



“Forest medicines,” Kinship Alliances, and Equivocations in the Contemporary Dialogues between Santo Daime and the Yawanawá

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, we describe the spiritual and kinship alliances between heads of an urban Santo Daime church from Rio de Janeiro and some leaders of the Yawanawá people from the Amazonian region. We suggest that these alliances involve exchanges and dialogical relationships that hold different meanings for the diverse social actors that take part in them. Further, we argue that equivocation and functional misunderstandings have an important role in these multidirectional dialogues. Based on this case study, we approach the Yawanawá strategies for capturing otherness, and the insertion of the daimistas in the indigenous sociality networks. We focus especially on the Yawanawá mode of producing kin by capturing non-indigenous people and their participation in exchange networks that encompass multiple regimes of value. From the daimista point of view, we describe these relationships using the native category of “eclecticism.” We suggest that the daimistas attempt to

translate the Yawanawá shamanic knowledge and the consumption of the “forest medicines,” experiencing the performance of “becoming indigenous.”

KEYWORDS: shamanism, “forest medicines”, Yawanawá, Santo Daime, equivocation



Especially over the last 20 years, contemporary shamanic networks connecting diverse indigenous groups and representatives to several non-indigenous social actors (spiritualist groups, NGOs, governmental institutions, anthropologists, and so on) have been expanding in Brazil. One of the bases of these circuits is the consumption of a set of substances called “forest medicines,” among which ayahuasca plays a central role. These networks also include a more or less standardized set of ritual practices, aesthetic expressions, and objects associated with generic images of shamanism and Indianness. Moreover, they encompass a series of images and concepts, such as the “spiritual” or “ecological” indigenous, “primordial knowledge,” “ancestrality,” and “traditional medicine” (see among others Rose 2010; Langdon 2013; Langdon and Rose 2013; 2012; Rose and Okenda 2021).¹

The Yawanawá are indigenous people from the Pano linguistic family that live in the state of Acre, in the Brazilian Amazon. Since the 2000s, they have been experiencing an extensive process of cultural revitalization. This process is connected with the implementation of several sustainable development projects in search of external resources (Nahoum 2013; Ribeiro 2005) and to an expressive resuming of the interest in their shamanic knowledge and practices (Oliveira 2012; Souza 2015). Thus, the recent dialogues and alliances with Santo Daime churches and with other non-indigenous social actors are a part of this broader movement. We suggest that these alliances can be seen as a structural continuity of the Yawanawá mode of establishing relationships and producing kinship with the outer worlds (Naveira 1999, 159).

In this paper, we approach a particular case of a spiritual and kinship alliance that connects an urban and expansionist² Santo Daime Church from Rio de Janeiro called *Céu do Mar* and some leaders (*caciques* and *pajés*) of the Yawanawá people from the *Terra Indígena* (TI) *Rio Gregório* (Acre).³ The paper is based on two years of participant observation conducted at *Céu do Mar*, a 20-day visit to the TI *Rio Gregório*, and eight interviews conducted both with *daimistas* and Yawanawá (Platero 2018a). Thus, our reflection is grounded in extensive fieldwork and intends to contribute to the debate about the particular case of the alliances between *daimistas* and Yawanawás, one among the many alliances that are being produced between this indigenous group and several non-indigenous external agents. The paper also

intends to contribute to a broader discussion about the current expansion of contemporary shamanic networks in Brazil and abroad.

In the shared rituals that are part of the alliance between Santo Daime and the Yawanawá in Rio de Janeiro, and in the indigenous festivals held in TI *Rio Gregório*, especially in *Nova Esperança* and *Mutum* villages, people consume ayahuasca and a set of substances designated as “forest medicines,” which include *rapé*, *sananga*, *kambô* or *kapu*, and *muká*, among others. Rapé (tobacco snuff) is usually made of tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*) which is grounded, sifted, and mixed with bark from trees and ashes (Oliveira 2019). Sananga (*Tabernaemontana undulate*) is a liquid extracted from the juice of a root, popularly known as the eye-drops of the forest (Ribeiro 2021, 82). The Yawanawá perceive sananga as a substance that contributes to an opened up and enhanced vision (Ribeiro 2021, 82). It is also employed to send away laziness and *panema*, a concept that in the broader Amazonian landscape is connected primarily to bad luck in hunting (Oliveira 2019; Ribeiro 2021). Kambô or kapu is a secretion extracted from the *Phyllomedusa bicolor* frog. Among indigenous peoples such as the Katukina, Yawanawá and Huni Kuin, kapu is usually employed as an invigorator and a stimulator for hunting.⁴ Finally, more recently, the muká also became a part of the damista imaginary (Platero 2019, 2018b, 2018a). Muká is a bitter potato used in the Yawanawá shamanic *dietas* as a means to acquire knowledge and shamanic power.⁵ The fact that these substances are commonly called “forest medicines” puts in evidence the contemporary associations between indigenous shamanisms, environmental discourses, and generic notions about “traditional medicine” and “ancestrality” (see, among others, Langdon and Rose 2014; 2012; Langdon 2013; Rose and Okenda 2021). Thus, it is important to highlight that each one of the groups and social actors that compose the contemporary shamanic networks employs and interprets these substances in culturally specific and distinct ways. Further, their uses are reinvented in urban settings.

From the Yawanawá perspective, we intend to describe the elements of this alliance as a process of “domestication” or “familiarization” of non-indigenous actors, and specifically of the daimistas, which are seduced and habituated to the Yawanawá ritual practices, substances, and knowledge. According to Els Lagrou, the Pano groups are “so explicit regarding the Amazonian rule that says that ‘I am constituted by the Other’ that they have been considered especially interesting to think about this specifically Amazonian mode of establishing relations with otherness” (2007, 61). For example, among the Huni Kuin, producing society involves the domestication or familiarization of otherness. Phillipe Erikson (1984) uses the term “familiarisation” to describe the process of getting young wild animals habituated to life in the villages. This term refers to the word “habituate [*acostumar*]” and is

connected to the process of remaking the body and getting it used to new situations, food, and environment (Lagrou 2007, 64). Carlos Fausto employs the concept of “familiarization” to address the warfare relationship between the Parakanã warriors and the spirits of the enemies that they have killed in battle, who, after the warrior’s seclusion period, teach them their first shamanic songs in dreams.

The Yawanawá have a social logic that is different from that of the other Pano groups, and that can be seen as a long-duration structure. This social logic is based on matrimonial alliances with other groups, aiming to create exchange networks and thus expand the Yawanawá influence. In this context, the indigenous leaders often marry “strangers” or non-indigenous people. We argue here that the particular case of the alliance between the Yawanawá of TI Rio Gregório and the heads of Céu do Mar represents a continuity of this structural logic that produces the Yawanawá *socius*. We try to understand how the process of “habituating” non-indigenous people, and especially the daimistas, takes place in the shared rituals conducted both in the city and in the forest. We also track how the daimistas are incorporated and inserted in a Yawanawá exchange system that involves multiple regimes of value (Vereta-Nahoum 2017; 2013). Further, we attempt to put in evidence the dialogues and equivocal translations that take place between the daimistas and the Yawanawás, showing how these dialogues involve conflicts, heterogeneity, and asymmetric power relationships. While the concept of domestication is important to help us understand the Yawanawá mode of establishing relationships with otherness, in the following section we will discuss the “evolutionary eclecticism,” an important category for the daimistas.

