

Religious Butinage

as the flight of the hummingbird

Rethinking syncretism from Brazil



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**RELIGIOUS BUTINAGE AS THE FLIGHT OF THE
HUMMINGBIRD:**

RETHINKING SYNCRETISM FROM BRAZIL

Doctoral Thesis

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ABSTRACT

This thesis develops the concept of religious butinage in order to understand what form of religious mobility and pluralization occur in Brazil, especially in the mediumistic field, since so far the explanations for syncretism do not satisfactorily explain as it occurs. By examining how religious practitioners practice throughout history and culture I identify some kind of experience that escapes the established structure, tradition and culture. It clarifies the syncretic processes. Data have been collected from participant observation, interviews, newspapers, and biographies. I build up the concept of religious butinage by a metaphor from ayahuasca religions. The religious practitioner compared with a hummingbird makes butinage from a religious denomination to another producing syncretism. This doctoral thesis is in some way a continuation of my master's thesis entitled: "Between the rose and the hummingbird: An anthropological study of trajectories in the União do Vegetal (UDV) and the Santo Daime".

Key-words: religious butinage, syncretism, religious pluralism.

RESUMO

Esta tese desenvolve o conceito de butinagem religiosa, a fim de entender como a mobilidade religiosa e a pluralização ocorrem no Brasil, especialmente no campo mediúnico já que até agora as explicações para o sincretismo não explicam satisfatoriamente como isso ocorre. Examinando como praticantes religiosos praticam ao longo da história e da cultura eu identifico um tipo de experiência que escapa à estrutura estabelecida, tradição e cultura. Isso esclarece os processos sincréticos. Os dados foram coletados a partir de observação participante, entrevistas, jornais e biografias. Eu construo o conceito de butinagem religiosa a partir de uma metáfora das religiões ayahuasqueiras. O praticante religioso comparado a um beija-flor butina de uma denominação religiosa a outra produzindo sincretismo. Esta tese de doutorado é de alguma forma uma continuação da minha tese de mestrado intitulada "Entre a rosa e o beija-flor: um estudo antropológico de trajetórias na União do Vegetal (UDV) e no Santo Daime".

Palavras-chave: butinagem religiosa, sincretismo, pluralism religioso.

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INTRODUCTION

THE BRAZILIAN RELIGIOUS LANDSCAPE

The aim of this thesis is to build up a concept as a model for the study of religious pluralism and syncretism; an interconnected phenomenon existing in a plural society such as Brazil.

Religious pluralism, meaning the coexistence and practice of diverse religious groups in one society; and their syncretic processes, which regard the absorption of influences from one system of belief to another. Like Droogers (1989) says, if overlaps and similarities between religions do exist, however surprisingly, and at the popular level especially, then syncretism becomes an essential part of religious pluralism.

To some researchers, syncretism, refers to the mixing of different religious traditions whether as an active, ongoing process or as a historical fact. In the present era of displacement, migration and generally increasing "cultural compression", syncretism is very much a current event. But syncretism does not just happen because religions have similarities and cross over into one another. It occurs in social conditions characterized by unequal power and it is sometimes directed by the interests and agencies of prominent individuals. (Stewart et al, 1994)

Pierre Sanchis (2001: 47) states that the "syncretism is part of archaic traditions and at the same time, of emergencies of current time". The "syncretism is diverse and conclusions can be mediocre", that being, consequently more productive to search for a structure. Syncretism is commonly understood by junction, union, confluence, mixture, agglutination, association, symbiosis, amalgam, parallelism, correspondence, equivalence, juxtaposition or convergences, accommodation and synthesis. (Sanchis, 1994)

"Structure in this context does not refer to a system," but the principle of framing a system. According to Levi-Strauss (1976: 115), it is "a force that always tends to organize

all the elements that history puts at its disposal in the same direction ". In this line of thought, structure is a trend, it implies orientation and not a fixed content, it is a process, or rather the direction of a process; and culture, as a framework. It is the fact that any human group whatsoever "tends" to organize the elements in the same direction at its own disposal. (Sanchis, 2008).

I do believe syncretism happens not only because religions have similarities, and in social conditions are characterized by unequal power oriented by a structure and framed by the culture. I suggest that the social science explanation of religious pluralism and syncretism should not concentrate more on the religious beliefs and rituals, but from the perspective of the individuals, how the religious practitioners practice throughout history and culture, in which something breaks with the structure and the culture.

In order to define my argument I will expose the life story of the famous Brazilian medium¹ Chico Xavier² (April 2, 1910 – June 30, 2002) in this introduction. This story is based on the biography titled "As Vidas de Chico Xavier" (The lives of Chico Xavier), by the Brazilian journalist Marcel Souto Maior (1994), and the best analysis made by the Brazilian anthropologist Bernardo Lewgoy (2001) so far. This will serve as my illustration to argue that attitudes towards religious pluralism and syncretism are not only influenced by a syntheses of the views of believers, power or shaped by the culture and structure.

¹ Medium is one who is able to act as a connection between this physical world and the world of the afterlife, to facilitate messages between the living and the dead. (Buckland, 2005: 249)

² Francisco Cândido Xavier popularly known as "Chico Xavier" was a popular philanthropist and medium. He was born in the small town of Pedro Leopoldo in the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil. He was automatic writer in the Spiritist movement. Automatic writing is an alleged psychic ability allowing a person to produce written words without consciously writing. The words are claimed to arise from a subconscious, spiritual or supernatural source. Brazilian Spiritists make a clear distinction between "escrita automatic", automatic writing which may or may not come from the unconscious mind, and what they call "Psicografia", which is the writing of a separate spirit entity. Chico said, "I have reached a state of certainty, an intimate certainty that is naturally personal and nontransferable, that if I were to say these books belonged to me, I would be committing a fraud for which I would have to answer in a very serious way after I left this world." Chico was the second most prolific writer in the Portuguese language, after Coelho Neto. Yet his formal education had only reached the primary level and he had, for most of his life, suffered from defective eyesight precluding him from further study. (Buckland, 2005: 439) Chico Xavier is the main reference of Spiritism in Brazil.

In this regard, I will start this introductory chapter providing a Brazilian religious historical background. In the second section I will show the way of the Brazilian religious pluralism, what is specific about Brazil. The third section will be devoted to the case of medium Chico Xavier leading to my research questions. Then I will finalize with my research methodology and how the thesis is organized from the concept called religious butinage.

Historical Background

“One may call Brazil a laboratory for religious studies, as almost all of the world’s religions are represented in the country.” (Droogers, 2006a: 32). Brazil³ adopted Catholicism as its official religion until 1889 (year of the proclamation of the republic). During the colonial period (1500-1822) and imperial period (1822-1889), Catholicism was the only legally accepted religion in Brazil. There was no religious freedom in the country. The Portuguese colonial system introduced Catholicism to the native population, settlers, and slaves through catechism and the creation of religious brotherhoods as an instrument of evangelization and civilization. During its colonial period, Brazil repressed its indigenous and African slave beliefs and practices, prohibiting the introduction of competing religions, mainly by protestant practices. (Mariano, 2001).

However, religions derivative of native or African roots were still cultivated, leading to a mix with elements of popular Catholicism - the so-called “Afro-Brazilian Religions⁴”.

³ Brazil was found in 1500 by the Portuguese expedition. Amerindian tribes and its subsequent groups inhabited the region. Colonial ties were cut in 1808, with the transfer of the capital from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro, led by an attack by Napoleon Bonaparte and his troops on Portuguese soil. Brazil became part of the United Kingdom of Portugal in 1815. Dom Pedro I (the first emperor), proclaimed the political independence of the country in 1822. Initially independent as an empire, the country became a constitutional parliamentary monarchy. Brazil became a republic in 1889, due to the military *coup d'état* led by Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca (first president), and nonetheless a bicameral legislature, now called Congresso Nacional (National Congress), existing since the ratification of the first constitution in 1824. In the beginning of the republican period, the democratic government was interrupted by long authoritarian regimes, until the civil government was democratically elected in 1985, ending the military regime. (Mabry, 2002)

⁴ Afro-Brazilian religions are “a set of religious practices developed from the interaction of European, African and American civilizations on Brazilian soil.” (Cappelari 2001: 65).

Before the coming of African slaves to Brazil, the syncretism began with elements of popular Portuguese Catholicism and indigenous beliefs⁵. The Portuguese Catholicism installed the devotion to saints, angels and martyrs as main references, who were intermediaries between human desire and god's omnipotence.

Among African ethnicities forced to migrate to Brazil, the Sudanese⁶ and Bantus⁷ were distinctive. The majority of slaves came from this group, enabling them to have a major influence on Brazilian culture. Their religion was characterized by the belief in multiple gods (Orixás⁸), Inquices⁹, Voduns¹⁰, who were incorporated by their sons and daughters, and by the power of rituals, which consisted from the manipulation of rocks, herbs, bones,

⁵ The main trait of the indigenous faith was the worshiping of deified nature, meaning, the faith in spirits of the forest and spirits of ancestors. The 'Pajé' or shaman is a sorcerer who has access to the world of the death, and the world of the forest spirits. He led healing rituals, as well as the exorcism of incorporated bad spirits. He was also responsible for the breaking of spells cast by enemies. The intake of fermented food and drinks had an important role in the ritual Anthropophagy, which was characterized by the Tupinambás shielding themselves with a sacred environment. They believed that by eating the flesh of their enemies, they could get a hold of their bravery. The use of magical instruments, such as rattles (maracás) and ornaments crafted with bird feathers were essential for the pajé's ceremonials. The smoke from tobacco also took an important ritualistic role. (Gonçalves da Silva, 1994: 22).

⁶ The Sudanese are divided into three sub-groups: Yoruba, Gegês (Zezi) and Fanti-Ashanti. This group had its origin in what is now represented by Nigeria, Dahomey and Gold Coast and its destination was usually Bahia (Capellari, 2001)

⁷ The Bantu, largest group, were divided into two subgroups: Angola-Congolese and Mozambique. The origin of this group was linked to what today is Angola, Zaire and Mozambique (corresponding the south-central Africa) and had as destinations Maranhão, Pará, Pernambuco, Alagoas, Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo. Muslims Guinean-Sudanese were divided into four groups: Fulani, Mandinka, Hausa and Tapa. This group had the same origin and destination of the Sudanese, the difference was the fact that they converted to Islam. (Capellari, 2001)

⁸ In English: Orisha. From Yoruba Orixás are gods. Orixás are "African deities worshipped in Candomblé that represent ancestors and forces of nature" (Tosta & Coutunho, 2016: 787) The term is also used in various religious cults of South America and the Caribbean.

⁹ The Inquices are very like the Orixás of Yoruban tradition, but also different. In Brazil, they are often syncretized with the Orixás. They may best be described as being both the most ancient of ancestors as well as being associated with specific powers in nature. The Inquices do not tend to possess as detailed a mythology as the Yoruban gods. (From: <http://www.inquiceweb.com/dondeKongo.html>)

¹⁰ Voudon, or Voodoo, is a religion of initiation; a mystery religion stemming from the kingdom of Dahomey on the Ivory Coast of Africa. The language of Dahomey was known as fon, meaning "king." "Voudon" is the fon word for "spirit," "god," or a sacred object. It is not "black" magic and it does not consist of sticking pins into dolls. (Buckland, 2005: 424)

amulets, animal sacrifice and invocations, aiming on contacting gods and interfering with the natural order, future prediction and the healing of diseases (Capellari, 2001).

The separation from Catholic Church and state was included in the constitution of 1891. The institution offered full freedom of religion and worship for all individuals and religious creeds, which enabled the rise of an open market for Brazilian religions. (Mariano, 2001). From Roman Catholicism to the increasing legislation of other existing religions (Afro-Brazilian) and the introduction of Evangelical¹¹ and Kardecist¹² religions in the 19th century.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, due to immigration, religions connected to many ethnic groups (Japanese, Jews, Syrian-Lebanese, etc.) were introduced and disseminated, such as Judaism, Islamism, Buddhism, Shintoism and other Japanese religions. In the same period, the Pentecostal churches were introduced to the country. Especially in the last decade of the century, new religious modalities established themselves. The development of Pentecostalism¹³ also enabled the emergence of the Neo-Pentecostalism¹⁴. Within

¹¹ The word evangelical comes from the Greek (*euangelion*) and Latin (*evangelium*) words for “good news,” which evolved into the word gospel, and has long been in use. In the 16th century Martin Luther and his followers, who stressed justification by faith in Jesus Christ and based their faith on Scripture alone, were known as Evangelicals. During the Reformation, the term distinguished the followers of Luther from those of John Calvin, who were known as Reformed. The names of many Lutheran churches still include Evangelical. (Melton, 2002)

¹² In a stricter sense, it is the religion, beliefs and practices of the people affiliated to the International Spiritist Union, based on the works of Allan Kardec and others. Formed in France in the 19th century, it soon spread to other countries, but today the only country where it has a significant number of adherents is Brazil. (Gerhild, 2011) Allan Kardec (Léon-Dénizard-Hippolyte Rivail— 1804–1869) is the author of the five books known as the Spiritist Codification. The Kardecism was introduced in Brazil from the second half of the 19th century, also known as Spiritism. The word Kardecism refers to the doctrines and practices derivative to the Spiritism by Allan Kardec. Followers created the term Spiritism in order to differentiate themselves from “Spiritualism”, diffused mostly in the Europe of the 19th century. However, others prefer the term Kardecism as an attempt to set themselves apart from other existing spiritual practices in Brazil. (Araia, 1996).

¹³ Pentecostalism is a renewal movement within Protestant Christianity with emphasis on a direct personal experience of God through the baptism with the Holy Spirit. (Erikson, 2001)

¹⁴ Since 1970 the Brazilian Pentecostalism has diversified with denominations that emphasized the gift of healing. With the unfolding of them emerged from the so-called Neo-Pentecostal. The neo-Pentecostal are specialized in the use of radio and television as proselytism. Their doctrines are centered on exorcism of demons and the Theology of Prosperity. According to the Theology of Prosperity the main sacrifice that God requires of his servants is of a financial nature. That is, to be loyal in tithe and give offerings with joy and unselfishness. (Mariano, 1995: 33)

Catholicism in the decades of 60's and 70's, the Pentecostal movement established the foundation of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal¹⁵.

However, by the end of the 20th century, the growth of Neo-Pentecostalism occurred, as well as in other religious movements.

Religious alternatives in Brazil have exponentially multiplied in twenty years as it is shown by the demographics of the census. Religious services or new forms of worship increased from 9 in 1980, to 144 in 2000.

This has interfered in the religious fields in Brazil, contributing to the formation of a multifaceted panorama, difficult to be described in its entirety. It is characterized by an intense mobility of people between religions and attitudes toward religious pluralism.

Many researchers have tried to organize this Brazilian multifaceted religious panorama. Giumbelli (2006) recalls the most consecrated way of organizing the religious field in Brazil is by dividing it in three different sub fields: Catholicism, Protestantism¹⁶ and Mediumistic religions¹⁷. More specific cutouts are found and eventually incorporate what appears to be left out, such as the New Age¹⁸, or looking for things that overlap these

¹⁵ Catholic Charismatic Renewal is a spiritual movement within the Catholic Church that incorporates aspects of both Catholic and charismatic practice. It places an emphasis on having a personal relationship with Jesus and expressing the gifts of the Spirit. (Csordas, 2007: 295)

¹⁶ A correlative term of evangelical religions. Brazilian Protestantism is primarily represented by historical Protestant denominations, Pentecostal churches (and Neo-Pentecostal) and parallel churches to the Reformation.

¹⁷ Mediumistic religions are those whose rituals are performed with the priests in a trance. Such as: Afro-Brazilian religions and several lines of Spiritism.

¹⁸ Or New Era. According to Silas Guerriero (2006) New Era is not a single movement but a spirit of an era. The New Era label has been applied indiscriminately. There are actually a multitude of groups and individuals who share beliefs and orientations with some similarities, but also different. To Sanchis (2007) in Brazil the typically contemporary realm of the New Era is the less institutionalized, capillary currents which make up one of the religious symbolic universe. Its proliferation of branching, meetings, fusions and overlapping juxtapositions, particular traditions and universal sedimentations is exuberant. New Era, an esoteric tradition, visibly present in Brazil since the nineteenth century, with which it re-encounters and crosses, is at once the striking affirmation and radical negation of an individualistic, rational and desacralizing modernity. It is an attempt to rescue the global (spiritual, carnal and cosmic) aspect of man's path towards a never attained (because never concluded) entirety, spiritual and supernatural only because aiming at being totally and fully "natural". This path is made up of experiences and discoveries, and the individual's relapses are a delay in the enlightening transformation rather than a guilt urging for a redeemer. If, therefore, Christ is present, it is not as a redeemer, but as the, eventually supreme, enlightener.

divisions. Giumbelli gives preference to this triadic division (sometimes covering what is outside or searching for transversalities) and mainly by juxtaposing the three universes in order to form what is conceived as the "Brazilian religious field".

Brazilian Religious Pluralism and Syncretism

"For God's Sake!", "With God's will". These expressions permeate almost constantly in Brazilian daily exchanges. "God and Faith" are "minimal religion", composed of a few principles systematically displayed in public places and by the mass media, like a basic "attitude", independent both of the Churches and of the State; something like a culture, imposing itself in practice in order that communication within National society is possible (Droogers 1987).

The "minimal elements present in Brazilian religiosity¹⁹" (Negrão 1997: 72) come from the "Brazilian religious matrix" originated with the colonization and it continues today. To Droogers (2006a: 33) this was not a voluntary religious pluralism, but rather a response to historic pressures, the prevailing relations between social and economic power in particular. The white elite imposed Catholicism for the soul, while at the same time creating conditions in which all religions resources – primarily African and Amerindian – were called in to dealing with afflictions of the body. "The concrete form in which religious diversity takes shape in Brazil, reflects something of the general nature of the society in which it stands. Religious participation is partly the result of a combination of non-religious factors such as class, ethnicity, gender, migration and education". (Droogers, 2006a: 34)

The belief in some kind of deity or the religious feeling is a widespread phenomenon throughout the Brazilian society. Brazil is surrounded by non-humans with a life of their own: a population of spirits, Orixás, Catholic saints, folk saints²⁰, the dead and of demons. This is a universe of relationships, at first glance meta-empirical, but in which the Brazilian

¹⁹ Belief in Gods and ghosts, the manipulation of the latter and of other holy characters standing in-between Him and men, within a Christian moral context – these are therefore the minimal elements present in Brazilian religiosity" (Negrão 1997: 72).

²⁰ Or Popular Saints. They are venerated as saints but not officially canonized.

everyday life (an active and versatile universe typical in this "Brazilian religious array") is present, that keeps the world of the living human's constituting wide range of meanings extremely present, and which is increasingly recognized by scholars who thereby tend it to be a decisive vector of Brazilian religiosity today. A vector which originates from so many backgrounds goes through all layers and segments of society, from black to white, elites and folks and differentially a good portion of the religions. (Sanchis, 2008).

Thus, religiosity in contemporary Brazil is characterized by a touch of religious effervescence, plurality of manifestations and syncretism.

The newspaper "O DIA" summarizes the story about faith and religion in Brazil and how people are "merging" regardless their social class. Both the President of the Court of Justice of Rio de Janeiro and the population loosen their beliefs.

In search of the comfort provided by religion, anything goes, from drumming to bow to the laws of the Koran, to reconcile the Torah to the book of Kardec. In a country where 73.6% of the Brazilians still call themselves Catholics, syncretism is becoming more common. Earlier this year the President of the Court of Justice has caused controversy by giving the order to remove the Cross from the plenary and defining his religiosity, "I am Mason, Jewish and Kardecist". Rio de Janeiro has spiritualist centers attended by Jews, as well as a messianic synagogue where Jesus' teachings are propagated by new evangelical who keep faith in the Torah.

"I am a Jew by tradition but never attended synagogue. Although Jews, my father, my mother and my brother are Kardecists. I was born from the womb of a Jewish mother, despite the faith in the gospel ": we do not change religion, we just complement. We celebrate all Jewish dates but we believe in the word of Jesus. "

The Court president says his religious profile can be explained by the very familiar trajectory. "I never attended synagogue, but consider myself more Jewish than many Jews. It is not a matter of choice. When I turned 13, the age at which the young traditionally celebrates its entry into the adult world, I didn't celebrate it, but that doesn't make me a non-Jew. "

Typical for Brazil are the intense flows and transits of people between different religious practices. The way of being Brazilian is markedly religious and this is reflected in their daily lives, in the ability of the expression of multiple forms of religious faith. Like Cascudo says (1974: 3): "Easy it is getting to know what the Brazilian people believe in and pretty hard it is to define at that believeth not".

The Brazilian novelist João Guimarães Rosa (considered by many to be one of the greatest Brazilian novelists) translates very well the way of being Brazilian in his masterpiece “Grande Sertão: Veredas” (Translated as “The Devil to Pay in the Backlands”). In this novel, Riobaldo, a jagunço²¹ (mercenary or bandit) is torn between two loves: Diadorim, another jagunço, and Otacília, an ordinary beauty from the backlands. Following his own existential quest, he contemplates making a deal with Lucifer in order to eliminate Hermógenes, his nemesis. One could say that sertão²² represents the whole universe and the mission of Riobaldo in pursuing its travessia (crossing), seeking answers for metaphysical questions faced by mankind. In this sense, he is an incarnation of the classical hero in the Brazilian backlands. In his crossing, “he drinks water from every river”. These are the different kinds of religions.

What I firmly believe, declare, and set forth, is this: the whole world is crazy. You, sir, I, we, everybody. That's the main reason we need religion: to become un-maddened, regain our sanity. Praying is what cures madness. Usually. It is the salvation of the soul. Lots of religion, young man. As for me, I never miss a chance. I take advantage of all of them. I drink water from any river. In my opinion just one religion isn't enough. I pray the Christian, Catholic prayers, and I take refuge in what is certain. I also accept the prayers of my compadre Quelemem, according to his doctrine, that of Kardec. But whenever I can I go to Mindubim, where there is one Mathias, a Protestant, a Methodist: they reproach themselves for their sins, read the Bible out loud, and pray, and sing their beautiful hymns. It all calms me down, allays my worries. Any shade refreshes me. But only for the time being. I would like to pray-all the time. Many persons do not agree with me; they say that the true religion is only one-exclusive. That's an idea. I detest. (João Guimarães Rosa, 1963: 11)

Beliefs²³, practices and self-declaration of belonging are not necessarily connected. As an example, most of the population who declare themselves as Catholics, do not attend

²¹ Jagunço from the Portuguese, originally refers to the individual who was living aloof manner, hidden in the mountains and woods by the interior of Brazil. Throughout Brazilian history this term has undergone transformations, according to the characteristics of social absorption of such individuals. For example jagunço can mean “capanga” (henchmen), and they are known as the bodyguards, usually hired by big farmers and “colonels” in the backlands of Brazil. They were hired to protect their employer, a big land owner, against invaders and feudal enemies, and also to control their slaves and indentured servants.

²² Sertão: Backlands region covered with “caatingas”. The people who live there are called “sertanejos”. (Tosta & Coutinho, 2016: 791)

²³ A 2007 survey, made by Datafolha and published in the newspaper Folha de S. Paulo, asked diverse questions about the beliefs of the Brazilian people: 1. Belief in God and the Devil: 97% Of Brazilians reported to believe in God; 2% have doubts and 1% do not believe in God. 75% Reported to believe in the Devil, 9% have doubts and 15% do not believe in the Devil. 81% of non-religious reported to

mass. However, there is a decrease of people that declare themselves as Catholic and an increase of members in other religions.

The number of different types of services have increased and there is a reduction of Catholics in Brazilian society. In the 2010 Brazil's census²⁴, 64.6% of the population declared themselves as Roman Catholic, 22.2% as Protestant, 8% as non-religious, and 5.2% as followers of other religions (mostly Spiritists or Kardecists who follow the doctrines of Allan Kardec, afro-Brazilian religious, Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormons, and minorities of Buddhists, Jews, Muslims, and other groups).

This census survey allows the respondent to freely provide the name of religion or cult that he or she is part of. The 2000 census collected over 15,000 names of religions. These 15,000 names were subsequently classified into 144 categories. For the 2010 census, the list of religion denominations has increased by 66 categories. However, the survey shows no question about the frequency of participation in some kind of ritual. In this perspective, the survey does not indicate religious practices but the self-declaration of belonging to one religion.

And for the people who declare themselves as non-religious, the statement of no religion does not mean being atheist (one who does not believe in a god or gods). The non-religion also does not mean they are agnostic. Meaning, one recognizes an impossibility of producing knowledge about the metaphysical or religious problems. The category of non-religion in the census survey only regards respondents to who profess partial belief in a higher power but do not take part in cult activities in a systematic way. This is a new way of being and belonging.

believe in God. 2. About Jesus Christ: 93% reported they believe Jesus Christ rose after death; 92% that the Holy Spirit exists; 87% in the occurrence of miracles; 86% that Mary gave birth to Jesus as a virgin; 77% that Jesus will return to Earth at the end of time; 65% that the sacramental bread is the body of Jesus; 64% that after death some people go to Heaven; 58% that after death some people go to Hell and 60% that there is life after death. 3. Belief in saints: 57% believe there are saints. 49% Pray for the intercession of a saint (68% among self-declared Catholics). 18% Pray for the intercession of Our Lady of Aparecida (26% among Catholics); Saint Anthony, Saint Expeditus (5% each), Saint George (3%), Saint Jude, Saint Francis of Assisi and Saint Joseph (2% each).

²⁴ A census is the procedure of systematically acquiring and recording information about the members of a given population.

"Religious Mobility in Brazil" is the first research at a national level to map the reasons why people change their religion in Brazil. According to sociologist and researcher at CERIS²⁵, Silvia Fernandes, the research seeks to understand the phenomenon of circularity. "Why do people change their religion? Where do they come from and where do they go?" She asks. Since the IBGE²⁶ / 2000 Census there has already been confirmed a decrease of Catholics (83.3% to 64.6 %), an increase of Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal evangelicals (from 9% to 22.2%), and also an increase of people who declare no-religion (from 4.7% to 8%). In search to understand how the religious stream works, among the reasons cited by people who have changed their religion, these reasons are: a disagreement with the principles and doctrines of the church; an invitation by relatives and friends to change their religion and lack of the church's support in difficult times. In the group of former Catholics, 35% of them left the religion disagreeing with the principles and doctrines of Catholicism. 33.3% of people from the group "other religions" - Hindu Spirituality, Buddhism, Umbanda, Spiritism, Jehovah's Witness, Vale do Amanhecer²⁷ and Mormon were also unhappy for the same reason.

I believe "To be Catholic" corresponds to a development of an identity tied to a range of specific and dense values. Religious mobility goes beyond religious identity as well as "reasons". So, why and how does religious mobility and consequently religious pluralism occur in Brazil?

What is specific about Brazil is this religious feeling that I explained above. As an example, the question whether the social worker is considered a "religious person" rises.

²⁵ Centro de Estatística Religiosa e Investigações Sociais (Center for Religious Statistics and Social Investigations). It is a foundation for social purposes linked to Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil, CNBB (the National Conference of Bishops of Brazil).

²⁶ Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística or IBGE (The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics). It is the agency responsible for statistical information in Brazil. The IBGE performs a national census every ten years, and the questionnaires account for information such as age, household income, literacy, education, occupation and religion.

²⁷ Vale do Amanhecer (Valley of Dawn) is a religious community located in the satellite city of Planaltina, Federal District, Brazil, 50 kilometres from Brasília. It was created by Tia Neiva (Neiva Chaves Zelaya). She was ex-truck driver and medium. She made up doctrine practices with elements of Christianity, Afro-Brazilian religions, Spiritism, mysticism, belief in flying saucers (also referred to as a flying disc), and ancient Egyptian beliefs. Thousands of people visit the Vale do Amanhecer every day seeking help for their spiritual or personal problems.

In the European community, in 1991, the answer was: yes with 61% and no with 28%. Do you believe in God? 70.5%. But in the popular classes of six major metropolitan regions of Brazil, 93.4% have faith in God and its existence and for 91.08% of the people religion is very important or essential (Ceris, 2002). Unlike in the European Union, the importance of religion comes modestly in fifth place (49%) in the field of values. Europeans feel that the family, friends, work and free time are higher values, Religion is only preferred over politics. (Lumen 1998; Sanchis, 2006).

This religious feeling lead a specific way of religious pluralism throughout history.

I believe these interconnected phenomena (religious pluralism and syncretism) formed by intense flows and transits of people between religions (religious mobility) should see religion and religious as a way (or ways) of organizing experience, as a way of building (or avoiding) assemblages²⁸, of articulating values and formulating enunciation (identity, ideology and/or politics). The way (or ways) the individuals organize their experience has consequences for religious pluralism and syncretism. I will show this on the basis of the story of Chico Xavier.

²⁸ Deleuze's theory of assemblage as a way of thinking about the social world is an intriguing one. Fundamentally the idea is that there does not exist a fixed and stable ontology for the social world that proceeds from "atoms" to "molecules" to "materials". Rather, social formations are assemblages of other complex configurations, and they in turn play roles in other, more extended configurations. The concept of assemblage is expressed by Gilles Deleuze; but it is obscure. Here is a valuable blog post by Levi Bryant in Larval Subjects that extracts several of Deleuze's statements about assemblage from an interview. This interview provides some description of the construct in Deleuze's own words. Here is one of Bryant's efforts at clarifying Deleuze's meaning: "Assemblages are composed of heterogeneous elements or objects that enter into relations with one another. These objects are not all of the same type. Thus you have physical objects, happenings, events, and so on, but you also have signs, utterances, and so on. While there are assemblages that are composed entirely of bodies, there are no assemblages composed entirely of signs and utterances." <http://understandingsociety.blogspot.nl/2012/11/assemblage-theory.html>

Chico Xavier's Story

Chico Xavier was born in a poor family. His father was a lottery ticket vendor and his mother a catholic housewife. According to Souto Maior, his mediumship²⁹ first appeared when he was only 4 years old. Chico Xavier saw, heard and talked with spirits³⁰. His mother died when he was five years old. Unable to raise the kids on his own, his father distributed his nine children among relatives. Chico was raised by his godmother, a cruel person spanking him all the time. In the beginning she did so for any little reason or no reason at all and later because she was convinced that the boy was possessed³¹ by the Devil and he was crazy. She started to stab his abdomen with forks, and she wouldn't allow him to remove them, causing serious suffering to the boy.

At this time he could speak with the spirit of his mother, whom he had been communicating with since he was five years old. When in contact with his mother's spirit, she would counsel him about "patience, resignation and faith in Jesus".

²⁹ Mediumship is the practice of the mediums in order to mediate communication between spirits and human beings. There are several different variants of mediumship. For example: a spirit can take control of a medium's voice and using it to relay a message, or the medium can hear the message and passes it on. The practice is associated with several religious-belief systems such as Spiritualism, Spiritism, Afro-Brazilian religious and some New Age groups.

³⁰ The word "spirit" implies indestructible life. Nandor Fodor describes it as "the inmost principle, the divine particle, the vital essence, the inherent actuating element in life" (Encyclopedia of Psychic Science, 1933). He says that spirit dwells in the astral body or the soul. In many religious philosophies the terms "spirit" and "soul" are used interchangeably. Thomas Grimshaw, in his *General Course of the History, Science, Philosophy and Religion of Spiritualism* (1973) said, "Spirits are real people, human beings—men, women and children stripped of their outer garment of flesh, but still possessed of a real, substantial body that we know as the spiritual body." Andrew Jackson Davis said, "... the term spirit is used to signify the centermost principle of man's existence, the divine energy or life of the soul of Nature. In yet other language, soul is the life of the outer body and the spirit is the life of the soul. After physical death, the soul or life of the material body becomes the form or body of the eternal spirit" (The Harmonical Philosophy, 1917). According to Spiritualism, the body constitutes of three principles: physical body, soul, and spirit. All three—referred to as Spiritualism's "triune being"—are animated by Universal Spirit ... Infinite Intelligence. The Morris Pratt Institute's Educational Course on Modern Spiritualism teaches that: • Spirit is the highest or innermost principle. • Soul is the spiritual body and the intermediate principle. • (Physical) body is the material or outermost principle and the clothing and vehicle for the first two. (Buckland 2005: 381)

³¹ Possession means to hold occupancy with or without rights of ownership. This exactly describes possession in the psychic sense. It is the possession of the physical body with—though frequently without—the permission of the owner. An entranced medium is possessed by a spirit but can curtail that possession when desired. One who is possessed by a negative spirit cannot get rid of it without external pressure in the shape of an exorcism. (Buckland, 2005: 314)

Chico Xavier's father got married again. The second wife, demanded that the father should retrieve the nine to raise them together themselves. Chico Xavier was then, seven years old. The couple had yet, six more children. Through the stepmother's persistence, Chico Xavier was enrolled in a public school. Chico Xavier attended only primary education. He started to work very young in order to help with the expenses at home. Chico Xavier worked hard his entire life. He first worked in a textile factory, then as a salesman and finally as a public worker at the Ministry of Agriculture.

At school, as well as in church, Chico Xavier's paranormal³² power constantly put him into troubles. Once, while in his fourth year of primary school, he claimed to have seen a man who had dictated all his school essays, but no one seemed to have given him any credits; and not even the teacher seemed to have cared about it. One of his memorial school compositions on the centenary of the independence of Brazil won an honorable mention in a state contest. He faced skepticism from colleagues and friends, who accused him of plagiarism, such accusation lasted all his life.

Scared about the mediumship of the young boy, his father decided to hospitalize him in a psychiatric hospital. The catholic priest examined him, and concluded that, hospitalizing the boy would be a mistake, since it was only "children's fantasy". He simply advised the family to restrict his reading (he believed they were the reason for the fantasies) and put him to work. Chico Xavier, then, was hired to work in a textile factory, where he was submitted to rigorous discipline of extended working hours; which brought serious consequences to his health that lasted for the rest of his life. Besides the cataract and lungs problems, Chico Xavier contracted angina. Despite of this, Chico never missed work in his entire life.

Although his catholic devotion and uncountable penances, apart from all restrictions imposed by the priest he confessed with; he never stopped having visions or talking to spirits.

³² Paranormal events are phenomena beyond normal experience or scientific explanation. For example: spirits, mediumistic abilities and extrasensory perception.

Chico Xavier was seventeen years old when his stepmother passed away, and he got himself into trouble having to face his sister's insanity, which he later found out that, her insanity was caused by spiritual obsession³³. Instructed by a friend, Chico started to study Kardecism.

The Kardecism is a doctrine that labels itself as philosophical, scientific and religious in which the expiation of Karma³⁴ predisposed the attitude in which the postulate excellence is the practice of charity³⁵. In Kardecism, the mediumistic trance³⁶ has the role of helping

³³ Kardec defines obsession as a persistent action that a morally inferior Spirit exerts on an individual, presenting varied characteristics which go from a simple moral influence, without perceptible exterior signs, up to complete perturbation of the organism and of mental faculties. Obsession is the encounter of inferior forces portraying each other. Obsessor is a perturbed and lost spirit attached to a person, thus, causing a maleficent impression on his victim. Hence its victim denomination - obsessed person. Disobsession: "In Spiritism, it is the practice whereby mediums receive lost and perturbed spirits and whereby another member of the Spiritist centre talks to the spirit and evangelizes or "indoctrinates" it. These lost and perturbing spirits are not necessarily linked to the specific victims, and the people who have spirit attached to them do not need to be present at the disobsession meeting. (Non-Spiritists may refer to disobsession as "exorcism" which is a word rejected by Spiritists because of its implication, that is, it implies demons or other non-human spirits) (Pires, 2004)

³⁴ Karma is a doctrine found in Buddhism, Hinduism, Brahmanism, and Theosophy, and also in many neo-pagan religions. The word karma comes from a Sanskrit root and means "action," and is the law of cosmic retribution for one's good and bad deeds. Karma represents the sum total of the causes set in motion in past lives, which make a pattern for present and future lives. Every person born, therefore, carries the seeds of what he or she was formerly. If a soul brings with it into life an accumulation of bad karma from a previous life, it will have to spend that new life expiating it in order to advance in the growth process. This belief accounts for the apparent injustices and inequalities of life, and explains differences of personalities, circumstances, intelligence, and special gifts. It can also be an incentive to live life as worthily as possible so as to avoid negative karma in the next life. (Radhakrishnan, 2011)

³⁵ Charity: "benevolence for everyone, indulgence for the imperfections of others, forgiveness of injuries". Spiritism teaches that "without charity, there is no salvation", making it necessary, for man to have faith and for his actions to be in agreement with God's laws of fraternity, benevolence, altruism, humility, work, tolerance, and solidarity, in harmony with others, and even with the inferior beings of creation. "Love and charity are the complement of the law of justice; for, to love our neighbor is to do him all the, good in our power, all that we should wish to have done to ourselves. Charity, according to Jesus, is not restricted to alms-giving, but embraces all our relations with our fellow-men whether our inferiors, our equals, or our superiors. It prescribes indulgence on our part, because we need the same ourselves; it forbids us to humiliate the unfortunate, as is too often done". (SSB, 2007: 43)

³⁶ There are four different levels of brainwave activity that prescribe altered states of consciousness. These are designated beta, alpha, theta and delta. Normal wide awake consciousness is the beta state, with brainwaves ranging from 14 to 27 cycles per second. The next level down is the alpha level, and this is characterized by brainwaves of 8 to 13 cycles per second. Below this is theta at 4 to 8 cycles per second, and delta operates at 0 to 4 cycles per second. Beta is the usual wide awake mode. During this mode, up to seventy-five percent of consciousness is spent monitoring physical functions. The

the incarnated as the disincarnated, especially those in the “possession” of developed spirits (generally intellectuals, spirits of light³⁷) whom descend and command the writing of mediums or curative “passes” for charity (the fundamental action for evolution). Passes are gestures made by a medium around the person’s body, made to expel and discharge bad fluids that may cause disturbance. The bad fluids may originate from the actions of dark spirits³⁸. However, the mediumistic phenomenon as the Kardecist theodicy aims for foundations on a rational bases, and therefore it is categorized as a science. This doctrine was dictated by spirits and systematized by Allan Kardec.

Hereafter, guided by the spirit of his mother, Chico began studying the books of Allan Kardec and started to psychograph³⁹. Initially, he psychographed poems by many dead

next step down, alpha, is achieved in meditation. It is also the state for daydreaming, the hypnagogic state (just prior to falling asleep at night), and the hypnopompic state (just coming out of sleep in the morning). Alpha would be regarded as a “light trance” state. The theta state is the equivalent of a light sleep, where there is a general unawareness of what is going on around the person. It is possible to achieve this state when in deep meditation. Delta, the deepest level, is sound asleep with no knowledge whatsoever of what is happening. It is the equivalent of somnambulism in hypnosis. Trance in the Spiritualistic sense is the freeing of the spiritual perception, the freeing of those faculties which belong to the spiritual-being, and thereby suspending the physical-being. As the physical senses become dormant, there is a sinking sensation, or depending on the individual, it can be a soaring sensation. It is a sensation of freedom, of leaving the earthly restrictions on the physical body. Many mediums say that when going into trance it helps to be working in a circle of like-minded people. Whether or not they are all holding hands, there is a concentration of energies that can be enormously beneficial to the medium in passing into trance and establishing contact with the spirit world. Trance may occur intentionally or spontaneously, and might be just a light trance or one of the deeper variety. In the lighter trance, the medium invariably has full memory after the event of all that transpired. In the deeper states, the medium has no knowledge of what took place the whole time he or she was in the altered state. Sometimes a medium is not even aware of being in trance because it is such a light one. For example, most mediums and psychics would swear they are not entranced when doing something like psychometry or simple clairvoyance, yet they have invariably slipped from the beta state into the beginnings of alpha. (Buckland, 2005: 412)

³⁷ Spirit of light or enlightened spirit is the spirit that already has certain moral evolution, which therefore has its own light. Spirits are created simple and ignorant. They evolve intellectually and morally, passing from a lower order to a higher one, until they attain perfection, where they will enjoy unalterable bliss. The seeds of enlightenment and the answers to finding true peace and happiness of the spirit have been disseminated by many influential or exemplary figures throughout history. The enlightened spirits have stated, as recorded by Kardec in the "Spirits' Book", that Jesus is the "greatest model of charity and moral perfection that we have to follow," and you will find that the moral lessons highlighted in Spiritism focus on Jesus' teachings. (ISC, 1998)

³⁸ Or Evil Spirit.

³⁹ The reception of written spirit messages through a medium; writing of a separate spirit entity.

poets. By this time Chico Xavier met his spiritual mentor⁴⁰ Emmanuel. Severe and demanding, the mentor instructed him to be loyal to Jesus and Kardec, even if it was against his religious basis. Later on, the medium found out that Emmanuel in a past life had been the Roman senator Publius Lentulus, further reborn as a slave who sympathized with Christianity and in another reincarnation⁴¹ a Jesuit priest named Manuel da Nóbrega who has been involved in the evangelization of Brazil.

