in relation to Islam in Mozambique see Alpers (1999).
- 3 For research on the subject conducted in the 1970s see Santos (1958, 1962, 1969, 1970, 1972) and Areia (1974).
- 4 The category 'Zion' or 'Zionist' has passed into the Mozambican vernacular (but not the term 'Ethiopian'), and it is used by the state in its census questions on religion.
- 5 Although focused on politics specifically, Cruz e Silva does something similar for the Presbyterian church (Cruz e Silva 2001). Elements about the 'indigenous' church within the Methodist church in Mozambique can be found in Helgesson (1994).
- 6 On inculturation see Langa (2002) and Ferreira (2005); on Christian anthropological studies of local ideas and beliefs see Langa (1992); Martínez (2009); Colombo and Colombo (1988).
- 7 While Hollinger (2018) coined the term 'boomerang effect', the literature on the subject is much older; see, for example, Thorn (1999).