Céu do Mar is part of an eclectic, experimentalist and expansionist Santo Daime branch (Assis 2017) popularly known as “*linha* (branch) *do Padrinho Sebastião*.” In general, Santo Daime encompasses two main divisions. On the one hand, there are several small groups that self-identify as *Alto Santo* and that are practically restricted to the state of Acre in the Amazonian region. These groups are mainly non-expansionist and are often associated with representations of “tradition” and “authenticity” in the public debates involving the Brazilian ayahuasca religions (see Assis and Labate 2014). On the other hand, the branch founded by Sebastião Mota de Melo or Padrinho Sebastião and represented by the Church of the Eclectic Cult of the Universal Flowing Light (*Igreja do Culto Eclético da Fluente Luz Universal*, ICE-FLU) was the main group responsible for Santo Daime’s national and international expansion. However, over the last few decades this institution has been losing its representative capacity. Thus, more and more Santo Daime churches and centers are becoming autonomous, although they maintain a spiritual and affective connection to Padrinho Sebastião’s memory. This means that even though these churches are not formally associated

to ICEFLU, they represent themselves and are publicly seen as a part of the *linha do Padrinho Sebastião* (Assis 2017).

Céu do Mar was the first Santo Daime church founded outside of the state of Acre. It was created in Rio de Janeiro in 1982 by the psychologist Paulo Roberto. Although currently Céu do Mar is institutionally independent of ICEFLU, both organizations are still tightly connected by spiritual and kinship bonds. Céu do Mar’s history is characterized by several adaptations of the daimista rituals to Rio de Janeiro’s cultural context and to the personality of its leader, Paulo Roberto, who has a trajectory both as a psychologist and as a Kardecist Spiritist. Thus, since Céu do Mar’s founding there have been a series of transformations and innovations in the daimista ritual practices conducted in this church (Platero 2017b; 2018a; 2018b; 2019; 2020; 2020a). These transformations were partially reproduced in other Santo Daime churches connected to Céu do Mar, both in Brazil and abroad.

“Eclecticism” is a native category often employed by the members of *Padrinho Sebastião*’s branch. It is present in the name of the official institution that represents this branch—*Church of the Eclectic Cult of the Universal Flowing Light*—and calls attention to the openness that has always characterized this religious group. Since its beginning, *Padrinho Sebastião*’s branch has had plural and eclectic features, contributing to its flexibility and to the dynamic insertion of ritualistic practices from other religions and spiritual groups. From the 1970s and 1980s, several important elements from Spiritism and the Afro-Brazilian religions became a part of Santo Daime’s cosmology and religious practices. In his classical work, Alberto Groisman (1999) proposed to use the term eclecticism to define this branch of Santo Daime. According to him, eclecticism makes possible the coexistence of diverse cosmological systems and constitutes a totalizing system that encompasses several life aspects (Groisman 1999). This category indicates an openness that is not common among the other Brazilian ayahuasca religions. Glauber Assis and Bia Labate define this process as structural miscibility, highlighting the porosity, psychoactivity, and musicality of this religious branch.

Therefore, *Padrinho Sebastião*’s branch can be seen as an emergent religion that is open to otherness and to changes. This enables the existence of many “daimés,” meaning that each center has particular variations and adaptations that are connected with the local settings and with the trajectories of its heads and members. A well-known example of this openness involves the introduction of elements from the Afro-Brazilian religions, and especially from Umbanda (such as spiritual entities, chants, and mediumship) in some specific daimista rituals (see Alvez Junior 1997; Greganich 2011; Guimarães 1992, among others). On the one hand, these elements have become very important among some churches connected to this expansionist branch. On the other, it is important to highlight that there is no consensus about these

ritual transformations, and until today this issue represents an important source of conflicts and controversies in the broader field of the Brazilian ayahuasca religions (Assis and Labate 2014).

Since the 2000s, some of the Santo Daime churches connected to Padrinho Sebastião's branch have begun another process of ritual transformations based on the alliances and dialogues with indigenous groups. One pioneer example was the emergence of a network self-designated as the *Medicine Alliance* in the south of Brazil. This alliance involves the Santo Daime church *Céu do Patriarca São José* from Florianópolis (Santa Catarina state); an extended indigenous family from the Guarani village *Yynn Morothi Wherá* (situated at Santa Catarina's south coast); and national leaders from the contemporary shamanic group Sacred Fire of Itzachilatlan, also known as Red Path (for more information about the Medicine Alliance, see Rose 2010; Langdon and Rose 2012 and 2014). In the southeast of the country, the head of *Céu da Lua Cheia* (São Paulo, SP) Leo Artese has also proposed innovations based on the dialogues with neo-shamanic groups, producing what Saulo Conde Fernandes (2019) has called *pajelização* of Santo Daime. Thus, it is in this broader context that since 2009 Céu do Mar has been producing ritual innovations and transformations based on alliances with some representatives from the Yawanawá people (see Oliveira 2012; Platero 2017b; 2017a; 2018b; 2019; 2020b; 2020a). It is important to point out that the dialogues with the daimistas and with other urban *ayahuasqueiros* have also produced ritual transformations among the Yawanawá (see Oliveira 2012; Platero 2018a; 2018b; 2019, among others).

The growth of the contemporary shamanic networks in Brazil has been accompanied by an increase in anthropological studies about this topic. There are several recent ethnographic reports about alliances between different indigenous groups and Santo Daime churches, from the south to the north of Brazil (see Rose 2010; Coutinho 2011; Labate and Coutinho 2014; Meneses 2020; Oliveira 2012; Pantoja 2001; Platero 2018a, among others). In this context, some indigenous groups that are held as traditional *ayahuasqueiros*, such as the Yawanawá and the Huni Kuin, have experienced a revival of their shamanic practices and resumed the consumption of ayahuasca influenced by their dialogues with members of the Santo Daime churches (Oliveira 2012; Platero 2018a). There are also reports about indigenous groups that did not previously employ ayahuasca and that have started to use the beverage influenced by the dialogues with the ayahuasca religions (see Pantoja 2001; Rose 2010; Stolze Lima 2018). Studies conducted in different ethnographic settings seem to indicate an interesting recurrence: even among the peoples who did not previously consume ayahuasca, this beverage is often connected to a process of reclaiming tradition and to a revival of the shamanic practices (see Pantoja 2001; Rose 2010; Stolze Lima 2018, among others).

At the same time, many Santo Daime churches become “indigenized,” conducting rituals that include indigenous references and the “forest medicines,” such as rapé, tobacco, sananga, and kambô.

Based on the case study about the alliances established between the heads of Céu do Mar and some Yawanawá leaders, we suggest that these dialogues involve multiple translations that produce emergent categories. As we have seen, the transformations that result from these processes are multidirectional. They encompass both indigenous and non-indigenous groups and actors, which have very different interests, discourses, and perspectives. Recent research on the topic indicates that in Brazil, the ayahuasca religions, and especially Santo Daime, have an important role in the emergence of the contemporary shamanic networks. Thus, it is possible to say that Santo Daime is currently part of broad and diverse networks composed of multiple human and more-than-human actors.