The compilation of poetry as dictated by spirits of Brazilian and Portuguese poets achieved enormous impact in the Brazilian press and public opinion, and yet caused strong polemic among the ones involved with Brazilian literature, whose opinions were divided between recognition and accusations of pastiche. The impact increased even more when it was revealed that the books had been written by a “humble clerk” from a warehouse in the countryside of Minas Gerais (Brazilian state where the medium was born), who had barely

⁴⁰ A mentor is classed as “etheric world intelligence,” a soul-mind living in the next world/another dimension, higher on the evolutionary scale than the human. In Greek legend, Mentor was the son of Alcimus and a friend to Odysseus, who made him guardian of his household. In the play *Télémaque*, by French writer and mystical theologian François Fénelon (1651– 1715), Mentor plays a prominent part, giving the hero good advice. The modern use of the word mentor means adviser or wise counselor. (Buckland, 2005: 254)

⁴¹ Reincarnation is the rebirth of the spirit or soul in successive bodies. It was originally a Christian tenet but was then rejected at the Second Council of Constantinople in 553 CE. Reincarnation is very much a part of Hindu and Buddhist beliefs, and according to Benjamin Walker (Man, Myth & Magic article, 1970), “is being increasingly adopted as an article of faith by a large number of people in other religious denominations.” The belief has certainly existed for thousands of years. The Orphic of ancient Greece held the doctrine from the Pythagoreans that a soul returned in a number of incarnations, each time gaining in purity by living a good life. This would continue until there was total purity, at which time divinity would be achieved. This is similar to the belief held in Wicca, where reincarnation is one of the primary tenets. Wiccans hold that the spirit goes through a number of incarnations, learning and experiencing in each until all things have been absorbed. At that time, the spirit becomes at one with the gods. The progression has been likened to passing through the grades in a school, where certain curricula have to be observed in order to graduate. Because the psycho-physical experience of a male is dissimilar to that of a female, then lives as both sexes must be experienced by the spirit in order to gain the full knowledge. In the Hindu and Buddhist doctrines, the point of reincarnation is to return, in other lifetimes, in order to expiate one’s transgressions. But in many doctrines, each individual life is not dependent upon the previous incarnation; each life is a separate experience with its own agenda. In Spiritualism there is no fixed doctrine on the question of reincarnation. It is left to the individual’s beliefs and feelings. Spiritualists seem evenly split on whether or not they believe in it. However, when Allan Kardec instituted Spiritism, he did make a belief in reincarnation one of the tenets of that particular branch of Spiritualism. (Buckland, 2005: 346)

finished primary school. It is said that the spirit of his mother advised him not to respond to the criticism.

The publishing of the romances attributed to Emmanuel, and the book “Brasil, Coração do Mundo, Pátria do Evangelho” attributed to the spirit of Humberto de Campos (Brazilian writer) were both highlighted, in which the story of Brazil is interpreted in a mythical and theological way.

In this book there is a reflection on the historical mission of the implementation of spiritualism in Brazil with a triumphant Brazilian vocation in spiritualism, in which the own history of the formation of this nation shall be read in the light of a program in the higher spiritual plane⁴². Exhausted by the negligence of the European civilizations to regenerate mankind, Jesus Christ has a dialogue with his assistant Ismael (Ishmael), designating the mission to transport “the tree of the Gospel” to Brazil, which will be the future "Gospel Homeland."

Brazil is celebrated for being able to maintain the territorial unit over time and to have not shed blood in the great historical transformations, which the Hispanic civilization could not finish off. The characteristics of the Brazilian people are associated with the idea (widely circulated at the time) of being the harmonious confraternization of the three races in people with peaceful tendencies. Goodness, fraternity and religiosity are the hallmarks of the Brazilian people. The main characters of the national history are incarnations of "missionaries' spirits" in task fulfillment delegated by Christ Himself to Ishmael. The whole sequence of the narrative leads to the appearance of spiritualism, producing a spiritualist myth-history of the nation and of its responsibility in the "concert of nations and people", led by "missionaries' spirits". Tiradentes⁴³ by dying, rescues the karmic debt contracted for being a ruthless inquisitor in previous life, becoming symbol for the struggle for the nation's independence. Thus, in the spiritualist view the Brazilian nation is built

⁴² The "spiritual plane" is fundamental in Spiritism. This is a polysemic term for the place where the spirits dwell and a set of values that guide their actions.

⁴³ Joaquim José da Silva Xavier, known as Tiradentes, was the scapegoated leader of the Inconfidência Mineira, whose aim was full independence from the Portuguese colonial power and to create a Brazilian republic. When the plan was discovered, Tiradentes was hanged, drawn, and quartered. (Tosta & Coutinho, 20016) Since the 19th century he has been considered a national hero of Brazil.

gradually by the action of missionaries' spirits, whose collective individual endowed with a glorious telos, whose origin goes back to a plan of Christ Himself.

As a consequence; the last book mentioned here entailed Chico Xavier a lawsuit from the widow of Humberto de Campos, who pleaded for the psychographed books' copyrights, in case the legitimacy of the famous author from Maranhão (a state of Brazil) was proven.

The medium's defense was supported by FEB⁴⁴ (Brazilian Spiritualist Federation), further resulting in the classic "A Psicografia Perante os Tribunais"(the psychography in the view of court), written by the lawyer Miguel Timponi along the trial; the judge decided that the books' copyrights refer to books recognized while the author is alive, since it would be impossible for the court to prove the existence of mediumship. Even so, in order to avoid problems in the future, the spiritual writer's name was substituted by the nickname Irmão Max (Brother Max).

Chico Xavier has a series of books whose authorship is attributed to the spirit of André Luis. The fame of Chico Xavier was increasing, more and more people looked for him in search of healing and messages from their deceased relatives.

A very remarkable psychography which circulated worldwide, was about a case from Goiânia (a Brazilian city), in which José Divino Nunes, accused of murdering his best friend Maurício Henriques, was cleared from the accusation by a judge who accepted the psychography as a valid proof (among other proofs presented by the defense), being a testimony from the deceased victim himself, through a psychographed letter dictated to Chico Xavier. The case took place in October 1979, in the city of Goiânia (Goiás State). Thus; the supposed spirit of Maurício, freed his best friend from the accusation of murder claiming it had been an accident.

⁴⁴ Since 1884 there is a national organization of spiritualists called Federação Espírita Brasileira (FEB). Spiritist associations have various degrees of formality, with some groups having local, regional, national or international scope. Local organizations are usually called Spiritist centers or Spiritist societies. Regional and national organizations are called federations, international organizations are called unions.

Many Catholics accused Chico Xavier of being false and it was ending with the true doctrine of Jesus Christ. Many psychiatrists, doctors and even Russian scientists studied to see him while he psychographed, he did this with his eyes closed and at high speed. In the U.S. he psychographed in English even though he did not have proficiency of that language. And he psychographed backwards. Many wondered: Was it a paranormal phenomenon? An extraordinary human intervention?

Others were validating his belief. During decades, Chico Xavier produced thousands of psychographed letters for desperate parents who came after him in order to receive messages from their deceased sons and daughters. According to a survey from 1990; performed by the Spiritist Medical Association of São Paulo, names of relatives appeared in 93 percent of the letters and 35 percent of them carried a signature very similar to the deceased ones. The letters always contained mentions that somehow were familiar to the readers whose letters were directed to.

The source of the information was always under suspicion. It is said that the crew from the spiritual church would talk to the attendees in advance and that Chico Xavier would previously interview people who came after him in order to receive contact with the dead. But even so, the letters were legitimated by family members, and some of them were used as proof in three trials.

Gradually the boy was considered to be insane and tormented by the devil, hearing voices and having visions. Hereafter, as an ex-defendant in the Humberto Campos process, his popularity appeared, grew and began to turn into myth. Chico Xavier became one of the most popular mediums in Brazilian Spiritism movement. He helped to establish the Kardecist Spiritism as one of the religions practiced in Brazil. But before Chico Xavier was elected as “The greatest Brazilian of all times” by popular votes and indicated to the Nobel Peace Prize in 1981, he had a trajectory filled with agony. As well as notoriety, the criticism from people who tried to discredit him strongly persisted.

Souto Maior said Chico made a moral and social revolution in Brazil. With Chico, half a million Catholics in Brazil came to believe in spiritualism. The Kardecist spiritual centers have multiplied and today there are more than five thousand of them in Brazil. Hereafter

the PUC (Pontifical Catholic University) accomplished the recognition and acceptance of six different classes of Spiritism.

The syncretism of Chico Xavier and the Brazilian culture and society

In this section I will represent the analysis as stated by the anthropologist Bernardo Lewgoy in “Chico Xavier e a Cultura Brasileira”. According Lewgoy (2001) Chico Xavier is the main reference of Spiritism in Brazil. He changed the beliefs and Spiritist practices in the twentieth century, building and establishing a new paradigm of religious practices previously unestablished. Chico innovated and transformed the consciousness and practice of Kardecism in Brazil. Lewgoy analyzes the Chico Xavier phenomenon inspired by the structuralist tradition of myth⁴⁵ analysis, understanding his life story from a mythical narrative. Chico adheres to Spiritism without a definitive break with Catholicism. There is continuity between the two religious systems. There is a syncretism which can be read both as duplicity and as liminality. For example, Allan Kardec is compiler, selecting messages according to methodological principles inspired by rationalist principles. There is not an immediate personal subordination to a spiritual command, but a subordination mediated by human interpretation of the spiritual doctrine. The performance of Chico Xavier is completely controlled by the "Spiritual Plan" under supervision of Emmanuel and his "phalanx". The relationship with the spiritual plane is an immediate dependence and hierarchical subordination. The mediumistic service, designated of "mediunato", has the military and public service as models. In Alan Kardec's model there is overt opposition to the Catholic Church and unimportance of the medium. The critical spirit is more important than compassion. In Chico Xavier's model there is emphasis on "mediumship with Jesus",

⁴⁵ “Myth is an affective form of knowledge, parallel to our objective, method-driven form of knowledge. These two forms do not exclude one another”. Two “primitivisms” (in the negative sense) are then possible, both marked by the exclusive use of one or the other mode of thought: either “mythical” thought only (which, “depriving man from the balance between the two forms of thought, leads him to aberrations”), or “the form of knowledge provided by rationality”, which could lead “its logical construction to exhaustion, nausea and death” (Leenhardt 1987:98).

a syncretic proposal and utmost importance of the medium with milder opposition to the Catholic Church, but absorbing much of its ethos and beliefs.

To Lewgoy (2001: 100-104) Chico Xavier's story is paradigmatic of the ways and dilemmas of spiritualism in its relationship with Brazilian society in the twentieth century. Kardecism as literate and rational religion begins to be adopted by the elite segments of the pre-Republican Brazil. Although some of its pioneers have participated in progressive causes as abolitionism, spiritualism becomes popular for offering healing⁴⁶ services and not by heroism, prophetism of its pioneers. Particularly from the 20's, spiritualism has undergone movements of internal fragmentation and competition with other mediumistic religions, especially Umbanda⁴⁷.

The Kardecism as being a “layman” and anticlerical undergoes transformations in the twentieth century, absorbing trends occurring in distinct ideological, cultural and political courses. Such trends were: 1. An erudite literary culture of a small but not completely autonomous intellectual group. It was cultivated in literary criticism of the newspapers, the Brazilian Academy of Letters and colleges of the Old Republic. 2. One scientific, meritocratic and nationalist modernism that absorbed the rationalist humanism of Kardecism with a heavy militaristic bias. This model is extended by professional corporatism, including professions related to a national project, such as education and medicine⁴⁸.

The combination of determinism and free will is the basis of the notion of spiritualistic person. There was an exacerbation of rationality in spiritualism linked to an organized part of Brazilian society. It was the conservative urban middle class of the population composed

⁴⁶ Healing is making well someone who is ill. The method used to bring about the positive change is what varies. In spiritual healing it is frequently the spirit of a deceased doctor or surgeon who comes through the medium to give or suggest the necessary healing. (Buckland, 2005: 174)

⁴⁷ Umbanda is a syncretic urban Afro-Brazilian religion, created over 100 years ago that gathers elements from Kardecist Spiritism, Catholicism, Candomblé and Indigenous beliefs. (Tosta & Coutinho, 2016:793)

⁴⁸ Today in Brazil there are Kardecist/Spiritist psychiatric hospitals in operation and fully accepted. The Instituto Brasileiro de Pesquisas Psicobiofísicas, or the Brazilian Institute of Psycho-Biophysical Research, collects and studies Spiritist works. It was founded in 1963 by Hernani Andrade. (Buckland, 2005: 386)

by civil servants, school teachers, lawyers, the military and physicians, professions that traditionally were attracted to Spiritism. It was different from an individualistic rationality, being liberal, psychologizing and new age of the urban middle class in current Brazil. The Spiritualism of Chico Xavier from the 40's to the 70's is based on a formally federative religious structure and doctrinally linked to a corporatist vision of the social world, close to the conservative thought of Brazilian society of the first half of the twentieth century.

During the first half of the twentieth century this religious conception was very seductive to organized sectors of the urban middle class and lettered elite but not among the popular classes, the subaltern social strata of the population. The popular classes, mostly Catholics, used the *benzeção* (bless) and African-Brazilian cults. They did not have access to cultural and symbolic resources enabling them to create a spiritual identity, not even as a healing resource. It is precisely in the popular sectors that the model of Chico Xavier's spiritualism achieved unprecedented success, despite the incomparable leadership of intellectualized segments.

Chico Xavier eased the rationalism linked to the conception of karmic justice by incorporating beliefs and practices of popular Catholicism, the worshipping of saints and the figure of Mary, transformed through the circuit of intercession and grace, a personal relationship with Jesus and spiritual benefactors⁴⁹. All of this in a highly syncretic construction, although this was never stated reflexively by Chico Xavier.

The relationship of Chico Xavier's spiritualism with social organization and national identity projects is dated and circumscribed to specific historical conjunctures in Brazil before and after the Second World War. At this time there was a series of unprecedented social transformations in terms of urbanization, industrialization and sociability patterns, including the breakdown of religious authority, founded in the ancient primacy of the Catholic Church on the identification of nationality. The path was going towards the pluralization of ways to believe and participate in religions and hereby the model of Chico Xavier was offering a religious alternative of belonging to Brazilian society. A religious

⁴⁹ They are good and beneficent spiritual beings like angels or saints.

alternative with a full identification with secular symbols of order, as the nation as well as prestige and distinction strategies linked to the possession of cultural capital which valued reading, studying, erudition and science. Chico Xavier enabled the religious practitioner to live a relationship with a traditional religious ethos full of hierarchies, mediations and prayers to the saints, but also to feel participating the "high culture". That is, school knowledge, erudition and scientific knowledge, of everything that enjoys the social reputation provided by a literate culture.

The dimension of Chico Xavier as a saint, literate and informal, but also described as "heart man", held a series of syntheses that were fundamental to the implementation of spiritualism in Brazil of the twentieth century. In Da Matta (1979), the symbolic dimension of the heart is associated with the "malandro"⁵⁰ improvisation, an aspect of the carnival of Brazilian society. Chico Xavier's heart has homologous connotation of a hierarchical aggregation of reason, but under the influence of a religious code indicating an unrestricted opening to the other, viewed basically as a "brother". That is, a religious alternative to carnivalization, through a *communitas* or fraternal style to overcome social and individual differences without reversing the order. Chico Xavier is "saint" and has a strict relationship with the order. He is formal and discursive, reliable and legalistic. His position is always subordinate to the spirits and men.

Research questions

The idea of a "Catholic-Brazilian culture" was developed by Pierre Sanchis (1994). To Sanchis (2007), amongst Western versions of Christianity, catholic vein seems to be especially prone to the syncretic process indeed. Firstly because, for instance being different from Protestantism, which from the onset tended to reify and isolate primitive Christianity's fundamental vector, the one which made it a "faith" (autonomously

⁵⁰ "Malandragem" is associated with the city of Rio de Janeiro, and made popular by samba songs, "malandragem" is a term to describe the lifestyle and acts of the malandro, an antihero character that combines charm, seduction, and laziness and illegality. The malandro usually cannot be trusted, as he will try to advantage of everyone and every situation. (Tosta & Coutinho, 2016: 784)

responsible individual adhesion, within the movement of grace, to the salvific fact of Christ), “Catholicism” (Understood here as a particular dimension within the historical Christian vein, a dimension not reduced to the Catholic Church, although having in it its most evident crystallization.) tends to articulate such dimension with the institutional apparatus accompanying any “religion” as anthropological phenomena. A “faith” indeed, but framed as “religion”. Therefore, its organizational structure, its view of a universe mediating the sacred, its cult loaded with bodily and cosmic presence forces it to engage, within its own space and at an equivalent level, with other religions. In this relationship, mutual re-interpretations may naturally re-signify elements from one or the other identity. Secondly, its affinity with the mythical dimension (operating in liturgy) predisposes it to privilege symbolic expression. This, as an arrow of meaning, guides spirits towards a determined direction without necessarily (as the concept would) defining an ultimate meaning. Through such semantic plurality, a wide array of meetings becomes possible. Catholicism may inscribe the structural predisposition for crossings and porosity of its follower’s religious experiences in many different ways throughout history. Syncretism is an abstract conceptual tendency of human thought, resulting from the influences of morals, symbolic systems and other structures of thought.

Based on Sanchis (1994), Lewgoy (2001) believes that the social implementation of Spiritism in Brazil is not immune to this phenomenon, but there is no explicit recognition of the Catholic influences, with the exception of critics and dissidents of the Spiritualist movement. The Chico Xavier phenomenon shows that Kardecism is far from just being a European, white and middle class trend or a religious matrix lived up to in Brazil. On the contrary, the dominant Brazilian Catholic culture impregnated the different social spaces, traditions and actors who experience spiritualism in daily life in large Brazilian cities. So, there was a unique synthesis of Catholicism and Kardecism, which won a definitive national reference in the life and work of Chico Xavier.

How is it that we come to think of syncretism to be reduced to a Catholic-Brazilian cultural matrix? If the experience is always shaped by the culture in which it occurs, this would mean nothing genuinely new could occur?

If syncretism is an abstract conceptual tendency of human thought when we think about the syncretic process of Chico Xavier's model of spiritualism, we can realize it is about the process of rationalization by the anthropologist. Chico Xavier did not have intentions to create a new way of thinking or to solve his own problems. He always obeyed commands from the spiritual plane. He was entirely oriented toward an experimentation in contact with the spiritual world. This is what was real for Chico Xavier. Thomas Grimshaw said in his *General Course of the History, Science, Philosophy and Religion of Spiritualism* (1973), "The Spirit World is a real world, just as real to spirits functioning through their spirit bodies, as the physical world is to us who function through our physical bodies." It is the place where we make our homes after transitioning from the earthly plane. (Buckland, 2005: 385) How can we think the experience of believers with the spiritual world is a reality within the syncretic processes?

Chico Xavier was poor and had little access to cultural and symbolic resources due his social conditions and he produced religious teachings by writing 412 books through psychography without having knowledge about it. So how to think about the non-religious factors such as class, education or ethnicity toward syncretism? Is syncretism only a result from the influences of morals, symbolic systems and structures?

In this sense my main research question is: What form of religious mobility and pluralization do occur in Brazil (especially in the Mediumistic religious field)?

To answer my question I suggest shifting the focus from a search for historical, social and cultural roots or the analysis of institutions and religious doctrines to the perspective of the individuals, how religious practitioners practice syncretism throughout cultures, traditions, cosmologies, established churches and power.

In order to capture how it occurs, I placed myself in the religious network in Porto Alegre⁵¹ /Brazil. For this, I have explored the experiences of plural/syncretic practices of

⁵¹ Porto Alegre (Happy Harbor) is the capital and largest city in the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul. Its population of 1,509,939 inhabitants (2010) makes it the tenth most populous city in the country and the centre of Brazil's fourth largest metropolitan area, with 4,405,760 inhabitants (2010). The city is the southernmost capital city of a Brazilian state. Porto Alegre is one of the top cultural, political and economic centers of Brazil. Porto Alegre was founded in 1772 by immigrants from the

religions through different trajectories. My PhD fieldwork was first conducted between December 2010 and July 2012 in Porto Alegre (Brazil), but it was a follow-up of my Master research.

Research Methodology

During my field research I used participant observation as an ethnographic method. I have argued the necessity of “*être affecté*”, as proposed by Favret-Saad (1990: 9). I tried occupying a position and having access to certain places, from which I established an involuntary and unintentional communication with people who are not likely of representation. It is not about turning into native, or “placing yourself in their shoes”, or to develop some kind of empathy in relation to the native. We should take a place in which it is possible to be affected by the same forces which are affecting the natives. On the other hand, the acceptance of occupying this place does not tell exactly about the affections of another, but about what affects the researcher himself in the position the other was placed.

Marcio Goldman (2003), inspired by Favret-Saada and Deleuze and Guattari, says that the fieldwork and ethnography should no longer be thought of as simple observation processes (of behaviors or conceptual schemes), or as ways of converting (taking the point of view of the other), or as a kind of substantial transformation (turning into native). Doing ethnography, could be understood as a “becoming-native”. The native is one, I am partial and incomplete (and vice versa). The becoming-native is the movement in which the anthropologist leaves his own condition, through a relation of affection (affection has absolutely no sense of emotions or feelings, but of affections) that can establish another condition. "Becoming is what takes away not only ourselves, but all possible substantial

Azores, Portugal. In the late 19th century the city received many immigrants from other parts of the world, particularly from Germany, Italy, and Poland. The vast majority of the population is of European descent. (In: <http://www.brazilaccommodation.org/porto-alegre.html>) “It is worth noting that the city is configured as a fertile field for analysis of religious mobility, characteristic of neo-religious experience, because the “city has a long history of installing groups and mystical-esoteric orders” (Maluf, 2003: 154).

identity from us. It is, therefore, to rely on differences not to reduce them to the similarity (either by absorbing them), but to differ "(p.465).

I do not believe that becoming-native may be as well managed and controlled by anthropologist and "native", as to not exceed the "border" of the becoming to identifications, notices, representations, taking the point of view of the native or to become native.

I interviewed a believer of the "Christian Life Tabernacle"⁵². Two days later I took part in a ritual of evangelical worshipping. She cried when she saw me entering the church: "I was sure you'd come! My interview touched you! You will see that this church is mysterious!" The interview I had done with this woman touched me. I had been impressed with the story of her life and her "pure" faith. Unlike the idea I had of evangelicals built with the aid of academic papers on the subject, which is as evidenced by the struggle between the divine and the demonic, as by its proselytizing character and issues involving money.

During the service I was also affected by this other way of living of the group, which I got involved in and when some women knelt praying and crying on stage, I was invaded by this affectation and I cried intensely. At the end of the ritual the pastor came to me. He told me I was a sensitive person, that he was sure I was going to access all mysteries of the church and I would even see and talk to my guardian angel⁵³. Then he invited me to attend

⁵² The church body of Christian Life Tabernacle began in 1978 when David McGeary moved to Texas from Arizona and began pastoring a small group of believers in Haltom City. Proclaiming the Gospel of Jesus Christ that has been restored in its fullness by God through his servant William Marrion Branham. As an angel messenger to the Gentile church age described in Revelation 3:14-22, this Prophet's Message was supernaturally vindicated by God to be the Truth, and ministered an exodus from the creeds and doctrines of this Laodicean church world. (In: <http://www.christianlifedfw.com/about/>)

⁵³ Some people believe that a "Guardian Angel" is present with every individual from the moment of birth. Others believe that they are there only when needed in moments of crisis. The chief function of a guardian angel is to protect the individual, helping him or her to make the best decisions and to lead a positive and productive life. (Buckland, 2005: 166)

the next service. I ended up not returning. Certainly for the pastor and for the woman I had interviewed, I had been touched by the "holy spirit"⁵⁴.

But it was not that. I had not felt the divine power. I was not identifying with believers and neither the imitation of this. It was the "*devenir-native*". I longed to access those people and I went through "becoming". As Deleuze and Guattari (D&G, 1987) explain, the process of "becoming" is not one of imitation or analogy, it is generative of a new way of being that is a function of influences rather than resemblances. The process is one of removing the element from its original functions and bringing in new ones.

But it was not always so in my ethnographic comings and goings. How, for example, I explained in my Master thesis (Greganich, 2010), as, for a moment, I felt confused, being the "I-native", after dipping in the Ayahuasca⁵⁵ field and effectively participating in the rituals.

I believe these issues should be problematized because the subjectivity of the anthropologist is a part of his research and implies choices and assemblages. Why did I not

⁵⁴ The Holy Spirit is the third person in the trinity God manifested as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; each person itself being God. "When the Helper comes, whom I will send to you from the Father, that is the Spirit of truth who proceeds from the Father, He will testify about Me," John 15:26 (NASB, 1995)

⁵⁵ The word Ayahuasca is from Quechuan origin (indigenous language in South America), meaning "soul vine", "spirit vines", also called Hoasca, Daimé, Jagê or Mariri. It is a psychoactive drink produced out of two Amazonian plants (*Banisteropsis Caapi* and *Psychotria Viridis*) for ritualistic means and utilized in traditional medicine for the people of the Amazon. Today its use is diffused by followers of several worship groups, also outside of the Amazon and in other countries from the syncretic processes with the popular Catholicism, the Afro-Brazilian traditions, Spiritism and Esoterism. According to some of the supporters of the religious and the ritualistic use of the Ayahuasca, it is not considered a hallucinogen substance. They prefer to use the term Entheogen (generating the divine within), once its use is done in specific ritualistic contexts. As for the critics, the social cultural option of the user or the religious tolerance of some countries to its active ingredient, the DMT, which does not alter its classification, once the goal continues to be the inducing of personal visions and an altered state through the ingestion of the substance. According to the testimonials of users, the Ayahuasca produces an amplification of perception, and enables the user to clearly experience perceptions of reality, though they are always conscious of their surroundings, these situations are known as *mirações* (visions). Followers of the religion consider this state to be supermind "disalienated and hyper-lucidity or ecstasy", called 'Burracheira' or "Força" (Force). The Ayahuasca produces an alteration in the consciousness, without harming the physical body, fact that has been scientifically proved. This resulted in the legalization of its use for religious purposes in Brazil, The Netherlands, Spain and the United States. Several users attribute curative properties to the substance.

return to the Christian Life Tabernacle again? The reason was because I thought it would be difficult to research an environment in which women cannot wear pants, wear make-up and cannot cut their hair. Today I regret not having attended more, maybe it would have been very productive to reflect on the researcher-researched relationship. There is not a world of becoming (becoming-native) and a world of fixed forms (such as the identification - I-native), but different types of lines whose entanglement shapes the remarkable map of a research.

Ultimately, I always tried to be affected by the same forces from which I believe they affected my "native". In my case, this included participating in rituals, the most diverse possible, for example, evangelical churches, Umbanda Center, Kardecist Spiritist Center, New Age groups, etc... Also encompassed ingesting ayahuasca, to take blessing, to consult with priests, gurus, spirits, mediums and participating in Umbanda "works"⁵⁶, herbal bath⁵⁷, disobsession⁵⁸, apometry⁵⁹, reiki⁶⁰, tarot cards, quantum healing⁶¹, meditation⁶², past life regression⁶³, frequencies of light technique⁶⁴, geobiology⁶⁵, etc.. And so, I have

⁵⁶ "Trabalhos" in Portuguese meaning the ceremonies and rituals.

⁵⁷ Treatment through Herbalism. Herbalism is use of plants for medicinal purposes.

⁵⁸ The treatment for obsession is termed disobsession in Kardecist Spiritism. The term disobsession is also used in other religions like Umbanda.

⁵⁹ Apometry is a practice of healing based on the channeling of universal energy with the aim of restoring the energy balance. This technique was developed and founded in 1960 by the physician and spiritualist José Lacerda de Azevedo (1919-1997) at the Kardec Spiritist Hospital in Porto Alegre.

⁶⁰ It is a spiritual practice based on the belief in the existence of universal life energy "Ki" manipulated by the imposition of hands.

⁶¹ It is based on quantum physics using the energy to change the material and achieve noticeable results in the person's physical body.

⁶² Meditation is seen as a means to union with deity or with the absolute. Today it is an established practice, not only among various cults but among ordinary, everyday people. It was common to Hinduism and Buddhism but has spread to be incorporated into many Western religions and practices. Meditation is described as "a stilling of the mind," "a listening," "a step to psychism and mediumship." It is not an escape from reality nor does it involve a loss of consciousness. These days it is seen especially as a remedy for stress and anxiety. (Buckland, 2005: 247)

⁶³ Past life regression is a technique that uses hypnosis or only meditation to recover what practitioners believe are memories of past lives or incarnations.

⁶⁴ It is a healing technique sent by the Pleiadians in the service of the Great White Brotherhood. The technique has been received by Eduardo Chianca since 1985. It is based on human bio-energy.

⁶⁵ It appeared in the West since 1970. It has its basis in quantum physics, radionics and radiesthesia. The Geobiology research the different relations of the environment and the health of living beings. Through the flow of energy from the earth it is possible to identify geopatologies (diseases of the land).

been a "being-becoming" religious pilgrim, "becoming-pilgrim" and I have been making connections with my "natives", my interlocutors.

And so, I met people, made alliances, I inserted myself into the network and its dynamics. In this sense, I realized that the anthropologist demarcates territories unmapped and accompanies people as they move through them. In the field, the unexpected happens daily and new unexpected events come into play. Like Biehl (2011) says, the receptivity to what is amazing and the use of categories that are important in human experience are not reducible to theories we bring to the field.

In this line of field I did my ethnography. My PhD fieldwork was conducted between December 2010 and July 2012 in Porto Alegre (Brazil). But it was in a sense a continuation of the Research Master. In my Masters research I studied Brazilian ayahuasca religions⁶⁶ Santo Daime⁶⁷ and União do Vegetal⁶⁸ for nearly three years.

For my PhD research I chose some informants from my Master research that still had a plural religious trajectory. I made this choice in order to insert myself into the religious network in Porto Alegre. The informants that I chose were: an ex-believer of the "União do Vegetal" which is currently a medium in a center of Umbanda. I started attending this center of Umbanda every Tuesday night when the spirits of Caboclos⁶⁹ and Preto Velhos⁷⁰ give passes and bless the people. The other informant is an ex-believer from União do

⁶⁶ The religions that use ayahuasca in the rituals are generically labelled as 'Brazilian ayahuasca religions' in anthropological writings.

⁶⁷ Santo is Saint and Daime meaning "give me" in Portuguese.

⁶⁸ Literally means "the union of the plants (vegetal)".

⁶⁹ The term caboclo meaning "deriving from the white", meaning mestizo, "a person of part Indigenous and part European descent." But it may also be used to refer to any Indigenous Brazilian who is assimilated. In Umbanda, the Caboclos are spirits of deceased Indigenous Brazilians or Mestizos. They are highly knowledgeable about medical herbs, often prescribing inexpensive remedies to ill people. When the medium incorporates a Caboclo, he/she, begins to walk around heavily, and the feature becomes more severe. They frequently smoke cigars.

⁷⁰ In English: Old Black Man. They are spirits of old slaves. They are wise, peaceful, and kind spirits that know all about suffering, compassion, forgiveness, and hope. Some of them are considered to be the old Yoruba priests that were first brought to Brazil. They also often prescribe herbal remedies. The female counterpart of this spirit is the Preta Velha ("Old Black Woman") who demonstrates maternal compassion and concern. When the medium incorporates a Preto Velho, he cannot stand straight, has difficulty walking, and has to make consultations sitting down. They frequently smoke pipes.

Vegetal who, at this time, was attending a prayer group of the Great White Brotherhood⁷¹. I started attending this spiritual group every Wednesday night when their Ascended Masters⁷² bless the people. Another informant is an ex-believer of Santo Daime who at this time was attending both Ananda Marga⁷³ as well as the center of Umbanda, called Sete Raios de Luz. The network has multiple inputs and my choice for these places responds only to the necessity to establish at a “station”. At these stations I could meet other pilgrims and follow up the implications of syncretism both for individuals and for religious denominations.

Organization of the Thesis

In order to understand how the syncretism and religious pluralism occur in Brazil I built up a concept called religious butinage. The word butinage is used in biology to illustrate the activity of bees or hummingbirds: the flight to visit flowers in search of their food production. The Line of flight is the path along which a freely moving object travels through the air. Butinage is the flight of the hummingbird. It is a metaphor that explains the religious practices of individuals through cultures: in this sense, the religious practitioner compared with a hummingbird makes butinage from a religious denomination to another producing syncretism. Unlike the explanations that seek to understand the syncretism from a structure (syntheses), the concept of religious butinage comprises syncretism from the practices of individuals and their different experiences that escape established structures. Since so far the explanations for syncretism do not satisfactorily

⁷¹The Great White Brotherhood, in belief systems a kin to Theosophical and New Age, are said to be supernatural beings (Masters of the Ancient Wisdom or the Ascended Masters) of great power who spread spiritual teachings through selected humans.

⁷² In the Ascended Master Teachings, Ascended Masters are believed to be spiritually enlightened beings who in past incarnations were ordinary humans, but who have undergone a series of spiritual transformations originally called initiations. Ascended Master is based on the Theosophical concept of the Master of the Ancient Wisdom. For example, Kuthumi (Ascended Master) was St. Francis of Assisi and Confucius in his past life.

⁷³ *Ānanda Mārġa Pracāraka Samgha* (the Path of Bliss) is a socio-spiritual organization and movement founded in India in 1955 by Prabhat Sarkar (or Shrii Shrii Anandamurti). Its goal is to teach the practices of yoga and meditation for human being develop their physical and spiritual potential.

explain the syncretic processes as it occurs, but they explain the results for contact situations, because it presupposes a particular combination of differences.

To build up the concept of butinage I divided my thesis into five chapters: I start with a general introduction about syncretism and its relation to adjacent concepts designed from the African-Brazilian religions. Then, I can argue what is at stake in these conceptions from the analysis of a new ritual in an Umbanda group and the case of Chico Xavier. In Chapter 2 I keep analyzing the case of Chico Xavier and other religious trajectories in the ayahuasca religions, which allows me to build the concept of butinage. This concept rethinks and reformulates the notion of syncretism and religious pluralism. In order to develop this new approach to rethink syncretism and religious pluralism in the following chapters, I understand different contexts from butinage: the religious trajectory of a religious practitioner in detail, the creation of a new religious cosmology and the process of religious transnationalization⁷⁴.

⁷⁴ Transnationalization or transposition.

CHAPTER 1

SYNCRETISM AND RELATED ISSUES

Syncretism is conventionally attributed as a concept of mixing or interpenetration of beliefs and rites to produce new religious forms. The concept of syncretism is fundamentally organized around the landscape of Afro-Brazilian religions. In this chapter I will review the African-Brazilian religions and do a general introduction about syncretism and its relation to adjacent concepts. As an example of syncretism I will give an account of the creation of a new ritual in a group of Umbanda Branca⁷⁵ in Porto Alegre/Brazil. Then I will finish this chapter with a discussion about the ideas of syncretism related to my account of the new ritual and the Chico Xavier Story and what is at stake in these conceptions of syncretism in order to build up my understanding about syncretism and my concept of religious butinage in the next chapter.

⁷⁵ Branca means white in Portuguese. White Umbanda refers to white magic or magic for good and selfless purposes.

Afro-Brazilian religions

Umbanda Branca is one of the current Afro-Brazilian religions. The most well-known African-Brazilian religions are: Candomblé⁷⁶, Tambor-de-Mina⁷⁷, Batuque⁷⁸ and Umbanda. Therefore, I will provide a brief description of these religions.

The Afro-Brazilian religions with the specifications of each one; they are priestly religions in which sacred barter between men and gods are developed. It is practical polytheism, therefore, does not compromise the notion, even if mildly diffused to a god superior to other ones, the original creator and related to heaven, among the Iorubás named Olorum or Olodumarê.

From the main worshiped gods, and those who configure the basic Pantheon of Candomblé in Brazil (designated by different names, depending on the mythic system of origin: Orixás among Iorubás; Voduns among the Jejes; Inquices among Bantu), they are

⁷⁶ Candomblé (dance in honor of the gods) is a Brazilian religion developed by the knowledge of enslaved African priests of traditional Yoruba, Fon and Bantu beliefs. In addition, Candomblé absorbed elements of Catholicism and includes Indigenous American traditions. Candomblé may also be called Macumba in some regions of Brazil, notably Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Macumba has a distinct set of practices more akin to European witchcraft. Candomblé is also practiced in other Latin American countries, including Argentina, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Colombia.

⁷⁷ Tambor de Mina is an Afro-Brazilian religion found mainly in the state of Maranhão and the Amazonia. The word derives from the importance of the drum instrument in the rituals. Mina comes from black of Coast of Mine, name given to the originating slaves of the "coast east of the Castillo de San Jorge Mine" (Verger 1987: 12), the current Republic of Ghana, brought from the Togo Republics, Benin and Nigeria. They were known primarily as mina-Jeje blacks and mina-nagôs blacks.

⁷⁸ A Brazilian round dance of African origin. Batuque or Nação (Nation) is an Afro-Brazilian religion found mainly in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, from where it spread to neighboring countries such as Uruguay and Argentina. Batuque is the result of religions of the peoples of the Guinea Coast and Nigeria, with Jêje, Ijexá, Oyo, Cabinda and Nagô nations.

known as: Exu⁷⁹, Ogum⁸⁰, Oxóssi⁸¹, Obaluaiê⁸² (or Omolu and Xapanã), Xangô⁸³, Oxum⁸⁴, Iemanjá⁸⁵, Iansã⁸⁶ and Oxalá⁸⁷, among the most worshiped ones. The main Orixás are described according to a predominant mythic system, being highlighted by their own basic archetypical qualities. (Prandi, 1991).

In Africa, beside these gods, many others were worshiped.

The worshipping of (the) gods had very familiar characteristics, exclusively of a lineage, a clan or the same group of priests. The African temples restrict themselves, for this reason these are only worshipping just one or few divinities. The Yoruba gods, as an example, were mainly worshiped in their cities: Xangô in Oyó; Oxóssi in Keto; Oxum in Ipondá and Oxobô, and so forth. . (Gonçalves Silva, 1994: 62)

⁷⁹ Exu corresponds to an intermediary between men and gods. He is associated to the power of fertilization and transformation. For everything it does, therefore, it depends on his intercession. If it is not him whom is invoked, in order to invoke others he will force this connection. His symbol (representative object) is the Ogó, a sculpted penis in wood and adorned with gourds and búzios (whelks, seashells) representing testicles and semen. He is considered fair, though vengeful, and never forgets to charge for promises made.

⁸⁰ Ogum is the fire and war god. Civilizing hero, once he is keen on the secrets of forging (therefore, the production of metals). His symbols are the sword, the hoe and the shovel. In life, he would be the son of the Odudua king, founder of the city of Ifé.

⁸¹ Oxóssi is the god of the forest. He is an excellent hunter, being considered the brother of Ogum in some myths, as hunting is performed with weapons. In Africa, he was worshiped in the city of Keto, in which he was king.

⁸² Obaluaiê (or Omolu and Xapanã) is the god of epidemics, smallpox and other contagious skin diseases. As he shows the marks of the same disease on his own body, he is covered by a straw mantle. Shredded straws from the dende tree.

⁸³ Xangô is the lord of electric rays and thunders. He was the king of the land of Oyo; his symbol is the double-edged axe. When he incorporates, his children use a crown, an allusion to his king role.

⁸⁴ Oxum is the goddess of sweet waters, lakes, springs and waterfalls. She is associated in Africa with fertility and wealth.

⁸⁵ Iemanjá is the goddess of water. In Brazil, she is worshipped by the ocean, being also associated to other water charms from indigenous belief, such as Queen of the Ocean, Janaína, Iara etc. In Africa, she was the goddess from a river. According to the myth, as she ran away from her husband she reached the ocean and then started to live with her mother Okunun. She is considered the mother of all Orixás, therefore her bond with the Holy Mary.

⁸⁶ Iansã (or Oyá) is the goddess of winds, electric rays and storms, property that she shares with Xangô.

⁸⁷ Oxalá is the god of creation, he modeled the bodies of men with clay so Olorum (Olodumarê) would blow over them, making them alive. Although Oxalá is represented by an old man, he was syncretized as Jesus, appearing in very popular festivities in Bahia, as in the washing of the church of Senhor do Bonfim.

In Brazil, this type of organization was made impossible due to slavery. Groups from different regions had to meet in a same senzala⁸⁸, exchanging beliefs and values. Apart from that, the own repression, as from slave masters, church and state, did not favor the multiplication of temples specialized in one god or few gods of those restricted groups. Moreover, the addition of new religious elements of Catholic and indigenous origin, created the original Pantheon, where people were allowed to worship their own god(s) at the same location and together with a restricted number of gods, around sixteen, the most commonly worshipped as described before.

The temples were developed by a priesthood, and built on denominated terreiros⁸⁹. The priesthood at the Candomblé terreiros, obey the complexity which prominence belongs to the father-of-saint (pai-de-santo) or mother-of-saint (mãe-de-santo) around the families⁹⁰ distributed in a rigid hierarchy, discharging their sacred activities.

Trance plays an essential role. Through the trance, gods introduce themselves incorporated in the priests. Without the presence of gods, there is no sacristy. The environment of worshipping becomes sacred, especially by direct intercession of gods, through incorporation. The trance enables the intercession of the Orixás. Each accordingly to their own characteristics, acting through the priest. Their actions are conditioned by socially established norms, which provides them with legitimacy.