However, these alliances also have limits regarding the heterogeneity of perspectives and the equivocal translations present in them. Eduardo Viveiros de Castro argues that “equivocation appears as the mode of communication par excellence among different perspectival positions—and therefore as both condition of possibility and limit of the anthropological enterprise” (Viveiros de Castro 2004, 5). Thus, he suggests that intercultural equivocality constitutes “the archetypical anthropological motive” (Viveiros de Castro 2004, 10). According to Viveiros de Castro, equivocations should not be seen as mistakes or errors. On the contrary, based on the premise that differences are the foundations for establishing relations, equivocations should be seen as evidence of the different perspectives at stake. He argues that the goal of anthropology is to translate, and highlights that a good translation should maintain and express the *intentio* of the original language (Viveiros de Castro 2004, 5). In this approach, translation implies presuming and maintaining the differences among the two parts involved, and not finding the common meanings between them (Viveiros de Castro 2004, 18). We suggest that this kind of situation also occurs in the alliances between the Yawanawá and the daimistas. These dialogues are characterized by heterogeneity and different epistemologies, often leading to conflicts, dead-ends, or even incommensurability (see Carneiro da Cunha 2000).

Anne Marie Losonczy and Silvia Mesturini Cappelletti (2014) propose to analyze equivocation using a communication model based on functional misunderstandings.⁶ They discuss specifically the internationalization of ayahuasca rituals in settings involving Europeans and North Americans, and the negotiations about what is being said and done that takes place in these settings. According to them, in these contexts both the rituals and verbalizations involve negotiations, and all the parties find advantages in not understanding completely what the others are saying. Thus, Losonczy and Mesturini

highlight the functional misunderstandings between “Westerners” and “natives,” and the emergence of new intercultural negotiated settings.

In this paper, we attempt to describe the relationships involving domestication or familiarization (Erikson 1984; Lagrou 2007, 64) and the intercultural equivocations among daimistas and Yawanawás. On the one hand, the Yawanawá seek to produce kinship by employing seduction and shared ritual substances and to draw non-indigenous people into their *socius*. From the Yawanawá’s point of view, non-indigenous bodies are transformed and they become partially Yawanawá. They also are inserted in circuits that involve gift exchange and multiple regimes of value, including kinship, ritual, politics, and economy (Vereta-Nahoum 2013). On the other hand, the daimistas experience the Yawanawá shamanism and the consumption of the “forest medicines.” This leads to the performances of “becoming indigenous” or “becoming Yawanawá” (Platero 2020a; 2020b),⁷ characterized by adaptations and reinventions of elements from the Yawanawá shamanic system. The alliances with the Yawanawá are also seen by the daimistas as a way of going back to the “origins” or searching for the “roots of Santo Daime,” leading to novel interpretations of the daimista origin myth (Platero 2018a).

Representations of the origins of Santo Daime are an important element in its cosmology, which is based on the influence of popular Catholicism, European esotericism, Afro-Brazilian religions, and indigenous elements (for more information about Santo Daime, see Goulart 2004; Labate and Araújo 2004, among others). However, since the 2000s, indigenous groups and representatives are increasingly claiming space and visibility in Brazilian public debates involving ayahuasca. This movement is generating a series of important transformations in the Brazilian ayahuasca field, such as an inversion of the daimista representations of the origins of Santo Daime. Some indigenous leaders have affirmed that it was their parents or grandparents who have first given ayahuasca to the founders of Santo Daime (see Labate and Coutinho 2014). These narratives have the effect of delimiting indigenous peoples as the “first ayahuasqueiros” or the “true holders” of ayahuasca. It is a kind of discourse that was absent in Brazil until some twenty years ago, and that currently occupies a space that was previously monopolized by the ayahuasca religions (Labate and Coutinho 2014).



THE YAWANAWÁ: DOMESTICATION AND FAMILIARIZATION

The Yawanawá stand out as important indigenous allies in the broader context of the Brazilian contemporary shamanic networks, and in particular at the circuits involving the Santo Daime churches from Rio de Janeiro. The term *yawanawá* means “peccary people,” a reference to the Yawanawá

characteristic of always walking in groups. Currently, there are several Yawanawá living in different parts of the world (Brazil, the USA, Mexico, South Africa, and many European countries). There are also many *nawa*⁸ (non-indigenous) who participate in the shared rituals with them, or in their shamanic dietas, and that claim to have "become indigenous" or "become Yawanawá." Traditionally, the Yawanawá establish alliances with other indigenous peoples in their collective rituals, the *Mariris*, which can be seen as machines for creating kinship and affinity with strangers (Naveira 1999). We suggest that the alliances that the Yawanawá are currently establishing with non-indigenous peoples are part of a long-duration indigenous social logic that involves "domestication" or familiarization, and the incorporation of otherness in their shamanic rituals. In the case of the dialogues with the *daimistas*, this social logic is actualized through shared rituals with the "forest medicines," by the production of consubstantiality and "spiritual kinship" (spiritual alliances), and by marriages with non-indigenous "strangers," as we shall see in the following paragraphs.

From the end of the 19th century until the 1980s, the Yawanawá have worked for the non-indigenous bosses from the rubber camps. Further, between 1972 and 1984 they have been familiar with the presence of missionaries from the North-American New Tribes Mission (NTM). The missionary presence in the indigenous lands lead to massive conversions to Protestantism, and the demise of the practices of *pajelança*⁹ or shamanism. Moreover, until the 1990s there was a significant population decrease among the Yawanawá, and a seeming waning of their shamanic system. There were then very few people acknowledged as *pajés*; the only recognized *pajés* in the Rio Gregório reserve were Yawá and Tatá.¹⁰ *Chefe* ("chief") Raimundo Luiz was also known for possessing shamanic knowledge, although he had not completed the period of seclusion required for the *muká* diet (Pérez Gil 1999).

During the 1980s, some young Yawanawá leaders (especially Biraci and Tashka, who are *chefe* Raimundo Luiz's nephew and son, respectively) were engaged in the struggles to secure the demarcation of the indigenous lands and to send away the missionaries. Since the 1990s, the Yawanawá have been experiencing a "cultural revival" process that is tightly connected to the demarcation of their lands; to the resuming of the *Mariri* rituals, *pajelança*, shamanic dietas, and *kene* designs;¹¹ and to the growth of shamanic tourism. The consumption of the "forest medicines," the shamanic knowledge, and the processes of shamanic formation (dietas) were all reclaimed in this process. This cultural revival movement is partially influenced by the dialogues and alliances with several non-indigenous actors that have started to visit the Yawanawá during their *Mariris*, including the *daimistas*. A few young Yawanawá leaders, such as *cacique* Biraci and his wife Putani (from *Nova Esperança* village), were already perceived in the villages as "advanced

students” in the Yawanawá spirituality, and some of them had completed the muká shamanic diet. However, it was only since they started circulating in the cities that they were acknowledged as pajés (Oliveira 2012). In this sense, Aline Ferreira Oliveira (2012) calls attention to the differences between the pajés from the forest and from the city. She suggests that non-indigenous expectations and needs have contributed to the emergence of new generations of pajés among the Yawanawá.

In parallel to all this, another movement was also taking place among the Yawanawá, involving what we are calling a familiarization process. At the beginning of the 20th century, the great chefe Yawanawá Antônio Luis had already set the basis for a political structure of expansion (numerical, political, economic) based on marriages with women from other Indigenous peoples of Acre. This expansionist model for reproducing kinship was repeated in the next generations, and thus can be seen as part of a long-duration structure. Raimundo Luiz, the chefe that we have mentioned before, has also married “stranger” women from other Pano indigenous groups. Afterwards, his daughters and grandchildren continued this movement. The works of Miguel Carid Naveira (1999) and Renan Reis (2014) bring more information about these marriages. Reis (2014) narrates specifically the marriage of the Yawanawá young female leader Hushahu with a nawa from the city. He describes how Hushahu’s new husband started to accompany her and participate in her trips to other parts of Brazil and abroad in the context of the shared rituals with non-indigenous actors (Reis 2014). Oliveira (2012) and Reis (2014) also describe the alliance established between Raimundo Luiz’s son Tashka with a Mexican-American indigenous leader.

Therefore, we argue that the alliances between the Yawanawá and the daimistas from Céu do Mar reproduce an indigenous structural logic that produces and reproduces the Yawanawá *socius*. This logic involves both spiritual and matrimonial arrangements. Further, we suggest that the dialogues with Céu do Mar are one of the modalities of the alliances that form the *yawa-nawa* networks (Oliveira 2012). These networks encompass both the circulation of the Yawanawás outside of their villages and the participation of “strangers” (non-indigenous or nawas) in the Mariri rituals and in the shamanic dietas held in the Yawanawá lands.

In 2002, cacique Biraci Brazil Nixuacá and some elder Yawanawá leaders promoted the first Yawanawá Festival in Nova Esperança village. This festival was open to nawa visitors and was part of a new shamanic tourism enterprise. The festival became an annual event and has contributed to stimulating the Yawanawá cultural revitalization movement and to an expressive increase of their shamanic practices over the last decade. The cultural festivals held in the indigenous villages have also helped to strengthen the Yawanawá alliances with several non-indigenous actors. These non-indigenous actors

attempt to reproduce the Yawanawá *uni* (ayahuasca) rituals in therapeutic centers and other urban spaces, giving rise to the yawa-nawa network (Oliveira 2012). According to Oliveira, this network has emerged from the encounters between the Yawanawá from Rio Gregório and several non-indigenous groups and actors. She suggests that the Yawanawá are exporting their Yawa festival model to other indigenous groups and that they have been using the *uni* rituals to capture new allies (Oliveira 2012, 91).

Over the last 20 years, indigenous cultural festivals have been multiplying in Brazil. These festivals take place in the indigenous lands and villages, especially in the Amazonian region but also in other parts of the country. These encounters are aimed mainly to a non-indigenous and foreign audience, although in some cases they also include an expressive indigenous presence. Recent data indicate that in the state of Acre during 2019 alone, more than 40 of these events have taken place, most of them involving ayahuasca (Meneses 2020). In the specific case of the Yawanawá, these cultural festivals constitute significant moments for creating new economic allies and accomplishing new projects (Vereta-Nahoum 2013; 2017). However, most of these dialogues foreground “spiritual alliances” (Oliveira 2012). In this sense, even though these interchanges are part of a broader reciprocity system that also includes common economic projects, the exchanges of shamanic knowledge have an important space in these encounters.

The Yawanawá have begun to establish their relationships with the heads of some Santo Daime churches connected to the Padrinho Sebastião branch in 2008. In 2009, a few Yawanawá representatives began traveling to the south and southeast of Brazil, and since then they have constituted several spiritual alliances with the daimistas (Platero 2018a; 2019). These alliances encompass the circulation of shamanic knowledge (chants, dances, ritual performances, healing techniques), “medicines” (uni/daime, rapé, sananga, kambô, muká, jenipapo, coca leaves), and objects (feather headdresses, colored bead bracelets, tooth necklaces, devices for inhaling rapé, and so on). They also involve several emergent categories, such as “medicines,” “spirituality,” “ancestral knowledge,” “spirits” (*yuxin*), “spiritual guides,” and pajés. More recently, the daimistas have started to participate in the Yawanawá shamanic diets. This movement is part of a broader context in which the shamanic diets traditionally held in Amazonian settings are being appropriated and reinvented by non-indigenous actors (see Gearin and Labate 2019; Platero 2018a; 2018b).

During her fieldwork in *Mutum* village in 2016, Ligia Platero asked pajé Tatá, Tashka, and Rasu about the alliances among the Yawanawá and the nawa from the cities, especially the daimistas from Céu do Mar. As an answer, they narrated the story (*shenipayu*) of *Mukaveyne*. This myth

describes how the Yawanawá first got in contact with white men, and how since then they have started to establish relations with them.

“Mukaveyne was a great pajé. On a certain day, he knew he was going to travel to the sacred village (he was going to die). He then gathered his sons to talk to them and said: ‘During my trip to the sacred village I will go far away. I will go where the white men live all piled up. They are many. I can mix up their thoughts so that they will wish to leave their homes and travel to unknown places. They will come from far away, and they will arrive here.’ One of his sons answered: ‘Yes father, do this. I want to know these white men.’ Mukaveyne went on: ‘If this happens, do not make war with these white men. Be friends with them because they are many. If you make war with them and kill ten men, this won’t make any difference. More and more will come. So be friends with them. You may even marry their women, they have beautiful women. And they may marry your daughters. They will teach you many good things, and you will use their objects.” (Tashka Yawanawá, July 2016)

The story of Mukaveyne is a myth that functions as a native explanation regarding the alliances between the Yawanawá and non-indigenous peoples. These alliances are perceived by the Yawanawá as exchange relationships that involve multiple regimes of value. Further, they also enable spiritual alliances with “spiritual guides,” “ancestors,” and the “forest medicines.” It is important to point out that in this setting these plants and substances in general are perceived as endowed with their own agency and intentionality.

The alliance between the Yawanawá and Céu do Mar had two central phases. The first phase involved mainly the leaders from Nova Esperança village and the daimistas. These initial dialogues foregrounded symbolic kinship, “spiritual alliances,” shared “medicines,” and settling actual kinship ties between the heads of Céu do Mar, cacique Biraci, and his wife Putany. The second phase was characterized especially by intermarriage relations. For an instance in 2014, Jordão, the son of the heads of Céu do Mar, married Kenewmá, the daughter of cacique Mariazinha from Mutum village. We suggest that this marriage is part of the Yawanawá pattern of establishing relationships by seduction and incorporation of otherness that we have discussed previously. As we have seen, the Yawanawá logic for *socius* production often encompasses weddings with strangers and/or non-indigenous peoples. It also implicates establishing kinship and consubstantiality ties with these strangers, as well as gift exchanges involving multiple value regimes. In practice, this wedding meant that Jordão should financially assist his mother-in-law. In exchange he was allowed to participate in the dieta do muká, one of the

main Yawanawá modes for acquiring shamanic knowledge (Platero 2018a; 2018b; 2019).¹²

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SHARED RITUALS, “FOREST MEDICINES,” AND “BECOMING
INDIGENOUS”