According to Reginaldo Prandi (1996: 100):

These religions preserved a very rich magical-ritual repertoire in alliance with the axial idea that divinities keep a relation with men as an immediate relationship of exchange through sacrifice. Interfering with the world, being the world of nature or the world of culture, and materializing men's needs as a way to strengthen themselves as divinities, in a kind of pact in which the follower sees himself/herself as taking part of the extension of his own sacred power, called axé.

⁸⁸ Slaves quarters. A slave camp in Colonial Brazil.

⁸⁹ In English: grounds.

⁹⁰ This means Candomblé priesthood is organized into symbolic families, whose members are not necessarily relatives in the common sense.

This characteristic of Candomblé attracts loyal followers and/or eventual followers seeking solutions for their material or spiritual problems. The consultation is an oracle in Candomblé, through the Búzios ritual⁹¹ and its foundation in the relation of the father-of-saint and his client. He can point out several solutions for problems according to the result of these Búzios patterns. If the problem is of religious order, the father-of-saint can recommend the person's initiation, in this case the Orixá, which presides in the life of the client asking to be incorporated. Usually, if the problem is of another order he would demand for the sacrifice as an offering and the "cleanse", known as Ebó⁹².

It is a relation of exchange between man and god, a relation that in its counterpoint through the intermediation of a priest and his client, is also commercial, involving payment. The Ebó and the Búzios rituals are paid in Candomblé.

The existing differences among Afro-Brazilian religions is in the predominance of its own nation or ethnical group during its formation in each region, as to the fact that there is the existence of incorporation, in a higher and lower degree, with elements from other religious traditions, beside the intensity of repression in one period or another. The terreiros are independent among themselves and they practice their rites with their own individual characteristics. (Capellari, 2001)

The Umbanda differs much from the other Afro- Brazilian religions, incorporating Kardecism and an ideal of charity.

⁹¹ It is a Cowrie-shell divination that refers to several distinct forms of divination using cowrie shells that are part of the rituals and religious beliefs of certain religions. (Verger, 1999)

⁹² Ebó is the ritual sacrifice in which the evils in the client are diverted to food, objects and dead animals, which are dispatched, meaning, being taken to a location determined by the ritual, those can be crossroads, a forest, a lake, a waterfall, a quarry, train rails etc. (Prandi 1991: 194). For the followers of Candomblé, the gods need to be satisfied, propitiated, fed, due to their suffering of thirst and hunger, not mattering the ethic relations of life practiced by the follower in a profane world. The rule of the Orixá is not to regulate the conduct of men in the world. There is no promise outside the world; there is no promise for after death, nor for heaven. To be in peace with the gods is to be in peace with the world, to be protected in the world, because the world is a place of happiness, there is no reason to change it nor reject it. The world is available to be enjoyed. What is good in life? Health and long life; money and prosperity; to overcome disputes and defeat enemies; to be fulfilled in your love life. The evil is sickness and death, misery, defeat and failure in love. (Prandi, 1991: 163)

The Kardecism is a doctrine that labels itself as philosophical, scientific and religious, in which the expiation of Karma predisposed the attitude, in which the postulate excellence is the practice of charity. In Kardecism, the mediumistic trance has the role of helping the incarnated as the disincarnated, especially in the “possession” of developed spirits (generally intellectuals, spirits “of light”) who descend and command the writing of mediums or curative “passes” for charity (the fundamental action for evolution). Passes are gestures made by a medium around the person’s body, made to expel and discharge bad fluids that may cause disturbance. The bad fluids may originate from the actions of dark spirits. However, the mediumistic phenomena as the Kardecist theodicy aim on the foundation of rational bases, and therefore it is categorized as a science.

The Kardecism as a founding principle is a monotheistic and dual doctrine. The figure of the creator, god exalts above all spirits, incarnated or disincarnated. There is no existence of angels and other gods. The contact with the supernatural for human beings on Earth is a forced contact of disincarnated spirits, though the mediumistic trance.

The trance is one of the fundamental elements that Umbanda incorporates in its doctrine instead of worshipping the gods (Orixás, Voduns and Inquices) as individual and unique entities, like the other Afro-Brazilian religions. Consisting with basis on the trance, the incorporation of spirits that will be part from one or another line, refers to an entity who commands it. They are not gods, but spirits. Spirits whose names correspond to the evolutionary line to which they belong. Several spirits in the same line (or phalange) incorporate, meaning they utilize the name which characterizes them. As an example, in Candomblé, Ogum will always be Ogum, and not a generic name referring to a class of spirits. As Ogum is not a spirit but a god. As for each priest of Ogum, individually, with his death, Ogum will return to Geral Ogum (Prandi, 1991).

The wide Umbanda pantheon was hierarchized by the “seven lines”, which vary from one terreiro to another. Each line is managed by an Orixá or a Catholic saint, by pooling phalanges from entities. Such a line or vibration, which is equivalent of a great army of spirits, leading to the obedience to a “boss”.

However, the contrary of Kardecist Spiritism, the entity will not act through a medium in the pencil and paper level, or the brush and canvas. The spirits that incorporate in the Umbanda did not take part in the hall of intellectuals but in the elements, which correspond to the less favorite social Brazilian segments, the Preto-Velhos and Caboclos. Through the son/daughter-of-saint⁹³, in which entities act as a level of popular aspirations, advising and providing them with passes etc.

The emphasis in the worship of African and Indian divinities (considered by the Kardecist as overdue), the depuration of this worship which enable the spirits to “come down” and work in Umbanda, it was one of the main characteristics of the religion which was formed, proclaiming its mission to unite all races and social classes formed by the Brazilian people (Gonçalves da Silva, 1994: 111)

As for one side Umbanda incorporated the Kardecist conception of the karma, communication with spirits and spiritual evolution through successive incarnations. As for the other side it conserves the practice of Afro-Brazilian cults. Therefore, it purified them, drawing elements considered overdue, as the sacrifice of animals, frenetic dances, alcohol ingestion by entities, smoking done by entities, cleansing with gun powder, this does not work with Exu, wearing only white garments during the ritual, not charging for spiritual treatment, and not making rituals that will harm others and/or to love spells⁹⁴ and follow up on selfish interests.

However, inside the Umbanda there was a development of other syncretisms. These currently existed for various types of Umbanda. Therefore, there was the designation of the Umbanda Branca to reflect the worship of the “pure” Umbanda, aforementioned, which works with white magic for peace, physical and spiritual cleansing and the opening of different pathways.

Other types of Umbanda: The Quimbanda is the worship of the left⁹⁵ (dark) side of Umbanda, meaning, all the knowledge of evil from the astral world, including black magic,

⁹³ In Portuguese: Filho-de-Santo ou Filha-de-santo.

⁹⁴ This kind of spell is used to reunite, bring back lover and also to make someone be a faithful lover, husband, and boyfriend/girlfriend. Ebó Spells.

⁹⁵ The terms Left and Right refer to a dichotomy between two opposing approaches: the Left is equated with malicious black magic and the Right with benevolent white magic. Some have criticized

which can help on doing the good. Its entities vibrate in forests, cemeteries and crossroads, also known as “people of the street” and it’s covered by the messengers or “guardians” Exus⁹⁶ and Pomba Giras⁹⁷. The Umbanda Cruzada⁹⁸ also refers to the worship of the crossing of Umbanda with Quimbanda, which besides the Gira⁹⁹ for the entities of Umbanda, also occurs Gira for entities of Quimbanda. The mediums are authorized to wear dark garments (especially black) and to practice animal sacrifice for entities of Quimbanda.

A theoretical Review on Religious Syncretism and adjacent concepts

The diversity, complexity and variety of religious expressions and understandings from the concept of religious syncretism is vast. I do not intend to give a comprehensive survey of all the literature on this phenomenon in Brazil. Instead, I intend to make a theoretical approach that allows me to understand why there are so many mediumistic religions in Brazil. The term mediumistic religions relates to religions in which mediumship has a central stage. Mediumship is the ability to feel, see, hear or incorporate deities and spirits.

this definition, believing that the Left-Right dichotomy refers merely to different kinds of working, and does not necessarily connote good or bad magical actions.

⁹⁶ In Quimbanda the male spirits are known as Exus, they are considered very powerful spirits. Note that they are not the same as the Exu of Candomblé; as Quimbanda has evolved as a religion, it has created a category of spirits collectively called Exus, whose name was borrowed from the deity Exu. Exus refers to the phalanx of spirits. Exus, commonly referred to as ‘spirits of the left’, are not purely evil. Instead, they are more human-like in their qualities and share in human weaknesses. Exu spirits primarily deal with human and material matters as opposed to the ‘spirits of the right’ used in Umbanda, who deal with primarily spiritual matters. Exus are typically called for rituals to arrange rendezvous, force justice, or keep life balance. (Hayes, 2007).

⁹⁷ Another set of deities associated with Quimbanda are not directly derived from the Yoruba religious tradition. Pomba giras, the female counterparts of exus. Prominent pomba giras such as Pomba-Gira Maria Mulambo, also known as ‘Maria of the trash’. Mulambo refers to someone who is wearing ragged clothing or someone who is very unlucky. While Exu manifests and encompasses male sexuality, fertility and strength, Pomba Gira personifies female beauty, sexuality, and desire. She is viewed as a beautiful woman who is insatiable. Sometimes she is associate with prostitutes. She is often invoked by those who seek aid in matters of the heart and love. Some Pombas Giras do display the characteristics of being promiscuous, talkative and vulgar. However she has many paths or avatars, and will be more or less inclined towards that behavior depending on the path. (Hess, 1992)

⁹⁸ Cruzada means crossed in English.

⁹⁹ It is the term used to describe the Umbanda incorporation ritual. The Gira term comes from the verb “rotate” the medium to facilitate the incorporation.

Sergio Ferreti (1995: 87-88) points out that much has been written about syncretism, but there is little agreement and he thinks of five tendencies or phases in discussions on African-Brazilian religious syncretism historically. The first was the evolutionary theory, with Nina Rodrigues.

The second was the culturalist approach with Arthur Ramos and his followers, passing by Herskovits, its main theorist. In this phase the problematic statement expanded and answers were sought in culturalism. Syncretism was seen as a step in the acculturation process including conflict, accommodation and assimilation. The authors created classification patterns of African-Brazilian syncretism, highlighting elements of the Jeje-, Nago-, Muçulmi-, Bantu- or Caboclo-spiritualist, Catholic and others.

Roger Bastide and followers were the third phase. Bastide tried deeply to understand black mentality and African-Brazilian religiousness through sociology and by the principle of scission. Among his students, Juana Elbein points out to the ability of black people "to digest" or Africanize contributions and worshipping without whitening. He refers to syncretism as inter nations, preserving the African mystical structure.

The fourth phase, which was developed in the 1970s and 1980s, also current today, analyzes the myth of African purity. It discusses the importance or preponderance of Candomblé Nago-Ketu and the (re)Africanization process¹⁰⁰. According to Peter Fry, purity and mixing or syncretism are social developments emerged from situations of conflict for power and prestige. Anthropologists who conduct research in more traditional religious groups and have a tendency to turn more to Africa than to Brazil are criticized. Some even claim that Africanisms in the terreiros are intellectual concepts to mask oppression. Others approach the process of Africanization or re-Africanization and de-sincretization. African worship leaders, with nostalgia, try to rescue a lost and alleged African purity.

¹⁰⁰ Throughout its history the Candomblé has undergone several transformations due to its oral tradition that is subject to various interpretations. It began to have a greater focus on the issue of maintenance of the sacred knowledge that they were losing. The rescue movement of knowledge is called the (re-) Africanization and demand, among other things, to break with Catholicism, with the Amerindian religions and approach of the African cults.

The fifth phase includes other current researchers, from the 1980s. They seem to be more interested in studying some of its specific aspects. For some, the concept needs to be better clarified. The widespread idea of syncretism as a mask to escape territorial oppression is one of the elements that has been most criticized, also discarding the hypothesis of syncretism as a strategy of resistance. The generalized idea of syncretism as juxtaposition is criticized, because in many cases, religion continues as an integrated whole. In the same vein, the idea to perceive syncretism as a "patchwork" or as a "bricolage" is condemned, according to Lévi-Strauss, and as a "stodgy cluster", in Gramscian language.

Many analyzes were performed based on concepts or principles developed according to certain theories. Evolutionism saw syncretism as "illusion of catechesis." In culturalist theory, syncretism was studied by anthropological concepts as acculturation, neo-culturation, transculturation or reinterpretation. Each concept tries to clarify or expand the analysis of the phenomenon. By replacing these, "interethnic friction" was proposed to by Cardoso de Oliveira. Bastide proposed the scission principle, and also used the concept of bricolage, proposed by Lévi-Strauss.

The syncretism to Bastide (1970: 101), "[...] is about to bring together the pieces of the mythical stories of two different traditions into a whole that remains arranged by the same system." The author develops the concept when analyzing the relationship of African-religious with Catholicism, proposing a distinction between two types or dimensions of syncretism: religious syncretism and magical syncretism. Religious syncretism is a movement driven by a combinative, associative intention, from juxtaposed cosmologies, hierarchically characterized by a "principle of scission" or "cut", obeying a logic of accumulation and addition, preserving compartmentalization. Magic syncretism is a kind of will to formulate (codify) syntheses focused on a pragmatic response to certain individual problems. It is an accumulation of symbolic power, characterized by the metaphor of Lévi-Strauss' bricolage (trunk tree and branches), obeying a logic of correspondence, keeping the share (Mary, 2000). The two models of syncretism, the religious one (decision) and Magic one (of bricolage), are not rigid or tight.

In “A morte branca do feiticeiro negro¹⁰¹”, Renato Ortiz (1978), refers to a Bastidian perspective about the syncretic mechanisms that would be on the basis of Umbanda creation, pointing out that the reinterpretation of African tradition, coming from white values, would allow the black or mulatto¹⁰² to escape from confinement, demonstrating how the integration and legitimization of Umbanda in Brazilian society works, having as a guide line cultural change. African gods will be represented by the images of Catholic saints, giving rise to religious syncretism.

However this syncretism happens at the expenses of the Catholic faith, for the African god remains itself behind the mask provided by Christian tradition. In Umbanda, what we will find is this phenomenon of inverted syncretism: the bounds with Africa are broken and the African deity comes to be a mask of the cultural values of a white and Catholic society "(p.46). For the author, the notion of acculturation values "culture" at the expenses of society, and syncretism "moves away from the notion of mixing and incoherence" (Ortiz, 1980: 97), since "the Umbandist religious cosmos reproduces the contradictions of Brazilian society "(Ortiz, 1978: 112).

With this bias, Ortiz (1978) has analyzed the whitening of African-Brazilian traditions and the darkening of Kardecist Spiritism related with changes in society. For him, in the urban-industrial society, Umbanda is more functional than Candomblé, whose worship is very expensive, predicting an expansion of Umbanda at the expense of Candomblé, considering their practices are more suitable for today's society.

Prandi (1989), in his thesis Habilitation as well as Prandi and Silva (1989), show the opposite to evolution declared by Ortiz, pondering on the process of "re-Africanization or Africanization" of these religions, since one can no longer refer to Candomblé as a preserved religion of cultural heritage of black people (an ethnic religion), since it became a universal religion open to all, regardless of color, origin and class, competing in the market with other religions.

¹⁰¹ The white death of the black magician.

¹⁰² A person of mixed white and black ancestry, especially a person with one white and one black parent.

According to Prandi (1989), re-Africanization does not mean a return to the primitive, in being black or in wanting to be, but a bricolage, coming from intellectualizing, from an access to literature and from patterns brought of contemporary Africa, seized, especially for fathers and mothers-of-saint of Sao Paulo, who have reached a process of upward social mobility. To Prandi and Silva (1989), Africanization or re-Africanization constitutes a denial of syncretism, "a de-sincretization" removing Catholic and Amerindian influences from the worship of deities (Orixás)

Prandi (1996: 39-40) analyzes the Orixás religion, during the colonial period, saying that black people could reckon on a black people's world, a symbolic source of Africa, kept alive by the religious life of the Terreiros, as a means of resistance to the white world, a world of work, suffering, slavery, misery. For the author, syncretism is founded in this game of identity development. Candomblé originated out of Catholicism in a time when black people were already integrated in Brazilian culture. New life conditions in an industrialized Brazilian society have radically changed the sociological sense of Candomblé. "If a few decades ago it meant a reaction to racial segregation in a traditional society, in which social structures were more estates of the realm than social classes, now it has the sense of a personal, free, deliberate choice: someone joins Candomblé not because he is black, but because it feels that Candomblé can make someone's life easier to be lived, because maybe it can be happier, regardless one is white or black"

In "Sincretismo Afro-Brasileiro, politeísmo e questões afins¹⁰³", Prandi (2011) questions the widespread belief of Candomblé fully accepting Catholicism as a survival strategy, as well as the belief that syncretism was born as a disguise, as a lie used by the slaves to deceive their masters, singing and dancing for the Catholic saint, when in fact, they were singing and dancing to the Orixá. The author defends the idea that the origin of the African-Catholic syncretism is seated in true feelings, that syncretism was instituted not as a conspiracy, but as a result of relations of tolerance and assimilation resulting from the

¹⁰³ In English: Afro-Brazilian syncretism, polytheism and related issues.

condition of African polytheistic religion that on Brazilian soil, met with the enduring, diffuse but effective polytheism of Iberian Catholicism and of its worship to the saints.

That relationship could not happen in the same way between African-Brazilian religions and Evangelical religions, coming from a strictly monotheistic Protestantism. The analysis of the clash between African-Brazilian, Catholics and Evangelicals resets, thus, from another perspective, the relations between polytheism and monotheism. The main difference between African-Brazilian religions and the Evangelical ones is the African-Brazilian polytheism, joining different beliefs and adopting saints and gods from other backgrounds, through mechanisms such as syncretism versus the radical evangelical monotheism, confluent of the Protestant Reformation, sectarian, intolerant and militant, which completely rejects the belief of others, turns deities, saints and spiritual entities from other backgrounds into demons and its purpose as a religious mission is to destroy whatever they consider religiously bizarre. It is in Candomblé's nature to accept the other, to grasp the difference. It was so in Africa, and it is so in Brazil. It is characteristic of polytheistic religions. For each god from here there will be a god from there, as an evenness game. In this sense, an established past living relationship between Orixás religions and the saints of Catholicism was not repeated when African-Brazilian religions met evangelical, since syncretism resource has no value for them (Ibid).

Ferretti (1995) looks into syncretism in Tambor de Mina, one of the most traditional African-Brazilian religious groups, as an adaptation strategy to the prejudiced society, which pretends to be white as a way to avoid conflict with African religion. It was related with popular Catholic rituals as well as other backgrounds, widespread in the middle and upper classes. Syncretism of Festa do Divino,¹⁰⁴ in the terreiros of "Tambor de Mina" can be seen as a parallel between religiosities, African rituals and popular Catholic rituals, as if they were two straight lines that meet at the infinite. This is a parallel of ideas and values that are close, but do not mix or muddle.

¹⁰⁴ In English: Feast of the Holy Spirit. It is a cult of the Holy Spirit in the popular Catholicism.

Ferretti (2004: 28), in "Sincretismo, Religião e Culturas Populares¹⁰⁵", presents syncretism as a form of cultural resistance, which takes different elements, formulates new cultural and religious forms. For the author, "cultural syncretism reflects the presence of white elements in Brazilian culture, elements that were important in the past and still active today. Our popular festivals, as some authors remark, are baroque festivals, with the addition of cultural elements of many backgrounds. In them we can find parallels, convergences and mixtures of cultures arising from whites, blacks and Indians who have fertilized our culture with musical instruments, songs, dances, costumes, food, joy and the ability to reorganize the Holidays", proving that syncretism is one of the central features of popular religious festivals.

To Ferretti (2008), one cannot say that syncretism was a phenomenon that only worked in the past and that is disappearing or harming traditional religious manifestations. Syncretism was also not only a factor of resistance to cultural and religious domination. Those who inherited the religion of African ancestors - the ancestors worship to Voduns, Orixás and Caboclos, also had to accept the religion imposed by the colonial domination, they kept both religions and worship both with equal devotion.

The author considers syncretism as an essential element of all forms of religion, which is very present in popular religiosity, as in the many elements of the official religion such as Catholicism. Syncretism in African-Brazilian religions does not represent a disguise of African entities in Catholic saints, but a "reinvention of meanings" and a "circularity of cultures." It is a strategy of transculturation, reflecting the wisdom that founders also brought from Africa, and he and his offspring expanded in Brazil. African-Brazilian religions, as a result of syncretism, have something African and Brazilian, however originating from different matrices.

According to him, many hesitate to use the term syncretism, for considering it as a synonym of a confusing mix of different elements, or as an imposition either from evolution or colonization. However, syncretism, imposed by the colonizer, was assimilated

¹⁰⁵ In English: Syncretism, religion and popular cultures.

along with beliefs of other backgrounds, and as an example is present in the “Festa do Divino” at the “Terreiro of Tambor de Mina”, an obvious fact that needs to be attested.

Sanchis (1994: 6-7) states that "the concept of 'purity' and its opposite, the 'mixing' or 'syncretism', are always essentially social constructions and tend to appear frequently in situations of power struggle and hegemony. 'Purity', 'mixing' and 'syncretism' are therefore always concepts and, by definition, ethnocentric ". Thus, it is no longer about syncretism as a form of confusion or mixture of substantial "natures", but to claim the universality of a polymorphous process, and as the cause in multiple and unpredictable dimensions, that consists in the perception - or construction - of homology relations between the own universe and the universe of the "other" in touch with us. It is about a "transformation of elements of one's own identity, due to the encounter with the other" (Sanchis, 1999: 65).

Questioning the notion of syncretism, to explain the adaptation/integration or the resistance of the African offspring to the global society, Sanchis (2001: 45) defends the use of this category to think about the dynamics of preservation, transformation, rearrangements, creations and recreations, from a point of identity representation that imprints the religious field in Brazil. That is because a lasting and constantly reestablished radicalism would have, thus, endowed Brazil of a habitus (story made structure) of pervious identities and ambivalence of values, a trend always frustrated, but permanently recovered toward a multiple combination in a never reached unity. Trying to clearly put it in its structural level, not confusing it with easy confluences and trying to explain the diversity of versions in different times and places it presents itself, perhaps it is epistemologically productive to call this perviousness "syncretism".

As Ferretti and Sanchis, other authors have claimed the possibility of syncretism, as being a category, being useful to think about the current dynamics in the religious field.

Ulf Hannerz (1997) states that hybridity seems to be the preferred generic term nowadays. Despite its biological tone, it is a strong term mainly in the field of literary studies, largely by its presence in the work of Mikhail Bakhtin, where hybridity represented, above all, the coexistence of two languages, two linguistic consciences, even within a single speech, commenting to one another, unmasking each other, creating

contradictions, ambiguities, ironies. In the way it is used by Homi Bhabha, to make cultural critique of colonialism, hybridity underlines subversion, destabilization of colonial cultural authority. But as others connected to many subjects, as they used the word with different meanings and analytical purposes, hybridity became a term fraught with ambiguities.

Néstor García Canclini (2006: 19) says that the term hybridization is more useful than syncretism or “miscegenation”, because it covers many intercultural mixes, not only racial, which is usually limited to the term "miscegenation" and because it allows to include modern forms of hybridization, better than the "syncretism" formula which usually refers to religious mergers or traditional symbolic movements. The author comes from a first definition of hybridization: "sociocultural processes in which discrete structures or practices that existed in separate form combine each other to create new structures and practices" (1997: 19). Society and identity fragmentation contribute to the formation of hybrid cultures, new forms of culture that combine elements of folk cultures, cultured and massive.

Peter Beyer (2005) supports the idea that the terms "sincretization" and "hybridization" evoke the combination of evidence and contingency of power, history and identity. Thus, cultural and religious "sincretization" and "hybridization" should be understood in relation to the "purity" that such concepts would supposedly set. The globalized speech allows and even argues the legitimacy and cogency of cultures and religions, from what is considered to be a religion or a culture and therefore raising numerous disagreements over what belongs to a recognized culture.

Syncretism is one of the terms used to express those responses. Syncretism indicates a reality that brings up an identity already recognized, and important external elements to that identity at the same time. Syncretisms are in those senses, mixtures of purities and are considered since then, negatively as "impure" or positively as potential "new purities". Terms like "syncretization" and "hybridization" highlight the aspect of mixing, miscegenation. Syncretizations have a determining relation to power, which is to allow its holders to formulate demands, to become important activists and more or less important

and influential about the world scenario as different people. The recognition of exclusivity is a basis for inclusion.

Syncretisms represent one side of a constant and contingent historical process, which otherwise is the construction and maintenance of pure forms. Pure forms are only legitimized previous syncretizations. The ambition to purity seeks to protect the evidence, which is the disguise of contingent importance of existing social forms of cultures and religions. He analyzes hybridity in the context of globalization, from the ties that exist between syncretism historical production, identity and power, showing the importance of the claim "purity" as well as the new hybrid identities in order to obtain the benefits of power in a global society.

Identity and power are closely linked and institutionalized reflexivity of modernity highlights the contingent construction of any social order. The author applies this proposition to modern Islam, as an example of "purity" hybridized, as well as Buddhism, illustrating, in this case, how religious purity itself can be an "agent of syncretization".

As an example of African-Brazilian religions, Beyer (Ibid) points out that to examine the formation of those religions like Candomblé, only for the purpose of knowing to what extent it reproduces or gets away from the original African traditions, it is necessary to acquire the identity of these traditions . The understanding will be enhanced if integrated in the analysis, the contemporary construction of African purities that are required to consider Candomblé as syncretism. These African purities are not simply "there" available for analysis, without any ambiguity.

Observers, whether internal or external, should initially represent the elements as purities and then determine the elements that are authentic and those which are not. Adopting a perspective that considers syncretism as the aspect of a historic process on which purities form the other aspect, allows syncretisms and its supposedly components to appear as the terms of an analysis that should not consider either of the two aspects as given.

To Terry Rey (2005), syncretism is a form of cultural hybridity that best can be understood with the notion of habitus of Bourdieu. For such understanding, he focuses on

African-Catholic religious syncretism, and particularly in the Haitian culture of pilgrimage, highlighting the role given by the Haitian people in this creative, real and dynamic cultural synthesis. The meeting of traditional African religion and Catholicism in the Americas, produced one of the most significant and most studied examples of syncretism in the history of religions.

However, scientific analysis of this process tends to describe religions like Candomblé in Brazil or Voodoo in Haiti as formal assemblies of Euro-Catholic "elements" and African "survivals", thus hiding the integrative theological creativity of the African people and their descendants in the New World. In order to theorize about the basis of specific historical and contemporary examples: of the Congolese influences on Haitian religion, the author utilizes the concepts of habitus and capital of Bourdieu, trying to clarify the epistemological role of African intermediaries in the African-Catholic syncretism. Such an important and evident issue, was not really addressed in most studies about religious syncretism: where was religious syncretism born?

The hybrid character of symbolism, of ritual and of mythology, as well as the deities, were their main centers of interest, whereas, in reality, are only products of this syncretism or external signs. The author proposes to consider that religious syncretism is the output of the epistemological, theological and integrative process that cannot be explained in all its complexity without paying particular attention to the place from which it emerges. This place is precisely what Bourdieu calls "religious habitus", or "the matrix of perception", through which a person filters all experiences and all religious stimuli that reach it. Moreover, according to the predispositions that, for a large part comprehend our religious habitus, new experiences and religious stimuli may or may not be interpreted and lead to a constitutive process of religious syncretism.

Steven Engler (2011) says that the syncretism concept accentuates the supposedly pure roots, the religious mix, thus reflecting and reinforcing the implicit equation of religion and tradition. As such, he ignores the ongoing work that is needed to build and maintain the tradition (whether real or invented). The concept of hybridity is more useful to highlight the issues of cultural mixing. This concept offers two immediate advantages for religious

study: it highlights the complex relationship between religion and other aspects of their culture and society (making it easier to critique an exaggerated distinction between religion and culture), and opens doors to existing disciplinary discussions of these issues.

The author suggests the establishment of a specific concept - 'hybridity of refraction'. To constructively formulate his argument, he discusses the difference between hybridity of root and hybridity of paths (routes and roots), proposed by James Clifford, and indicates the third type of hybridity.

Hybridity of roots depends on a simple syncretism of the total of two previous, to create a third one, full and new. In this teleological mode, the origins and relevance are supreme, and exclusive essentialism can be easily reproduced. Hybridity of paths depends on unpredictable diasporic movements, creating unstable complex networks that are not reducible to teleological progression, but that move back and forth irregularly in time and space. In this way, paths and movement are supreme and exclusivism opens a space to more inclusive identities, based, for example, on the perception of common interests and goals, and not on the common origins (Wade, 2005: Identities 256-57 cited Engler, 2011: 21).

To Engler (Ibid), the two concepts are mutually implicated and co-dependent. Hybridity of paths demarcates the social context of the interaction, the strategies and tactics of mutual influence, and creativity of cultural agents. On the other hand, it necessarily raises its origins: it reflects both the past and the present. Hybridity of roots points out to a construction of novelty (which is not a teleological movement, wanting to get into the mix).

On the other hand, it reflects historical circumstances, religions, and specific politics. The discussions of hybridity are most useful when they emphasize the tensions that establish, prioritize, naturalize, and sanctify social divisions. At first glance, hybridity of roots has a diachronic and internal approach, emphasizing the origins and hybridity of pathways has a synchronous approach, emphasizing the social context of the interaction, the strategies and tactics of mutual influence, and participant's agency.

The case of Umbanda is hybrid, in both senses, but there is more: the third hybridity, hybridity of refraction, which points to the fact of social distinctions, within a society, symbolically, repeated, suppressed or reversed within a religious system, resulting in a spectrum of doctrinal variety, ritual or institutional.

As an example of 'hybridity of refraction' there is the spectrum of Umbandas, which refracts the spectrum of social tensions in Brazilian society. The concept of hybridity of refraction relates to "a homologous relationship between a set of social distinctions in a given society and repetition, elision, or reversing these same distinctions within a system of religious beliefs and practices of that society." Umbanda is a modern religion that encompasses, reflects, crosses, and ultimately, reinforces important social distinctions of Brazilian society.

It is an important case of hybridity of refraction because its origin, course, and position is so closely tied to issues of race and class in Brazil, and because it reflects these tensions in their doctrinal elaboration, ritual forms, and institutionalization. Referring to the recent theory of globalization, he argues that the internal variation of Umbanda reflects a variety of strategic appropriation of concepts, national and transnational models. This affirms the autonomy of these contextualized Brazilian religious agents and requires a national dimension in any analysis of the constitutive tensions of this kind of globalization.

Panikkar (1978: 91) reflects on the distinction between eclecticism and syncretism. Eclecticism is a non-critical mix of religious traditions and an agreement obtained by eliminating possible discrepancies in favor of an amorphous common denominator. Syncretism, moreover, is achieved with a possible uptake of elements which cease to be foreign bodies, enabling growth within each tradition, making as a genuine option mutual fertilization of religious traditions.

Droogers thinks of syncretism and eclecticism in Brazil from his concept of 'methodological ludism' (Droogers, 1996). The human capacity to use symbols points to the fundamental capacity to play, that is, the capacity to juxtapose certain things of which they know will only belong together for as long as the game lasts, the game of using a specific set of symbols (Droogers 1980: 13). Play is "the capacity to deal simultaneously

and subjunctively with two or more ways of classifying reality” (Droogers, 1996: 53). Religion is a privileged way in which play as a fundamental human capacity can be acted out.

A new religious ritual

After this comprehension, we can understand how the process of syncretism occurs in an Umbanda Branca group in Porto Alegre.

This center has existed for 60 years, and tries to keep the traditional line of Umbanda Branca, but it is a place of much movement of mediums and seekers. Despite of the proposal to preserve a tradition, the center has been (re)creating.

According to informants, this center was very different 20 years ago. The neighborhood in which the center is located was formerly the characterized by African cults and these were fading away gradually after becoming a middle-class neighborhood. This was the only place left in the neighborhood. Over the years other techniques have been introduced as reiki, chromotherapy¹⁰⁶ and apometry (currently unused).

Apometry is a practice of healing based on the channeling of universal energy with the aim of restoring the balance of energy. This technique was developed and founded in 1960 by the physician and spiritualist José Lacerda de Azevedo (1919-1997) at Kardec Spiritist Hospital in Porto Alegre. This technique aims to cure any kind of disease considered incurable. The technique consists in the unfolding and dissociation of multiple bodies that constituted the human being. This occurs through a sequence of pulses of mental commands of energy. In apometry the spiritual mentors work an empowering medium that unfolded (as well as the patient) to access certain situations from past lives. Accessing past life situations the medium tunes in to that “node” and frees the patient. The apometry is

¹⁰⁶ Chromotherapy or cromatherapy. It is color therapy that use light in the form of color to balance "energy" on physical, emotional, spiritual, or mental level.

associated with an alternative therapeutic practice. It is spiritualistic and divergent nature of the Kardecism classic that do not welcomed it.

Apometry was introduced in the center Umbanda by medium who worked for a time at the center. When this medium left the center, apometry technique was no longer used. According to one informant the technique was no longer used because it is considered to be a very dangerous technique. It requires a lot of control and dominion because the medium is being unfolded down to very low regions such as thresholds and castles of black magicians¹⁰⁷. The medium takes the risk being caught and never to return into the mediumistic trance and to vanish.

This Umbanda Center offers passes and blesses every Tuesday and special care for severe cases on Wednesdays. I made an appointment for my health with a “Preta Velha”¹⁰⁸. She detected that my case was serious because I had a past lives obsessor and I was sent for special care. Special care was being driven by a couple of mediums along with a team of ten mediums. The apometry is no longer used, but only technical Umbanda Branca. I attended a total of four sessions. The first two were directed by the couple of mediums and the last two were under new guidance.

At the first appointment a strong cleaning with a bit of gunpowder was done. The Ogum swore at me because I did not participate in the seven herbs bath as recommended by the Preta Velha and because I said I was a researcher and also consulted on other religious groups. The Ogum told me it was no joke and I could not “mix medicines from different doctors”. I should only follow one path - one religious service. The unloading baths of herbs are designed to eliminate various negative charges, deleterious fluids and thought-forms, embedded in the aura¹⁰⁹. The thoughts and feelings derived from selfishness, hatred, jealousy, vanity, lust, envy, create intense magnetism that attract everything that is bad in the astral.

¹⁰⁷ Black magic or dark magic refers to the use of magic for evil and selfish purposes.

¹⁰⁸ In English: Old Black Woman.

¹⁰⁹ An invisible emanation or field of energy that radiate (or surround) from a person or object.

In this sense, I was recommended to pray and “take control” my thoughts, for "in a cared for and plowed garden, the weeds do not grow." In other words, the evil only is installed where it finds fertile ground. Every day when I woke up in the morning I had to do the following prayer: "Father of Love and Mercy brings me the necessary protection and firmness of thought to always walk in the righteousness of the “enlightened path". The baths help those who are seeking righteousness, because transmuting negative thought forms and astral miasma¹¹⁰, returns them to nature as well as cleans and unclogs the chakras¹¹¹, creating harmony in the energy flows which stemmed of the cosmos.

This appointment was not commanded by the same medium because he was very sick as well as another medium that always gave me the blessings. A few months later, this medium died of a sudden and devastating cancer. He was a young man in his early forties. Then the Preta Velha recommended me two other works, which were commanded by her and her “Ogum da Mata¹¹²”. She is a medium who had been working in the center for a short time, but her fame was rising. In the third appointment, she told me that my obsessor was a lover I had in a past life and he could not accept any longer to be without me. So he was sucking my life energy and was the reason of my incurable anemia for years. But, after undertaking this service I should wait two months to redo the health tests and I would be cured.

My obsessor ordered a work with a black magician¹¹³ who was attacking me and the Umbanda Center resulting in the death of a medium and the almost death of another. In the Umbanda works that have been done the obsessor was sent to the astral hospital, where it was explained to him that if he would take the path of light, he could be reincarnated as my son and stay close to me. But he did not accept this, he wanted to be my lover. So now,

¹¹⁰ Astral miasma is an astral mist that restricts perception and movement

¹¹¹ The English word chakra is derived from the Sanskrit cakramचक्रं meaning "wheel" or "circle". This term refers to wheels of energy throughout the body. There are seven main chakras, which align the spine, starting from the base of the spine through to the crown of the head. (Apte, 1965)

¹¹² In English: Ogum of the Woods. Ogum da Mata is a Caboclo with a strong connection with Oxóssi. This Caboclo fight and win demands, hunting enemies and have strong connection with healing through herbs and leaves of the forest.

¹¹³ A magician who practices magic for the purposes of evil.

according to the Preta Velha it was a matter of "honor" works to exorcise. And she "received" a different ritual to be done, where this obsessor would definitely be captured.

The obsessor is a type of harmful influence, determined by a disembodied spirit (can also be incarnate). It is related to past lives, from the "Law of Cause and Effect"¹¹⁴ and free will¹¹⁵. But the tyranny of a certain obsessor may widely go over the limit of free will and individual karma.

Ramatis¹¹⁶ exemplifies this limit, since, in the religious work of disobsession in Umbanda Branca this should not be disrespectful to the free will. Instead this should act on the boundary between the beginning of the worthiness of the help of the obsessed and the end of freedom of action of the obsessor (Peixoto, 2003: 84):

If you have a child that, because of a misunderstanding at a football match in the soccer field of your neighborhood, the judge forced him to stay on the reservation, as justly imposed by the rules of the game, which it was complied with by the team, thereby offsetting the verbal abuse of the teammate. Not satisfied, the offended player with punishment carried out hatefully, lurks another, accompanied by a mob of bullies, starting an endless beating of kicks and punches. You would be in favor or against that departs these violent criminals, keeping them at least provisionally, until each one account its excessed?

This would be my case, since I was already being obsessed in several incarnations, and I had already paid my debt, and besides of that, my obsessor was not aware of his tyranny to me, so he was still expanding for those who were seeking to help me. In this sense, the last service was created from that demand, a new work, never done in the center. It was a

¹¹⁴ The spiritual principle of cause and effect where intent and actions of an individual (cause) influence the future of that individual (effect). Human beings live in the infinite universe created by God. Consequently, everyone and everything within the universe is subjected to God's Laws (or nature's laws). This truth is well explained by the Spiritist teachings, particularly in the following books from the Spiritist Codification by Allan Kardec namely: *The Spirits' Book* (in the Book First – Causes); *The Genesis* (Chapter 2) and *Heaven and Hell*.

¹¹⁵ Man has free-will to act, but is also responsible the consequences of his actions.

¹¹⁶ Ramatis is the name of a spirit who has reportedly spoken through several different mediums in Brazil since around 1955.

tangle of apometry, reiki and “oferenda¹¹⁷”, where I had to bring a tray with raw meat, corn, popcorn, honey, palm oil and red candle, with the aid of the Povo da Rua¹¹⁸.

In this service only a medium was with unfolded body (in apometry all are with the unfolded body). And thus, with the aid of Exu the medium can penetrate into the depths of darkness in order to definitely capture this obsessor. Umbanda Branca does not admit animal sacrifice because it is considered an "archaic" ritual. In this new ritual blood from raw ox meat (steak) was used. The blood from the steak satisfied the obsessor. My blood was replaced by the steak. The offering was “dispatched” at a crossroad. I also received reiki of the mediums. At the end of the service the medium told me that I should stay isolated seven days from my boyfriend. I should rest as much as possible, sleep in a bed with white sheets because I would be in recovery at the hospital in the Astral Plane.

This ritual that was created did not have the approval and consent of all mediums. Two mediums requested withdrawal from the center of Umbanda because of it. The apometry is seen by mediums as a dangerous technique to be exercised by those who do not have full field experience and the offering with raw meat is shocking to the Umbanda Branca, the Exu does not work in Umbanda Branca.

Perspectives

My general introduction about syncretism and its relation to adjacent concepts shows that syncretism became an analytical instrument marked by ideologies, concepts or principles, developed according to certain theories: evolutionism, culturalist theory, acculturation, neo-culturation, transculturation, reinterpretation, etc. They are always in relation to society, historical circumstances, race, culture and tradition: syncretism as survival strategy, disguise, a mask to escape territorial oppression, adaptation/integration or resistance to cultural and religious domination, power, identity, strategy to the prejudiced society, mixtures of cultures or traditions, African purity, the whitening of African-

¹¹⁷ In English: Offering. Offering food to the gods or saints as worship. In Candomblé, an offering is necessarily a sacrificial animal. In Umbanda, an offering cannot contain an animal sacrifice.

¹¹⁸ In English: Street People. They are Exus and Pomba Giras.

Brazilian traditions, the darkening of Kardecism Spiritism, cultural heritage of black people, etc. Or with relation to individual problems: Syncretism as syntheses focused on a pragmatic response to certain individual problems, as a response to suffering, to make life easier to live, because maybe life can be happier...

Most researchers search for a structure: Syncretism is a movement driven by a combinative, associative intention, from juxtaposed cosmologies, correspondence logic, combination of symbols, symbolic source, matrices, reinvention of meaning, accumulation and addition, convergences and parallelisms of ideas and values that are close, *habitus*, play, cultural line, joining different beliefs, different traditions into same system, etc.