One of the first important dialogues between the heads of Céu do Mar and some Yawanawá chiefs and pajés took place in a shamanic session conducted by pajé Yawá in Rio de Janeiro in 2009. This session had a restricted audience and was targeted to heal the strong back pains Paulo Roberto was suffering due to a herniated disc. During the ritual, pajé Yawá spent many hours singing over a clay jar containing *uni*. Paulo Roberto claimed to have seen the images of many forest animals’ spirits, which were called by Yawá’s chants. A struggle between the pajé and the spirit/*yuxin* of Paulo Roberto’s disease took place and at the end of the ritual this spirit had been expelled from the patient’s body.¹³ When pajé Yawá stopped singing, Paulo Roberto took the beverage from the jar. Yawá said his intention was that the new spirits that he had called during the session should now inhabit Paulo Roberto’s body. In the following days, Paulo Roberto stopped feeling the back pain. Several months later when Yawá fell ill at Acre, Paulo Roberto sent an expert in herbs to heal him. Paulo Roberto said that this action was in return for Yawá’s previous healing work and also part of the alliances established between the daimistas and the Yawanawás.

The interactions between Yawá and Paulo Roberto also encompassed knowledge exchanges, and Yawá’s teachings endowed Paulo Roberto with spiritual protection associated with shamanic techniques. Paulo Roberto said that “he [pajé Yawá] made good protection [using words and gestures]. On each one of my feet, he placed the head of a *sucurijú* [jiboia]; on my chest, he placed a jaguar; and on my head, he placed a hawk. Since this happened, I always use a necklace made of jaguar teeth. When I am going to participate in an intense spiritual work that requires more protection, I put on the jaguar necklaces that were gifted by the Yawanawá” (interview with Paulo Roberto, August 2016, our translation). This narrative indicates how the daimistas began to perceive some objects as magical or powerful, and as capable of producing special ritual experiences. These objects are used mainly in the shared ceremonies with the Yawanawá but they also appear in regular Santo Daime rituals. Necklaces made from jaguar teeth, feather headdresses, and colored bead bracelets with the *kene* designs became objects of desire for many daimistas, who were seduced by the beauty and the charms of the Yawanawá’s objects and aesthetics.

The networks involving the daimistas and the Yawanawá are characterized by the circulation of shamanic knowledge, ritual performances, and shamanic objects. It is important to highlight that the Yawanawá shamanic objects acquire new meanings when transposed to urban settings, and that these meanings are very different from those present in the indigenous settings. For instance, Paulo Roberto claims that using the jaguar tooth necklace brings the jaguar's spiritual protection during the *astral* battles¹⁴ that take place in the Santo Daime rituals. Another member from Céu do Mar told Ligia Platero that she had ordered a Yawanawá bead bracelet with the colors white, black, and red. According to her, these were the colors of her *caboclo* Cobra Coral. She also said that using this bracelet with the Yawanawá kene reminded her of the connection with this spiritual entity, both during the Santo Daime rituals and in other daily situations. Based on these examples, we suggest that the daimistas who participate in these alliances are attracted by the Yawanawá aesthetic. However, they articulate this aesthetic with elements from Santo Daime's cosmology, reproducing it in a transformed manner that often leads to equivocation and functional misunderstandings.

The presence of the pajés Yawá and Tatá in Céu do Mar helped Paulo Roberto to legitimize himself within the church's community. It also produced differentiations between Céu do Mar and other Santo Daime churches. After the Yawanawá had visited Céu do Mar several times, Paulo Roberto began inviting him primarily for the ritual celebration of his birthday, often attended by many visitors from other Brazilian Santo Daime centers and also from the United States and Canada. According to Paulo Roberto, these invitations intended to multiply and expand the alliances between the Yawanawás and the daimistas. He said he had opened up his contact networks to the Yawanawás in return for the healing ritual and the knowledge that he had received from his new allies, especially pajé Yawá. Employing contacts that he had with daimistas from the United States, Paulo Roberto also helped to insert the Yawanawás in the Google Project. This project had the goal of raising funds so that some young indigenous people could participate in the *dieta do muká*, the most important Yawanawá shamanic initiation.

From 2009 to 2017, the Yawanawá were often present in Céu do Mar and participated in several Santo Daime rituals. Since 2010, small groups of daimistas from Brazil, Canada, and the United States began traveling to Nova Esperança village. Further, in 2013, they also began traveling to Mutum village. These visits and shared rituals have given rise to knowledge exchanges and musical transformations (in the sacred chants, in the manner of singing, and in the manner of playing the instruments). The Yawanawá leaders who participate in these trips (usually cacique Biraci, pajé Putani,

and pajé Yawá) come back to their villages with more prestige and financial resources.

The “forest medicines,” especially rapé, were also incorporated in Céu do Mar and in other Santo Daime churches in Brazil and abroad. Rapé is consumed in the shared ceremonies with the Yawanawás and also in official Santo Daime rituals. In a ritual that took place in 2015 with the participation of pajé Yawá and the young indigenous leader Shaneiuhu (cacique Biraci Nix-auacá’s son), Paulo Roberto said that rapé was a “spirit brother” that communicated with people and brought teachings. For the daimistas, this substance is connected with the head and with the idea of “firmness in thought” or *firmeza no pensamento*,¹⁵ an important virtue in Santo Daime’s cosmology. The daimistas from Céu do Mar also began using rapé for conviviality and socializing, for an instance before, during, and after the Santo Daime rituals. This generated a perceived lack of control regarding the consumption of rapé, and several daimistas started to criticize what they saw as an excess. The heads of Céu do Mar then proposed new informal social controls to help guide the consumption of rapé (Platero 2020a).¹⁶

Many members of Céu do Mar also have begun to use sananga and kambô. However, these substances are less often consumed by the daimistas and are not a part of the regular Santo Daime rituals. Sananga is a type of herbal eye drop. This term is usually translated as “beam in the eyes”; the Yawanawá claim that this substance “opens up spiritual vision,” cleans the eyes, and “sends laziness away.” When the Yawanawá visit Céu do Mar, they usually offer sananga for the non-indigenous people who want to experience it. Some daimistas use this substance more often and buy it from the Yawanawá themselves or from other non-indigenous people.

Kambô is usually employed in sessions with few participants since it depends on qualified people for its application.¹⁷ For instance, Paulo Roberto and Nonata commonly make these applications, especially in the workshops they hold for visitors from the United States and Canada. The daimistas often associate kambô with “healing” and “cleaning.”¹⁸ However, there are also other unusual interpretations regarding the meanings of this substance and how they shift depending on the setting. While in the Amazonian and indigenous settings *panema* means bad luck in hunting, in the urban settings this term is often connected to issues regarding employment or income. Once, one daimista told Ligia Platero “I have panema, I must take kambô.” Ligia asked what she meant by panema and she answered: “I have panema because I haven’t been paid in my job for months” (for a classical analysis on this topic and more examples of these unusual interpretations see Lima and Labate 2007).

Over time, the experimentations with the Yawanawá practices in Céu do Mar were stabilized into two main types of rituals. One of them is the

Trabalho de São Miguel na Mata, which includes special moments for using “forest medicines,” especially rapé. During this ritual, the daimistas employ objects that remit to an indigenous reference, such as colorful bead necklaces and bracelets, feather headdresses, and bodily *urucum* paintings. They imitate the Yawanawá ritual performance, leading to what we call the performance of “becoming indigenous”. The Yawanawá visitors have an important role in these ceremonies, where they present their ritual chants (*saites*) and dances. These experimental rituals include Santo Daime hymns, Umbanda songs, and the Yawanawá *saites*. When the indigenous chants end, everyone joins in the Yawanawá salutation: *yúúúúúrrruuuu!!!* These salutations are followed by others in the daimista style, such as “Viva [long live] the Yawanawá people!” “Viva o pajé Yawá”!

Another ritual held in Céu do Mar with the participation of the Yawanawá is called *Trabalho dos Índios* or *Trabalho Yawanawá*. The *Trabalhos dos Índios* include presentations of the “forest medicines” and the narration of the Yawanawá *shenipahu* [histories]. The pajés who participate often talk about the shamanic dietas, describing them as the main Yawanawá mode for obtaining “ancestral knowledge.” These ceremonies intend to reproduce an adapted version of the Mariris in urban settings. However, the rules for this reproduction and adaptations are negotiated and adjusted. Further, we argue that these rituals contribute to producing alliances with the daimistas, who are seduced, domesticated, and inserted in the Yawanawá exchange networks.

These new ceremonies and practices gave way to several cosmological and ritual transformations in Céu do Mar. We describe some of these transformations in the following paragraphs, starting with changes in the daimista hymns and musicality. In general, Santo Daime’s cosmological main principles are presented in the hymns, which are seen as being “received from the astral.”¹⁹ Music is a core Santo Daime aspect, leading some authors to define this religion as a musical doctrine (see Rehen 2007, among others). In consequence, musicality is an important element regarding transformations and modifications in the Santo Daime rituals (see Assis 2017; Rabelo 2013; Rehen 2007; 2011). At the beginning of the alliance between Céu do Mar and the Yawanawá, Paulo Roberto began receiving hymns that mentioned the Yawanawá and elements from their cosmology and shamanic system. Some of these “alliance hymns” attempted to translate the communication between the Yawanawá pajés and the *yuxin* (“spirits”), classifying the *yuxin* as *caboclos* or “sacred animals.” The first of the alliance hymns narrates the foundational myth of this alliance, mentioning the healing session conducted by pajé Yawá for Paulo Roberto that we have described previously. In the following, we transcribe a translated version of part of this hymn.

I see in the Sacred Mountain/ The spirit that is in it/ It is a painted cabocla/ She was fishing on the seashore/ The Lady Pedra Grande [Great Stone]/ Has come here to heal me/ Who called her was Yawá/ The pajé from the Yawanawá / When he was 97 years old he came to the seashore/ He came to my house and started to sing/ With the holy medicines/ And the magic from the animals/ He brought the strength from the forest/ From the sacramental plants.²⁰

This hymn also mentions pajé Yawá's shamanic experience in Céu do Mar. Yawá saw the spirit from *Pedra da Gávea*²¹ as an indigenous woman more than 10 meters tall. According to the narratives about this experience, this vision has helped pajé Yawá in the shamanic healing session he held for Paulo Roberto. The translation of his experience in the daimista hymn points out to a perception of the oceans, mountains, and rivers as alive and endowed with spirits, agency, and intentionality. Other alliance hymns also establish analogies between the yuxin ("spirits"), who are central in the Yawanawá cosmological system, and the *orixás* from the Afro-Brazilian religions. These were incorporated in Padrinho Sebastião's Santo Daime branch, and especially in Céu do Mar,²² along with other elements from Umbanda. These novel analogies established in Céu do Mar also encompass the yuxin and "spiritual guides" from Santo Daime.

Paulo Roberto has received several alliance hymns. Some of these hymns have the melody of the Yawanawá saites (chants). Many mention the *caboclos* and associate these entities with "indigenous spiritual guides." The *caboclos* were already mentioned in the daimista hymns since the times of *Mestre Irineu* (Santo Daime's founder). However, their importance has grown in Padrinho Sebastião's branch due to its dialogues with Umbanda. In the alliances between the Yawanawá and Céu do Mar, the Yawanawá are often associated to a generic image of the *caboclos* and seen as spiritual guides. Further, the daimistas also establish analogies and approximations between the Santo Daime rituals inspired in Umbanda (the *giras* of *Umbanda*) and the *Trabalhos dos Índios*. All this leads to the emergence of new entities in the daimista pantheon, such as *Ogum Yawanawá* and *Ogum Comanche*. The following hymn shows how the daimistas from Céu do Mar establish analogies and equivalences between elements from Umbanda that were already part of Santo Daime's cosmology and elements from the Yawanawá's shamanic system.

Ancestral knowledge/ From all the divine beings/ From the plants and animals/ Consecrate these teachings/ When I find myself ill/ I go to the forest to heal myself/ To meet with the sacred plants/ I open up my eyes

*to see/ With the presence of sananga/ Kanapá Vot Chai'tê/ Holy painting from urucum/ The cleaning from kambô/ Those are medicines from Ogum/ Those are medicines from Xangô/Hail to their presence that has arrived/ Has arrived to bring firmness/ The presence of Ogum/ In Yawá's forest.*²³

This hymn associates the “forest medicines” with the Afro-Brazilian orixás and describes them as “medicines from Ogum” and “medicines from Xangô.”²⁴ Padrinho Sebastião’s branch already had several cosmological categories related to the orixás and other entities from Umbanda, to Spiritism, and to Santo Daime itself. We suggest that these previous classifications were the foundation for the novel modifications in the daimista cosmology that took place in Céu do Mar, inspired in references from the Yawanawá cosmological system.

The Santo Daime ritual performances modified by the Yawanawá aesthetics produce a feeling of belonging among the daimistas, who perceive themselves as allies or even as Yawanawá daimistas. Further, the shared rituals with the Yawanawás make the daimistas from Céu do Mar feel like “Yawanawá *parentes* [kin].” These “daimista allies” often attempt to participate in activities that can be of benefit to the Yawanawás, and also that may assist them financially.²⁵ Other studies about contemporary shamanic networks also highlight the importance of the environmental discourses in these circuits (see Rose and Langdon 2012; Rose and Okenda 2021, among others). Environmental discourses have a central role in Santo Daime, and ICEFLU represents itself publicly as the religion of the forest. However, this discourse was intensified after Santo Daime began establishing alliances and dialogues with indigenous peoples. In Céu do Mar, the environmental discourse is associated with the “defense of the Amazon forest” and with a generic and idealistic view of the indigenous peoples, which is common in the overall settings of the contemporary shamanic networks. Among many daimistas from the southwest Brazilian cities, this environmental discourse is often associated with vegetarianism, which is seen as a manner to defend the animals and the forest. This association indicates another interesting equivocation, since the Yawanawá are traditionally hunters who feed mainly on game meat and who do not have any vegetarian inclination whatsoever.

In short, based on the case study of this particular alliance, we argue that the consumption of “forest medicines,” hymns with indigenous references, and the incorporation of transformed and adapted Yawanawá objects and shamanic techniques lead to the performance of “becoming indigenous” among the daimistas from Céu do Mar.