My general introduction about syncretism and its relation to adjacent concepts illustrates that binary logic and biunivocal relationships dominate the ideas of syncretism, hybridity (hybridity of refraction, hybridity of roots and routes), eclecticism and play. These terms emphasize the mixture. Even if the concept of hybridity that is, above all, the coexistence of two linguistic consciences within a single speech, or the combination of separate structures or practices to create new structures and practices. This system of thought proceeds by dichotomy and assumes a strong principal unity. On the side of the object, there is no doubt possible to go directly from one to three, four or five, but only if there is a strong principal unity available. Like the concept of play that is the capacity to deal simultaneously and subjunctively with two or more ways of classifying reality. This is the binary logic of dichotomy. One operates in the object, the other in the subject.

Like Capone (2001: 46) says, the whole work of Bastide is structured in a constant game between two opposite poles. It is the result of a dualistic view of Brazilian society. He progressively replaces the “Africans/Blacks dichotomy of Nina Rodrigues (a dichotomy reproduced by Bastide when he analyzes the different models of social organization in “Les Amériques noires”, in 1967) to another internal dichotomy in “Nago black”/ “Bantu black” object in which turn leads to an avalanche of oppositions: mosaic syncretism/fusion syncretism, purity/degradation, resistance/adaptation, tradition/modernity, African religious civilization/class ideology, African society/black society, continuity/discontinuity, material acculturation/formal acculturation.

Even the analysis of Ferreti (2008) that understands syncretism from a “reinvention of meanings” and a “circularity of cultures”, does not really break with dualism, with the complementarity between a subject and an object, whereas a unity of totalization asserts itself in another, circular or cyclic, dimension even more firmly. To the author, African-Brazilian religions, as a result of syncretism, have both African and Brazilian aspects, however coming from different matrices. Namely, unity is consistently thwarted and obstructed in the object, while a new type of unity triumphs in the subject. The subject can no longer even dichotomize, but accedes to a higher unity, of ambivalence or over determination, in an always supplementary dimension to that of its object.

Or even the proposals of seeing syncretism from Bourdieu’s notion of *habitus* like Terry Rey (2005) did. The purpose of Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus* is to collapse the duality sign/significance “, articulating in the analysis of social fact the action as *Opus Opertum* and as *modus operandi* of the social life” (Steil e Carvalho, 2012: 34). But religious syncretism is seen as a process where new experiences and religious stimuli are interpreted according to the predispositions that comprehend this "religious *habitus*". Its goal seems to describe *a de facto state*, to maintain balance in intersubjective relations, or to explore an unconsciousness that is already there from the start, lurking in the dark recesses of memory and language. It consists of tracing, on the basis of an overcoding structure or supporting axis (religious *habitus*), something that comes ready-made.

These methods to think of syncretism are amenable to a structural or generative model. In this sense if we analyze the new religious ritual I have outlined above searching for a structure we can think of the new ritual as a group religious practices which compare religions and select what is common to them. In the new ritual the Umbandist group plays with the meaning of different religious sources that have similar structures. I.e. the ritual emerged from the similarity of Candomblé, Umbanda, Apometry, Kardecism, Catholicism, Shamanism¹¹⁹ and Reiki. The religious practice extracted from these religious systems

¹¹⁹ A shaman is a priest/magician/healer especially as found in such areas as Siberia, Indonesia, Oceania, North and South America, Tibet, China, and Japan. Tools of the shaman usually include a specific costume and a drum. The shaman holds a type of séance, usually going into trance. The Altaic shaman ritually climbs a birch tree, into the trunk of which have been cut a number of steps. The birch symbolizes the World Tree and the steps are the various “heavens” through which the shaman

form a bond more or less consistent between symbols. The new ritual is a syncretic practice of reinterpretation and symbolic selection. It changed some elements of the ritual structure, but the structure remains the same. It appeared to be a surprising and unexpected event (the death of one medium by my obsessor) that shows how the narrative was built, consciously or unconsciously. The phases of the ritual remain the same changing only a few elements: Exu, raw meat, apometry, offering. The goal remains the same: problem-solving and healing.

We can also think of the new ritual from a model of religious praxis developed by Droogers (2006a: 28) that suggests religions can be compared in terms of three main dimensions: External, internal and supernatural. A religious group's identity, as well as the way it deals with religious pluralism and syncretism, depends on the composition of these three dimensions. This model focuses on the relation between power and the processes of meaning making or signification.

Droogers (2006a: 29) says that attitudes towards religious pluralism are not only influenced by a summation of the views of believers on the question of power and meaning in the three dimensions. Rather than a juxtaposition, it is the three dimensions as a combined whole, which determines the group's attitude, thereby putting the stamp on the group's total identity within the society around it. Religious identity is thus formed by external, internal and supernatural dimensions.

must pass on his ecstatic journey to the highest heaven. According to Mircea Eliade, "Shamanism in the strict sense is preeminently a religious phenomenon of Siberia and Central Asia. The word comes to us, through the Russian, from the Tungusic saman ... the magic-religious life of society centers on the shaman." Nandor Fodor suggests that the name also comes from the Sanskrit *sramana*, meaning an ascetic. Fodor clarified, "As distinct from priests, shamans have no ritualistic knowledge but operate rather like Spiritualist mediums." There are three ways to become a shaman. The first is by spontaneous vocation; by realizing that one has been "called" to it. The second is by hereditary transmission of the profession. The third is by personal "quest." But as Eliade points out "By whatever method he may have been designated, a shaman is recognized as such only after having received two kinds of instruction. The first is ecstatic (for example, dreams, visions, trances); the second is traditional (shamanic techniques, names and functions of the spirits, mythology and genealogy of the clan, secret language)." (Buckland, 2005: 370)

In the supernatural dimension in Umbanda the supernatural power is experienced in the context of problem-solving and healing, either through the spirit or the spirits. A god or spirit reveals itself directly through the medium, using his or her body, speaking through his mouth, and often healing that person through mediumship. The medium is considered to be God's or the spirit's 'horse' and sometimes a medium can literally be overpowered by the supernatural, entering a trance that is difficult to control. (Droogers, 2006a: 35) Like the Exu that came down in the new ritual over controlling the mediums and meaning making thus resulted in specific views on supernatural power.

The other side of divine power, namely the human effort to influence and use it, is in Umbanda almost all experiences of spirit possession are used by mediums and believers in gaining supernatural help for the solution of their problems. Mediums consciously seek possession and the aid of the spirits in order to help their clients. In some cases, this supernatural power is considered ambiguous, to say the least: it is seen as both harmful and destructive, as the defiant slaves of centuries past had already discovered. (Droogers, 2006a: 36)

In the internal dimension in the Umbanda internal power relationships are understood in reference to the supernatural. Mediumship colors the structure of internal power relations; mediums by virtue of their capacity to intercede between gods or spirits and people, have the authority to exert power over their 'clients'. Some mediums do better than others and attain positions of power above other mediums, success being measured by the size of the clientele network. (Droogers, 2006a: 37) This was what happened in the new ritual: the medium who had been worked in the center for a short time had her fame growing up with the clients because of her "powerful mediumship". But not all mediums accepted this. Two mediums left the center of Umbanda because of this.

In the external dimension the Umbandists do not consciously seek to influence society. The mediums' societal role is normally limited to the help they offer to their clients; they seek solutions, through their networks – and not only through their spiritual resources – and thereby intervene in the society around them. (Droogers, 2006: 38)

Droogers (2006a: 43) to understand attitudes towards religious pluralism and syncretism through these three dimensions that produce a religion's identity. The ritual expression of this attitude is a logical consequence of the convictions that characterize the supernatural dimension. At the same time, however, believers also developed an active ritual attitude, typical of the explorative made of religions production in the sense that Umbanda sees the sacred as a problem-solving instrument. Power and meaning are intricately interwoven and mutually influential. Power depends, partly, on the meaning-making processes in which gods, spirits and people are viewed or experienced as powerful beings. Moreover, people who hardly play any role in society's power processes can, through meaning making, find a way of creating their own world, real to them at least and in which secular and religious power relationships, including religious pluralism, can be inverted and criticized.

So, the new ritual originates in the human capacity to handle different dimensions of reality at the same time. "Religion and play belong to the same category of human action" (Droogers, 1999: 303).

To Versteeg (2006: 99) "religion play refers to 1) religious practice that deliberately makes use of the notion of play or 2) in which playfulness is employed as an experimental strategy to reach meaning". Various types of religiosity make similar use of the imagination and the manipulation of symbols and senses, not all of them employ playful modes in the same way. This is one of the most fundamental and interesting aspects of symbolic analysis: understanding how symbols are made to mean something rather than something else. Some will say what distinguishes religion from play is the set of rules. Play and make-believe may be intrinsic to religious practice, enabling to create correspondence between what is imagined and what is real or what may become real.

In the case of the new ritual, I can say, the play and make-believe intrinsic to religious practices created correspondences between what is imagined (my obsessor killed the medium) and what is real (the death of the medium).

This approach devotes attention to experience, including religious experience. To Droogers (2006b: 15) experience is understood to include interpretation. Experience is always framed by culture. "Culture" has a double meaning. Anthropologically, it means

that experience can be linked to the general concept of culture, in the singular, as the universal human capacity to produce and manipulate symbols, their meanings, and the patterns in which these symbols with their meanings, are brought together. This universal dimension allows for interpretation. Experience is also shaped by the culture in which it occurs. Culture should then be understood in a more restricted way as pertaining to the actualization, at a certain time and place, of a particular way of life, with its own pattern of symbols and meanings. In that sense, one talks not only about culture but also cultures. Experience can, therefore, never exist without a cultural framework, and contextualized religious experience can never be isolated from total experience.

In this sense that Lewgoy (2001) analyzed the life and religious experience of Chico Xavier, shaped by the culture, The Chico Xavier phenomenon was framed by the Brazilian culture and society from his life and religious experience. The model of spiritualism built by Chico Xavier evidences the Kardecism's dominant religious point of view along the 20th Century, which are including citizenship model, religious practice and national project. A mythical model of exemplary spiritualist, the absolute prominence of the medium in the history of the Brazilian spiritualism was interpreted in the light of a cultural code articulated in his biography. The mythical model of Chico Xavier with its pattern of symbols and meanings has built syntheses, combines the relational system of the gift with the debt karmic system, the traditional with the modern country, the hierarchy to equality (although without the liberal individualism), the family tradition and corporatism, the language of spirits with the cult of saints, the literacy with humility, the heart and the reason.

From the Chico Xavier case and my participation in the new ritual of Umbanda group I think that these approaches do not capture what is at stake in these cases. I agree when Lewgoy says (2001) Chico Xavier built and established a new paradigm of religious practices not previously established. And I also think the new ritual of the Umbanda group is an innovation. If the experience is always shaped by the culture in which it occurs so nothing genuinely new could occur? For me these cases happened from religious experience that enters into conjunction with others in an assemblage. A religious

experience that escapes the established culture, a kind of experience that decontextualizes a set of relations, i.e. the experience is not totally shaped by the culture and new systems can occur.

Inspired by the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari I think in the case of Chico Xavier, that there are multiple systems of experience and they arise from within Chico Xavier's religious experience. First the Chico Xavier's experience with spirits was a "coming undone" (D&G 1983: 322) that constituted the cutting edge of an assemblage. The events in Chico Xavier's life did not have a linear structure with a clear beginning, middle and end. The thought does not advance according to an ordered progressive course. Chico Xavier's life story must be conceived as a constantly changing assemblage of forces, an epiphenomenon arising from chance confluences of languages, multiplicity of relations between humans and non-humans, societies, religions, expectations, laws, affects and percepts and so on. His religious experience can be describe as a moving away from a culture, a structural context and not totally shaped by the culture with syntheses and binary logics.

Lewgoy (2001) seeks to package things into discrete categorized units with singular meanings and identities. Lewgoy interpreted a mythical model from Chico Xavier's life story. The anthropologist has transformed the experience of Chico Xavier and his assemblage into linearity. He has organized, stabilized, and neutralized the assemblages, the agencements according to the axes of significance and subjectification belonging to it. He has generated, structuralized the experience reproducing points of syntheses and structuration.

Clarke (2006: 124) says he is not sure how well the word mixing, often used to describe syncretism, actually describes what is taking place at either the subjective or objective level, when religions encounter and participate in each other's rituals or come to respect and in some sense share each other's beliefs. He realized that from the point of view of the actors involved there is often no intention, without careful reflection, of simply mixing different beliefs and rituals together. He exemplified with the opinion of the majority of the more than five hundred Sri Lanka Theravada Buddhists monks who now use Messianity's

healing ritual known as *johrei*¹²⁰ in their temples in Brazil. There is certainly no mixing at the intellectual level. During his fieldwork in 2000-2001, it was made clear that in their mind the ritual performance of *johrei* in no way affects the philosophical integrity of Buddhism.

Of course the new model of spiritualism built by Chico Xavier evidences the Kardecism's dominant religious point of view along the 20th Century in Brazil but his experience does not form this single system (Chico Xavier's model of spiritualism) framed by the Brazilian culture and society in the 20th Century, but, this is one of the multiple systems of experience. In addition, new systems of experience can occur. If we think about the production process of the Chico Xavier model of spiritualism we can realize Chico Xavier did not have any intention in mind or a need to solve problems. He always obeyed commands. He was entirely oriented toward an experimentation in contact with his reality. He himself was a part of a multiple systems of experience. He was agencied and not only related to a structure or form given. He did not build his mythic narrative or series of syntheses in his mythic narrative. He did not reproduce an unconsciousness closing in upon itself. He constructed the unconscious or new form – the new model of spiritualism from connections.

Lewgoy (2001) read the syncretism in Chico Xavier from a binary logic of differentiation in the subject. But if we read the syncretism in Chico Xavier from no subject or object, but connections, we can see there are “no more subjects, but dynamic individuations without subjects, which constitute collective assemblages” (Deleuze 1987: 93). Chico Xavier and the other humans and Emmanuel and the other non-humans are actors. They were produced and produce themselves every time. Chico Xavier went through the state of being insane to become a saint. It is about production.

¹²⁰ Johrei means "purification of the spirit". It is a healing ritual developed in Japan involving a giver and a receiver.

Experience can always be opened up in a new way that escapes the established culture, the tradition, structure, the norm and the given form. Moreover, since experience can occur in a genuinely new way, the subject must be able to be transformed as well.

The transcendental conditions of experience belong to experience itself, not the subject. But there is production of the subject. The subject and the object of knowledge are produced together when a system of experience opens up. As a result, the subject and object are necessarily in relation and, for this reason, the object can always in principle be known by the subject. (Batra, 2010) Chico Xavier and his new model of spiritualism were produced together.

The subject to Deleuze (1987), which also cannot know itself, can nonetheless genuinely be transformed and become different from itself. The transformation of the subject occurs at the moment that a new field of experience is opened up. In the new ritual of Umbanda the mediums (identifying themselves as “horses of spirits” or “horses of gods”), by desire for divine justice went through becoming, becoming-divine power. Becoming is the process or state of being in time and space. Mediums and the Umbanda group constitute themselves as subjects, on the sidelines of knowledge constitutes an established powers which spend give away to new knowledge and new powers. This is beyond to meaning-making process and solving problems. This is beyond a production through the three dimensions (external, internal and supernatural). It is about a production from desire through assemblages. There are no dimensions but assemblages.

The current approaches for syncretism close off religious experience in ideologies and interpretative categories. What is at stake in these approaches is the experience itself. If we focus in the religious experience intrinsic in the religious practice as multiple systems of experience (including the experience shaped by the culture and the experience that escapes the culture) we can see syncretism should be processes that produce subjects and cultures.

CHAPTER 2

SYNCRETISM AND RELIGIOUS BUTINAGE

In the last chapter I made an argument that is the basis of my concept of religious butinage: there is an experience that escapes the established structure. This experience enters into conjunction with others in a desiring process. This process is beyond the search for “the meaning of” and allows being-in-the world¹²¹ and producing subjects and syncretisms.

To Clarke (2006: 123) “Syncretism is an integral part of the search for meaning, a search that no one set of beliefs or ideas appears to be able to satisfy completely for a whole raft of reasons of an existential, spiritual, political, cultural, social and economic kind”.

As I understand it syncretism is a process composed of symbolic work: reinterpretation, analogy, cutting and bricolage. But it is also composed of the experience that escapes the symbolic work: butinage.

In this chapter, first I will expose the notion of syncretic work and bricolage that is associated with my idea of butinage. Afterward I will present the concept of religious butinage as Edio Soares (2009) thought about and how I built this concept from trajectories

¹²¹ State of being is only defined an object's existence by its relation to other objects, and actions it undertakes. The term “I am” has no meaning by itself; it must have an action or relation appended to it. This in turn has led to the thought that ‘being’ and nothingness are closely related. Being-in-the-world is Heidegger's replacement for terms such as subject, object, consciousness, and world. For him the split of things into subject/object, as we find in the Western tradition and even in our language must be overcome as is indicated by the root structure of Husserl and Brentano's concept of intentionality, i.e., that all consciousness is consciousness of something, that there is no consciousness, as such, cut off from an object (be it the matter of a thought, or of a perception). Nor are there objects without some consciousness beholding or being involved with them. Heidegger notes that there is always a mood, a mood that “assails us” in our unreflecting devotion to the world. A mood comes neither from the “outside” nor from the “inside,” but arises from being-in-the-world. (Gilson, 1952)

in ayahuasca religions and Chico Xavier's story. Then I will conclude my concept of butinage with an example of a trajectory that I have been following since my Master's research.

Syncretic Work

In "Le Bricolage Africain des héros chrétiens" Mary (2000), on his study of the Bwiti, a syncretic religion of the Fang of Gabon, is understanding syncretism from a process of symbolic work, which rests on a dialectic of continuity and discontinuity, which he calls "syncretic work." The author identifies four types of syncretism used in the current logical approach of the syncretic work.

The first type is the reinterpretation. Like Herskovits and Bastide, he highlights that there is no syncretism without reinterpretation, meaning no ownership of exogenous cultural content through categories of thought of the native culture. Mary shows a double movement in the work of the reinterpretation of phenomena, which can be made in accordance with those of indigenous culture or imported culture. Taking into account the relations of power inherent in this encounter, the reinterpretation can thus be analyzed as the result of opposition between dominant culture and dominated culture. In this sense, it is about forms of semantic stratagem that keep, subtly, continuity and discontinuity, in terms of cultural change.

The second type of syncretization is the analogy that practices, happily, the overall similarity and uncertain abstraction and introduces the pseudoscientific notion of 'correspondence', and may be understood in more elaborate terms of functional equivalence or structural homology, but also in terms of a mystical of participation. Dealing with the problems set by the identification of the saints with the Orixás, as a main example in the theory of Bastidian's correspondences, Mary speaks of the "blinding reinterpretation of" appealing to the notion of "bad constructive interpretation" or of "misunderstood productive of Sahlins", since we reinterpret our own culture, from the categories on the

other, to accommodate, to get a kind of providential encounter between two original cultures from the notion of pre-limitation according to Lévi-Strauss.

The third syncretization type is the cutting principle, which allows switching or cohabitation on the same subject or within the same culture, of logical or of incompatible and irreducible categories within. This paradigm is the center of Bastidian's theory.

The fourth and last type rests on the "dialectic of matter and form," as Bastide would put it, speaking of opposition between material acculturation and formal acculturation. Bastide brings back, in fact, the bricolage metaphor of Lévi-Strauss¹²², who considered the symbolic field, recovered by the bricolagenist, as pre-limited, meaning marked by its internal use. This "memory", inherent to the symbolic field, becomes according to Bastide an embodied memory in the bodies, a collective memory that perpetuates itself, thanks to daily gestures and ritual actions: there is no memory of the 'elements' as such, independent of the prints they leave on the bodies and on the spirits of rootless people. Therefore, the fourth type is bricolage.

Religious Bricolage

The bricolage in which Mary (2000) emphasizes the essentiality of symbolic or cultural "pre-obligations"/"pre-impositions", giving meaning to the whole notion of syncretic work. But for the author, the regime of "religion *à la carte*" of postmodernity feeds itself, essentially, on the absence of such pre-obligations. In this case the syncretic creations occur for collages (collagens by de Certeau). As he appointed *bris-collage* to differentiate of bricolage.

Hereafter, Mary (2001) says he believes that he came into a conclusion about the regime of "religion *à la carte*" rashly, and he agrees with Daniele Hervieu-Léger. Hervieu-Léger

¹²² Claude Lévi-Strauss, in his book "The Savage Mind" (1966), used the bricolage term to describe the characteristic patterns of mythological thought. In his description it is opposed to the engineers' creative thinking, which proceeds from goal to means. Mythical thought, according to Levi-Strauss, attempts to re-use available materials in order to solve new problems.

(2005) argues that there is no unlimited believe atomization associated with "high modernity" in the conception of "religion à la carte". Hervieu-Léger emphasizes that there are specific and real limitations to bricolage (external and internal), the pre-constraints. Individuals develop varied competences of bricolage corresponding to different social backgrounds.

Hervieu-Léger (1999) speaks of "bricolage beliefs", from a first reflection on religious modernity. Situating the general framework of modernity, the author elaborates on the paradox of religious and secular societies, in particular the credible crisis of religious systems and the growing emergence of new forms of belief. Modern societies cannot be embedded in a restricted secularization perspective, marked by the idea of social and cultural deprivation of religion, since the same secularizing modernity provides the spread of new religious expressions, in which it raises opacity, intransparency and uncertainty as to future.

What characterizes the current time is not mere indifference with respect to belief, but the loss of its "regulation" from traditional institutions who produce sense. Thus, what happens is a "bricolage beliefs", individualization and freedom in the dynamic construction of faith systems. Beliefs spread, decreasingly conform the established patterns, decreasingly commanding the controlled practices by the institutions. It becomes in a normal sense a belief without belonging, or "believing without belonging" and the equally growing trend of "belonging without believing".

Religions tend to present itself as a symbolic raw material, eminently malleable, which can serve to several developments, according to the group's interest. That raw material is likely to be incorporated into other symbolic constructions, particularly those present in the elaboration of ethnic and national identities. Thus, the symbolic heritage of historical religions was not just totally at the disposal of people who "make bricolage" universes of meaning and capable of giving meaning to their existence. It was also available for many kinds of collective utilizations, the most diverse, first-hand, we find the identity mobilization of religious symbols. There are "competences for bricolage" socially differentiated. Not all individuals have the same means and the same cultural resources to

produce their own list of beliefs. Bricolage differs according to the classes, social environments, gender, and generations.

Hervieu - Léger (2005) develops a reflection on the place taken by the notion of bricolage – applied to people’s beliefs - in contemporary sociology of religious modernity. The author argues against the unlimited atomization of belief associated with "high modernity", linked to the absence of pre-limits and pre-impositions on bricolage. Instead, she emphasizes the idea of the existence of real and specific limitations (external and internal) of contemporary bricolage in Western societies. The first outer boundary is the cultural and social environment, which affects the gatherings/collects and re-uses the plausible structures given. The second limit refers to unequal opportunities for access of individuals to symbolic resources that the environment places. These two outer limits - determined by social conditions, are closely correlated to each other. The re-use of elements drawn from different sources is to some extent at least, guided by the representations and interpretations that social environment offers the different traditions.

But these representations and interpretations respond on the arrangements, aspirations and interests of the social classes that produce them. In the games of the composition of the individual, these individuals develop varied skills in bricolage, which correspond to different social arrangements. It is impossible to understand the social logic of spiritual bricolage without considering at the same time, the social conditions of individuals' access to symbolic resources unequally available, even if the weakness of institutional controls believe favors to be the dispersion of individualistic beliefs. But these fall, however, within a device of social and cultural constraints, whose relevance is more important.

To those external limits, affecting the possibilities of individual bricolage of beliefs and identities, there is another "internal" one which corresponds to the limits of the construction of self-narrative itself, in which bricolage is ordered. Individuals do not just “bricole” but they cope with, explain, and give sense to the experiences spontaneously experienced as disjointed and fragmented. However, this only works from what can be obtained of a third party (the tradition witness or the confirmation of another), a validation that ensures the

conditions for a minimum stabilization. It's enrolling in a narrative, just in a language, with its own limitations, when and where bricolage can make sense.

However, the verbal exchanges whereby each one is likely to produce a small religious narrative that can be validated by others, they are not in number, limitless. From an empirical collecting, Hervieu-Léger detected four typical verbal exchanges, believing that small narratives inventoried the match of believers and gravel every time in a peculiar manner. The first is the conversion of the narrative, which relates to the experience of regeneration in which the individual has passed. The second is that of asceticism, which installs the different practical applications that allowed the individual to access a peaceful relationship with him-self and others.

The third one is the enlightened one, which restores the pathways by which the individual has entered into a new order of knowledge that enabled him to overcome his conflicts and inner contradictions. The fourth one is the narrative of community reintegration, for which the applicant reports his return "to the arms of his family", and that allows him to reach beyond his mistakes in identity (by abandonment, ignorance or treachery), the authentic filiation he can claim. Each of these typical verbal exchanges correspond to, in their own way (the reversal one, the conversion one, the ethical or mystical thinking, the return to the sources) to an ordering relationship with himself and the world. To the extent that this system fits in a religious logic (which is not fatal), he always relies on testimony of others. Thus enrolls the individual in the line of believer which is the axis of all religious identity.

Far from the metaphor of an expending nebula by infinitely in an empty space, bricolage deploys and unfolds over the empire of these different internal and external limits on a structured social and symbolic space, according to settings whose number is not unlimited, even if there is a remarkable enlargement of resources in present time. From a kaleidoscope of disparate data, almost always displaced from the symbolic syntax that makes them legible, "workshops" of contemporary bricolage of believe get organized. These workshops, which refer to three main thematic fields, are set in privileged laboratories of manufacturing narratives' small bricolage. They are: health, science and the afterlife.

For Ortner (2007) individuals/persons/subjects are always embedded in webs of relations of affection or solidarity, power or rivalry. Whatever the "agency" they seem "to have" as individuals, factual it is something that is always negotiated interactively. In this sense there are never free agents, not only in the sense that it is free to formulate and achieve their goals in a social gap, but also in that it lacks the ability to completely control these relations for their own purposes. Ortner says that the role of intentionality in agency lies in the question of improvisation, a set of boundaries within in which the actors can improvise. Improvisation itself is what might be both thought of as extremely "soft" and the other "hard". In its extreme "soft", it keeps resemblance to jazz improvisation, a kind of game/application with the possibilities inherent in musical form, the emotional and aesthetic pleasure it provides. In extreme "hard" it's closely linked to intentionality. The actor has some intention in mind, there may be a way of cultural pattern to accomplish this intention that for some reasons is blocked, so the actor improvises a workaround in order to accomplish this intention analogous to bricolage.

Religious Butinage

Edio Soares (2009) argues that the concept of bricolage does not really express the meaning of the religious practices and he proposes the concept of religious butinage (*butinage religieux*), to cope with this phenomenon of mobility. The choice of the term "religious butinage" was the result of a collective reflection between Gilbert Rist, at that time supervisor of the doctoral thesis of Edio Soares, Yvan Droz, responsible for the doctoral program at the "Institut de Hautes Études Internationales et du Développement" in Switzerland, and Edio Soares himself resulting in his work "Le butinage Religieux: pratiques et pratiquants au Brésil". His work tell us the origin of the word "butinage" and its meaning:

Le mot "butinage" vient du verbe "butiner", qui a la meme racine que le mot "butin", issu du bas-Allemand bûte, qui signifie partage. Jusqu'au XVIe siècle, le verbe "butiner", signifiait "partager ce qu'on a pris". A partir du XVIIIe siècle, le mot "butinage" est utilise pour illustrer l'activité des abeilles: "visiter les fleurs pour y chercher la nourriture, le nectar de la ruche" (Le Petit Robert, 2002, p.318). Ainsi, à la manière d'une abeille, le pratiquant "butine" d'une denomination religieuse à l'autre,

recréant e fabriquant du sens, au “parfum” chaque fois spécifique et renouvelé. [...] Le butinage religieux est donc juste une forme de Voyage. Un voyage “en train” de se (re)faire (Soares, 2009: 20).

Religious butinage to Edio Soares (2009) is like the practice of bees, religious practices that are religious productions, experience, a doing trip, creating, and manufacturing. Butinage implies sharing the butyn (*butin*). To “make butinage” means to share what we harvest. Religious butinage implies a gift, the gift in three dimensions: vertical (between the Creator and his creatures), horizontal (the gift from the creatures themselves) and longitudinal (the gift from the creatures and their ancestors). Within the logic of gift the interactions between the creator and creatures imply a contract between the parties. From one side, the creator agrees to grant the graces; from another side, the creature is committed to testify. To seal the contract the creatures make offerings or promises. It is a kind of a necessary bail that allows the creator to credit his creatures and vice versa. The gift is established in the present time another time, a time of hope. Awaiting grace, creatures have restored hope for the gift. It enables the creatures to live better despite of everything. The creatures need to share their nurture with other creatures. So the creatures have friends and create communities. Sharing is then also a way of protection. The more they are nurtured, the more they feel protected. The protection (spiritual or otherwise) involves sharing their “butin”, whatever the practitioner holds. “*Butiner, c’est partager ce que l’on a récolté*” (p. 29). Namely, to Edio Soares it is in a religion, where one who falls through its horizontal dimension socially (reciprocity), that one should seek to understand butinage.

The logic of gift and reciprocity is from Maussian inspiration and to many researchers it guides the religious symbolic action. For example, when Greenfield (2006: 115) analyzes the religious pluralism in Brazil:

Humans pray to the saints using words with which they petition their help with material as well as spiritual problems. (...) The saints are assumed to be sympathetic to human suffering and generally disposed to assist potential devotees because they once had lived on earth. To increase the probability of obtaining the saint’s intercession, a petitioner will make a vow promising, in exchange for the requested assistance, to visit the saint’s shrine. As further incentive he may promise to have masses said, to light candles, performing acts of penance and other forms of religious devotion. A material representation of the miracle, or a letter attesting to it, may be included in a vow and deposited as a votive offering at the shrine as testimony of the saint’s abilities and accomplishments. ‘[...]The

relationship between a saint and a devotee,' writes Queiroz (1973:86) is 'one of reciprocity, or better of *Do ut des*: I give to receive something in exchange.' For it to work and the petitioner to be successful, he must be familiar with the saint, his likes and dislikes, his personal preferences, and include them in the vow in a way that will motivate the saint to accept the offer. Vows to the saints are made conditionally. They do not have to be fulfilled unless and until the petitioner obtains what has been requested and only then there is an obligation to make the pilgrimage and perform all the devotional and other acts promised in the vow.

Greenfield (2006: 120) concludes that attitudes toward pluralism may be seen as part of the discourse of people who affiliate with religious groups in exchange for being helped by its supernatural(s). This is the so called pilgrimage experience: 'reflecting the clientelism that continues to characterize Brazilian social, political, and religious relationships, the Holy Spirit operates as a sort of divine patron, offering protection in exchange for service and loyalty' (Chestnut 1997:96 *apud* Greenfield 2006: 118).

In the case of Chico Xavier, Lewgoy (2001: 85) concludes that Chico Xavier performs a "spiritual manipulation of the gift." With the "incarnate people" he is donor (of psychographic messages, books, examples, consolation, healing). He reserved to join a gifts circuit only in the 'spiritual' perspective because he never accepted money, presents or material rewards on the grounds that he has to give for free what he receives for free. The situation that Worm (1993: 9) reports in his book illustrates this relationship. Worm tried to send Chico a present from a trip he had made to Italy - a tile bought in a shop in the ruins of Pompeii. Even knowing that Chico does not accept presents, Worm suggested that he accepted it, because it was just a "memory". And Chico replied: "Yes, from this moment it became mine by the spiritual retina. I ask you and your family to become guardians of this precious relic". This episode explains the code that Chico Xavier was submitted and his unique ability to extricate himself from situations like that: The present returns to the donor without setting a refusal of the intention. In classical logic of the gift, the rejection of the present means a refusal to participate in an exchange between partners. But the fact of asking the Worm family to be the guardian of the present added personal justification which stated that the "relic was already his by the spiritual retina," resolving the issue by reducing the circuit's exchange to its essential structure. Chico "spiritually" accepted the gift (or hau of the present) but refused to accept their material involvement.

So he only accepts disinterested intention and sublimated any chance to personal or material obligations. By targeting a present on material and spirit ("it is mine by the spiritual retina") and give autonomous substance to its immaterial face, he was involved in purified form in the circuit of exchange. To Chico Xavier, the spiritual dimension is ontologically more real and intense than the material dimension because he is able to accept only the spiritual part of the present refusing its material side. Thus, Chico has a spiritual relationship with the material world, in which he especially occupies the donor position, which allows Chico to spiritually manipulate the very immaterial gift (the hau contained in the present), refusing its material involucre without characterizing non-acceptance or slight.

I have understood that it is not the logic of gift and reciprocity that guides the religious symbolic action in the ayahuasca religions of Santo Daime and União do Vegetal (UDV). The União do Vegetal and Santo Daime are considered ayahuasca religions for establishing their services on the religious use of ayahuasca. But both have different mythical narratives, different rituals and different shapes set of entities that comprise each pantheon. According to Labate (2004: 92) both religions had their origin from the contact with the Andean shamanic universe, what makes it that they have that tradition in common. In other words, they have developed in different ways coming from the same tradition.

The União do Vegetal was founded by Mestre¹²³ Gabriel and his doctrine is orally and secretly transmitted to the disciples by the hierarchical level they occupy within the religion. The Santo Daime was founded by Mestre Irineu and his doctrine is transmitted to all through music hymns. The doctrine is always transmitted during the "força¹²⁴" or "burracheira¹²⁵", which is the emic term to designate the experience of being under the overwhelming influence/effect of the tea at respectively the Daime and the UDV. This experience is associated in both religions to a healing or a personal transformation from a

¹²³ In English: Master. "The honorific title of José Gabriel da Costa (1922–1971), originator of the União do Vegetal. The honorific title of José Gabriel da Costa (1922–1971), originator of the União do Vegetal". (Labate, Meyer & Anderson, 2009).

¹²⁴ In English: Force.

¹²⁵ Or "Strange Force".

learning process, from a spiritual evolution. Reincarnation is directly linked to the healing system that is similar for both doctrines. It is by a sequence of incarnations that the spirit evolves until reaching the maximum degree of purification and healing. The reincarnations are governed by the Law of Merit, which resemble to the Law of Karma, whose logic is the classical theory of cause and effect. Ayahuasca is considered a master plant, a teacher plant, a power plant and can heal diseases and purify karma. Ayahuasca is cherished, a divine being.

As Goulart (1996) emphasizes, from the Daime perspective the main point of its relationship with the sacred reality is the ethical transformation that he can get through the experience with the Daime drink itself. Indeed, the tea is not only a beverage consumed in the ritual, but the main Daimist "entity", the great "guru", the "master plant" that guides the subject on its spiritual learning process. It is in this personal, intimate and conscious relationship with the Daime that followers solidify themselves as moral individuality.

We cannot glimpse the logic of the gift since, beyond a reciprocal relationship between the Saint and the devotee, a moral learning of the subject is emphasized which refers to Kardecists concepts of karma, free will, merit, spiritual evolution and accordingly, those inter connections meet for charity beyond the bounds of testimony, of sharing.

Greenfield (2006: 117) says that from the perspective of any given individual, an encounter with a religion and its version of the supernatural may be seen as an attempt to obtain the goal of a cure or the resolution of some other problem. But in the ayahuasca religions the cure does not have any relation with the gift of logic but with the learning of logic. Reincarnation is directly linked to the healing system. A healthy and healed spirit, depends on what they earthly conduct during their incarnations reaching the "spiritual evolution" and consequently purification - sanctification. The disease and healing are related to the Law of Merit. The disease is seen as a merit, something one has to experience, to have to suffer through the learning, evolving spiritually. So the cure is also a merit. The disease is linked to negative feelings and practices of this or other lives. There is no separation between the subject and the disease. The disease is not external. It was created

by the subject (in current life or in past lives), from the cause and effect logic. Every illness is seen as having spiritual background and all healing is "spiritual healing".

According to Groisman and Sell (1996), the dominant therapeutic paradigm in the Daimist doctrine is not allopathic, i.e., it is not centered on remission of symptoms of disease. Peláez (1994) also noted that the remission of symptoms does not necessarily constitute a concrete indicator of healing. The Padrinho (Godfather) Alan exemplifies the approach to healing in Santo Daime:

A young man came here seeking the Daime because he had terminal cancer. He was 1.80 meters and he weighed 50 kilos. He arrived held as a lap child and we had to put a bed in the church so he remained lying. So we gave Daime to him well dosed, because he was very weak. He received a strong spiritual work. He lived in Imbé beach and we asked him to come back in three days. He came back and he received Daime again in the religious work. When this work finished he said: "Wow! I felt much better today!" He returned a week later to receive the third work. He returned already walking, went up the ramp of the church alone. Then we gave him two more religious works and a month passed without hearing from him. Until one day his mother called inviting us to go to Imbé because he wanted to make a dinner for us. We got there and he was 65 kilos. We did another religious work. In this work he and his mother both saw at the same time he would pass away and both started to cry. After this work he came to tell me what he had seen. He said he was feeling so good, he was surprised by this spiritual message that he would pass away. I said: "Son, accept the designs of God, it is something you have to go through in this life". Then he told me: "I am assured that the Daime changed my mind, what God has for me I get". One week later the family called us saying he "had traveled" (passed away). A month passed and his mother, wife and sister came here to join in a religious work to thank us. In the middle of the session they started to cry. Once the religious work finished I talked to them. The three of them had simultaneously seen him as he walked into the church, uniformed in white and sitting down. Then he made them cry because if he had not been healed in the matter, he had gained a spiritual blessing instead. He had to go through this in current life and gained spiritual healing.

The logic of learning is related to a personal transformation through the experience with ayahuasca and the meaning of incorporation.

As for the first matter, regarding the meaning of incorporation, Brissac (1999: 135) has identified it as a part of the experience of the disciples of the UDV, occurring in "the power of burraqueira", being called by him "engulfment in the power of burraqueira" because "it presents itself as a typhoon that in the strength of its centripetal movement gets closer to a symbolic distinct province and encompasses it in its whirlpool". The author uses this image "to express the strength of the autogenous dynamism of that incorporation and in this case,

even the pace of it in between the intensity of the altered state of consciousness raised by the ingestion of ayahuasca tea". In this sense he thinks of that "engulfment in the power of burracheira" on Mestre Gabriel's journeys and on the journey of the disciples of the UDV.

He says:

Mestre Gabriel has participated in several specific Brazilian cultural arrangements, starting with Popular Catholicism. Right after he participated in Salvador's own environment of capoeira, besides attending to Candomblé and Kardecists sessions. Going to North Brazil, he integrated the human waves of the "Exército da Borracha" (the rubber Army), In Porto Velho, he participated as an Ogã¹²⁶ in a Terreiro de Mina tradition and on the seringal (rubber plantation) he participated in cults of "pajelança cabocla Amazônica" (Caboclo Amazonian shamanism). When finally in 1959 he took his first ayahuasca drink, José Gabriel had a very intense experience. Therefore, according to his son Jair in that first session he addressed to the vegetalist who gave him the plant and told him: "Chico Lourenço, the person is not knowledgeable of everything. You told me that was the end of the charms. Things are endless. "Before the second session he would have said "we will drink the tea from Chico Lourenço and no one will feel anything", and thus this happened. The third time, his son Jair, then nine years old, had a very strong burracheira, he started screaming and was called by his father, who told him, "Sit down." And Jair told him: "Dad is a Master, and a King made by God, isn't it". "According to Master Jair after that session, José Gabriel who takes Mariri and Chacrona to his house, has this dialogue with his wife: "Sweetie, I'm a Master." And she replies, "But Gabriel, for the love of God, Chico Lourenço is the Master I don't even know for how long, we all went almost crazy and now you say you are the Master?" And he says: "I am Master, my dear, and I will fix Mariri "the intensity of the experience of José Gabriel", who is soon recognized as having a mission as a " Master " in the Plant, and how fast that experience assimilates its previous religious journey, subjecting it to a new interpretation. - When he assigns himself what before was of the "Caboclo Sultão das Matas (Sultan of the Forests)" – there are two aspects that support the interpretation of this process as the engulfment in the power of the burracheira. [...] Thus, one can see the power of engulfment in the burracheira as something constitutive of the UDV, on how it characterizes the founding experience of José Gabriel da Costa. Such experience can be replicated always in a new and original way by the disciples from whom their unique individual journeys, and the specificity of their contact with the burracheira, live a similar movement, constituting different settings, which however find an interpretive articulating axis in the experience of Mestre Gabriel. (Brissac 1999: 136-138)

Thus, it is not about a "bricolage" of the subject which in its modern individualism builds its own do-it-yourself-religion, but an engulfment. Complementing this understanding I analyze it on that point of incorporation that is beyond a reciprocity referring to the idea of "productive consumption" as worked by Fausto (2001) in "Inimigos Fiéis: História, Guerra e Xamanismo na Amazônia¹²⁷". Let us recall that seizure exposed by the author.

¹²⁶ Ogã are positions, roles or skills of individuals in the various nations of Candomblé.