FINAL THOUGHTS

In Céu do Mar, the alliance with the Yawanawás is perceived as a return to the origins of Santo Daime and as a way of getting closer to Mestre Irineu's healing knowledge. Many daimistas from this church perceive Mestre Irineu's healing knowledge as equivalent to that of the pajés Yawá and Tatá. We have tried to show how the Yawanawá knowledge and shamanic practices were introduced in the circuit of Rio de Janeiro's Santo Daime churches through the alliances with the daimistas. These knowledge and practices were incorporated in Santo Daime in a transformed and adapted manner, associated with notions such as "healing," "self-knowledge," and "self-transformation." Both the consumption of "forest medicines" and the shamanic *dietas* have a central role in these adaptation processes. The incorporation of these elements produces modifications in Santo Daime's practices and cosmology. The bases for these modifications are the Spiritist and Umbanda references that were already present in this religious group, parallel to the openness to alterity that has historically characterized Padrinho Sebastião's branch. As a whole, these transformations encompass the consumption of the "forest medicines," hymns that bring references from Yawanawá cosmology and musicality, and objects that remit to indigenous aesthetics. We argue that these combined elements constitute the performance of becoming indigenous, which is very common among the daimistas from Céu do Mar. Although these ritual and cosmological transformations have been consolidating in this church for some time, we suggest that they should be seen as mutable since they are always subject to being destabilized by new changes and flows.

The celebrations and rituals with ayahuasca (uni/daime) are the main settings in which the Yawanawás accomplish their micropolitics of domestication and familiarization of otherness. They use these spaces to produce new kin and allies, thus bringing to life and actualizing the myth of Mukaveyne. We highlight that the Yawanawá have important leading roles and agency in these networks. Based on a pre-existing structural logic for producing their *socius*, they actively seduce, domesticate, and familiarize their allies in the cities. They also share their knowledge with these new allies, exchanging it for financial resources, technological devices, new kin, prestige, diverse services, other types of shamanic knowledge, and so on. Therefore, we suggest that these exchanges encompass multiple regimes of value, and that the seduction and familiarization of the nawas are part of Yawanawá micropolitics. The Yawanawá actualize the myth of Mukaveyne and produce new kin by employing the strategies of consubstantiality, "spiritual alliances," and marriages. We argue that this alliance partially reproduces a characteristic

Yawanawá social logic that encompasses the domestication and familiarization of otherness in ritual settings through the consumption of the “forest medicines.”

Further, we analyze the alliance between the Yawanawá and Céu do Mar as part of a broader process of expansion of Yawanawá shamanism to the cities since the 2000s, and as a part of the yawa-nawa networks (Oliveira 2012). This alliance can be also perceived as part of a more widespread circuit of contemporary shamanic networks, which are in constant expansion and transformation. Both in the particular case of the alliances between the Yawanawá and the damistas from Céu do Mar and in these broader circuits, it is important to highlight the limits, ambiguities, equivocations, and risks present in the dialogues and alliances between indigenous and non-indigenous groups and actors. It is also important to point out that these alliances are grounded on power relationships that are historically unequal and asymmetric.



NOTES

¹ A first version of this article was presented by Lígia Duque Platero (2020b) in the 32a *Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia* at 2020. The empirical data and part of the analysis presented are included in her Ph.D. dissertation (Platero 2018a) from *Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro* (UFRJ/IFCS/PPGSA), supported by a grant from the *Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior* (CAPES). Isabel Santana de Rose has contributed to further elaborate and analyze the material, and to connect it with broader discussions about the contemporary shamanic networks. She has also translated the text from Portuguese to English. Her participation in this article was made possible by generous support from the ERC Starting Grant no 757589 ‘Healing Encounters: reinventing an indigenous medicine in the clinic and beyond’ based at CERMES3 (Université de Paris, EHESS, CNRS). We would like to thank the anonymous reviewers from *Anthropology of Consciousness* for their valuable feedback and suggestions on the text. We also would like to thank Emilia Sanabria, Silvia Mesturini, and Piera Talin for their helpful comments on our draft version.

² The category of expansionist church was proposed by Glauber Loures Assis (2017). He discussed Santo Daime’s several divisions since the first *Alto Santo* center was founded by Mestre Irineu in Rio Branco. Currently, the name *Alto Santo* designates mainly a few small Santo Daime communities in Acre that are not expansionist. It was the group led by Sebastião Motta de Melo that originated the Church of the Eclectic Cult of the Universal Flowing Light (*Igreja do Culto Eclético da Fluente Luz Universal*, ICEFLU), seen by Assis (2017) as an expansionist Santo Daime branch. ICEFLU was the main group responsible for Santo Daime’s expansion in Brazil in the 1980s, and abroad since the 1990s. Thus, it is

possible to say that there are multiple *daimés*. Further, several disputes regarding tradition, legitimacy, and types of narratives take place among these groups (see Assis 2017; Assis and Labate 2014, among others).

- ³ The indigenous reserve (*Terra Indígena, TI*) Rio Gregório is located at the municipality of Tarauacá in the state of Acre, in the Amazonian region of Brazil. It was demarcated in 1984. Currently there are eight villages in this TI. The largest is the village Nova Esperança, led by cacique Biraci Brasil Nixuacá. The second largest one is Mutum, headed by cacique Mariazinha. The other six villages Matrinchã, Escondido, Tibúrcio, Sete Estrelas, Yawarani, and Amparo are led by Tashka along with other local caciques.
- ⁴ In a pioneering analysis of the transposition of kambô to urban settings, Edilene C. de Lima and Beatriz C. Labate have shown how the meanings of this substance are redefined when the settings shift. In the southeast Brazilian cities, kambô is perceived both as a “scientific remedy” and as a “medicine for the soul”; the first category values its therapeutic properties and the second its indigenous origins (see Lima and Labate 2007). For a more recent work about the contemporary indigenous uses of *kapum* and the current diffusion of this substance in urban contexts and on the internet, see Ribeiro (2021).
- ⁵ In general, among the Pano indigenous groups such as the Yawanawá and the Yaminawa, the dietas encompass a period of isolation or social seclusion, and several severe sexual and dietary restrictions. They also include the continued ingestion of some specific substances, such as ayahuasca, tobacco, and pepper. Among many Amerindian groups, dietas are a fundamental part of their shamanic initiation processes (see Althenam 2013; Oliveira 2016; Pérez-Gil 2004, 1999; Platero 2018b; 2019, among others).
- ⁶ The arguments of these authors are based on Marshal Sahlins’ classical ideas about the functional misunderstandings among distinct cultural systems. They also are in dialogue with the work of Servais and Véronique (2009) about good or successful interactions between humans and dolphins. Grounded on their ethnographic studies, and especially on their observations regarding what is said in these settings, Losonczy and Mesturini (2014) suggest that misunderstandings can end up contributing to successful communications.
- ⁷ Anthropology of performance has emerged at the interface of the studies of ritual and theater and has several different theoretical paradigms. However, the performative approach in general has contributed to expand the classical anthropological analysis of rituals (Langdon 1996). We highlight here a perspective developed by Richard Bauman (1999), that foregrounds the idea of performance as an event or as a mode of verbal communication that distinguishes itself because of its expressive or poetic function (Langdon 1996). According to Bauman, the experience that emerges during a performance is the consequence of the several poetic and aesthetic mechanisms at play. These mechanisms are produced by many simultaneous communication devices, which contribute to creating a sensation of strangeness in

everyday life or an enhanced experience (Bauman 1977). We find the concept of performance interesting for analyzing the case we are discussing here because it encompasses these communication issues, as well as other aspects such as temporality, emergence, poetics, negotiation of expectations, the unforeseen or indeterminate, power relationships, and asymmetries. It is not our purpose here to deepen this discussion; for a more detailed analysis of the concept of performance, see Langdon 1996 and 2007, among others. For more recent texts approaching shamanism as a performative mode, see Langdon 2016 and 2020.

- ⁸ In general, *nawa* means “enemy” or “stranger.” However, currently this term is often translated as “whites” or “non-indigenous.”
- ⁹ Currently, the Yawanawá name their specialists in healing *pajés*, and their healing work *pajelança*. It is important to highlight that there are differences between the elder “traditional” *pajés* and the new specialists in the Yawanawá spirituality, who are seen as *pajés* in the cities (Oliveira 2012). Among the traditional Yawanawá specialists, the *xinaya* goes through more than one year of shamanic initiation or *dieta* and possesses plenty of shamanic knowledge. The *xuintia* goes through shorter seclusion, from three to six months. The *niipuya* is a specialist in plants and herbal remedies (Pérez Gil 1999, 41). The Yawanawá shamanic initiations or *dietas* encompass four parallel processes: the ingestion of psychoactive plants, memorizing shamanic knowledge (chants, prayers, plants and their applications, and so on), seclusion, and tests (Pérez Gil 1999, 13).
- ¹⁰ In 2015, the *pajés* Yawá and Tatá were approximately 106 years old. When they visited Céu do Mar they were regarded as the only *pajés* of the “forest medicines” in the TI Rio Gregório. They also were perceived as possessing healing powers.
- ¹¹ Some Pano groups, such as the Yawanawá and the Huni Kuin, call their repertoire of graphic designs *kene*. These designs are employed to paint and transform the human bodies and objects (see Cesarino 2012; Lagrou 2007, among others); they are also perceived as a language from the spirits (*yuxin*). Since the 2000s, the *kene* began appearing in the colorful bead necklaces and bracelets that circulate in the shamanic networks, and that are very popular among non-indigenous people.
- ¹² Traditionally among the Yawanawá, the transmission of shamanic knowledge and practices followed kinship lines (Pérez Gil 1999). In this context, the *dietas* were available mainly for the sons, sons-in-laws, or other allies; that is, for the close kin. Thus, we suggest that the marriage of Jordão and Kenewmá actualizes this traditional form of knowledge transmission to those perceived as kin, both due to spiritual alliances and to actual kinship relationships.
- ¹³ In order to see ethnographic description and analysis about shamanic chants and healing at the Pano’s context, see Lima (2000) and Pérez-Gil (1999; 2006), among others.
- ¹⁴ According to the *daimista* perception, people live in a great battle between the forces of light and darkness (Groisman 1999). These “astral battles” take place

mainly during the daimista rituals or spiritual works [*trabalhos*], but they also take place during daily life (Groisman 1999).

- ¹⁵ To “be firm [*se firmar*]” or to have “firmness in thought [*firmeza no pensamento*]” are important virtues in the daimista cosmology, and firmness is a constant reference in the hymns. In short, this concept refers to the capacity of persevering both in daily material life and in the spiritual works, maintaining faith in spite of the difficulties faced (Rose 2005).
- ¹⁶ For a classical discussion on the importance of the informal social controls in the Brazilian ayahuasca religions, see MacRae (1992). For a more recent debate about the informal social controls regarding the consumption of cannabis among Brazilian urban middle classes, see MacRae and Simões (2000).
- ¹⁷ Among the Pano groups such as the Katukina, the choice of the person who is going to apply kambô to someone else is an important matter (Coffaci de Lima 2005). This happens because according to this indigenous group, kambô does not have properties in itself; it works more as a vehicle for transmitting qualities from the person who applies the substance to the person who receives it (Coffaci de Lima 2005). As often happens, this issue is reinterpreted when kambô is transposed to urban settings, where it tends to be seen as a “substance in itself” or as a “traditional indigenous medicine” (see Lima and Labate 2007). Thus, in urban contexts the choice of who is going to apply kambô or the setting in which the application takes place are less important issues (Ribeiro 2021).
- ¹⁸ In short, the daimista concept of healing [*cura*] is broader than the biomedical notion and should be perceived as more complex than a merely bodily event. According to this perspective, healing also encompasses other dimensions beyond the physical body, and is associated with the idea of balance and with the spiritual dimensions (Rose 2019). The notion of cleaning [*limpeza*] is usually associated with the physical catharsis experienced during the Santo Daime rituals (vomiting, diarrhea, and so on). However, cleaning in general has a positive connotation and is connected to healing and self-knowledge (Rose 2019).
- ¹⁹ According to Lucas Rehen (2007), this indicates that the hymns are not perceived as individual compositions but as messages sent by spirits or other entities employing mediumship.
- ²⁰ Original version in Portuguese of the hymn: Vejo na Montanha Sagrada/ O espírito que nela está/ É uma cabocla pintada/ Que pescava na beira-mar/ A Senhora da Pedra Grande/ Veio aqui para me curar/ Quem chamou foi Yawá/O pajé dos Yawanawá/ Aos 97 anos pisou na beira-mar/ Chegou em minha casa e começou a cantar/ Com as santas medicinas/ E a magia dos animais/ Trouxe a força da floresta/ Das plantas sacramentais.
- ²¹ *Pedra da Gávea* is 842 meters tall and one of the largest seashore stone monoliths in the world. It is also one of the postcards of Rio de Janeiro and an important tourist destination.

- ²² Céu do Mar is markedly influenced by the dialogues with Umbanda. The practice of mediumship and the references to orixás and caboclos are very common in this church (Platero 2018a).
- ²³ Original version in Portuguese of the hymn: Conhecimentos ancestrais/ De todos seres divinos/ Das plantas e dos animais/ Me consagram este ensino/ Quando me acho doente/ Vou pra mata me curar/ Para encontrar as santas plantas/ Abro os olhos para ver/ Com a presença da sananga/ Kanapá Vot Chai'tê/ Santa pintura do urucum/ A limpeza do kambô/ São medicinas de Ogum/ São medicinas de Xangô/ (...) Salve a presença que chegou/ Que chegou para firmar/ A presença de Ogum/ Na floresta Yawá.
- ²⁴ The orixás are spiritual entities fundamental to the Afro-Brazilian religion *Candomblé*, in which they are seen as beings enchanted by the elements and energies of nature. They are also present in Umbanda in a slightly transformed manner. In short, *Ogum* is a warrior orixá known for his strength and courage. *Xangô* is the orixá of justice and is associated with thunder, lightning, and fire.
- ²⁵ For instance, some of the “daimista allies” participate in online campaigns and petitions on behalf of the indigenous peoples from Acre and the preservation of the Amazon Forest. They also often participate in campaigns associated with the Christian and Spiritist ideal of charity.

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