¹²⁷ In English: "Faithful Enemies: History, War and Shamanism in the Amazon"

In Fausto's universe research (2001), the Parakana (small Tupi Guarani people) experience a particular form of shamanism in which the figure of the shaman is not present by excellence. Secrets would present themselves in dreams, always brought by an Akwawa, a dreamlike enemy carrier of the powers and mysteries of healing. Entering the world of dreams is open to all men and Parakana homicide is perceived as a means for developing a productive dreaming. In this sense war is an inseparable Parakana phenomenon of shamanism, shamanism of the dream antagonizing who became faithful, where the "symbolic ingestion of the enemy that causes bodily and spiritual transformations on the killer stops being compared to food consumption for physical development. Their place in the social reproduction process becomes equated to that of the productive spending in capitalist societies" (p. 327). Thus, the author reintegrates production into consumption and does not reduce the war to the movement seen that in the discourse of reciprocity "an important dimension of primitive warfare got lost, the one concerning the destruction of the body, of the person and its materials and immaterial constituents" (p.328). For him events of predation cannot be reduced to the logic of reciprocity, one should make use of productive consumption to analyze primitive warfare as a phenomenon that implies expense, loss, and not only transfer, movement.

In the ayahuasca religions, as Couto (1989) says:

The members of this religious system are as shaman apprentice, shamans or potential shamans. Although there are commanders of work, shamanic activity is not exclusive only to the initiated ones as it is in indigenous societies in general, and the ritual practice is the of learning this art of the ecstasy. Apart from the shamanic vocation, all have active participation on the ritual. The collective worship can, through the technique of concentration and access to the songs, which are the main tool for ecstatic trips, 'fly' on the astral with shaman characteristics or serve as a device for receiving beings with characteristics of the possessed shaman. The formed crowd makes a collective shamanism, very likely to this line of work (Couto 1989: 195).

In this sense the ayahuasca man as a potential Shaman is not inserted in the logic of reciprocity but by the learning aiming on personal transformation. Thus, the hummingbird (religious practitioner) feeds on various flowers (different religious sources) to produce, reinvent its subjectivity. It is a consumerism that is not seen solely as a loss, but as a productive expenditure which fertilizes a new life and other flowers. The flowers are not

reduced to the condition of an object or consumption, they are seen as beings since they have a soul, knowledge to produce a balm, in other words the tea, a divine being. As Fausto (2001) stated regarding the matter of ayahuasca religions, we must relinquish from the notion of gift, shifting the attention from the field of circulation as assumes the use of the Maussian concept, to the field of production, as the concept of productive consumption presupposes, originally drafted by Karl Marx and that refers to the idea of energetic and material spending aimed for objects production.

For example the story of Magnólia, a partner of União do Vegetal. Magnolia is 51 years old and she has been a partner of the União do Vegetal for five years. She worked as a literacy teacher for 29 years, graduated in pedagogy, also having done 70% of the graduation course in journalism at UFRGS¹²⁸. She is also a postgraduate and is currently retired. Magnólia is married for thirty years with a lawyer. They have two sons, 20 and 13 years old. The couple was invited to attend the União do Vegetal by their reincarnation's therapist, Mauro, at the time a partner of the UDV. The doctor was a friend of the family and he was treating the couple for a year with sessions including regressions and psychotherapy. The couple was going through a marital crisis, fighting, feeling resented and having problems with the children. She decided to join the União do Vegetal in order to save her family and cure herself. She knew nothing about the União do Vegetal and from the account of her first session we can understand the engulfment in the power of the burracheira:

I had three children, the first one was born and died and I felt his presence, he presented himself at the burracheira. I was with a mother's heart. It was a boy. I didn't really understand what ayahuasca was, but I knew it was a place for healing. The doctor had sent me to heal the physical and the spirit. I did not know what it was, but my son introduced himself to me. Then I knew for sure because only I know what happened there, only I know. I got to the União do Vegetal out of the blue, I drank the tea and I loved it, I just loved it there [...] concerning Mestre Gabriel it took me a while to believe. I didn't understand how smart people could be so fanatic, it took me like three years. I doubted, I thought it was fanaticism, I couldn't believe that highly educated people could believe in that kind of thing. Now I'm like them because I felt in my heart, I saw it, I had the evidence, that was very powerful for me [...] Now I know there's no bigotry, I just didn't know Mestre Gabriel well and we can love who we know. Once I started to feel more of Mestre Gabriel, I started to trust him more.

¹²⁸ Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS). In English: Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul.

From her experience of the engulfment in the power of the burracheira she started her journey of learning and personal transformation. She talks about her transformation:

The tea itself shows me what I must change in order to grow [...] it shows up in the burracheira. I feel like I have been educated in a spiritual world classroom. Through the universities I have already been, but in the spiritual world I am being literate, that's how I feel and with the masters and the doctrine, I feel it touches my heart in a different way because it is a doctrine for my spirit, for me not to be resented, to let go of the sorrows of the past, of the feeling of not being able to overcome the obstacles of everyday life, I often didn't see the light at the end of the tunnel and now I can see that light at the end of the tunnel and it is not fanaticism, it's my experience, and in my experience I can see that light [...] in the burracheira I feel that I have to transform myself [...] and that was what I was looking for and within this family, I found the great transformation [...]and I can see that my transformation is reflecting on my family [...] I have no words to thank you all for what I've been getting which is saving my family of separation, saving a family from deep sorrow that we didn't even know we had, nor did I know I had these wounds so deep and so I've been healing myself.

Magnólia consumes ayahuasca and transforms herself. Personal transformation even in a religious way implies expense, loss and not only exchange, transfer, movement. It is about production. Magnólia produces herself and her own religion:

I have my own religion. But my base is the União do Vegetal, it is there where I have learned. So I'm making some right choices of what is good for me, not only for myself but for my family. But I believe that we should not be attached to only one religion or education. Things worked out in my profession because of that, I did not only use one methodology, but I adapted myself to the necessities of the group. People in need or from lower classes, I could not teach them following a specific methodology, I had to teach them depending on the necessity of the community. I think of religion in the same way. My family has a need, yours another, and so on. I feel like being educated that is how I feel. I consider ayahuasca as a mirror. I consider the tea as a little piece of God, of Jesus knocking on my heart, that light comes into my heart and I know what it is I have to change to evolve. That's how I feel, that it is a gift of good. Now I perceive and pursue something bigger, I feel the power of God, the goodness, something bigger [...] I've already been to Seicho-No-Ie, oh, I've been into many religions already. I've never been only into one. I'm a bit eclectic, of each one I did what I believed and what I felt what was right for me. That's how I feel [...] I create my own religion based on what I feel [...] In União do Vegetal I learn, with my astrology teacher I learn, with apometry... now I'm starting to work with apometry and I also learn from this, because I see the accompanying spiritual world. From each little place I learn something, the nectar comes to me, and then I do my balming to treat the wounds of my family. I wouldn't like to be stuck in one thing only. Now my base is the União do Vegetal. That's how I feel Jessica. I have to keep going.

She “has to keep going” because I understand that the religious journey and being-in-the path is more important than the ultimate goal, cure or the resolution of a problem. Magnólia says: *“I’m on my spiritual path, I’m not a hundred percent, but I already feel anew, at peace. [...] The União do Vegetal it means a lot to me because that’s where I am learning.”*

We can also see the logic of learning in the case of Chico Xavier. Chico Xavier had to pay his debt to learn and evolve. Karma as the idea of debt that has to pay and as the idea of destination. Lewgoy (2001: 74) calls it the debt system with which Chico made syncretism with the gift system. Chico re-elaborates the karma category through the mediation and merit. Chico said we can work every day for good annulling karma, called suffering. "The mercy of God always gives us the resources to pay or reform debts according to the deserving of the debtor." But this applies to others and not to Chico Xavier. The attitudes of his Mentor Emmanuel reveal that for the individual Chico Xavier there are no elements of grace or privilege. Emmanuel was a strict boss who demanded observance of a discipline from Chico, inflexibly egalitarian, but not quite individualistic. Chico was regulated by an authentic military code of conduct that prevails in the "discipline", "work" and "study". Even when close to death by uremia in 1940, Emmanuel warned him that "he could not assist him in his disincarnating, which seeks other spiritual friends because he was not better than anyone else" (Gama, 1995: 69). These stories delineate an original notion of Spiritist person in Chico Xavier: it is divided into a Catholic ethos of holiness, "grace" and "charity" in relation to others and a meritocratic and military model in relationship with himself, in which all individuals enter ideally equal and become people on the merits.

The logic of learning is commonly seen in religious practices associated with the idea of karma. There are different interpretations of the concept of karma. This is a Sanskrit word meaning ‘action’. But its concept is even more profound: it is the universal law of action and reaction. Karma is a mechanical law inherent to this realm. Just by being here on Earth, we are under its influence. Many people understand karma as a debt of suffering. Others, understand karma as a debt of learning. When we truly learn, our karma dissolves. Karma is at the service of aligning us with our dharma, which is the path of truth/ the path of the

heart. When we align ourselves with dharma, we feel like we belong. We feel fulfilled, and we occupy our place in the world with the conviction that this is indeed where we should be. This feeling brings us satisfaction and fills our heart with trust (Bhikkhu, 2002).

But the biography of Chico Xavier can also be read in the light of a mission. The stories of Chico Xavier carry a common initiatory character to the prophets, the highly individualizing difference and "the called", as the intense sufferings and sacrificial trials, revealing a holiness that will be revealed as a "mission planned in the Spiritual Plane." Chico Xavier is commonly represented in the Spiritist environment as a "missionary spirit", "apostle", "superior spirit" or "mastermind". As a social person, Chico Xavier was celibate, renounces sex and alliance code on behalf of a "covenant with the highest" and the fulfillment of a planned mission: giving messages, goods, healing, blesses and intercessions to the "incarnate people". Chico is a Spiritist of "evangelical" nature so that the works of Emmanuel doesn't stop spreading the "cult of the Gospel in the home"¹²⁹ as the most important of spiritualistic practices. I call it missionary logic. The missionary logic is often present in the life story of spiritual leaders, prophets, mediums, etc. The religious practitioner has a mission. The mission represents the reason of the existence of a religious denomination and delimitation of religious practices. It is what the religious practitioner is proposing to do and for whom.

¹²⁹ In the cult of the Gospel in the home, Spiritism is practiced as a family religion, with prayers and comments from Spiritist books. This religious practice, which emphasizes family unity, is both popular and controversy among Spiritist people. There are Spiritists, for example, denouncing the Catholic character of the practice, embedded in the cult category. (Lewgoy, 2001: 106).

We can see the logic of gift, learning and missionary in the Chico Xavier story. He is a situation of gift for the "friendly spirits", rescuing his debts through the fulfillment of his mission.

Logic is a system of reasoning, is the relationship between elements and between an element and the whole in a set of objects, individuals, principles, or events: There is a certain logic to the motion of religious mobility and syncretism. Logic refers to linearity, system, line, and path. To Lewgoy (2001) the syncretism in Chico Xavier is a continuity, syntheses between the two religious systems (Catholicism and Spiritism) which can be read both as duplicity and linearity. For me the syncretism in Chico Xavier is a production that emerges from the exchanged forces that are produced along the lines or logics. Switching from lines (that there are paths along which life is lived) which can be read as a web of intertwined lines in which the actor, the religious participant, is tangled in that web from assemblage.

Like I said in the last chapter Chico Xavier did not have any intention in mind or a need to solve problems. He always obeyed commands from the Spiritual Plane. He was agencied by humans and non-humans. He did not build his mythic narrative or series of syntheses in his mythic narrative. Chico Xavier was being-in-the-path that is the pure movement evident in changes between particular events. It is the very dynamism of change, situated between heterogeneous lines and tending towards no particular goal or end-state. He was being-in-the path and he created a new paradigm of religious practices.

We also cannot analyze the syncretism of Chico Xavier only from the idea of bricolage. The bricolage emphasizes limits and pre-constraints. Chico Xavier went through all of the external limits of bricolage that Hervieu-Léger (2005) emphasizes. With little access to cultural and symbolic resources due his social conditions, Chico Xavier sustained a different relationship with his world. He was not totally guided by the representations and interpretations of the social environment and the tradition provided. He made ruptures in the tradition, in the logics, in the systems, i.e. in the lines. Rupture means to open up gaps in the line, when something changes in nature and connects with other multiplicities, what I call line of flight.

A line of flight (*ligne de fuite*) is a concept developed by Deleuze and Guattari (1987). Flight covers not only the act of fleeing or eluding but also flowing, leaking, and disappearing into the distance (the vanishing point in a painting is a point of flight). A line of flight is a path of mutation precipitated through the actualization of connections among bodies that release new powers in the capacities of those bodies to act and respond. It has no relation to flying. My conception of line of flight has a metaphorical relation to flying but I will explain this later in this chapter.

From his Spiritism experience Chico Xavier created line of flight in the Catholicism, in the psychiatry system (he went through the stage of being insane to becoming a saint), in the judiciary system (the judge accepted the witness from the dead in the form of psychography as a valid proof) and in the literature (he produced religious teachings by writing 412 books through psychography). Of course the lines have limits. We can follow Chico Xavier's story starting with determining the limits of the first line (the Catholicism) and circles of convergence around successive singularities. Then, observing, within this line new circles of convergence, establishing themselves with new points located outside the limits and in other directions. Namely, the line with its limits can be crossed with other lines creating lines of flight from assemblage. It has to do with performance, whereas bricolage always involves an alleged "competence".

Wherefore it is important to identify the lines or logics in which the religious practitioner is entangled. During my PhD field work I have identified four different kinds of logics that drive religious trajectories: the gift, learning, missionary and the addictive one. The gift, learning and missionary logic I have already explained. The logic of addiction is related to religious consumption ordering to the satisfaction or answering immediate interests promoting thus an equalization of well-being.

In accordance with the spirit Ramatis (Peixoto, 2003) nowadays men go where they find the best fertilizer for their souls, and the barbed wire of the lords of truth no longer curtail the coming and going in search of divinity, which are offset by the freedom of expression of every citizen. The green fields are vast and the act of seeking to achieve the aspirations that "bother" includes the satiety in more than one section which shows the infinite divine

wisdom that did not put all the answers in a single doctrine, cult, sect, religion or philosophy of land. However Ramatis warns that the immediacy of men in pursuit of achieving their aspirations, mostly petty, causes to feed a process of parasitism among the "hummingbird" and "flowers" forming a vicious circle, in which the money is one of the main reasons of the "vampirization." This idea approaches the notion of religious market and its consumer.

A Physical, physician, Buddhist and writer that I interviewed explains this:

Nowadays people "consume" what religions offer in a very similar way to what happens with all other existing products and services available in the market. While religious proposals meet their needs and psychological needs, they "consume" or adhere to that particular line of thought or practice. As everything is very dynamic in the current life and several of these propositions do not bring the expected result quickly, definitive - I would say, even "magic" - the tendency is to jump to a new offer. As well as products of the supermarket, more and more "products" or spiritual proposals are now available for different types of people and psychological needs. Clearly, we have witnessed a true spiritual materialism, which consumes religion the same way as everything else. An accelerating factor of this relates to faster and more extensive media, seeing that people are exposed to a range of propositions and very wide and diverse promises, which can come from basically any corner of the world. With the increase in supply, more and more people find all sorts of illusions with which they can entertain, melt or occupy their minds... It is atavistic that human beings tend to believe in a "higher power" or "solutions" to their problems coming from outside, of the world or of the other, because, in fact, besides being fruit or manifestations of the universe around us, we are born in a family environment that, in principle, provides us everything, from care, food, protection, etc., that lingers in generally, for many years. The problem is, therefore, to continue this dependence stage, i.e. not mature enough as human beings themselves, abandon the magical childhood, the thought that the universe, the father or mother, will give us everything without us needing to do something deeper. Not without reason, therefore, the success of these numerous frauds we see every day, carefully architected to touch exactly this point. The Buddha highlighted this issue in the so-called Third Noble Truth, or the truth about the cessation of suffering. In short, all beings want their suffering to end, cease and thus if someone waving something, anything or process that will remove, eliminate all the suffering experienced by the individual, then we have a very tempting offer! See? In this process, we see the "purchase" or spiritual bargain, disguised as a religion, as follows: "I will free you from suffering, I offer you all the happiness, love, power, welfare, wealth, etc., just that you pay it and make this ritual." The ritual is very important. The more mystical, great, awesome and incomprehensible the ritual is, the most closely it resembles a real interlocution with the higher power that will answer all demands. Anyway, it's not today that mysticism, linked to religions dominate human beings. They act especially on human sexuality, because they know if they can dominate this area of human behavior, they will dominate the human being completely. Even in the various "Buddhist religions" because Buddhism clearly expresses much more elements than one religion and unfortunately, all these elements are also present contrary to the express teaching and manifested by Buddha. Like Jesus, Buddha never wanted to create any religion, it was, much less to save the world. (Physical, physician, Buddhist and writer)

Many researchers have been working with the idea of the religious market from Peter Berger (1985: 149) who said: "The pluralistic situation is, above all, a market situation. In it, the religious institutions become agencies of the market and religious traditions become consumer goods. And anyway, most of the religious activity in this situation come to be dominated by the logic of the market economy. Some researchers such as Mariz and Machado (1997) and Steil (2004) note that many religious institutions from religious proselytism cause religious mobility.

That would be the addictive logic or market to some researchers.

But beyond these logics we can also find other lines, such as the discourse of alternative medicine or alternative therapy that is commonly used to describe various medical allopathic practices and of old traditional medicines. Allopathic medicine incorporate all the findings that favor the maintenance and restoration of health from a set of practices of diagnosis and therapy without scientific assessment, or are considered inaccessible to experimental scientific method. That, in this last case, can occur by unknown physiological mechanisms, in healing practices via metaphysical and spiritual methods, unlike conventional medical practices. Alternative medicine is widespread in Brazil today. Some examples: chromotherapy, reiki, aromatherapy, acupuncture, past lives therapy, etc.

Concluding the Concept of Religious Butinage

Religious butinage implies the experience that escapes the symbolic work intrinsic in the religious practice. It makes ruptures in logics, structures and connections.

The practitioners are placed in an open horizon to the various experiences (the experience that escapes the symbolic work and the culture and the experience shaped by the culture and symbolic work) that cross them, like a web, creating them at the same time that their religious journey constitutes them. It is about production. It is not only about dwelling religions, religious fields, or cultures, but about the religious path which is a life path as the foundational dimension that crosses the practitioner.

It is about religious journey, being-in-the path and being-in-the-world. This is beyond the symbolic ability. To Greenfield (2006: 111), symbolic ability enables humans to contemplate events and situations other than the ones they experience directly. As a result:

They can invent and fantasize situations and behaviors to perform in them. They can also define symbolically what will be a reward for them. More importantly they can conceptualize what may be thought of as sets of alternative means for the attainment of what they define as goals. They can ‘think through,’ ...in the abstract, as an exercise or problem, alternative ways in which the goals or rewards they wish might be obtained. They can select from the range of alternative possibilities they see the one that, in their best judgment and evaluation of the situation, given the information and knowledge they have, most probably will enable them to obtain the goal. (Greenfield and Strickon 1981:489 *apud* Greenfield 2006: 111).

Tracing religious trajectories I realized that being-in-the-path is more important than the goal. Being-in-the-path is the pure movement evident in changes between particular events. It is the very dynamism of change, situated between heterogeneous lines (or logics) and tending towards no particular goal or end-state. The goal belongs to the narrative order and construction. And this notion can change a lot of times within the discourse. Like Jacques Derrida¹³⁰ says to any discourse: “If one calls bricolage the necessity of borrowing one’s concept from the text of a heritage which is more or less coherent or ruined, it must be said that every discourse is bricoleur”. Bricolage implies to seek goal. Butinage implies being-in-the-path.

It is a journey. The practitioner is plugged into the environment. The threads (lines, logics) in the warp (web) where this practitioner is, they themselves are the threads of the things that come out of the practitioner's own body and weaving in relation to their movement. They are an extension of the self, of the individual as he/she goes treading the environment. Returning to the metaphor of the flight of the hummingbird: the hummingbird is its flight. The hummingbird can fly, among other things, thanks to the air currents and eddies that it introduces in the air. Cut off of these chains he would be dead paraphrasing

¹³⁰ Jacques Derrida, ‘Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences’, was delivered as a lecture at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, USA, in French in October 1966. It is available in English in Jacques Derrida, *Writing and Difference*, trans. Alan Bass (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978) pp. 278–93.

Tim Ingold (2012a). There is symmetry. There is much more empathy than translation or mediation.

Mediation refers to the process of interpretation and adaptation of cultural elements. This includes appropriation of one's own use and the conveyance to others. It also includes rejection and transformation, as well as the endeavors to change the structural conditions of the culture. Thus, cultural mediation includes the interpretation and reinterpretation of discourse, symbol, ritual and action by the actors, as well as the cultural, social and structural factors that situate this interpretation and reinterpretation (Ortner 1989: 17 *apud* Theije, 1999: 32).

Namely, empathy comes first; it is the initial phase and, only then, can come or not to mediation.

Droogers said (1984) that the symbols do not exist in isolation. The symbols forming systems and structures. As a sentence that follows principles of grammar. Likewise religious systems form a more or less coherent connection between the symbols. Just as it is possible to vary sentences of the same grammatical structure or change the order of words in the sentence, like this it's also possible to change something in the religious structures. Accordingly syncretism or bricolage is the activity of reinterpretation and symbolic selection. The practitioner creates by means of symbols arranged in systems and structures. But the system and structure are remaining the same. The more one thing remains the same the more it changes.

To Droogers (1999) religion has a basic built-in tension, between the free and controlled use of play. In the expressions of syncretism the free religious use of play is found. Play is a general human capacity. Play, which Droogers defined as the capacity to articulate, in a subjunctive manner, dissimilar ways of classifying reality depends greatly on the connectionist capacity of human thinking. The author concluded people have the capacity to see an extra dimension in reality. This has to do with the human make-up, in particular the ability to work symbols and metaphors. "I do believe that Brazilians do a lot of things in a playful way. Like the Spiritists' groups I attended, their performances were held in a

various way, but at the same time it reminded me of the performance of a theatre play, adding all kinds of extra dimensions, including a supernatural dimension¹³¹”.

Ingold (2012b: 16) says that anthropologists are concerned with the comparative analysis of imaginary worlds and psychologists seek to study the supposedly universal mechanisms governing this construction. They both agree that the domains of reality and imagination should not be confused, because the authority of science itself depends on its promise to reveal, behind the “homemade fictions” that “imagination puts in our eyes”, the facts that really are in the world. Sure, we can study the fiction, as well as the facts, to use what many anthropologists call "emic" reports and not "ethical", but mixing the two would allow our judgment to be tainted by the error and illusion. Actually, those who were educated in a society in which the authority of scientific knowledge reigns in a supreme way, the division between reality and imagination, in two totally unique domains, is so entrenched that it became evident. The problem, according to our assessment, has been how to reach a point of accommodation for two domains. How can we create a space for art and literature, or religion, or the beliefs and practices of the "natives", in an economy of knowledge in which the search for the real nature of things became the sole prerogative of rational science? In the form of knowledge that is performative, any boundary between the other and me or between the world and the mind is fundamentally uncertain and provisional.

I agree with Tim Ingold and in this sense the butinage does not have to do with the human capacity to see an extra dimension in reality. This is an interpretation from one reality. In the butinage everything is reality, it does not have other dimensions, nothing is more “real” than others. In existence there is nothing small and nothing great. Humans and non-humans are symmetrical. The spirits and the practitioner, both exist as equals. The human can make-up interpretations from the reality, working with symbols and metaphors. Humans can make bricolage.

¹³¹ An Interview with André Droogers on Play and Religion by Anton van Harskamp, Miranda Klaver, Johan Roeland and Peter Versteeg. In: **Playful Religion: Challenges for the Study of Religion**. Eburon Delft, 2006, p. 154.

Butinage is the flight of the hummingbird that ruptures the other lines (systems) like a web, is the experience that escapes the established structure, breaking the structure, the symbolic work producing syncretism and/or new structures. In this process humans and nonhumans are part of the same reality and on the point of view of production, there are no differences being necessary to introduce the concept of desire on the production. René Girard (1976) theorizes that the basic dynamics of human life lies in the structure of desire. As much as one wishes, to identify and conquer the objects of desire, its dynamics remain ever virgin and open to infinity. To D&G (1983) desire is viewed not just as an experimental, productive force, but also as a force able to form connections and to enhance the power of bodies in their connection. Desire is experimental and related to an outside. It is this relation to an outside that underpins the social dimension given to desire in Deleuze's thought. Desire is a coextension of the social and desiring-production¹³², is nothing other than the production of the social.

Thus, I define butinage as an intrinsic experience in the religious practices in which something escapes from the preceding religious tradition/system/structure from desire that produces new connections.

It is apart of searching of meaning or to seek goal. It allows the being-in-the-world, to produce subjects and culture(s). The transformation of the culture occurs when a new experience field is opened, a new experience that escapes the culture (which is not shaped

¹³² Desiring-production is a term coined by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guatarri in their book *Anti-Edipus* (1983). The concept of desiring- production prevents desire from being understood in terms of 'lack' (as it has been in western metaphysics from Plato to Freud): desiring- production actually produces what we take to be reality (in the sense that a lawyer produces evidence) through the investment of psychical energy (libido), just as social- production produces what we take to be reality through the investment of corporeal energy (labour- power). Desire is thus not a fantasy of what we lack: it is first and foremost the psychical and corporeal production of what we want – even though under certain conditions what we want subsequently gets taken away from us by the repressive figure of a castrating father or the oppressive figure of an exploitative boss (among others). By restoring the link between desiring-production and social- production, schizoanalysis deprives psychoanalysis of its excuse for and justification of repression; that psychic repression is somehow autonomous from social oppression, and exists independent of social conditions. Schizoanalysis insists on the contrary that 'social- production is purely and simply desiring- production itself under determinate conditions' (D&G 1983: 29), and that psychic repression therefore derives from social oppression: transform those social conditions, and you transform the degree and form of psychic repression as well.

by the culture) enters into conjunction with the experiences of others, producing new culture, new tradition or syncretism. The focus turns into a procedural analysis, for desiring-practice of religious actors, for the creation and agency, for line of flight. The practice central to this approach is action that escapes to structure. This is different of action in relation to structure as Ortner (1989) summarized it.

But religious butinage is a component of the syncretic process together with the religious bricolage, reinterpretation, analogy and cutting and other lines. Not every component may be present in the syncretic work. They may be related to each other or not. For example: Religious butinage can precede the religious bricolage. Bricolage can be the result of the ending of the butinage processes. Bricolage can open and make butinage. The butinage is a process that can be imitated, represented, reproduced and reinterpreted.

Accordingly I will illustrate my concept of religious butinage with the case of Augustes Lirio. I have followed his trajectory for 5 years, in my master's and doctorate. I met him during my master because he attended two ayahuasca churches in which I was doing observing participation. Whenever he would attend a meeting in the Santo Daime and UDV I would come along. I recorded two thematic interviews¹³³, one in 2009 and another in 2011 and we had weekly informal conversations during five years. I also talked with his wife, with his sister-in-law and with his sister. I also joined him into other worship places, as into Kardecist Spiritism, apometry and to his first appointment with his psychiatrist.

¹³³ The "thematic" interviews initially followed the form proposed by the research project called STAR (The anthropological structure of religion: a comparative study of religious practices (Brasil, Kenya and Switzerland)) from GRADUATE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES in Geneva, which should cover the following: 1. Name, age, socioeconomic status, marital status, occupation, etc. and religious activities. 2. Personal Story (origin, religious affiliation, etc.). 3. Current religious practice and reflections arising from this practice. Throughout the interviews I was adding other questions that emerged from the field and seemed to me pertinent to capture the religious practices.

Augastes Lirio's story

Augastes Lirio is 35 years old, has a degree in advertising and propaganda, is post graduated and is currently working as a web designer in a company and teaches at a cram school. Augastes Lirio has been dating for four years and is now married for three years, he has no children. Eleven years ago his father-in-law, a partner of the União do Vegetal took him to a “sessão de adventício¹³⁴”. He went to the União do Vegetal with the goal to cure himself: *“I healed a very strong child trauma, my father died when I was eight years old and I got in touch with him in the first session [...] I could heal and certainly I have improved several things I could not see. I had a very strong propensity to drink alcohol and Thank God that has diminished”*. Since then Augastes Lirio went on to attend the UDV sporadically, taking breaks of four or six months going only “when he felt the need”. He also started to go to the Santo Daime with his sister-in-law. This movement setting an addictive logic once he had reached his goal and searched the ayahuasca religions in order to the satisfaction or answering immediate interests promoting, thus an equalization of his well-being.

He had a Catholic religious education starting in his adolescence and since he started college he became skeptical and critical and started questioning religions until the time he met União do Vegetal: *“The first sessions were very strong. Things that happened to break some paradigms, the religious paradigm itself, that one was a strong one. I went from total skepticism to certainty, the paradigm of not going inside the self as well. [...] Actually I think I never lost faith in a higher God, but in terms of religion I put myself apart for quite a while.”* In his narrative he says that he was skeptical, but he is not sure of having completely lost faith in a higher God that could have been “dormant within him”. This is his elaboration and reinterpretation of his experience. He reinterprets the meeting with a new religion from his Catholic heritage. It is about form of semantic stratagem that

¹³⁴Sessões de Adventícios (“Newcomer Sessions”): Ceremonies intended for people who are drinking Vegetal for the first time. In general, only a few occur per year, and an interview with the Mestre Representante of the *núcleo* is required before one can attend the first ceremony. (Labate, Meyer & Anderson, 2009)

remains, subtly, continuity and discontinuity, in terms of religious change. What he narrates about it:

I think everything is a journey, a path. I believe that was a very important step mostly because I have opened up. I was a closed person and suddenly I had a boom! It also made me really believe in life after death, in reincarnation. So until then I was a skeptic guy and it totally switched my thinking about it as well. After that I'm sure! Because of my experience there that is difficult to explain, I cannot explain it and many visions that took place there and such. (...) I had a vision, I believe I can make a synthesizes about it: I saw as if I was looking from above, as if it was a soccer field full of people vibrating, energizing. And I felt it would be through prayer. Because that energy made a set that would transform itself as if it were a springboard to another person that would be one of those people they would have among them, but it would only be as a representative and that person with the power of that prayer would be able to make it. It was a beautiful image, thus I saw it, as if it was the energy of that person going up to heaven to seek wisdom to bring it back to earth. And I saw that person clearly as if it was a priest or a messiah, like in the União do Vegetal it would be the master who was leading the session, at the church it would be the priest and so on. It was that session that has changed my mind in relation to religion and it changed me and to me that was a shift of paradigm. Why not to believe that the star guided the three Wise Men from the East, why not to believe that the sea splitted in two, why not to believe that Jesus appeared to Saul, he was transformed. From all those reports I thought to myself: why not? And actually I started to believe in these things. (...) And since then I began what I think is this seeking of who I am today.

But I also understand his first experiences with ayahuasca as a butinage process because a new experience field has been opened in which his paradigm dissipated, fell apart. The effects include a loosening of the worldview. Even if he made the reinterpretation with the catholic beliefs, remapping of beliefs, that is not necessarily identical to the prior paradigm and something new was produced from experience that he cannot reinterpret, which escaped the symbolic work and is beyond the search for meaning (his experience is difficult to explain, he cannot explain). This experience is not translatable and allows him to be-in-the-path, keep going, being-in-the-world and producing his subjectivity and his own religiosity that is not affiliated with a specific religion.

He said he did not become a member of the ayahuasca religions because he does not fit into the União do Vegetal and Santo Daime in the way they are structured but he believes in its ritual and in the ayahuasca potential. He says:

I think the Masters Gabriel and Irineu are people who came to bring a message, both religions are based on Christ, for me it is Christ who is the son of God and to me they were chosen to spread the divine ayahuasca that came from the Indians to spread messages of peace, light, love. But I don't know

much about them. I know a little about Mestre Gabriel, for me they were here to spread the message of God. But still they cannot be compared to Jesus Christ mission. I wouldn't follow them with closed eyes, I would be critic towards them. That's where I stand [...] Now, I believe if I take the Daime here at home I will not have a religious experience. Maybe I will have to pray, or something like that. But if the person does not have the intention, it will probably have a hallucinogenic experience. Entheogenic as they say. I believe that the ritual is necessary. Today I really believe in the ritual, that the Masters of the União do Vegetal and Santo Daime's Godparents know what they are doing. They are working upon a... I'm not sure...but I guess a magic over a ritual. But it seems to be an ancient knowledge of an energetic spiritual work. I believe other herbs, peyote, cannabis perhaps, if within a religious cult, can lead to religious experiences, of self-knowledge, to contact the astral, I actually have no doubt about it.

To Augustes Lirio, Masters Gabriel and Irineu cannot be compared with Jesus Christ like the ayahuasca religions do. So he makes a cutting which allows switching or cohabitation on the same subject or within the same religion, of logical or of categories in them incompatible for him. At the same time he makes an analogy, a correspondence between the ritual in the ayahuasca religious and theirs masters with an ancient knowledge of an energetic spiritual work with other plants and shamanic rituals.

His experience in the ayahuasca religions also inserted himself in a logic of learning:

I seek self-knowledge, spiritual knowledge, and spiritual evolution. It is not at one Daime session that you will evolve. You will evolve, but it will not arrive there. I think we are here in this life to learn, to improve and we will be here as many times as needed. Or for us to contribute to humanity in some way, or to contribute to the movement or to improve, to evolve or to help someone specific. So whoever says is ready and knows everything, knows nothing [...] I intend to keep going sporadically. I almost went, this week including to the União do Vegetal. It's been a couple of months since my last time, but I think I'll go more frequently to Santo Daime because the União do Vegetal has a very strong thing, whenever I go there everyone wants me to associate myself, to go there more often and such. The Santo Daime is freer, there's no such pressure, and it is quieter.

And he started a ceaseless experimentation in other religions (Buddhism, Kardecism, alternative medicines, etc.) driven by his desire for self-knowledge into a logic of learning (based on the concept of karma and spiritual evolution). Although Augustes Lirio thinks he does not fit in the ayahuasca religions, he believes in the "powers of ayahuasca": *"With ayahuasca you get in touch with yourself, it is a powerful plant. It is divine. It is sacred."* And he started to make bricolage when he represents his experience in different kinds of

religions and religious practices based on the conviction of the “powers of ayahuasca”. He started to make bricolage when he represents his desire, logical representation of desire. He makes bricolage when he subordinates his desire to an end (sanity and spiritual evolution) that differs from desire itself (desire for self-knowledge, which is endless). His process of butinage is sustained by his desire for self-knowledge. Sometimes he closes off this process of butinage and makes bricolage to support his narrative in the conviction of the powers of ayahuasca and on the belief on the system of health/disease that composes the ayahuasca religions system: achieving sanity in order to evolve spiritually. Augastes Lirio says:

The work is conducted in a different way in the União do Vegetal and Santo Daime. The tea opens you to experience, making your mind expand, but surely the ritual, the energy, the place will lead you, or you will drive yourself or be driven to a totally different experience. It seems to me that in the União do Vegetal things are more controlled, the energy is controlled to a more introspective experience, self-knowledge experiences and rescue [...] the Santo Daime seems to be more open, you see different manifestations, you see things beyond instead of a purely introspective experience [...] there are entities, I have felt a shaman once and some other entities too. I believe that happens because of the way they work there, the way energy is channeled, and the opening process etc. [...] I believe people, the ones participating in the ritual, end up influencing the energy and its vibration. The temples themselves are different. In the União do Vegetal it is very quiet, there are some calls. The Daime which is sung there is movement, music, sometimes dancing. And it's interesting because if you go to different sessions, is also different. There is the session with the “mesa branca” (white table) that there is more manifestation, you see the entities coming in, you can take a “passe”, to be energized, and there are also the other ones which demand more concentration, which are also more introspective, but different from the União do Vegetal. I felt different manifestations of what I felt in the União do Vegetal, I cannot compare the experience itself, to say which one is better, but certainly they are different [...], for example, I've been in the Buddhism and when I did meditation, I felt de same energy of ayahuasca and thereafter I saw images of Buddha in the Santo Daime and União do Vegetal. I also went sometimes to the Kardec's Spiritist Center that was an interesting experience, because it is the same spiritual plane. The spiritual plane, the astral, for me is only one. But I believe in the Spiritist Center where you have to follow the teachings a bit more, it is not like in the União or in the Santo Daime that you go for a session there and you come back with a bunch of information that you know the way you have to follow to evolve. But the ayahuasca opens your mind to understand these other religious experiences.

This type of narrative is very common in ayahuasca religious practitioners even those who belong to these religions. The ayahuasca practitioner (called ayahuasqueiro) absorbs from various sources, harvests the nectar of various flowers (i.e. different kinds of religious

practices and beliefs) to form a particular balm within a religious basic reference (the ayahuasca religious field). As the case of Magnolia that I have explained above.

I built a metaphor to explain this process of bricolage and butinage in the ayahuasca religions field: The metaphor of the rose and the hummingbird¹³⁵ combine symbols of the Daimist and the Udevist doctrine, but the meaning of the metaphor equates to both religions when we think of the hummingbird as an “ayahuasqueiro” (ayahuasca user), the rose as the ayahuasca and the other flowers as the teachings from other "sources." Accordingly, with this metaphor I emphasize two important points in this unique trip of the hummingbird: 1. From the rose experience (ayahuasca) it can be traced to the required journey to get the balm of the flowers that will strengthen the hummingbird to reach the sky (the maximum degree of purification, healing equivalent to sanctity or sanity), not being any nectar of flowers (*a la carte* choice) that serve as nourishment, they are flowers that allow a personal transformation, a new creation of identity to reach the sky, thus the nectar of these flowers is used as nourishment in a sense of incorporation. 2. The hummingbird is an important pollinating agent, since by introducing its beak in the flower in the search for food, thousands of pollen grains stick on its body and it ends up taking them from one flower to another as did the "Sebastião hummingbird”, expanding the Daime doctrine, allowing other hummingbirds to reap the nectar, to make their balm having strength and clarity of the path to reach the sky. Pollination refers to the charity sense that is beyond nourishment sharing, the testimony. The idea is not the sharing of nourishment, but to pollinate other flowers so that other hummingbirds are able to get their own. These two points are highlighted within the logic of learning (Gregarich, 2009).

This is about what I have previously explained, the “engulfment in the power of burraqueira”, it is a new experience that decontextualizes a set of relations, break down logics. This pertains the butinage. But when the practitioner fits the different experiences in different religious practices in a religious logic, when some experiences are incorporated

¹³⁵ For the UDV the rose represents the ayahuasca tea and the hummingbird symbolizes the Holy Spirit for the Daimists, which is represented in the very spirit of the founding teachers of the doctrine.

into an ayahuasca symbolic construction and logic of the learning, giving meaning to the existence is about bricolage.

So, on his journey Augastes Lirio makes butinage and bricolage. His narrative is sustained by the belief in the powers of ayahuasca. Until he had another experience that broke down his conviction. Santo Daime's rituals started to flourish his mediumship, incorporating spirits and entities of the African-Brazilian pantheon. Until one ritual on which he incorporated and he totally lost control and the consciousness. According to a member of the Santo Daime who assisted him back he had incorporated a mocking Exu.

This kind of Exu is called a pagan Exu or Kiumba. That who has no light, no wisdom and little progress. Not yet ready for charity. He is a mocking, harassing obsessor. An obsessive spirit, according to Spiritism, is a spirit that temporarily causes inconvenience and harm into people's lives, if those he harms are tuned in with it.

Augastes Lirio disrupted the ritual saying vulgarities and doing obscene gestures, he cursed the religious leader and he urinated in front of everyone. Next day he had a panic attack at home and heard voices of command. He was afraid he would kill his wife. He was scared and he went to the emergency. In the hospital the doctor told him that ayahuasca is a drug that "burns neurons" and had caused him all that. Since then he lost his conviction in the divine powers of ayahuasca and he thinks ayahuasca cannot be good.

Then his narrative changes. He tells another story. From the "mocking Exu" and the experience that he broke free with his conviction of the power of ayahuasca and created a line of flight, what makes a rupture in his narrative, which unconfigures and reconfigures.

His new narrative:

What happened was that on these Santo Daime rituals I started having some spirit manifestations and the last ritual I went to was a very traumatic ritual for me. (...) During this ritual I ended up incorporating many entities, many spirits and I totally lost it for quite a while. People present tried to help me but they were not well prepared for it. Anyway it was a pretty bad session and after that I had some problems too, after that night I had a very strong anxiety and such, but I got over it, thank God! After that I decided that I would no longer participate in Daime rituals because I realized that they work with entities that are not good. (...) Then I was alright, but I suffered a very strong influence of those spirits after that. This is what the Spiritism calls suggestion, in other words a suggestibility, a strong spirits' influence. Suggestion is one of the phenomena of obsession. Obsession would be that

this spirit is obsessing and that can happen in many ways. If you're someone who drinks, the spirits induce you to drink more because through vampirism, obsession, they are delighting. Since they were alcoholics when incarnated and such, then they need us, the incarnate ones, to satisfy physical issues that they don't have anymore... As I see it, I see suggestion as a thought; it comes through thinking, they taught me that at Bezerra de Menezes Spiritist Center. When a thought appears, the first thing you have to do is to see if it is truly yours, because if it is not, if it has nothing to do with what you want, what you believe in or with the moment, then it is a thought that has great potential of being a suggestion, an obsessive induction. My goodness, I love my wife, how would I want to kill her? That would be a spirit feeding you, wanting to induce you to do something. Inducing you through thought to do something that they want you to do, how they want you to behave, enhancing any situation, something like that. Like in a tense situation they end up inducing, enhancing it and you end blowing up, making no sense, something like that. (...) So I spent quite a complicated time in every way being influenced, losing confidence, quite a complicated psychological framework and hence during this time I started looking for other things like a psychiatrist, acupuncturist. I also went to other religions that also have helped me. I visited the Bezerra de Menezes Kardecist Spiritist Center, I also attended another Spiritist Center and most recently I was in a center of apometry and they have done a very good job, the latest works I did there were what helped me to be back on track.

First ayahuasca was divine and it healed him from the trauma of the loss of his father, later ayahuasca becomes something that is not good and brings in obsessive spirits. He no longer believes ayahuasca helped him with his father, but the spiritual plane did. He started to think differently and he created a new narrative. Between these two narratives he butynes. This is beyond to cope, to explain and to give sense to the experiences experienced as disjointed and fragmented like Hervieu-Léger thinks. His experience is a new experience that escapes the symbolic work and create lines of flight, i.e., something changed in nature and connected with other lines that allowed him to tell another story about him, not only from combination of symbols within the same structure, but from the human experience in flow with where the subjectivity¹³⁶ is under construction. He butynes to remake his subjectivity: "*Today I'm somebody else.*" Butinage allows being-in-the-world much more than to represent, to create meaning, this is of the order of the narrative construction. He reconstructs his narrative working with symbols. He played. It's bricolage.

¹³⁶ Deleuze (1987) abandons the old image of the subject as a fixed substance or foundation stone, in favor of a subject that is the provisional outcome of a process of subjectivation. The Deleuzian subject is an assemblage of heterogeneous elements whose source is not the interiority of the traditional image of thought. Deleuze insists that subjectivity is not given; it is always under construction.

So, making butinage allows the construction and reconstruction of subjectivity. The butinage allows being-in-the-path and being-in- the-world. Augastes Lirio concludes:

All these years I've had very profitable experiences with all these religions, they added a lot to me. At least I have a path ahead of me, I want to know other religions and this is exactly what I've told you, if I have to follow one of them it will manifest itself in a way that there will be no doubts [...] For now I'm just experiencing. And for sure one's always growing on the search process, I truly believe that the spiritual journey of each one is very important, being or not committed to a specific religion, as far as you are searching. [...] I'm open, following what's coming, even if not following certain values or principles which are very important in a religion, I'm on a path. That's something I wouldn't like to happen, to lose track of it. Whatever religion, if they have good values and principles it is already righteous and one recognizes that when one sees it, and if you don't it is because it's not.

Life as it is and religious practices get away from the narrative. Butinage refers to the process, to the journey, to the new experience, to the thought that refers to new experience. Thinking is not necessarily representing, or submitted to a system. More than healing the trauma of the loss of his father (this is narrative construction) he sublimated, in other words, he has transformed himself and the absence of his father and the psychological difficulties into something else, being entangled into lines of learning, addictive, family, medical, alternative medical, etc., on the paths he walked, intertwined of growth and movement in a continuous becoming, in his case becoming "a peaceful warrior" in the battle of his life.

Thereby, we can understand the religious practices of Augastes Lirio towards religious mobility and syncretism through the experience that exists without a cultural framework (butinage) that enters into conjunction with other experiences shaped by the culture and the symbolic work.

Final Considerations

The concept of butinage comes from a biology metaphor. Butinage in biology is used to illustrate the activity of bees or hummingbirds: to visit flowers in search of food, the nectar. I created the concept of butinage from the ayahuasca religions. But, the concept and its metaphor even if these have been drawn from a specific religious context can be used to

understand different religious contexts. The religious practitioner, as a hummingbird, butynes from one religious denominations (flowers) to another. Butinage is the flight of the hummingbird. Line of flight is the path along which a freely moving object travels through the air. A participant of religious commune with his/her life path. The hummingbird is its flying.

Butinage aims at sublimation, the transformation of one thing into something else beyond aiming for solution and achieving goals. The product of butinage is the construction and reconstruction of subjectivity that is always unfinished. The butinage enables being-in-the-path, being-in-the-world, becoming. This is beyond creating meaning into the world, a narrative that satisfies.

In the butinage the desire constructs “actresses and actors” from assemblages and then it can construct new systems and structures. In the bricolage the structure constructs “actresses and actors” and these agents realize and transform the structure. The advantage of thinking from butinage is to be able to see the religious practitioner as an itinerant in the creative process. The religious practitioner submitted to a system of signs beyond which they cannot think. Instead of thinking only in bricolage, from a finished object until an intention in the mind of the religious practitioner. Or that there is a system of relations that determines the religious mobility and syncretism.

Butinage can identify action and thought that escapes the structure and not only the determining influence of structure on human action. It is to think about the process that precedes the construction of meaning. To think about butinage is to break with the conception of language from a linguistic point of view. It is to think of language as a system that can be disturbed, attacked and rebuilt, in which boundaries of all types can be crossed. It is able to think the actor “loaded” with desire and not only “loaded” with structure. It is thinking in lines of flight rather than “room for manoeuvre”.

Butinage can enter into conjunction with bricolage, reinterpretation, analogy, cutting and different logics creating syncretism that produces subjects and cultures.

CHAPTER 3

THE RELIGIOUS TRAJECTORY OF MARISA

I suggest that the social science explanation of religious pluralism and syncretism should not concentrate more on the religious beliefs and rituals but from the perspective of the individuals, how the religious practitioners do it throughout history and culture.

In this chapter I will bring in detail the story of Marisa and her intense religious mobility. Although she considers herself Umbandist she comes transiting "all" of the Brazilian religious field: Catholicism, Protestantism and Mediumistic religions as Giumbelli (2006) summarized it. Her story shows that religious mobility goes beyond religious identity. Her story shows that people make their own religion. Religion is a way of organizing experience, a way of building (or avoiding) assemblages, of articulating values and formulating enunciation (identity, ideology and/or politics). The way how Marisa organizes her experience tells us about religious pluralism and syncretism in Porto Alegre/Brazil.

The butinage approach allows us to understand why and how she practices religious mobility and consequently religious pluralism and syncretism. Her story illuminates larger social processes in Porto Alegre, in Brazil (macro-analysis) and her ability to sublimate the control and weight of the structure.

Marisa's story

I met Marisa in a prayer group of the Great White Brotherhood. Besides a "thematic interview," I tried to do a work that resembles that of a "detective". I talked to her bosses, bosses' children, Marisa's children and one of her sisters. I had access to one of the doctors

who treated her and I met her weekly in the prayer group and also at the place where she works.

Marisa is a black woman, she works as a maid, she is medium height, 57 years old, but appears to be over 60. She says she looks older because of her teeth, she lost almost all many years ago and, according to the dentist who made her denture that was the reason for her excessive facial sagging. *"Because I have no wrinkles, right Jessica! You know that black skin is different from the white"*.

Another reason for that are her deep dark circles, she said that the reason for that are the 10 days in a coma she spent after complications in childbirth of her 19 year old daughter. *"I have used a skin lightening cream from Avon which is very good, but it can't help."* Marisa told me about several times in which she felt humiliated by her physical appearance. Ones *"when I was in the bus three years ago, and the driver told me that I didn't have to pay for the ticket, Just to show my identity. But I'm still not 60! I told him. What an insult Jessica! But I was also with white hair and glasses, I looked like a Grandma. "*

Marisa also says, that people mock her on the street, for being too black and ugly. She told me about one time when she was going to work a woman started yelling at her on the street: *"You homeless, negress, whore, shame on you."*

One day she asked me if I thought she was ugly and she told me that when she passed a bar, a man looked at her and said: *"Hey! What an ugly thing ""What was that for Jessica? How can someone find pleasure on saying such a thing? Why do people do this? Bullying me [...] But it doesn't matter how ugly or beautiful one is, what matters is to be strong! And I am! I have great faith in God. "*

For me, particularly, God is infinite. I always thought that God is infinite and I think it depends a lot of the person who believes, right, because nowadays there are many people who do not believe in anything. If you have faith, I'm sure that God, our Lord, He is infinite, He's up there, understand, in the infinite and if you talk to him you know, where ever you are, if you talk to him with your faith He will answer. I believe so.

Marisa studied until the third grade of elementary school. She says she was the only one of her eleven siblings who stopped her study to help her mother at home taking care "*of the bunch*": "*There I was the black sheep, but if you ask my mother now she'll say no.*" Marisa is the third oldest and one of her sisters used to call her mother:

She used to call me mother. Instead of calling our mother, mother she used to do that because I took care of her. So it was like this: there where my mother went, for example, when she had to take them to the pediatrician at the hospital, I used to go with her in my arms and my mother with the baby in hers. Everything, everything, everything, and everything I had to do for her, even her marriage, I went there, I made her wedding dress, I had to make the cake, everything, and everything and yet my mother annoys me, you know. Now it's been a while that I'm being kind of rude, oh! No! You can stop now! What do you want from me! I have raised you what else do you want from me? You're already married! I even told our mother, listen, when she'll get married look [...] but then I told her now you're married so live your life with your husband and forget about me! Let me live my life, because it's one calling, the other one calling. Like once I bought myself an outfit and then my mother was like: Oh no! I bought a set once and then my mother went: Oh no! Keep the jacket and give the skirt to Sonia! So then I Said, but mom, this skirt it' too long for Sonia! It doesn't matter! I'll fix it! Always like that! My own mother's behavior turned me into her mother, but that's not ok, right Jessica?

Marisa was born in Charqueadas city, where her mother still lives at age of 82. As a child, her family was Catholic and attended mass every Sunday. "*My mother became a fan when it was time to go, she was like nuts! She got us dressed and we would go to Mass*". When Marisa was about nine years old, her mother began to attend Eva "benzedeira" (a folk healer), her "comadre" (godmother of her first child) and a midwife, which was a Spiritist and used to incorporate Dr. Bezerra de Menezes¹³⁷.

My father used to get drunk so I started to go with my mother to the Spiritist place. At that time there were many Spiritist ladies, they were folk healers, nowadays they're gone. This one Eva, who has already passed away, she was so great, really great! Bah! Very good indeed! I used to bring them clothing. When my mother had doubts or anything about us, she would go there, she used to give us her blessing and tell my mother how to work things out [...] she took her Santa Barbara tray to go through the house with the holy water, you know, back then carrying it into every room in the house. First we started to go there in the Catholic and then we moved to the other side.

¹³⁷ Adolfo Bezerra de Menezes Cavalcanti (1831-1900) known as Bezerra de Menezes was born in Rio de Janeiro/Brazil. He was a physician, soldier, writer, journalist, politician, philanthropist and exponent of spiritual doctrine. He is also known as the Brazilian Kardec and the doctor of the poor.

Her mother kept going for many years to Eva's. When her father suddenly died of a heart attack, Marisa was 15, her mother was in the hospital for two months for a "nervous disorder" and it was Eva who always helped. She prescribed natural medicines, advised her, led her, and gave them her blessings. After a few years, Eva past away and Marisa's mother was not attending any place, until her neighbors invited her and she joined the "Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus" (Universal Church of the Kingdom of God) in which she keeps going until these days. Some of Marisa's sisters are also evangelical.

When she was 17, Marisa came to Porto Alegre to work at a family's home, she went through really hard times until she met that family again whom she worked for, 30 years ago, and to which she still does nowadays. They treat her as a member of the family and they help her. They are a couple who are both pharmacists and Marisa practically raised their children. In many houses where she worked and lived, she was exploited and often they would not let her eat with them, she had to buy her own food.

She had a boyfriend in Charqueadas city and they saw each other on the weekends. They arranged an engagement party, and on the wedding's eve, he left her and got married to another one. She was devastated and swore she'd never get married in a church. After a mourning period, she could manage to live a good period in her life when she shared an apartment with one of her sisters. They used to go dancing and she had some money to dress up and hang around. *"I used to wear Hene on my hair and my nails were always done."*

Her sister used to attend the Chico Xavier Spiritist Center, but Marisa was never interested in going, until the day that a friend, who was a fortune teller and medium, advised her to attend the center, along with her sister, in order to "solve her mediumship" Since Marisa has started "seeing things" and making predictions. Next day, she went to the Chico Xavier Center with her sister, and in the waiting room service, she spoke with a "mysterious lady":

To this day I can't forget, Jessica a granny who appeared very ... very... with a very wrinkled face, they looked like those stitchings, we do on sewing, she put her hand on my leg and said: "My daughter, you have a mediumship that you will have to accept, it came with you and you will have to take on. And I was sitting on a bench, still, I didn't say anything, because until then I was very shy and didn't

say anything, then I just looked at her, it caught my attention, her wrinkled face, her so white hair, so white, she looked like the snow. Jessica, after everything happened I went crazy looking for the woman and did not find the woman. Nobody knows, nobody saw her. Was she from the astral? Nobody ... I always talked about her way, right, because I didn't know her name and nobody ... Then brother Mario said: that was a, " how did He call it..., was a sister who came to warn you, to alert you" because she told you: "You'll have to take on" a very old, and very pale lady. [...] This lady came to me and told me I was a medium and said: be aware that you will begin to incorporate at home.

By this time when Marisa began attending the Chico Xavier Center, she was already working for the family in which she continues until today, and when in that apartment, she used to see a man, a gentleman who came from the end of the apartment, with a briefcase, dressed in a suit and a tie, *"I used to hear the noise of his steps very clearly"*. The boss at the time was not working because her twin sons were very young and she cried a lot. And Marisa felt everything her boss felt, having to do disobsession at the Chico Xavier Center, *"because everything that happened to her it happened to me."*

Thus, Marisa went through all the calls that existed at Chico Xavier's, until she started to do energization on people and started to work in the healing room, where she saw Dr. Bezerra de Menezes: *"That's when I told you I saw Dr. Bezerra de Menezes, but until then I did not know that He was Dr. Bezerra de Menezes, now I know it was him with his medical apron and a very, very white beard"*.

So, at the Chico Xavier Center, she began to develop her mediumship. Marisa does not remember for how long she stayed there. She has a hard time remembering things and dates: *"I do not remember for how long I was there, but I feel like it was for a very long time. Ah! I was there for many years, many years! I think for about two or three years, I guess. I think about three years I was there nonstop."* That time allowed her to find and to define her religion which is Umbanda that is because she has a "mediumship that is Caboclo."

Then years went by and I got to understand everything that happened to me because I didn't know what was happening to me before, right. So it was there at Chico Xavier's that everything was set. [...] and I was so well and suddenly I started to see some trees like those zuuu Wind, you know, when it starts to be very windy and it seems like the tree will fall on top of you?

And, like that "mysterious lady" had told her, she began to incorporate at home. The first time she incorporated her "Ogum Sete Espadas" (Seven Swords), Marisa was around 22 or 23 years old, still living with her sister and her brother in law - her sister was already married and pregnant.

Leni was pregnant, we were living together, so I was there in the kitchen doing some stuff and she said: "Marisa ay, ay come here." Then I said: "What's the matter?". So I quickly rushed to her and she goes: oh, it hurts! Because Leni, she is all sensitive, till today! "Oh, it hurts! It hurts!" Then I got closer to help her out, and after that I don't remember anything, so, when I got back to my senses, Leni told me, all excited: Oh Marisa a guide came to you, a guide came to you! He talked to me, I feel good now. Then she said that he told her his name and said he was a guide from the light and that he would manifest on earth to do charity. [...] He was Ogum. And so I had to accept him and accept it for myself! It was a little difficult, right Jessica. [...] Oh, because until then you were not ready for it, you know, even though I had gone to the Chico Xavier Center and I was aware that this could happen to me [...] but then, oh my god! I was so scared and now what?

Then Marisa went to Zuleica, her fortune teller friend, who told her that this was a part of her mission. Marisa has mediumship to practice charity, so she must assume her mission, otherwise Ogum would be constantly chasing her: She would keep on hearing nature's noises, like the wind, and feel dizzy. *"He will keep demanding you because you don't want to accept it, and you will have to accept it Marisa! You'll have to accept it! There's nothing wrong with it! And so it kept coming and coming, and he started to take over me and I couldn't help it. [...] And I had no choice, I had to accept it because when I saw him I couldn't managed it, I tried to hold on and hold on but when I realized, boom! He had caught me. "*

Marisa could never managed to be aware of her incorporations and she never remembers anything after Ogum "comes up". It is always necessary to have someone along to help and pass the guidelines. Ogum told Leni what image she should buy for Marisa's congá (afro religious altar). He was instructing, teaching her how she should do the work, assembling trays, what materials should be used, how the rituals should be performed, ultimately, how she should proceed.

When he (Ogum) catches me I'm unconscious, there are some mediums that are aware, some are, but I'm not, there are some people that don't believe me. No! Never! If I was aware I would tell you I hear everything, but I don't hear anything! Nothing, nothing, nothing. When he was treating Ivone (a

friend), he got tired of her, getting upset at her and telling me what to do and shaking me and telling things, and he let me note through Ivone and when she gave me the message I was so like, I wondered sometimes, my god! If I could hear him, I would, you know, I would talk back, you know, one always wants to talk back, but it doesn't happen like that, I can't, I can't Jessica, I cannot. Even of Cosmos and Damien I wanted to be aware, but I'm not aware. He does whatever He wants to me! He does horrors, He made me so sticky, once, I had my hair so beautiful, I did the hene thing and do you know what he did, when I realized I had a candy stick in my hair, He stuck a lollipop in my hair, I Just can't, I'm not, I can't help it, even with the Preto Velho I can't help it, none of them, I am not aware. Even now that I'm over fifty. They rule me!

Right after, Marisa went to live in her own house and she started to treat people at home after work. People got to her from "*mouth to mouth*". She never advertised neither charged anything for her work. It was part of her charitable mission, always for the good. "*No one ever will say, oh well! That woman did charity for money. No!* "

I always had my job and always did charity, always. Then after I moved to Restinga (Porto Alegre neighborhood), I worked there for many years, I worked out and then when I got back home I worked too. Then after I had to sort things out, right, because you know how it is, religion is very good, but one gets tired. There were always people there, there were always sick children, my role was always to help problematic kids, sick kids, kids with candida, kids with this, kids with that and I gave them my blessing and I did the procedures. I worked for many years, when I was done with my job and went home there was always someone already waiting.

One Day Marisa decides to go to a *terreira*, near her house, to have a better place to work, but she quits on her first week, because of a Mother-of-Saint, as soon as she got there she gave her a huge groceries list, including a gas canister. Marisa says nothing and returns no more. When Marisa goes back home, devastated and crying, her sister was there to pay her a visit, as Marisa was so sad, her Ogum came in "*and told me not to go there anymore, that place is not the right one and that he would get me the right house.* "

Time passed by and Marisa kept treating at home, she did not look for any other places to work and she gives up on this, thinking that her Ogum forgot to give her the right house. At a time when she was feeling very tired, weak and breathless, she had a dream about the right place for her to treat:

So one day I was lying in my bed and I saw a girl with a red skirt and I stared at her and she started to walk towards me and she stopped near my bed and then I couldn't see her anymore . Ok, so then I had

a picture of the place in mind, my cozy place, just for me. So I got up and I lit him a candle and I asked: my lord, who's that girl in red that I just saw? That girl who I now couldn't see anymore? I went to sleep then and he showed me the house of Mother Erida and He said her terreira with her braided sword the Ogum one because Iansã and Ogum, each one has its own sword and if you look in the Flora (store that sells African-religious articles) you will find. So he gave it to me in a dream and so next day I was thinking and I just couldn't stop thinking about it, about that house, that house, that house, that terreira, that terreira. Then I thought I'll go out and I will look for that house, but I didn't know where it was. I really didn't know it, there was nobody for me to ask, so I left. I took the bus and I went. I got off the bus and I walked down a street, I walked down always straight and I got to a house, in front of the house it was written Mother Erida, but I did not know her name right, but I saw it was a terreira there were all the Baras's little houses. I knocked on that door, there she came, that very white lady I remember her till today with that braid. When she opened the door, I saw straight away the swords crossed and I thought, well it is right here! [...] Ah! When I got there she knew, she looked at me and she knew. She said you have a wonderful father! And you are here because he sent you.

Next week she made a "tirada de búzios" with Mother Erida, and she saw that what Marisa has been feeling is because her life is in danger, "someone has touched you," she said. And she saw that this person was the Mother-of-Saint of that terreira, who was very upset at Marisa because she did not get her the groceries and never went back. That Mother-of-Saint did a religious work for Marisa to get sick and die.

She told me that I had to do a religious work because that woman had touched me and she did one to me. She broke what the Mother-of-Saint did and then she had to put me on the nation's side, she made a reinforcement, strengthening my lungs, because I was very feeble, I was very short of breath and stuff, then she put me on the floor but she didn't put blood on my head or anything, she did a "Sanapiso". Sanapiso is a reinforcement that is made for the person's health in your own body you know, everything happens there, but I guess that I fell asleep I didn't see anything.

The Day after undertaking the Sanapiso, Marisa wakes up feeling better and she remembers that Mother Erida was very loving and attentive to her. Mother Erida recommended her to go back to the doctor she had consulted, in Santa Casa Hospital, to take the necessary and appropriate treatment immediately, because the doctor had diagnosed her with an incurable disease and a consequent sterility; Marisa could not have children. But after all the work done by Mother Erida, another diagnosis was made:

I didn't do the surgery, the specialist took a liquid from the lung, so they did a biopsy. It's a little surgery, right, they took a piece of vein to see if I had something, some disease, and I was so scared

that it could be something bad, but everything Mother Erida had said happened. I did the biopsy, they took it, then I went back to get the result and I had nothing serious and so I was ok. Then I liked it because she gave me my life back, wow! I loved it! Then I became her daughter. Then I told her from now on I'll be in your hands! And I did!

Marisa remembers that she was not well attended at the Santa Casa Hospital. The doctor was rude, he came closer to the edge of her bed and told her: *"you have a disease that has no cure and has no medicine. Wow! He scared me girl! I was desperate at the hospital. This kind of thing happens a lot these days. The doctor didn't talk to me in a good way, He gave me no attention. "*

The terreira of Mother Erida was from a "linha cruzada" (crossed line), "Umbanda, Exu and Nation." But it was all separated, the lines were not "mixed" in the same work. "Each side is one side." The terreira was huge and each part was designated for a line. "One side is to the Caboclo, the other side is for the Povo de Rua and the background is holy." Marisa worked with the Caboclo and the Preto-Velho, that she was already incorporating at home, and as she was working on a "Terreira cruzada" line, she began to incorporate also Exu, but against her will. Accordingly to Marisa she incorporated Exu only while she worked there:

They ended up manifesting in the terreira because I was working there and it was "linha cruzada". Oh I hate that! For Christ sakes! I don't like working with Exu. Ah! They are very heavy. Ouch! I don't like it. They are heavy entities, especially the men, they are very heavy. They are also very aggressive. It depends, I suppose, I had one that was. He was not sure how to go up and then he threw me, He threw me and I hit the wall very strong, then I got scared of him you know. So Exu is very heavy.

When it comes to getting initiated in the Nation, Mother Erida told Marisa that she could decide for herself, that it wasn't required, but "they were surrounding me." Marisa chose not to be initiated in the Nation, because "the Nation is too expensive" and, once you get started, you cannot get away from the religion, you cannot "walk out from the Orixás because they'll get offended, they'll come after you." That is, they will punish you. So, Marisa kept working for many years in this terreira, always for the good as she emphasizes:

Ah! I have always worked for the good. I am against Jessica: I am totally against the people that uses the religion to. Ah! Think about it, when you do something bad to someone and then everything goes wrong for that person, she may get sick or have an accident and you know it was you who did that! I just could not put up with that, god forbid! I guess I wouldn't be able to fall asleep anymore. No! I'm not like that!

While working at the terreira, Marisa no longer seeks spiritualism. Around her 30's she meets and falls for Jorge, the bricklayer who was working for her sister. *"I thought I would never get married again, but then he came along."* Jorge did not attend the terreira, but He did not mind that Marisa worked in Umbanda. He did not believe in religion. Once, because of Marisa's insistence, he consulted the Búzios, with Mother Erida, but he didn't do what she had recommended. *"He didn't want to. I didn't insist. If He had done what she told him, things would have worked out better for him"*.

Right after she met Jorge "they got married", they moved in together, because after what happened with her ex fiancé, Marisa did not want to get married legally and so since both never really got married, they just started to live together. Marisa soon starts a clinical treatment to get pregnant, because, according to the doctor, it would be hard for her to conceive a child. But Marisa quickly soon pregnant from a boy. During her pregnancy she stopped going to terreira because mother Erida "gave her permission" for it, because "a pregnant woman cannot participate in the procedures." So Marisa started to go to Spiritist house, to be guided by spiritual mentors, in a house where her neighbor also attended.

When her son was born, she baptized him in Umbanda, in Spiritism and in the Catholic Church. Then when he grew up a bit, Marisa went back to work at the terreira with Mother Erida, but not with such an intensity anymore and she kept treating at home, only on Saturdays.

Four years after her first child was born, she got pregnant again, getting away from the terreira which, back then, was having problems between the mediums, which "harmed" Mother Erida, who was starting to get sick. Even in those conditions, Marisa managed to play the Búzios with Mother Erida, and to do a procedure to ensure her life again, as the

Mother-of-Saint had predicted risk for her. She was wearing a ribbon around the belly throughout her whole pregnancy, as safety.

When Marisa was eight months pregnant, she began bleeding at home and had to be admitted to the Santa Casa hospital in Porto Alegre. She remembers that she was in the room with two other women, and when she woke up, they were so amazed, they were eye-popping, saying that she had incorporated a Saint. Marisa said: *"I did not incorporate any saint because I am not "batuqueira"¹³⁸!" I'm Umbandist! I have a guardian angel, an Ogum"*. They said: *"wow but he is very strong."* He incorporated into Marisa when she was asleep, she jumped out of bed, worked on her tummy and also worked on one of them, saying that her baby *"would be born cut"*, meaning, cesarean.

Next day, she remembers that she got up, went to the bathroom and blood was dripping down her legs. She was very weak and fainted, but could manage to call the nurse. She recalls the nurse coming to her and then she does not remember anything else. They did an emergency surgery to save the baby. Marisa went into a coma and had to receive blood donations. His boss was one of the donators. *"I have his blood also Jessica."* She was unable to tell me how many days she was in a coma. When I talked to her sister, she told me that Marisa was in a coma for about ten days.

In the period when Marisa was in the hospital, her husband returned to their home in Restinga where they have been living together to take his personal things and he moved in, together with their son, into his mistress house without letting anyone know. When Marisa left the hospital, she was too weak and she was very confused until her full recovery. He dropped her and the kids off at her mother's home in Restinga, while he was building a "shack" next to it. At home she couldn't eat properly, because they were very poor and no one really cared about her. Marisa had to take care of herself and the baby, she was too weak and fell several times, with her daughter in her arms.

¹³⁸ One who practices Batuque. "Generic term used since the 19th century to designate all sonorous percussive events in Brazil, whether they included dance or had a religious or profane nature. In general, the term is used in descriptions with a pejorative connotation" (Tosta & Coutinho, 2016: 774)

When her shack was ready, she was even lonelier. Her sister told me that nobody knew what was happening to her, that Jorge had lovers and had abandoned her. "We knew nothing. I thought so because when she was in a coma in the hospital his visits were too quick. He always looked neat, fragrant, but I would have never thought he would do something like that. I was very upset at him, even felt hatred. Marisa remembers that *"one day when I was walking down the street, coming home from the grocery store a car pulled up beside her with a white lady who said: I know everything you're going through. You do not deserve this! It is not fair what they're doing to you! I'll help you. To this day I do not know who that lady was, I don't remember, but she saved me, helped me to recover, I needed food and didn't have any, she always brought me groceries, milk, flour, meat. She told me that the food was just for me to recover and not to share it with the others in the favela (slum)"*. When I asked about this woman to Marisa's sister, she told me she did not know that and did not even remember. Marisa's boss said that *"it did not happen, she made it up, the poor thing."* According to her boss:

She was never the same after the coma. At first she was like lost, like not knowing what was going on. Stunned. She just didn't get things. After she went back to work she felt better, but still. She was like numb. She used to be a good cook and after that she is not anymore. She can't do things as she used to. Till these days she fumbles to do things. You can notice it. Watch her, and you'll see. She gets clean laundry to wash and she doesn't realize it's clean. But that's not the main point, the thing is that she lost track of things. Ay, I don't know how to explain it but she is clumsy, she got some deficiencies. Cognitive deficits. I think. She just doesn't get things. She mixes dirty clothes with clean clothes. You ask her things and she no longer remembers. She goes to the grocery store, I give her a list and she still always forgets something. She distorts the facts. She also got paranoid now. I don't know if it's because of the coma or it is just a coincidence because she wasn't like that before. Before she used to say that people were judgmental to her, but her paranoid about being Black started after the coma. I think she makes things up, daydreaming. She makes up things as an excuse for something. She's always telling that she was humiliated in the bus, on the street... These days she told me about a kid in the bus. I don't even remember cause she makes up so many stories, ask her and she'll tell you the whole thing. She said that the kid was staring at her because she is black and ugly and she cursed him. I think she is going a bit crazy. I do not know if the right word is daydreaming. She makes up things. People cannot longer look at her because she will think they're making fun of her.

When her sisters found out what was happening to Marisa, about two months after Livia's birth, one of them, who lives in Porto Alegre, took her into her house. Marisa stated about this: *"But she worked all day long and I was home with her children, teenagers who*

could not stand me, they used to tell me that it was not my home, what I was doing there. Ay Jessica, I went through horrible things. Robson and Livia cried. I went back to my shack in Restinga, but I am recovering thanks to my Ogum, because my guardian Angel is strong”.

After all that, when she recovered, she went to look for Mother Erida, to tell her everything that has happened to her, but they could do one procedure only of the many she needed, because the Mother-of-Saint was too sick. Currently, she is still alive, and her daughter took over the terreira. The Mother-of-Saint nowadays is blind and too old, she does not speak anymore and Marisa does not like to visit her, because when she sees her like that, she feels terrible and she feels like crying. She also did not want to stay in the terreira because of Erida’s daughter, she is in charge of the terreira, she is very calculated and hard to deal with, *"she does all kinds of procedures and not only for the good and charity and so I prefer not to get involved, I never liked that, so I decided to stay neutral."*

She is blind now that’s why I’m not going to visit her Jessica. When I go there I drop in tears I’d rather not go. I’m very sad, very sad, because bah! She is such a good person. So I went once or twice there, but then how can I put it, I don’t know what happens I just know that I can’t even talk. It drives me crazy me All I do is cry, cry, cry, I feel sorry for her. She looks like a little baby now, she is so old, so old she can’t see, I loved her, really loved her. Ah! Someone who gives you a hand who helps you to stand up on your own feet, you know. So then I told her daughter I will not come over anymore, she said ok! As you wish, every time you come she can’t see you but she can feel, she can feel you [...] she invited me to go back to work. She is nice, but she's evil in the religion. She is awful and I don’t want to.

After she recovered, Marisa started to realize everything that Jorge had done. Her son Robson, five years old now, told her everything that had happened, that *"that woman messed up all her stuff, took her clothes, had beat him and told him that she was her mother not Marisa, her name was Marisa Helena "*.

According to Mother Erida, Helena, Jorge's mistress, did a work for Marisa to die and to *"turn Jorge’s head over”*. He started to reproach her, saying that her daughter was not his. *"Today I remember and I don’t even know how I could go through all that demand."* She went to a psychologist, near her house to seek help. She did therapy for a while and

Robson also because he was "very upset." *"Oh Jessica it must be hard being a psychologist, I remember, I went there and I just cried and she listened to me and she stood by my side supporting me"*. She felt lucky to have found a good psychologist in the public hospital system, but she could only schedule a few sessions.

According to Marisa, the psychologist advised her not to say anything bad about the father not to upset the kids. And that's what she did, even with Jorge going "mad". Marisa then went back to work at the family home, her bosses began then to help her with housing, food, clothing and toys for the children: *"We were very sorry for her. She lived in a shack in a favela. I went there one day to see that it was just a room for her and her two children. Very sad! So we gave her the apartment we were renting to her."*

Her boss also threatened to seek a lawyer, if Jorge wouldn't name his daughter after him, He would sue him, he reported him. He also wanted to threaten him to give them an allowance, but Marisa did not allow this to happen, because she was afraid he would be arrested and also she still had hope, despite of everything, to get back to him until his death, four years ago: *"I didn't leave him, he left me, right. He's the one who left, if it was up to me I would never have left him. I've never had that intention, you know, I've never had, some women do, you know, but I don't."*

But when Livia was growing up, Jorge *"came back to his senses"* and went after her one day. He took his daughter for a walk and told her he loved her. So the bonds were settled, but Robson, their son could never establish a relationship with his father. When I talked to Livia, she told me that her dad was always good for her and that she really misses him. She remembers that she used to visit him on weekends and she is still in touch with her half-sister.

I asked Marisa what she thinks about Jorge's changes since he still was with his mistress and had a daughter with her, she thinks it was because of his mother. One day, his mother got very upset with everything he was doing. She realized that it was unfair and how much Marisa struggled to survive, she went to a terreira near her house and ordered to undo the religious work that *"that whore had done."* And now she is paying for everything, Jorge

died and his daughter with Helena "*she is a junky*," stopped studying and "*she wanders on the streets*".

At that time, Marisa began to go to another religious house, a kind of a folk healer, "*she was from Bahia*". She always went with the children. Sometimes she also started going to the Athenaeum Spiritist Center, which is near the house where she works. When she felt she needed it, she would take a break from work to go there and get energized.

I used to go all the time to the Athenaeum. I go ones in a while to the Spiritist house, I'm going there because I'm all by myself Jessica, I just hold onto my father Ogum, Oxum, my guardian angel so then I go there. I started going to the Spiritism to get energized. Within the terreira you have the safety of your parents, you have your Mother-of-Saint, in case anything happens to you. So much has happened to me if the Mother-of-Saint was around, it was her who was holding me, understand. And I'm sure about by my guardian angel! Thank God! But if I have a Mother-of-Saint, she immediately puts her hand on me. Wow! And it works!! Understand. Look to what point I was once...

Her children were growing up and she was having problems with them, they were daring her. According to the bosses' daughter:

She spoiled them too much. She avoids herself. She never had a boyfriend because she said she had to wait until they were grown up because she had to take care of them. To me she was like a maid for them. She did everything for them. No wonder her daughter was ashamed of going out with her. I don't know if she told you, but one day they were going home after school and her daughter asked her to walk apart from her to pretend she didn't know her, she didn't want to be seen in her company, since they were passing by her school. And she was also ashamed that she snored in the bus. Marisa was devastated. But I'm not surprised. I can't stand that daughter of hers. She doesn't value her mother's effort. But deep down is Marisa's fault. She never even bought a pair of panties for herself, all the money she earns is for her kids. More to Robson, obviously she prefers him. On that point I understand why Livia is so angry at her, I also would be if my mother gave everything to my brother and put me aside. She has a miserable life, she doesn't do anything, she doesn't have fun, doesn't go for a stroll. I remember when I had something good to eat here at home like a cake, a sweet, and we would offer her a piece, she would not eat it and she would take it home to her kids. That made me so upset! And the kids are just trouble, they don't want to work neither study. Then she prays and goes to everything, she wants a miracle! They need a slap in the face! And some Limits! It's not about praying to the entities. Then her life would improve. You have to open your eyes! It's always everyone else's fault never the kids! Always spoiling them. Like ones, tell me how that can be possible, her son made a cell phone account in her name and spent 600 Reais and going crazy to pay the bill and be out of the credit fin! She should have made him pay! My father told her not to pay! But she doesn't listen! She always wanted to give them our life style.

I talked to Livia, she told me that her mother is not an "easy going" person and spent all her salary with her brother who lives "hanging around". *"Oh, you don't know how my mother is, she only does things for Robson, not for me. She told me that he comes first, then me, but me never comes."*

Marisa herself once told me that her idea was to do things for one and then to the other, but ended up doing everything for Robson. Livia finished high school and pushed Marisa to pay her English course. Marisa said she now wanted to help Livia, because Robson *"has had his chance"*.

Currently, Robson is living with his girlfriend and they already have a three year old daughter. He works at a gas station. On another occasion when I was with Marisa, her son called her. I noticed she got nervous and told him she had no money to give. She hung up on him, she told me he was asking for money, but would not tell me for what purpose. *"I do not fall over his lies, I'm not stupid. I'm not a child. And I won't give him. A hell of a man of 23 years old. I had to work very young as maid!"*

According to the boss, Robson started to have problems around ten years old when some classmates beat him and tried to drown him in a toilet. He thought it was because of drugs, but he never knew for sure, because Marisa was always hiding things or "just denying". He remembers that she told him about a teacher who got him a scholarship in a private school and then after school he worked with her and her husband. *"We asked about the college, she couldn't tell, we asked about the teacher's name and she didn't know, we asked about what was he working on, she didn't say"*.

The boss's daughter adds: *"the kid would call us home every day asking for money for the teacher who was helping him. Once he said the teacher was going to buy a wardrobe and she gave him the money and nothing happened. Then we found out it was all a lie"*. They found out about everything when Marisa, about seven years ago, "passed out" and her boss went to her house and talked to a neighbor, and got to know the whole truth. A neighbor also reported that some men were in her house threatening to take Robson to the police and kill him. Until now, what Robson had done, nobody knows.

Marisa did not work for a couple of months. According to her sister Lucia: "*She was very affected by it all. My god! She lost a lot of weight! She didn't eat. Just cried. She was afraid to even cross the street. She had a sort of social phobia and didn't want to go out. She had the Panic Syndrome and depression, the doctor said*".

Lucia, who is a nurse and from the evangelical church, hosted Marisa, for a while, at her place to take care of her. She started to take her to Church. The pastor of the church and some workers went to Marisa's house and got rid of her "conga" (altar), they took all the images, smashed and burned them. Marisa didn't see anything. According to her sister: "*She was like out of space, she had lost it*".

The pastor would always pick her up at home, by car, for her to be part of the service, because Marisa could not go outside alone because of her social phobia.

Her sister also took Marisa to see a doctor, a general practitioner, where tests were done and she was diagnosed with anemia, depression and panic attacks. He prescribed her Fluoxetine (antidepressant) and Diazepam (anxiolytic) in the evening, for her to get a better sleep plus a vitamin complex.

Her sister believes that the church healed her because "the devil had a lot of influence because of the religion she had". When Marisa felt a bit better she went back home and gradually got back to work, going once or twice a week, until she fully recovered. She kept taking Fluoxetine only for a while, her boss, who is a pharmacist, "could get" her the medicine because she could not afford to keep going to her sister's private doctor. Her boss states about this episode:

I think she was overwhelmed! It can happen to anyone. It's life! But to me she was crazy! She was paranoid. Thinking that everyone wanted to harm her, that someone was waiting for her, following her, and that the police was after her. All in her mind. Everything was dark. A man in black, and a black car stalking her. She said there were some guys in black watching her on the bus and she would tell them she was a good honest person. I think it's because she went through so much. Also that coma she had. But the overwhelming was way after. She also suffered a lot when Jorge left her. She was in love with him. That was very painful for her. She used to say: People think I'm crazy, but I'm not. It's all true.

What the husband's boss has to say about this:

That episode happened in a moment of grief, in a great conflict with her son, police eminence. The police was after the boy and that was too much for her. She felt like she was losing her dear son. He was threatened to death. You think those guys are joking? They kill for real! She was in a great conflict and her state of consciousness was affected, that state which is strange to us. The things she was seeing were associated with those who wanted to kill her son. She was seeing them. And for a mother the death of a child is her own death. What do psychologists say about it? A child dies, the mother dies. Most mothers are like that. If she doesn't die physically, she will die emotionally.

When I did the "thematic interview" to Marisa, she reported that episode like this:

My god! That time, I got scared of the car and stuff, I was scared and I couldn't take it off my mind, my mind was upside down. I said nothing to anyone, I was very quiet, very still, and I was very scared. I was so afraid, so afraid, I just could see the black car, the black car in front of me. [...] My god! I was totally paranoid. Jesus! Thank God today I no longer have those things. Thank God today I'm ok I can leave the house, I come and go, but back then it was horrible, horrible. [...] oh well! I don't know, I think, even today sometimes, I wonder why, how can be possible, I never messed up with anyone, I'm not a conflictive person I think it was Leni's husband (her sister) Back then when I play the tarot to Leni. I think he stabbed me, he worked me out, what else could it be, he was a bit evil you know. It's full of people out there to perform those things.

After a while, in my meetings with Marisa, she described this event in a better way. She told me that it all started one day when she woke up and saw a lot of snakes coiled around her feet and, from that day, she started to be sick. It was getting worse and worse. Even ill, she said she could see that it was a demand, a work someone had made for her to die, but she could not react.

She said she saw black figures, a lot of black things. She couldn't eat. She remembers when she went to her sister's doctor. When he opened the door of his office, he was a tall man dressed all in white, and she saw it all in black and saw many black figures around him, but she couldn't say anything because people thought she was crazy and "*that is not medicine stuff*". She said she tried to talk to her sister, but "*she wouldn't listen, she wouldn't accept it.*"

She reports that every night she saw her Ogum in the bedroom door and she saw the sword protecting her. But, also, she couldn't tell her sister or anyone else ... also the

"cosminhos" (little St. Cosmos) appeared to her, all burned, and she told them that she was sick and that, when recovered, she would make an offering for them and explain everything that had happened. All that had a huge impact on her children. She remembers them crying around her, afraid that she would die and she thought that if she died, they would be abandoned because no one would help them, support them and she was afraid that they could be enslaved.

She did not care for anyone, not even for her mother, she only worried about her children and that she couldn't die because of them. Gradually she got better and went back home, where she kept attending, for a period of time, the Foursquare Gospel Church. But when she felt stronger she immediately went also to the Spiritist Center to get energized, near her house, and she put the Búzios with Dinda, a Mother-of-Saint of Nation, who saw that someone had made a work for her to die. Dinda made a strong cleansing upon Marisa and her children and a work to undo what they had done. *"She told me that the only reason I didn't die was because I have a strong guardian angel. My Ogum saved me! Until today Lucia thinks I got better because of the church, but it is not true! It was in my religion! But I cannot tell her that. Let her think whatever she wants!"*

I asked her what she thinks about the Evangelical Church, if it had helped her in anyway, she said yes, remembering one time in a service when the Pastor burned some papers and that this had helped a little to burn "some demands." But she says what saved her was her religion and her Ogum.

Whenever I visit her at work, she is listening to an evangelical radio program and tells me that their prayers are very strong and powerful and that it helps, but it is not her religion. When in "the thematic interview" I asked her if she thought God was in these religions, whether it was the same God, she answered:

I don't think God's there, I think they have their faith. There are some pastors that you can see they have it for real, that there is something spiritual in them that one can see on their gestures, on their attitudes, on their face, it really changes them, there is a higher power among them, there is, I observe Lucia a lot, Lucia has something that comes from above, when she prays with that vibration with that energy that she gets you can see that they change so I think they speak directly to God, but you know that within the Evangelical Church there are many out there that are ... doing this, doing that ... So I don't know this world it's so complicated.

And Marisa also tells me the following:

I felt good up there I do, but oh well the pastor is. When I go there up to the front he puts his hand on my head and he shakes me, you know and he goes ah ah ah, saying: Who knows what and it doesn't work, understand. My mediumship is my mediumship, but for them my religion is the devil! These kind of thing. They don't believe it. And once he was there talking about The devil this the devil that, and so I went to sit down somewhere else, and I dropped in tears, like rain through my eyes I was terrified luckily my mother was there Mr. Carlos then I said wow! I'll have to stop coming here! So now when I go there to my mother's (in Charqueadas) I don't go, I take her there because she is an old lady already, so I take her there, she sits there and I come back home.

Often she couldn't explain very well about the Evangelical Church, mainly because it seems that they do not share the same god, but there is a higher power and Marisa believes in the power of their prayers and rituals in some of the Evangelical Church, so when you need or feel the need, she goes to the mass near home. However, the church does not accept her mediumship. She told me at one of our meetings:

My sister is very evangelical want me to go to church. She could introduce me to a fine man and my life would change. I tried turning evangelical, but could not because of my mediumship. I sometimes go there because the prayers are very good. Sometimes when I'm depressed I go there. I respect all religions, but I don't want to convert to the evangelical. When I was sick and my sister took me to church I tried to be like one of them, but one day I saw the Mother Oxum in front of me at home when I was alone. She cried a lot. She was in tears. I was shocked. I asked her for forgiveness and she said she would go because I was sick. Then when I got better and had my altar again I lit a yellow candle for her. They say I'm crazy, but I'm not. I see. And the evangelical church does not accept it. When I go I don't talk about my mediumship. My sister said she has a great future for me in the church. She sees it. I've prayed to god, and if is its will, so be it, right. What do you think Jessica would I made a good evangelical? (Laughter).

On another occasion when I went to visit her, she reported one episode of stress in that "need" for the Evangelical Church. When I saw her, I asked her how she was doing and she told me she had some problems and that she was stressed out. She said that if I wanted to hear, she could tell me. Robson, her son, borrowed a motorcycle from a friend, but he had no driver's license. The police eventually stopped him and they took the motor from him which is now at the Police deposit. The owner of the motorcycle went to her house,

very stressed out, asking for the ransom money, otherwise he would kill Robson: "*A thousand real and he needs it by the end of the month*". Marisa had a nervous breakdown, almost a heart attack and the guy told her that it was just a way of phrasing, he would not kill Robson, but he had to pay. "*Where am I going to get all that money?*" I suggested her to call the police and to check the value of the motorcycle because I thought it was too much money for it. She told me that this time she would not get involved, would not help him, because he needed to grow up, to learn the lessons and should therefore pay for everything himself, since he was already working.

Robson is already married and has a three year old daughter, "*he must take responsibility*." But Marisa was again devastated and only now she is better able to walk and talk. "*Children are children, no matter how big they are, we still suffer*." She remembers that she was shocked, just cried, She felt so weak that she couldn't even move her arms or walk because she could fall down. She couldn't tell her daughter because she would be very upset at her brother and at Marisa. Also she asked me not to tell anyone. It is a "*secret between me and him*." Also you cannot tell her sisters because they are very mad at him and they will have a fight.

Her sister invited her to spend the weekend at the beach, but she could not get away from her child. She spent most of her time praying to her guardian angels. She began to feel a pressure in her head and was afraid of having a stroke. It was terrible, she was so anxious and sad, had such a pressure on her chest. To relieve herself, she had to do something and went to the Foursquare Gospel Church on her street. When I asked her if she thought that the church would help her, because she didn't seek her own religion as a relief, she told me that she just couldn't go to a Spiritist center and could not do any work or axé, because it was February, the month of carnival in Brazil. "*And I also have no doubts, because when my mother had a stroke the pastor came by our house to pray for her so it could have been that what saved her*." And again, she emphasizes that the prayers are very good songs, as also the accompanying clapping hands. She said she goes to church when she needs it because it is very close to her house and then she would make an axé to Robson. Marisa recalled that she almost crawled her way to the church. She went in, took some water and

sat down at the entrance. The pastor's daughter, who is around sixteen, is very dear to Marisa. She was singing on stage and when she saw Marisa she said hi to her with a hand gesture, but Marisa could not say hi back, because she could not move normally and when trying to get up she fell. *"It was horrible. I was even embarrassed. "*

People sang and clapped hands but Marisa couldn't move, gradually she started to feel better. After the pastor did the prayers, in the end, she was feeling much better. Then, she stood in line to talk to him. She told him her son was in trouble and he told her he would pray for him. She took Robson's shirt for him to bless it with some oil and then she gave it back to Robson to wear it. A while later, I got to know that Marisa gave 500 real to help her son to pay the debt.

Marisa also attends to a prayer group of the Great White Brotherhood close to her job, on Wednesdays evening - where I met her. She works on Thursdays and Saturdays at two other residences, near where she works in order to earn extra money. The owner of one of the extra houses where works are done, Lenita, who is a spiritual person and attends this group, invited her, two years ago, to participate. This group meets at the guru's home, as she is called, a lady of 82 years old. She practices tarot and she applies reiki and geobiology with the ascended masters.

In that Wednesday group, there is a cleansing of the ancestors and forefathers. It consists of a few people, but occasionally some others join us. Besides me, there is a girl of 35 years old who belongs to Christian Science¹³⁹, Barbara, 50 years old and a former Umbandist but currently a reiki therapist, a woman who is an apometric medium in the "Casa da Luz" Center the Preta Velha, Lenita a Spiritist and Marisa.

I go there at Mrs. Mariah because I like her prayer, I feel very good about it and I really feel those prayers, I try to find out her religion, but so far I couldn't because she says it's the ...! Ah, I don't understand. [...] She talks about the master, the ascended master, to me, from my point of view I think it's Jesus. From the top of the infinite. Also the Virgin Mary. So I feel very good when I'm there, I like it. [...] But do not quite understand, but there is a degree of mediumistic Umbanda, a cross line is there because I've seen around Mrs. Mariah, sometimes the mentors manifest, sometimes comes a gentleman all in white with a very serious face, a round, full face, very old you look at him and he even frightens you, Mariah has a mentor, and another one that is an Indian, he has a very long black hair, very, very

¹³⁹ Christian Science is a set of beliefs and practices belonging to the new religious movements.

black, sometimes they are all there with that black, black hair, very black, so long and glossy, apparently he has a horse, look I'm impressed! It seems his riding. In his face I see a light, sometimes it comes so strong and surrounds the lady and mother Oxum also came, these days came mother Oxum and Iemanjá with a blue skirt and they stand in between us and also a master comes and he stands at the door, I can't see who he is, he doesn't come all the time, just sometimes. [...] He wears an outfit, but it is not white, it looks kind of brown, is a weird color I cannot define. He stands there in the middle of that door[...] Oh I'll have to improve, It's feel good for me, for my kids to feel good too, because I'm so stressed out I want release my stress, there is a lot of positive energy there.

Marisa always tells that she sees, during those prayers, this light around me, along with Mother Oxum. She says she is sure that I am Iemanjá's daughter in my mind and Oxalá in my body and that my godmother is Oxum. She calls me enlightened, but that I'm also very persecuted, with a lot of bad eyes looking down on me, being jealous and obsessive entities, *"there is someone who has always touched me."* Once, she offered to give me an appointment. I agreed, she came to my house and she incorporated her Ogum. He said I should take a bath from Mother Iemanjá and to make an offering for her, to the Mother Oxum and the Father Oxalá. She told me everything I should buy, at the store, to put on the trays: "quindim" (a Brazilian coconut candy), white and yellow hominy, perfume, candle, etc. Marisa got everything organized, and we took it to the Guaiba Lake.

After a while, Marisa wanted to do some smoke cleansing at my house and she said that my Mother Iemanjá was giving directions to her, that I should definitely make a blue skirt, and that I should do other works and cleansings. I told Marisa that I used to go to an Umbanda Center and that while I was there, they asked me not to do other kinds of work and consultations outside their house. She got very upset with me, she said I was turning my back to my guardian angels and to my wonderful mothers. I explained her I wasn't turning my back that the mothers she saw were the same as the mediums saw at the Umbanda Center. Then she asked me if she could come along one day and get energized. She came over twice, she liked it a lot, but she didn't go back anymore because the place is far from her house and because of this the ritual ends too late for her.

When I did the work in the Umbanda Center, I told her about it and she said it was a well done work and that I could keep going there. The Preta-Velha, with whom I get energized in the Umbanda Center, saw, without me saying anything, that a person had gone

to my house, had incorporated and had a lit candle and attracted more obsessive entities than those I already had before. I was also told that I had to stop the work with that person and let her know that I was being taken care of in another place, that I should light a candle in the Umbanda Center to thank Marisa's Ogum for what he had done for me and that now I would only continue in that other house, which is what I did. But this was a delicate situation that I went through in the fieldwork, as well as the day that Marisa asked me to put the gypsy tarot for her. She has a tarot and she plays it, but back then she didn't feel capable. I told her I didn't know how it worked that and never did it before. She told me she could perceive my mediumship, my light and I that had wonderful mothers, and if I played for her, the message would be delivered to her that it would come. I told her I didn't feel able to do it, and if one day I thought I could then I would do it with pleasure. She always saw me as someone who had "something more", she told me I was born with it. She asked me several times if I had visions or got messages. I said no.

I sometimes went to the Athenaeum Center, with Marisa, which is near her work place, to get energized. She likes that house, and when she feels like it she goes there, besides going also to other spiritual centers. She says that sometimes she sees Dr. Bezerra de Menezes at the Spiritist Athenaeum. She told me about one of the experiences with Dr. Bezerra and spiritual center:

I really like spiritualism. Therefore I go, I have great faith in Dr. Bezerra, and so I go there to get energized. [...] Do you know why I go there Jessica, because when I get there in the Athenaeum, I sit down and Dr. Bezerra and another mentor talk to me. They talk to me, I feel things like, there are some stuff that come to my mind, and I get clear. You know, they talk to me about Spiritual things. I say nothing to anyone, I'm just telling you because you are interviewing me, ok. The other day I went there and I had something in my head, something in my head and when I went I felt like they started to touch it, to touch my head. I felt it very clearly, they were touching my head, like stirring, when I left I felt a bit dizzy but it went away. So I have this sensitivity because of my psychic level, some have it, some don't, right, it depends on the person, I have it like that.

Marisa also reports seeing sometimes Dr. Bezerra and the spiritual mentors in the prayer group of the Great White Brotherhood. For example, on a Wednesday she called me asking if I could go with her to Mariah's house, because her employer would not, and she needed it because she didn't feel very well. I went to pick her up at work, and she told me she was

in desperate need of Mariah's prayers, which although not well understood they were good, they are "in Jesus" when prayed.

Her daughter was having problems with her mother in law, she was annoying her. She thinks that Jorge's family was very jealous of Livia, and she has not learned that yet, she didn't understand she couldn't count on them or trust them, to trust no one because it just brings in the bad eye. Marisa took her kids' clothes for Mariah to bless them. She is the only person in the group who takes clothes for Mariah's blessing. Initially, Mariah explained her that bringing clothes wasn't necessary because it's all in the mind. At one point of the prayer, each one mentally says the name of their relatives, alive and dead, to be "cleaned", "sent" and "blessed." But Marisa feels that it is not the same thing and Mariah eventually agreed that she would take the clothing. On that day Marisa left feeling pretty good, the energy was amazing and she had received a message for her children from the spiritual mentors and Dr. Bezerra. Good things will happen to them. *"Wow, I'm fascinated Jessica. I love the energy that flows in the group. A homogeneous, unanimous thing. I don't like when Barbara (who was from Umbanda) goes, it dissolves the group energy. Did you see the difference today?"*

It is not every Wednesdays that Marisa participates in this group, as once she told me on the phone that she couldn't make it, because she had to make dinner for her daughter. *"I don't need to go to Mariah for protection because I'm strong and positive."* Last week, she desperately called me that she needed to go so much, despite being positive and strong, there is always someone trying to stab her. That day, during the prayer, Marisa fell to the ground with hands and feet twisted. Mariah prayed for a period of time to send that away. Later, Mariah told me there was something heavy with her and she could send it away only because she also knows how to work with that line of Umbanda.

Marisa also seeks Mariah and the spiritual center to heal physical disorders such as cataracts and a pain in the uterus and spine. She doesn't know what it is, because she can't see a doctor because it's too hard to get an appointment in the Brazilian public health

system (SUS¹⁴⁰). Her employer applies her injections when she is in pain. She believes that certain things the religion cannot fix as someone's personality. For example, her boyfriend's daughter was very "quiet" had no initiative. Marisa was concerned, but she couldn't do anything since in those cases "Works don't work." But today she is more relaxed about it because her daughter knew how to influence him and help him to "progress."

When he needs it, she makes herself an axé, but Marisa cannot be stressed, sad or depressed. She remembers that one day she wasn't feeling good and she was home alone, then she went out to look for help: "*I was very depressed and I thought I had something, so I needed someone to do the axé for me.*" So Marisa stood on the street wondering what to do when she saw her neighbor from the religion, Rosa:

I said Oh! Rosa! She Said, what happened? I said oh! I'm not feeling very well today I'm home alone, could you do me a favor, could you do the candle thing, the mother candle? Then she said, do you know what she told me? Ah! I have to talk to my Father-of-Saint! I have to call him ah! Girl, I was so sad, I cried so much, ah! I went back home, quietly, sadly. After I had a bit of water with sugar, and I slept, I took a nap, then I said ah! My Father, will you help me? I will not look for anyone else if people don't want to do charity, I used to help so much! Then I felt better and I myself did the candle thing. Oh Yes! That's why I say that human beings are very cruel when you do it from your heart at the time that you need them do to it for you, and I couldn't go anywhere else, right Jessica and I know she blesses, I asked her to pass me the candle, what is the big deal to make an little axé a one person only, just to get it out. I did so much charity thank God and I have no regrets. Look what I think to myself, when I'll retire, I'll bless you know, as I used to bless before, to bless "quebrante" (breakdown), "brotoeja" (skin rash)" this kind of thing I'm going to do.

Normally, Marisa makes energizing cleansing baths at her home, especially in the end of the year. "*I do it because I know that the mentors are with me right there when I do it.*" Whenever you can afford it, make offerings to your guardian angels. Otherwise, they want an explanation when you take too long to worship them, because it is "*their little treat and if not they feel abandoned.*" She needs to prepare them a "*table.*" Marisa explains what the worshipping is: "*ah! You give them a good treat and you make your wishes, for abundance, for peace and for you to be able to offer them their treat, right.*" At the same

¹⁴⁰ Sistema Único de Saúde. Brazil's public state sponsored unified health system. (Tosta & Coutinho, 2016: 792)

time, she is afraid of going to any religious house. She tells me that once she visited a woman to make an axé for the purpose to get her a boyfriend:

Let's do a "little Axé" to get you a boyfriend. I didn't say anything, I sat down there just looking at her, just like that. Then, ok I left, so I started thinking, thinking, it's not worth it, she wants to make an axé to get me a boyfriend and suddenly she comes up with something, because there are many people who can do anything about it, and then all of the sudden there can be a bunch of men behind you and you having no idea what that is, right. Don't mess with the Gypsies. Oh! Gypsy women are very beautiful, wonderful, and such, but then I went home thinking ah! I'm not doing anything with this woman, suddenly she can make up something, do a thing, right, without asking me, without me wanting it and then next moment I walk on the street with a bunch of men behind me, because there are people who do that, they are capable of it, right Jessica . No, it doesn't work for me like that. Mrs. Tania's daughter, she was all over, hanging out with a bunch of men, a work someone did to her, then when she did a work to break that spell, that was it, it all ended right away, but it's very embarrassing.

Marisa also likes to go to Batuque, and when she can, she goes, because she gets an axé and you go back home feeling light: *"From time to time I like to go to the drum party you know, to get on the circle, because I dance, I dance drumming you know. (Laughs) And I know how to dance of course! Mother Erida used to go there! You dance on the circle with the Orixás, wow! Such a light feeling. Anything heavy in your body, the mentors take it all away. It feels so good. I like to go once in a while to the "little Batuque".* "She misses a lot an Umbanda house for her to work. She keeps looking for it, but it is very difficult to find people who practice charity and people whom one can trust, without business involved and that she could feel comfortable.

I miss an Umbanda house. Near my house there is one, but you know how I am, I observe people a lot and I see they are just after the money, I know one spends ... But I believe when someone goes there, first one has to talk to the person, pay attention to her do the Búzios play and see. Once I went to a house, she is a girl, but not too young, she has a son already, it seems she works as a civil servant for the State. So she told me, Marisa come here, this, this and that. Then I stood there very serious staring at her, watching her. I was just listening quietly then I asked her how much is it the Axé here, right? She had to do one play to see right, then she told me 90 real, I almost fell backwards, right. I didn't do it, right. People don't have that thing anymore, just to let you in. I even think it's ok to pay for the tarot or Búzios, but it doesn't need to be so expensive. She told me 90 real, I mean. There I stood, quiet, I was so sad, so sad. I Thought, my god! How many people who just want money, but a "little axé "could be twenty, thirty right, but no! It was ninety real. This is not charity! [...] I'm not interested about the axé show. That for me it's just an outfit that you wear. I want to see the real thing, when you work it out, the truth. There are people, there are some people, who like to show off, just to show off. I think it shouldn't be like that. And there are a lot of people out there saying great things about the

religion. It's so sad right that it became a business, because people don't even care so much about helping.

Currently, she hardly ever works at home, only when someone goes after her, and because of her mission, she can't refuse it, but she still dreams of having a place where she could work:

I work only, of course I cannot refuse, right, when a sick child comes over, and if someone goes after me, I have to take them in because it's a mission from God. The only thing I want is one day to have a house, even a room in the back, to settle my mentors there to practice charity, a place where I can bless, I can help, but for now not ... there are many people who are doing certain things and then people are disappointed and they're right, but there is still good people, I haven't found houses yet, one day I'll find. There's an Oxum lady close to my house, she's very good, but the thing is that her side is not mine, so it doesn't help, not good. Oxum, she does, no problem. I can go there, pay them a visit, I can take a little axé there. But work, I cannot work there because she is just Nation.

Her boss, who is a spiritual person, but doesn't belong to any religion, talks about Marisa:

She has her mediumship, she incorporates that entity. Whenever she is in trouble she also uses other religions, one that is effective at the moment. She is devoted, but what she seeks first is to solve the problems. She then seeks another religion. It may be totally different from hers but she doesn't give up on hers. She is an earnest devotee, more than other people because she doesn't change her religion. She doesn't give up on her religion. She goes to other religions to solve her current problems. It can be financial, psychological, physical, and mental, especially with the children. If she feels good, then she doesn't need the other ones, she will not seek them because she has faith in her religion. She Believes. But it seems that it doesn't work for her when she needs it. Or it is not a ritual as she wants it to be because nowadays Umbanda has changed a lot, and if it doesn't match to what she believes, then she doesn't go. It may be that. She has a profile on Umbanda, a conditioned one and she doesn't give up on that, she only joins other religions just to solve her problem. Today rituals are completely different and she works with a very specific one with her Ogum. She looks for other ones when she has a need, unless someone invites her over, then she gets more in touch into it. And she wants to impose her way, she wants to introduce new things. For example she wanted to take clothing to Mariah to bless and there they work only with thought or on paper but she didn't accept it and took clothes for her to bless them, Mariah eventually accepted because of her strong faith and certainly to make her happy because it can't hurt, what counts is the intention. You saw that she got into another house that doesn't have this ritual. These religions help her immediately, but then everything comes back. It's like hypnosis. Each ritual is like a great theater and the human being is susceptible to that so it helps her just on that moment. Afterwards everything comes back because the problems continue. Whoever reaches an altered state of consciousness as she has reached, sees things, sees, but she does not have much knowledge, study about it. [...] I don't think she's crazy because crazy people talk a lot of nonsense, and don't fit in society and she lives well in society. She is not like that permanently, she has lapses. Her condition is not as a crazy person. Madness has no connection with reality and she is

connected with the reality created by society. She has a parallel world that she accesses, but it is integrated in society. She wants to have a good life, full of resources, she cares about social rules, she cares about her debts, she pays her bills, she is honest, and she knows what's going on. [...] And you see for example with the fluoxetine. She took it for a while, but never did it regularly. She takes it when she doesn't feel good. Now I gave it to her again. She takes Max one box and then takes no more. This helps her for a while. It calms her. Because the drugs have a placebo effect. Because she believes it will help, but then she takes one Box and stops, then the medicine doesn't even work chemically. The drug has a life you know how it works you must have studied that. She uses everything. Sometimes I have to hide medicine here at home because she is interested about everything, she wants to know, mostly about homeopathy and floral. Sometimes I give her too. So it's the Fluoxetine, the natural medicine, the religion. But she is not steady in any of them.

Marisa explains her comings and goings from different places:

Because in terreira I'll go to work, on terreira I'll work with my Father. In Spiritism they call it the spiritual mentors, Dr. Bezerra, Dr. Emanuel they come, they are treating me, at Mariah her mentors also come, they help me as well, the prayers, all the good things she does there are helping my body so it has nothing to do one thing with the other. The thing is that nowadays people sometimes mix up things, there are so many people like that, ah! But like Umbanda! There isn't anything like it. If I go in there, in the Umbanda I go to work and when I go to the Spiritism I have an appointment, today it's like that, I'm sure, once It was just me helping with my mediumship, and my body felt it, I was very, very tired, I felt like a rug.

As for her mediumship, Marisa always emphasizes that this is a mission, which "*has already come with her*" or "*that she came with it.*" Again, she told me, that she thought her mediumship had come from her father:

My father was very fond of Umbanda. I remember there was a gentleman I've never been there at his place, he doesn't exist anymore. It was there that the Lord Umbanda and my dad had a Preto Velho. I remember it like that, so it means that my mediumship has come right through my father, I look after him. You know why I remember, because once I even got affright because I was a little girl and my dad was sitting, he came home from work he was sitting there drinking "chimarrão"¹⁴¹ and then he said ah! I'll take the "mate" and I'll take a shower, there was a shower head on the street and there he went and then he took a shower, he got dressed and sat down there and then he started talking so weird, now I know that was a Preto Velho, because he talked like shi, shi, shi you know, as they talk, so I ran away and I stood there staring at the kitchen door. Nobody did anything and after that he was ok. [...] I know there was there was a gentleman that he used to visit, I think he was from Umbanda, because Nation it wouldn't be, right, It was Umbanda. Nowadays we don't talk about it anymore, my mother

¹⁴¹ Or mate. It is a traditional South American caffeine-rich infused drink.

must know, I would like to know more about it, she knows many things, but because she is too old and goes to church now, as she doesn't care about it, but I'd love to know.

She also told me that she believes that, in another life, she was very rich and humiliated many people and therefore in this current life she had to go through so much suffering and that's why she needs to do charity. She emphasizes that she is the "*Black sheep*".

I'm the Black sheep. At Dona Mariah I went because my boss was still going and I know her. At the 'Cruzeiro Spiritist house I went with my godmother, she is Robson's godmother she told me she was taking her granddaughter and the little girl really improved so I went too, I went with Robison being very little so I went, but it doesn't work like that. [...] There when I used to live in Restinga many, many people knocked at my door to tell me about a terreira Who knows where, to invite me for a party to show off my gypsy. I hate that! [...] So I guess I have to go somewhere that you feel good you don't have to go where others want you to go, that's one thing about me there can be a thing, anything right down the street but if I don't feel like it, I won't come in, no way!

Marisa continues to live in a two-bedroom apartment, in a lower middle-class neighborhood of Porto Alegre, given by her employers. She receives a minimum wage salary and her employer also helps paying the extra living expenses so her daughter can study English. The couple had helped her for many years, but now, because of financial limitations, they can no longer help her. Marisa realized that she should do something in order for them to have a better future, but they don't take it in consideration. I also went to her apartment. The apartment is very deteriorated, because she can't fix anything or improve anything, she has no money. For example, there is a broken window patched with carton which gets wet when it rains upon her living room. The apartment manager got tired of threatening her to pay the common building expenses, but she cannot raise any money to fix up the house.

Her boss gives her a Day off during the week so she can clean other houses to make extra money, besides working on the weekends. She cleans on Saturdays too. Always to make some more as she says, she always did extras to make a bit more. When I ask, her in the "thematic interview", in which social class she is identified, she says:

Oh! Jessica to this point in my life I see myself as a poor thing (laughs), my class is struggling with life! I have no class! Oh! I don't have any lass Jessica only if I could make some money to do something good. I live just fighting. I'm a hard working person, I work during the day to eat at night! And I still find someone to call me shabby! But I'm happy with my poverty I don't make a big deal about it! That's alright, when you have nothing to add, then you add zero. What do you think of me? In which category would you put me? [...] No even half category Jessica! I'm always grating, grating, and grating! Middle class is when you have some money to have a better life then I could say I am middle class, but to God nothing is impossible right, we can't lose faith or hope, eh. I don't give up!

Often I've heard her say: *"I really like to live Jessica! I don't get tired of fighting! I want to live a lot!"*

Discussion

Like I explained in chapter 2, butinage is an intrinsic experience in the religious practices in which something escapes from the preceding religious tradition/system/structure from desire that produces new connections. It emerges from the exchange of forces that are produced through lines or logics, the switching from/between those lines. It can be read as a web of intertwined lines in which the religious practitioner is tangled in that web from assemblage.

In the case of Marisa we can identify four logics that guide her religious mobility: the logic of the gift, the missionary logic, logic of addiction and logic of learning. These logics are lines that are entangled in other lines. From these lines, this web, Marisa configures and unconfigures her religious narrative. She creates ruptures in her narrative. The line with its limits can be crossed with other lines creating ruptures.

Under the logic of the gift, Marisa makes offerings, she gives food for her guardian angels, she makes wishes, she gives her testimony to me and others and so she goes looking for credits. However Marisa has a mission here on Earth, she must practice charity and also in this sense, she moves from missionary logic, seeking a religious house where she can work and benefit people, "Without charity there is no salvation". And then we find the logic of learning (in this case a small line, shorter, but also present) referring to

reincarnation, the law of karma, since she needed to pay the humiliations that she provoked in another life when she was very rich. But she has an Ogum that sustains her in many demands. An Ogum and other guardian angels in which she is agencied as well as many others nonhumans present in her narrative. Ogum and others, nonhuman, should be understood as a mobilizing existential phenomenon¹⁴² and not as an analytical category. Like any phenomenon of experience this is subjected to movement and transformation. However Marisa also moves aiming on her immediate satisfaction, the addiction logic.

When Marisa moves through the logic of addiction she is entangled in other lines and makes butinage.

Marisa is entangled in lines (gift, missionary, addiction, learning etc.) according to which it is organized, signified, attributed, that is, to make symbolic work. As well as experiences that escape the logics which she constantly flees. When Marisa freak out, she fell apart and makes butinage for example in the Foursquare Gospel Church. Then, there is a rupture in the structure, in her narrative, the lines explode into a line of flight. The line of flight is part of the web that composes her life. “These lines always tie back to one another. That is why one can never posit a dualism or a dichotomy, even in the rudimentary form of the good and the bad”. (D&G, 1987: 9)

Marisa makes ruptures, butinage. But in her butinage she reencounters an organization that re-articulates everything, a formation that restores power to a signifier, attributions that reconstitute her as a subject, from her Caboclo mediumship conviction. Then, she makes reinterpretation and bricolage. This is the product of an active and temporary selection which is renewed.

Marisa sublimates, and her experience is always in flux and her subjectivity is always in the process of remaking, as we can see in her narrative. The subjectivity is a fold out, it is

¹⁴² Like Daniel Alves (2012) points out: when the researchers describe the practices of possession of entities from African American cults, they hesitate to give them credit as phenomena, describing them somewhere in the continuum ideal-typical (culture/society) -nature. Sometimes they fixate on individual mental states generated by these events, sometimes they associate with the collective needs of magical efficacy (Marcel Mauss and Max Weber are basic references), or even run for an interpretive solution centered on the experience of the actors.

directly related to the mode of subjectivity, characteristic of a particular historical formation of a society and multiple markets from flows and assemblages. From a microanalysis of Marisa, we capture the macro, her trajectory speaks of racial prejudice in Porto Alegre, the attendance of the SUS, the poverty and to survive from monthly minimum wage.

In 2005, Porto Alegre counted a total of 519 health establishments, 133 of these were public and 105 were municipal. 40 offered hospitalization and 188 were linked to the SUS. The total number of hospital beds available was 7701, 1542 were public and 271 were municipal. 365 establishments offered outpatient care, 132 offered dental treatment, 33 had emergency services and 21 of these linked to the SUS had an ICU sector. Many hospitals in the city have been rewarded at national level in recent years. In 2001 the “Hospital Independência” (Independence Hospital) received the Hospital Quality Premium granted by the SUS and in 2002 the “Hospital de Clínicas de Porto Alegre” received it, just as the “Hospital São Lucas da PUC-RS”, the Institute of Cardiology of Rio Grande do Sul and “Hospital Santa Clara” of “Santa Casa de Misericórdia”. The Weinmann Laboratory received the National Award for Health Management, the Gold Level in the category Laboratory, in the cycle 2003-2004. They are also considered referential institutions in Brazil, either together or in a particular specialty, in association with “Hospital Moinhos de Vento”, “Hospital Conceição” and “Hospital Femina¹⁴³”.

The SUS coexists with overcrowding. The first week of 2012 started with overcrowding in the emergency departments of major hospitals that care for SUS in Porto Alegre. The most critical situations were observed in Conceição and Clinicas hospitals, the largest of the capital city and they are receiving great demand of the Metropolitan Region. At Clinicas, the department with 49 vacancies came to have 146 patients, an overcapacity of 197%. Porto Alegre lost about 3.2 thousand hospitalization vacancies by SUS between 1993 and 2011. There were 8500 beds credentialed in 1993, but the number decreased to 5300. The Medical Syndicate of Rio Grande do Sul (“SIMERS” in the Portuguese acronym) has been warning that the reopening of vacancies in adequate volume is crucial

¹⁴³ In: http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Porto_Alegre#Sa.C3.BAde

to ensure more humane conditions in the care of the sick. The SIMERS warns that solutions occur slowly, while peaks are detected by more than 200% above the stocking of frame beds units, the frequent situation in 2011¹⁴⁴. In July 2012 the overcrowding caused the closure of the pediatric emergency department of the São Lucas Hospital of PUC. Moreover, in the Santa Casa Hospital Complex, emergencies of Santa Clara and Dom Vicente Scherer were receiving only in severe cases due to an excessive number of patients¹⁴⁵. The Clinicas Hospital, which did not close the department, recorded 177 people in a space for 49 beds in the adult ward and 17 children in the pediatric unit, where there were only nine beds. When passing through medical screening, patients in less serious situations had to be in line, waiting for hours¹⁴⁶.

Marisa has to seek alternatives to SUS. Her boss got a dentist who cares for her and her family for free. Her boss provides medications when necessary. Her sister paid her medical appointment when Marisa was in an emergency situation. Marisa searches for health care in religious groups and when there is no alternative she faces the suffering queues of SUS and sometimes, she does not feel like she's well enough taken care of and listened to.

Statistical data show that the Brazilian consumption capacity has increased since the available income, or the leftover of win amount, increased about 20%. In 2011, 2.7 million Brazilians changed the profile of income, leaving the D and E classes to integrate the C class. Furthermore, 230,000 people left the middle class and entered the wealthier classes (A and B). Thus, in 2011, the largest part of the population (54%) was already part of the C class. It represents a change from the situation as seen in 2005, when the majority (51%) was in D / E class. It is shown in the seventh edition of the research from Observer Brazil 2012, made by the company Cetelem BGN, the BNP Paribas Group, in partnership with the institute Ipsos Publics Affairs. The survey also shows an increase of the percentage of Brazilians in the A/B class compared to 2005. In 2011 the percentage was 22%, in 2005, was 15%. While the average household income in the A/B and D/E classes remained stable,

¹⁴⁴ In: <http://www.isaude.net/pt-BR/noticia/24232/geral/porto-alegre-tem-superlotacao-em-emergenciasna-primeira-semana-de-2012>.

¹⁴⁵ In: <http://www.correiodopovo.com.br/Noticias/?Noticia=439229>.

¹⁴⁶ <http://www.radioguaiba.com.br/Noticias/?Noticia=439525>

the C Class it increased by almost 8%. But the research shows that in all classes there was an increase in available income, which exceeded 1 thousand real, among the richest¹⁴⁷.

But Marisa does not fit into the statistics, as she says: "*I have no class [...] I work during the day to eat at night and I still find someone to call me shabby.*" Due to her educational and social conditions she is "doomed" to poverty unless she wins the lottery or she marries a rich man or her daughter can study and gain better financial conditions and helps her sometimes, Marisa concluded herself. Even doing some cleanups, she had to reduce them in the last year due to a back problem and she maintains her family practically with a monthly minimum wage.

The minimum wage of the worker in Brazil should have been R \$ 2,589 in August 2012 in order to meet the basic needs of the Brazilian and their families, as notes the National Survey of Food Basket, released by the Department of Statistics and Socioeconomic Studies ("Dieese" in the Portuguese acronym). Based on the higher value assessed to the basket in the period of R \$ 308.27, in Porto Alegre, and taking into consideration the constitutional provision which provides that the minimum wage should be sufficient to ensure household expenditures on food, housing, health, transportation, education, clothing, hygiene, leisure and retirement, the Dieese calculated that the minimum wage should have been 4.16 times higher than the minimum wage in force in Brazil, R \$ 622.00¹⁴⁸.

Despite all her demands, Marisa does not give up, she has a desire to live and how "*nothing is impossible for God,*" she makes butinage. Crossing the poverty, racial prejudice, social limitations, personal problems, Marisa makes butinage between, by means of and beyond of the social and religious pre-constraints. Marisa makes bricolage with limited materials that she has at her disposal, but her passion for the possible, and her

¹⁴⁷ In: <http://www.cartacapital.com.br/economia/classe-c-passou-a-ser-maioria-da-populacao-em-2011/>.

¹⁴⁸ In: <http://economia.ig.com.br/2012-09-04/salario-minimo-deveria-ser-de-r-258978-aponta-pesquisa-dodieese.html>

struggles to "save her life" makes her escape of the tradition/system by producing a process religious butinage.

There is a tangle of lines, the logic of gift, missionary logic, logic of learning and logic of addiction. But there are other lines, her children are a line in her narrative, she has someone for whom to live and fight. After all, Marisa has desire, desire for a good life, "successful life". The desire sustains the religious butinage and it is the engine of becoming. Marisa goes from a "poor woman", as she considers herself, to "successful person." Becoming a successful person. This is not a dream, an imagination, a fantasy. Marisa is aware of her condition and she goes through becoming. Making butinage is to encounter a line of flight and going through becoming.

I do believe the anthropologists have the responsibility to consider the agency not only in terms of limits and "pre-constraints" (Hervieu-Léger, 2005) or "a set of boundaries" (Ortner, 2007); where the experiences, relation between humans and non-humans, imagination and assemblages can sometimes, against all odds, expand for unexpected future. The subject as a being who is unique with personal experiences and multifaceted realities providing not only the "improvisation" (Ortner, 2007) but ways to sublimate limits, distress, embarrassment, control and power.

Against the background of an infrastructure of limited medical care and poverty, and through multiple circuits of religious practices, the individual subjectivity is reconceived as a desire to live. Against all external and internal limits if we think as Hervieu-Léger (2005), Marisa makes butinage from her desire between various religious practices. Her religious narrative in her trajectory is un-configured and reconfigured by the desire and the becoming of Marisa often living in chaos, despair, and aspiration of "successful life".

The disorder does not mean emptiness or chaos (an incessant inflow of all orders whose only common feature is that they are random and not connected), but its facing more than its denial. When Marisa "freaked out" (or any other description for this episode) she created an opportunity to sublimate, a potentiality for becoming, to break free of the forms, systems, structures. She expressed desire and created lines of flight that constitute the butinage. The flight is not to leave the situation to go away, change the life, escape by the

dream or transform the situation. It is not to run away out of, but it makes an escape. The line of flight is always transversal. Everything talks to everything: the Evangelical Church, the Candomblé, Umbanda, Spiritism and the Great White Brotherhood, agencied by God, her Ogum, by her guardian angels, Dr. Bezerra, spiritual mentors, for her relations, for prayers, multiple materials, for humans and non-humans.

The Evangelical Church, for example, is a line of flight agencied initially by Marisa's sister where there is a good future for her, a good life for her, allowing her from her desire to go through becoming. But her connection with her Ogum, her Oxum with its tears, the burned Cosmos entangled in lines of missionary, of the gift, of the learning prevent her conversion to Foursquare Gospel Church, but they do not prevent her to make butinage. She makes ruptures in her narrative that set up and unset up along her trajectory.

The butinage reintegrates the abstract religious experience. The trajectory of the transformation of a narrative while moving would be the essence and not the presumed effectiveness of its symbolism. The bricolage focusses on the symbolic restructuring while butinage focusses on displacement along the transformation of the practice from assemblages.

The butinage is singular. It is not to say that the case of Marisa depicts the butinage and religious pluralism of the poor urban Brazilians. From the analysis of trajectories we can capture the dominant processes and understand the religious mobility. So it is beyond seeing "religious beliefs and behaviors as the outcomes of decisions and choices made by people seeking goals, both material and spiritual, that enable them to adapt and survive in conditions of extreme difficulty" (Greenfield, 2006: 120).

CHAPTER 4

UMBANDAIME: THE NEW BRAZILIAN RELIGIOUS COSMOLOGY

In this chapter I intend to understand the new Brazilian religious cosmology called Umbandaime from butinage perspective. The Umbandaime is considered to be a syncretic process mixing Umbanda and the Santo Daime. Groisman (1991) identifies a master guideline of the agglutination of different spiritual conceptions in Santo Daime. This enables the coexistence of various cosmological systems boosting the ritual and making room for different views. I do not propose to perceive the Umbandaime syncretism from the "master guideline" tradition in Santo Daime. "Tradition is not the opposite of modernity or the reiteration of the past, but it is this continuity in the present" (Giumbelli, 2013, 67-68). In this sense, it is also not about a tradition that switches the mode. But it is about the Santo Daime tradition which mode is to suspend anyway: a wandering ethical principle in which the formula is a new tradition to come.

I have suggested that the social science explanation of religious pluralism and syncretism should not concentrate more on the religious beliefs and rituals but from the perspective of the religious practitioners. To access the syncretism in Umbandaime from the perspective of the practitioners (why and how they do Umbandaime) we need to understand the rituals, cosmologies and beliefs from the perspective of the practitioners. This is different because the focus is on practices. So, I will start with a general sociological account of the Umbanda and Santo Daime. It is a complement to what I have reported on these religions in previous chapters. And after Umbandaime and more specifically the practice of Umbandaime in southern Brazil.

Umbanda

Umbanda appeared in Rio de Janeiro with Zélio de Moraes. He was white, middle class, and the son of a Kardecist man. In 1920, he incorporated the spirit of the Jesuit Gabriel Malagrida¹⁴⁹, which is the “Caboclo Sete-Encruzilhadas” (Seven-Crossroads Caboclo). This Caboclo told him he would be the founder of a new Brazilian religion dedicated to two Brazilian spirits: The Caboclo and the Preto-Velho. Both of these entities were often rejected and regarded as backward by Kardecists. In the mid-20s, Zélio founded his first Center of Umbanda and the following years several other centers of Umbanda were founded.

Like Zélio, the early founders of Umbanda centers were Kardecists and white middle class. They considered Kardecist Spiritualism inappropriate because they were mediums of Caboclos and Pretos Velho. Therefore, they had empathy for Africans and indigenous spirits of Macumba. Moreover, the Macumba rituals were considered to be the most exciting of Kardecism, not so much ritualized sessions. These Kardecists were inspired by certain aspects of Macumba, however, repelled others, as such, animal sacrifices, the Exus, considered evil spirits, often beyond rude conduct and low social environment of the centers of Macumba. (Brown 1994: 38-41).

The ideology of Brazilian democracy was legitimized and manifested by a white hegemony. In this context there was the first attempt to legitimize Umbanda as a religion. The legitimation involved de-Africanization and whitening Umbanda. Thus, throughout the history of codification of Umbanda, the Umbandists have had an often ambiguous attitude toward African-Brazilian traditions, which is reflected in the dominant socio-cultural trends in Brazilian society.

The cosmology of Umbanda is divided into three levels: the astral world, the earth, and the underworld or underground. The astral world is presided over by God, and is followed by several lines. Each one is guided by an Orixá, which often corresponds to a Catholic saint. The astral world is a hierarchical household, where each religious figure is placed

¹⁴⁹ He was an Italian Jesuit missionary priest in Brazil.

according to their level of spiritual evolution. At lower levels, there are the spiritual founders of Umbanda: the Caboclos and Preto Velho. The Earth is the platform for spirits experiencing their human incarnation at different levels of spiritual evolution. The earth is visited by spirits of the astral world, which are incorporated by mediums in Umbanda centers to help the needy. The underworld, often called Quimbanda, was for a time connected to black magic. It represented an anti-structure of Umbanda. According to this view this underworld would be inhabited by spirits who lived with their incarnation extremely doubtful, as such, prostitutes, tricksters and thieves. They were seen as evil because of the lack of spiritual evolution. Such spirits could ascend to earth to cause damage that had to be undone by the more evolved spirits of the astral.

Umbanda preaches peace, respect for human beings, nature and God. All kinds of Umbandists seek to respect all forms of faith, independent of religion. There is no dogma or liturgy universally adopted among practitioners, which allows a wide freedom of belief and expression of several valid forms of worship. The cult in Terreiros is often divided into development of mediums and consultation sessions through spiritual services by means of the incorporation of their guides and entities. Generally, entities that are incorporated by mediums are the guides: Preto Velho, Caboclos, children, cowboys, sailors, eastern, miners and gypsies depending on the kind of Umbanda. In the Quimbanda sessions: Exus, Pombagiras and tricksters (in the specific case of Rio de Janeiro).

Santo Daime

Santo Daime is a Brazilian religion founded in the 1930s in the Brazilian Amazonian state of Acre by Raimundo Irineu Serra (1892-1971), known as Mestre Irineu. He was black, a descendant of slaves and came from a poor family. Irineu had contact with ayahuasca working in the extraction of latex from the rubber plantations in Brasiléia (border with Peru). Ayahuasca is a psychedelic brew of at least two plant infusions: the *Banisteropsis Caapi* and *Psychotria Viridis*. Ayahuasca was initially employed for divinatory and healing purposes by the indigenous people of Amazonian Peru.

When Irineu took ayahuasca for the first time he saw a woman who appeared to him as the “Queen of the Forest” and told him that he had a mission with the beverage: a new reincarnation doctrine toward healing. She instructed Irineu through *mirações*. He received hymnals with hymns. Hymns are chants expressing the doctrine, its cultural and spiritual values. Ayahuasca, according to Daime, is drunk as part of the ceremony that Irineu received from the “Queen of the Forest”. The ceremonies, called “trabalhos”, are typically several hours long. There are several kinds of rituals. The “concentração¹⁵⁰” work occurs every 15th and 30th of the month and is mainly undertaken sitting in silent with meditations. The “bailado¹⁵¹” work, also known as “hinário¹⁵²”, involving singing hymns collectively and dancing according to simple steps in geometrical formation.

The Queen of the Forest, later identified by Irineu as Nossa Senhora da Conceição Aparecida¹⁵³, consecrated as Divine Mother. Thus, according to Couto (2002: 388), Irineu composes with the “Queen of the Forest”, the symbolic spiritual paternity of this doctrine, being identified with Jesus Christ (Juramidam). There is a symbolic universe that is based on the idea Juramidam Empire, referring to a mythical affiliation: the Mother is the “Queen of the Forest” and the Father is the Juramidam King, constituting Juramidam Family.

The Godfather Fabio from Santo Daime, Céu da Gamarra, in Minas Gerais State, defines the Daimist doctrine as having a Christian origin, “its foundations are identical to those of early Christianity left by St. Peter, whose starting point was the Pentecost” and the basis of the Daimist doctrine is the Holy Family, “which the Divine Virgin Mother the great inspiration of our founder Mestre Irineu; Jesus Christ - the true Man Model and St. Joseph - the affectionate father who everybody wants to have.” The Divine Virgin Mother is the “Queen of the Forest”, of whom Mestre Irineu received the hymn called *Cruzeiro*, which reinterprets the Christian cosmology, and is considered by Daimists as the “Third

¹⁵⁰ In English: concentration.

¹⁵¹ In English: dance.

¹⁵² In English: hymnal.

¹⁵³ Our Lady of Aparecida is a celebrated 18th-century clay statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the traditional form associated with the Immaculate Conception. The image is widely venerated by Brazilian Catholics, who consider her as the principal patroness of Brazil. Historical accounts state that the statue was originally found by three fishermen who miraculously caught many fish after invoking the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Testament" or "Third Revelation". The first revelation would have been given to Moses on Mount Sinai, the former prophets, accomplished in the Old Testament. The second revelation was Master Jesus to the apostles, implemented in the New Testament. The third revelation would be "Juramidam" given to the Mestre Irineu, that would be very comforting promised by Jesus, as says the Gospel of John. Then the hymn books are the "Third Testament".

The Godfather Fabio says the hymn "is a modern, participatory, simple and transcendental new Bible ". It is participatory because all Daimist members can receive hymns, but not everyone gets them. "The hymnal is received directly from the astral, as it is considered that in the spiritual world, there is a line of work, whose teachings are transmitted through the hymns" (Cemin, 2002: 357).

Thus, "the doctrine of Santo Daime is considered also as a redesign of the teachings of Christ" (Groisman, 1999: 17). According to Goulart (2002), the concepts of Kardecism join the Christian conceptions in organizing the Daimists explanations of building a moral individuality. As the Christian notions of repentance and forgiveness associated with the discipline idea related to a reorientation of behavior in a new morality based on Kardecist notion of spiritual evolution, which occurs through a set of values that is emphasized with the reinforcement of the Orthodox Catholicism and blending beliefs of Amazonian shamanism.

After the death of Mestre Irineu, in July 1971, the Alto Santo¹⁵⁴ entered a dispute process for its spiritual heritage. In 1974, Padrinho Sebastião received the hymn Sou Eu¹⁵⁵, which content, in his view, states that it is to him that the Master would be delivering his continued mission. However, the board of the Alto Santo indicated Leôncio Rodrigues, the oldest member, to the presidency of the Center. Nonconformist, Padrinho Sebastião left, taking about one hundred believers with him, to found a new center, based in Colônia 5000 (Monteiro da Silva, 1983: 100) and later in Céu do Mapiá in the Amazon region. The group that followed Padrinho Sebastião was motivated by the conviction that the New Jerusalem

¹⁵⁴ In English: Holy Summit

¹⁵⁵ In English: It is me.

was being built materially in the Amazon, and the power to realize the Johannine prophecy of the Apocalypse is in the hands of the Padrinho Sebastião and those with him "following the path ". In his hymn book, called "Nova Jerusalém"¹⁵⁶, Padrinho Sebastião received hymns that inspire and support the group's conviction (Groisman, 1999: 78). To Daimists Padrinho Sebastião is the reincarnation of St. John Baptist announced the second coming of Jesus himself, Irineu Serra, thereby reversing the chronology of the New Testament.

According to Alves Junior (2007), Padrinho Sebastião was distinguished in relation to other local Daimist leaders, in welcoming the alternative culture representatives from the middle class, the affluent and educated regions of Brazil, which produce over consequences reach in the course of the Santo Daime (Alves Junior, 2007: 52). For the author, the identification occurred between Sebastião and the "hippies", not only occurred in the field of affection or ideas. In increasing numbers, people from other places and social classes arrived in Colônia 5000, Despite the isolation of Rio Branco¹⁵⁷, in relation to the cultural centers of the country, the children of the local middle and upper class studied out and circulated by the big cities, bringing a lot of those concerns, ideas and habits that characterized the youth of the sixties and seventies. Among them, the use of cannabis, the popular marijuana tendency among those somehow were identified with the countercultural movement.

Many of the attendees who began arriving in Colônia 5000 came from this medium. The same way, it was spreading among the "hippies", the story of the church and its mysterious beverage. Waves of "backpackers" passed by, and some were staying. With the development of new churches in the South, particularly in the state of Rio de Janeiro, it intensified the flow of new believers to Céu do Mapiá and partners from the Céu do Mapiá to the big cities of the most developed regions of Brazil. Young people, representatives of the "alternative" universe, the "hippies" or "long-hair" as they came to be known, had already imported important concepts and practices that mark the Santo Daime in all the ayahuasca religions, like the marijuana consumption ritual called Santa Maria into the

¹⁵⁶ In English: New Jerusalem

¹⁵⁷ City of the Brazilian state of Acre.

Colônia 5000.

Namely at the end of the 70s, attracted by the news of the existence of the Colônia 5000, that was, until then, a collection of small autonomous lots occupied by Padrinho Sebastião and his followers, arrived at the scene, coming from urban centers, young walkers, curious about the reports about the use of Daime in the region. Its inclusion in the group caused a redefinition of values previously practiced and inaugurated an ideology of community, the abolition of private property and the creation of an egalitarian community. Christian values of charity and equality were being put in place - everything belongs to everyone. The work became collectivized, production was administered by the leaders, obeying more organic rules of reciprocity with regard to the distribution and to meet the needs of each family. In 1983, Padrinho Sebastião moved to an extensive area of land on the banks of Igarapé Mapiá in the municipality of Pauini in the state of Amazonas, giving rise to the Céu do Mapiá community. The Céu do Mapiá is the Head office of the doctrine of Santo Daime, occupying the position of ideal model for other Daimist communities.

Thus, Padrinho Sebastião founded The Santo Daime known as CEFLURIS, Centro Eclético da Fluente Luz Universal Raimundo Irineu Serra¹⁵⁸. CEFLURIS is separated from the Santo Daime known as Alto Santo led, until today, by Madrinha Peregrina, the wife of Mestre Irineu. Before his death, Padrinho Sebastião transferred the mission's continuation and expansion of the doctrine to his son, Padrinho Alfredo.

Umbandaime

The Umbandaime is a new religious cosmology created by CEFLURIS. To the practitioners Umbandaime is the “alliance of Santo Daime and Umbanda”.

The insertion of Umbanda in Santo Daime occurred in the late '80s. Padrinho Sebastião has performed “mesa branca¹⁵⁹”, derived from his experience with Kardecism. The

¹⁵⁸ In English: Raimundo Irineu Serra Eclectic Center of the Flowing Universal Light.

¹⁵⁹ In English: White Table. Mesa branca is a popular name to refer to Kardecism, whose mediumistic meetings generally are conducted around a table, on which they placed glasses with water, flowers and spiritualist books, preferably the “Gospel according to Spiritism” and other books related to. The

insertion process of Umbanda in Santo Daime was well described by Antonio Marques Alves Junior (2007), which was marked by the presence of the “macumbeiro¹⁶⁰” called Ceará in 1977 in the (at that time) Colônia 5000. Ceará remained in the Daimist community for seven months, conducted consultations and works related to any kind of affliction, through spiritual entities (Caboclos, Orixás and Exus), animal sacrifice, rum, cigars, gunpowder, cock and dancing on broken glass. Padrinho Sebastião and his community cluttered up depending on the attraction, the dazzle and the "illusion" exerted by the Ceará. The Daimists murdered Ceará. They were brought to trial and acquitted.

The disarray caused in the community later was linked to speech by the Ceará, which was waging a struggle between the forces of good and forces of evil. Ceará was the evil side, preferring to make way to several Exus, significantly the “Tranca Rua” (Close off Street) warring with Padrinho Sebastião, with the Daime, with light. But the evil entities incorporated in Ceará expressed the wish to take Daime, which caused the loss of Ceará forces and their consequent defeat. Occurring the "unveiling of his spell," the women of the community announced their involvement with the macumbeiro. Ceará was murdered by cuckolded husbands.

However, the war did not end with the death of the macumbeiro, because Exu Tranca Rua spent to obsess Padrinho Sebastião, marking a period of immense difficulties, of many diseases such as malaria. This astral battle was won with healing works¹⁶¹ (which had been demanded by the Tranca Rua when Ceará was alive), aiming to indoctrination of spirits from the mediumistic development. The battle finally ends after three years, when the Padrinho Sebastião, between life and death, manifests the entity “Ogum Beira-Mar” (seaside), which announces the full indoctrination of the Exu, forming an alliance within the astral. The Exu passing act in the service of the doctrine of Padrinho Sebastião.

In this sense, the Daimists understood these events as the coming of a sorcerer, a true

mesa branca expression was also used to differentiate the Kardecists practices of the Umbanda rituals, a religion that was strongly influenced by spiritualism, but also worships African deities, Catholic saints and indigenous organizations.

¹⁶⁰ In English: witchdoctor. Who practices Macumba.

¹⁶¹ Every ritual or work in the Daime is designed as an opportunity for learning and healing. But there are a variety of different rituals considered most appropriate for various situations.

magician of darkness, who commanded a legion of "non-indoctrinated Exus", "Exus pagans" to teach how to disentangle the forces of evil, since dark entities incorporated by him, were indoctrinated taking Daime. Enlightened, they abandoned their evil practices, with the help of Umbanda pantheon which became incorporated into the doctrine and referenced in the hymns. Thus, Daimists understood that there is another side of spirituality, from a duality between light and darkness, and workers in the service of God's law, are everywhere.

The Exus are these spirits that, unlike others, work in dense regions of spirituality, darkness, or threshold (or even hell for some). It does not mean that everyone is evil, demonic, but agents of divine law that control these regions and protect their attacks, working to contribute to the spiritual balance.

The Umbandaime was legitimately incorporated from the alliance of members of a terreiro of Umbanda, led by mother-of-saint called Baixinha by the Céu da Montanha Church, founded in 1984 in Rio de Janeiro. In 1985, Padrinho Sebastião visit them, strengthening this alliance, which resulted in the "fardamento" of Baixinha and her children. Alex Polari de Alverga and Baixinha established work of "banca" and "giras", including another Santo Daime church, Céu do Mar, which was founded in 1982.

Subsequently, Baixinha takes Umbandaime to the Céu do Mapiá, general headquarters of the doctrine, resulting in the creation of an Umbandaime church in Rio de Janeiro, led by Baixinha own, called Terreiro Lua Branca¹⁶². As stated by Padrinho Alfredo the Daime and Umbanda go together. However, Umbanda is not in the Daimist timetable, so that there are no specific dates for carrying out work of Umbanda, those in charge of getting Daime church and the leader in question, as many churches do not tolerate Umbandaime despite already enshrined in Santo Daime CEFLURIS, resulting in variations in their rituals.

¹⁶² In English: White Moon.

Discussion

Like I said in chapter 1, the concept of syncretism is fundamentally organized around the field of Afro-Brazilian religions. The works on Santo Daime or Ayahuasca religions in Brazil address the issues of identity or combinations of cultural traditions, but they do not build their problematic having syncretism as a parameter. So far, few researchers have analyzed the Umbandaime.

Labate and Pacheco (2004) state that it is very difficult to clearly identify the origins of beliefs and practices characteristic of the Santo Daime, in view of the profound hybridity that marks the formation of Brazilian culture. But it is possible to investigate the influence of specific cultural sub-traditions in the formation of the Santo Daime that illuminate certain aspects of cosmology and rituals.

In this sense the authors investigated the Maranhão roots present in the Santo Daime, from the data of the life story of Irineu since he was born in São Vicente Ferrer (State of Maranhão) in 1892. These data indicate a possible African-Brazilian influence in the cosmology of Santo Daime. They suggest some specific elements of the Maranhão universe that probably had central importance in shaping the Santo Daime: the Tambor de Mina and shamanism; the “Festa do Divino”; from São Gonçalo and other possible influences trying to target them with references present in Master’s Hymnal.

Celso Luz Gusman Neto (2012) in his master's thesis “Transgredir é inevitável: pontos de tensão entre Umbanda e Santo Daime”¹⁶³, made a historic setback to the roots of religious matrices in order to understand the encounter between Umbanda and Santo Daime and some aspects of tension existing in this relationship. He took as the main reference to the Reino do Sol Church in Sao Paulo, whose chief is Antonio Marques Alves Junior. Antonio suffered repression of his incorporation, lived in a Church of Santo Daime and founded the Reino do Sol Church aiming to work with giras that made room for the introduction of artistic and bodily experiences, while maintaining the zeal and disciplined standards of Daime rituals. These tensions are related to divergent paradigms of perception

¹⁶³ In English: Transgressing is inevitable points of tension between Umbanda and Santo Daime.

of the world, leading to a tension on corporeality.

To get this tension the author makes a historic setback aimed at understanding the Brazilian religious matrices that generally make up the popular religion as a whole and, consequently, the Umbanda and Santo Daime, which are also expressions of this religiosity.

For him the Catholic hegemony and colonial mentality were factors that influenced the way that Indians, Africans and their descendants recreated and re-signified, in the subordination and marginalization, their traditions.

So that, he identified tensions in the relationship between Umbanda and Santo Daime related to divergent paradigms of perception of the world, leading to a tension on corporeality. The subalternity feature in the development of popular traditions was an element that erupted in the relationship that formed between Umbanda and Santo Daime, before the institutionalization of the first.

By integrating Umbanda within their rituals' practices, in addition to its pantheon of deities, the Santo Daime integrates trance possession. While doing it, this enhances the possibility of the eruption of charisma, once the trance possession is, in itself, an ecstatic experience. In the institutional perspective, which seeks to establish standards and regulations to maximize control, Umbanda represented a jarring element.

The trance of possession is an experience that occurs intensively in the individual's body, marking a radical difference from the ritual left by Mestre Irineu, where there is a predilection for the contrite and martial behavior. Umbanda in this sense meant a loosening of control, meant delivery to the flow of the body rather than the containment of impulses, meant the possibility of instituting before the instituted. Thus, in the dialectical relationship between Umbanda in Santo Daime, were emerging points of tension of institutional and moral order. Celso noticed an intricate set of social, psychological and anthropological forces: Front rationalization, charisma erupts bringing new "revelation."

MacRae (2000) conducted an introductory analysis about the Santo Daime relations with Spiritism traditions and Umbanda. He uses the concept of *continuum* of Cândido Camargo,

according to which there is a Brazilian mediumistic religious *continuum*: a pole in most African aspects of Umbanda and the other, more orthodox Kardecism. The author states that the Daime doctrine, by means of concepts such as karma, spiritual evolution, indoctrination of spirits, reincarnation, the concept of person etc., is located in Kardecist pole of mediumistic *continuum*, despite adding elements of Umbanda. The author argues that there is a strained relationship between the Daime and Umbanda. So the Umbandaime is not accepted by all Daime churches.

These researchers try to understand the new cosmology Umbandaime from a source, an affiliation. Labate and Pacheco seek the Maranhão roots present in Santo Daime and also African-Brazilian influence on Daimist cosmology that arise in the encounter with Umbanda. Celso Luz Gusman Neto makes a historic setback to the Brazilian religious headquarters to understand Umbandaime. But these do not explain the creation process of the Umbandaime. To understand the syncretism in Umbandaime it is important to understand how and why the practitioners do Umbandaime and not to search for an origin.

The religious practitioners are not very much occupied with origins and it is impossible to find the source of Umbandaime because Umbandaime is conceived of as an open multiplicity. The Umbandaime is like a web of change without firm and fixed boundaries that proceeds 'from the middle, through the middle, coming and going rather than starting and finishing'(D&G 1987: 25) or a localizable correlation that goes from one to the other like MacRae understood it. Umbandaime is not an evolution, an "evolutive eclecticism" like Groisman (1999: 233) has called it, at least not an evolution by descent and filiation. It concerns alliance as even its practitioners understand it.

I understand the Umbandaime from religious butinage. I define butinage as an intrinsic experience in the religious practices in which something escapes from the preceding religious tradition/system/structure from desire that produces new connections.

In this sense, the Santo Daime of the community of Padrinho Sebastião made butinage by meeting macumbeiro Ceará. Ceará arrived unexpectedly in the community. The meeting

with macumbeiro disorganized and created chaos¹⁶⁴ in the Santo Daime community. ”. It was a new experience that decontextualized a set of relations, broke down the Daimist tradition. The community of Padrinho Sebastião experienced an incessant inflow of information of all orders, perspectives, emotional, intellectual. This experimentation was, first of all, aleatory and not connected. Afterwards the community gave form to the chaos and the new experience. They made a new form, a new system (Umbandaime) not governed by a preceding Daimist system and tradition. Thinking is no reducible to a system and tradition. They were forced to think differently and created new tradition. A new plane of thought is extracted from the new experience and therefore the creation of Umbandaime.

In the butinage perspective, the Umbandaime is the creation of a new way of thinking. The thought therefore refers to experimentation. A new way of thinking is a new way of approaching the experience. That is where thinking acquires both its necessity and effectiveness, recognizing the signs that require us to think because it encompasses what we do not think yet. Thinking is not only representing. Representing is making bricolage, is to seek an adequation to a supposed objective reality (abstract). To make butinage implies a new idea of thought, a real effect that boosts life and thought, move what is at stake for them. It is to boost further away and elsewhere.

By meeting Ceará, Padrinho Sebastião’s community did not react more in line with the Daimist tradition. They did not have more faith in the linkages of the Daimist tradition that would recognize the random information and represent them. They felt that there was something important to be extracted from the chaos beyond the customary ways of its allocation. For they lacked a “grid¹⁶⁵” to recover the chaos, conditions permitting link information and make sense (as a problematic and not an interpretation). The community began to think about the chaotic experimentation. Thinking began by effecting breaks in the tradition and the establishment of another tradition and cosmology. This other tradition

¹⁶⁴ Chaos is formless, but it is not undifferentiated.

¹⁶⁵ To Luiz Eduardo Soares (1994), the Santo Daime has a referential structure cosmology to errancy. The cosmology precedes and determines the others as a mobile grid.

is the condition under which the sense takes place, chaos itself that is non-sense that inhabited the background of the community. This new tradition is different from a grid of interpretation which resembles the ready-made shapes of thought, clichés with which you can recoat the chaos rather than face it. The new tradition is not subjacent to the information, as a structure which would make intelligible from a "supplementary dimension" to those contained by it.

This event marked a rupture. So, the Santo Daime line is interrupted to resume on another line (cosmology). The coming of Ceará only produced a rupture of line in that were connected and agencied with other things supposed to produce the new line. For example: Padrinho Sebastião's sickness, Kardecists work that was already done in the community, the presence of Exu and other entities. Far from opposing the continuation of the Santo Daime doctrine, this disruption conditioned, implied and defined what it breaks as ideal continuity. This is different of a "master guideline" (Groisman, 1991) of the agglutination of different spiritual conceptions in Santo Daime or a fusing and mixing elements of Umbanda and Santo Daime that reorder the cosmology. This is about another cosmology, other line. The new cosmology is the line into a web in its richness and complexity. It is not the case of resonance of one and the same grid, root or master guideline, but the proliferating web of trajectories and unpredictable encounters.

In this sense I will analyze the Umbandaime in southern Brazil more detailed.

Umbandaime in Southern Brazil

The Umbandaime was introduced in Porto Alegre (State of Rio Grande do Sul) by Padrinho Chico Corrente from Céu do Mapiá. It is currently developed by the godfathers of Daimist churches under the command of the chief of Umbanda and Daimist Luiz.

Luiz is 65 years old and has been chief for thirty years. Currently managing the Spiritual Center of Umbanda (CEU) Sete Raios de Luz¹⁶⁶, also called by its guests Casinha¹⁶⁷,

¹⁶⁶ In English: Seven Rays of Light.

¹⁶⁷ In English: little house.

located across Dona Alzira St. in the Sarandi neighborhood in Porto Alegre. The Center was founded on March 31, 1999. It has an extensive public service essentially on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays, welcoming a thousand people a month. At Tuesday night, works with the Pretos Velhos are held from passes and consultations in which it is indicated what needs to be done. The requests refer to attendances on Thursday evenings, with Caboclos, also called “desobsessão” (disobsession work). On Wednesday afternoons, for Preto Velho, working entities are being distributed between these services of energetic healing and consultations with emphasis on the presence of the “Povo do Oriente” (Wise men from the East), aiming psycho-physical and emotional support.

For example, when I did participant observation which I consulted on Tuesday evening, with Preto Velho José, he showed me three works and three disobsessions. The work was focused on healing and he used a white candle, a rose candle, two pink roses, rosemary scent, two white and two pink papers being carried with St. John the Baptist, the representative of the “Povo do Oriente”. I was lying on a mat on the floor, one piece of the papers was placed on my head like a turban and the other piece was put on my belly; a candle was lit beside my head and the other on top of the paper on my belly. I held a rose in each hand and was bathed in perfume. Subsequently, all the material was wrapped in paper and dispatched.

Saturday afternoon works are held specifically for the mediums of the house. The development work lasts three years. The center has as its foundation in the practice of goodness and charity, so the attendees, according to the law of merit, will reach their desires.

Inside the Umbandaime we can find the works of “mesa branca” and “giras”. The “gira” is a typical Umbandaime work with opening for the Umbanda entities. In Rio Grande do Sul, every church has its terreiro of unpaved floor, beneath trees, usually in the woods. The giras occur on average once or twice a year on a terreira chosen, in which participants from all Daime churches and from Umbanda centers gather.

The ritual takes place preferably on a Saturday during the day, morning or afternoon. There’s a fire lit at the entrance of the terreira. Participants must be dressed in white clothes

and bare feet as in Umbanda, being arranged in a circle with men on one side and women on the other as in the Daime. Musicians and “puxadoras” (the ones who start singing first) stand in a corner separately. Hymns, Daime and Umbanda “pontos” are sung accompanied by musical instruments like guitar, bongos and “tumbadora”. There is a difference between pontos and hymns. Luiz explains:

The Padrinho Sebastião has defined a notebook called pontos, hymns. And to my surprise these hymns were structured in this manner: pontos, hymns. In Umbanda there is a difference, everything is always on ponto and in the Daime there are pontos and hymns. The difference is that the songs have a permanent musical pattern: marches, mazurkas and waltzes, a traditional thing, even the musicianship from up north, northeast, while in Umbanda there is a tone like that ... every house change their tone . For example, here we do not use drums because we are Umbanda Branca, but in other Umbanda houses they do. And it is alright because every house, every spiritual stream is different. To my surprise, these hymns in pontos from Santo Daime were ordered by phalanx of Ogum hymns pontos, of Iemanjá pontos. Then I saw it and it's like us. Because here in our mediumistic development, Saturdays afternoon, we sing all the phalanges to see who will get into the “apparatus” in the mediums. Then when I saw that, I realized this to be the first similarity.

When Luiz saw the similarity between pontos and hymns he made an analogy and correspondence of these practices.

The chief of the gira does not necessarily need to be the chief, father-of-saint or head of the terreiro but if there is a believer that it is so, that is also very good, with the presence of the opening and closing of the godfather and godmother of the church since Umbanda takes strength and dominance, as many things might come up at work. In this sense, the giras are almost always directed by Luiz, by his “Caboclo Cobra Coral” (Coral Snake), which is the same that directs the work of its Umbanda Center. However in the gira occurring at the end of 2010, after seven years of Daimist work, another Caboclo appeared, through the apparatus of Luiz to deal with.

Read what Luis says about that:

An interesting thing happened to me, because I work with the Cobra Coral, all the work was I, it was him who I worked, you know, then suddenly another Caboclo appeared, it was also an Oxóssi because Oxóssis are easy to me because it has the whole medium story too, I am Taurus, the planet is Venus, so the Oxóssi lineage is well integrated. Then another Caboclo showed up, and directed the work when we did the last gira last year in São Miguel Church, the Caboclo arrived and spoke with godfather Alan: "I came and I will direct the work." At the end of this work, Alan came and spoke to me. Well,

he said "when your Caboclo arrived I saw that he was a Daimist". There is even a discussion on the Internet forums that talk about if the Caboclo you receive in the Daime is the same you receive in Umbanda. I'm learning this as well. When mine shows up, who has directed several works was this one here, now appears another one "Folha Verde" (Green Leaf). But the Preto Velho was always another one. Here I get Father João, in the Daime I get Father João da Mata. He is more joyful, I wonder if he is the same one and maybe the Daime caused him to light up more. How's that, huh? It is a study that's still in progress. There are some that say there are Caboclos, Pretos Velhos, and Children. The Child I always get mine from here, Pedrinho in Santo Daime is the very same, nothing changes. So, it is a study that is still ongoing.

It is a study in progress, you know that we're learning, right? I see the correlations. For example, the Daime has the Tucum line. The Tucum, some say he is the vine, others say it is a small tree that is like a "cipózinho" (little vine) thus does not break, which is a force. When one of these comes to be in you, it is such a force... I usually compare with the Praetorian Guard, you know, those very strong soldiers. Gee what's this? Who are they? How are they like? Are they from Ogum's line? In what? Ogum, Oxóssi, Xango's line? They are strong Caboclos, they are fighters. So there is that line, I am studying it. Receiving them, sometimes I'm incorporating and they are there, in the Daime. What does that supposed to mean? So, we're studying it.

This new experience that Luiz mentions is about butinage. It is the experience that escapes the symbolic work. "*Gee what's this? Who are they? How are they like?*" It is the process that precedes the construction of meaning. "*It is a study that is still ongoing.*"

In French, the word *expérience* means both 'experience' and 'experiment'. To experiment is to try new actions, methods, techniques and combinations, 'without aim or end' (D&G 1983: 371). We experiment when we do not know what the result will be and have no preconceptions concerning what it should be. As an open-ended process that explores what's new and what's coming into being rather than something already experienced and known, experimentation is inseparable from innovation and discovery.

This butinage enters into conjunction with other lines: reinterpretation - "*When your Caboclo arrived I saw that he was a Daimist*" and analogy - when the practitioner makes correlations between the Umbanda line and the Santo Daime line.

The gira is open as the Daimist ritual, with three Lord's prayers and three Hail Mary prayers interspersed; then right after the prayer of Carita and the Daime is distributed, followed by contacting the entities. There is not a particular way of contacting the entities

in the giras, being these variables according to the strength of the ritual. According to Luiz, we should first greet the guards at the gate, so that nothing can come from outside to interfere the spiritual work. In this case the Exus guard is the outdoor and the Ogum the indoor. Thus, firstly the Exus are greeted and then Ogum. The sequence the calls henceforth vary from house to house and in the end, either Exus or Erês (children) can join to purify the spiritual stream with their joy (working or incorporating the mediums) or discharging any denser energy. The initial call is not to work with Exus but to ask permission for the spiritual stream to work. As it is necessary to have a set of hymns, the ones "tuned in" or authorized by the godfather of the church can choose. As an example, in a gira in São Miguel, there was a selection and at the time by intuition the steps were decided: first the forces of cleanliness, protection and healing, with Oxóssi, Xangô, Ogum, Omolu and Iansã; following the mothers: Oxum, Iemanjá, Nanã. Then Oxalá only with voices and finally the Children.

The butinage is relaxation of the influence of all ready ways of understanding and "treatment" of the data, information and action (here it means the Daimist tradition). The butinage process does not pre-judge which way is good for thought, but it uses experimentation.

Luiz Umbanda's Center works with the line of the Umbanda Branca and in this sense certain entities are not welcomed. However, the Umbandaime's gira is considered "in construction" by the practitioners, it is "coming undone" (D&G 1983: 322). Umbandaime also makes alliance with the lines of the Umbanda Branca, Umbanda Cruzada and Nation. Luiz says:

Here also we do not work with the old line of Iemanjá, which are the Nanãs, which is a wonderful rigging, which is one light. The Nanã when incorporates does not even need to talk, it comes and goes directly to the person in question. But as the Nanã also works near the Omolu and near the cemetery and such, such and such, in the white line of Umbanda, we don't mess with her. But it's a beautiful thing that studies as how it manifests with the Daimé that line as well as the Omolu which is a typical African line and those more traditional lines of Xangô, Iemanjá, and Oxum. So, in Umbandaime everything counts and everything comes up, it depends as well of the mediumship condition and perception. I realized that we are universal devices and even in the Daimé sometimes it goes like that, there is a brother who has a great connection with Ogum and then he thinks he will be the only one to receive Ogum. Then a part of our mission is that we go there the mediums here they will get everything, right? And they wonder how is that? That is, we are universal apparatus. Then, as needed, and the

presence of the work that you're going to be in, Omolu will show up, and if necessary, it will come an Oxalá line which is a very high line.

In Umbandaime “*everything counts and everything comes up*” because “*we are universal apparatus.*” It means the system can be disturbed, attacked and rebuilt in which boundaries of all types can be crossed.

The Godfather Alan do Céu of San Miguel participates in an interfaith work at the University. In this work there are meetings with representatives of different religions towards ecumenism. Alan invited a lady from the Nation to attend an Umbandaime gira. She was attired and sat outside of the spiritual stream just watching:

Then she saw the whole gira and shortly we called on the Omolu line, which has the names to Omolu, to Xapanã. There is one for each Umbanda name, Umbanda Cruzada and Nation. Omolu, Xapanã and Omulaiê. Omolu is more of the Nation and Xapanã is from Umbanda. It is the one that comes with the head covered so people here really like to see it because when they get there they cover themselves, see? In African tradition they don't show their faces because they have skin problems, they are even healers. When they arrive, they want a green little branch to pass it through the person. After the attendee says: my god! He went straight to my kidney and I had a kidney problem. And the medium can't see anything because he is all covered up. So it is an amazing line. And this lady just seating there took ayahuasca and she said it is the first time I see the Orixá line, to her Omolu is Orixá along with the Umbanda line working and by day time. She was very surprised by that. It's funny, there is a hymn that says, Daime adds to everything, the Master is from Nazareth and the mystery is from the Amazon.

By incorporating, we open up the mediumistic range to other consciousness's: female, male, androgynous, youthful, childish, mature, warriors, nobles, hunters, in other words any chance of experiencing the most multiple consciousness's as it is the universe of the Creator. Yes, all entities can work on the Santo Daime when including those associated entities related with other traditions (Kardecist, Candomblé, Catimbo, Orientalism, Umbanda, etc.) we are receiving them within an energized unit by the presence of the Santo Daime. The entities that arrive are presented to the Master and to the Padrinho Sebastião and soon they understand that the spiritual work under Jesus Christ's protection is a form of evolution of the medium to the path of the ethics' of light and the entity itself can practice charity by enlightening us with its specific knowledge of each spiritual stream.

In these quotes we can see the experience of butinage: “*any chance of experiencing most multiple consciousness's*” even other consciences still unidentified. It is an

experimentation in chaos¹⁶⁸ of religious practice. Experimentation that is without interpretation or significance and rests only on tests of experience' (D&G 1986: 7).

But we also can see the bricolage: [...] *we are receiving them within an energized unit by the presence of the Santo Daime. The entities that arrive are presented to the Mestre and to the Padrinho Sebastião and soon they understand that the spiritual work under Jesus Christ's protection is a form of evolution [...]* It is about bricolage because the practitioner subjected the new experience in the Santo Daime logic, some new experiences are incorporated into Daime (ayahuasca) symbolic construction and logic of the learning giving meaning to it. The bricolage acts as an enclosure in the butinage. But still has something that escapes the bricolage.

The intention of an Umbandaime gira is that all the involved will take Daime and all will incorporate, even those who have never had this kind of manifestation, since the Daime arises mediumship, through its effect on the chakras, allowing this mediumistic development to all participating in Daimists works. Each individual has a more or less open chakra that determines the presence of Iemanjá, Oxum, Ogum, and so on. The moment the Daime opens the chakra makes it possible. The Daime works on all chakras. This work allows the individual to understand its actions in the path of the Higher Self in which must be a total alignment of all chakras and there are always some locked and some other open and the Daime assists along with the presence of spiritual beings from Umbanda.

The Daimists belonging to the Umbandaime line believe that the very structure of the work has always been the call of the entities, even in the line of Mestre Irineu, referring to the prior work by Padrinho Sebastião, in which there is no incorporation. So there was this call of beings in the hymnbook of the Master, for example, the hymn 63, Princess Soloina and others, citing several proper names of the Amazon region. Hymn 33, Papai Velho (Old Daddy) is interpreted as a Preto Velho talking and then Padrinho Sebastião "releases it".

Old daddy and old mama give me my wand /it's me it's me it's me/with my lapsed / at last at last at last / I got my wand / I could get up / with my lapsed /I reduced my body into powder / my spirit

¹⁶⁸ Chaos is not an inert state, it is not a random mixture. Chaos makes chaotic and undoes any consistency at infinity in which thought plunges.

among flowers / it's me it's me it's me / son of the king of love / old mama always gives / daddy walks by / I always say it's me / I was born in Natal. (Old daddy hymn)

The butinage is a production activity driven by desire, a ceaseless experimentation and an experimental setup. Luiz and the Santo Daime community in southern Brazil have the desire to consolidate Umbandaime. In the statement above we can see the desire being represented, the interest to link things that have no relation to each other. The attempt to take root subjecting at least ideally the thought in a progression of principle and consequence. Sometimes leading it from general to particular and sometimes seeking founded it, anchor it in a verity ground. It is about bricolage, it is when the desire is represented (logic of representation of desire). The desire to consolidate Umbandaime is subordinate to a distinguished goal itself. Namely, Umbanda has always existed in the Santo Daime of Mestre Irineu, but it was not realized (even by the founder Master himself). If we focus on this representation to explain this syncretism as did Labate and Pacheco (2004), we do not realize the reality of desire in itself or its formation (the butinage), as the desire deceives itself. All truth is created.

Thus, Umbandaime opens the possibility for people to participate in a work that aims healing within a mission. These protector beings assist in cleaning and harmonizing the apparatus, in charity, in evolution and learning. I.e. the goal of the cure through ayahuasca beverage and spirits into learning logic. The difference of working on Daime and without Daime (like in Umbanda ritual) is that the Daime, being a vehicle of consciousness expansion offers more ease. Then, the subject tends to set in more strongly, incorporated with the presence of the tea, while a normal Umbanda session dispenses long ritual preparation. The force with which the entities arrive is much stronger, "*as if there were no longer any barriers, which would be the dimensions, to break some of that energy, such an effect that resembles a meteor coming from the Universe to meet the Earth*". It is very common in the Daime incorporations to come along by intense *mirações* is the individual while incorporation is looking at the entity. According to Luiz there are very few mediums at his CEU that see the entities, but almost all of those who go to the Daime have this

clairvoyance¹⁶⁹.

One of the very interesting clairvoyance that I share with my brothers is that you incorporate and you can see the entity. The question is, where have you been? You felt you were incorporated and you saw the entity, the thing is, the Daime allowed you to go out and you saw the entity. It's a fantastic thing, talking about it sounds crazy, but it happens.

Here, we can see the “engulfment in the power of burracheira” on how it characterizes the founding experience of. Such experience can be replicated always in a new and original way by the practitioner who from their unique individual journeys, and the specificity of their contact with the burracheira live a similar movement, constituting different settings, which however can (or cannot) find an interpretive articulating axis in the experience of incorporation.

Thus, being a medium is unique in the Daime, since the individual is exercising incorporation, under the influence of Daime itself that enlists the legitimacy of incorporation. See Luiz's testimony:

The Daime is surprising, because if doesn't matter your past, there you can incorporate no matter who you are, if you are or not prepared, we put people in front of you, to get energizing healing, for consultation. Here in Umbanda in the first year we do not allow the new ones to have appointments with people. First the medium has to be well prepared. In the second year he can give energetic healing, its Caboclo will work on the demands. In the third year then he can give consultation. Not that the entities could not, but it is best to prepare the apparatus well. But in the Daime by the trance provided by the Santo Daime, the legitimacy that it is expressed there it is so great that it is allowed. Especially because many of the ones participating in a turn have also taken. Then you can go ahead. I have already taken my mediums that are developing themselves here and so what? This I learned there, and so what? He's getting prepared within the power of the Santo Daime.

The belief in the powers of Santo Daime (ayahuasca) starts to ensure the experience of butinage. The belief protects this experience by codes. Therefore, it is immediately the thought requires, before the new appearance and not withstanding no attributable of information, disclosure of specific links that tell us in which tradition we entered. And, before the collapse of the old interpretive schemes, a new form of link or deciphering,

¹⁶⁹ Clairvoyance is “clear seeing,” the ability to see in the mind's eye people and things in another dimension. (Buckland, 2005:75).

distinct from transcendent interpretive totalization which requires recognizing always what comes up, instead of providing the means to follow its butinage. We can follow the incessant slippage between butinage and decoding.

In the Umbandaime gira all participants take Daime and incorporate, being able to give consultations and energetic healing, being aware of everything (they do not remember everything, but most of) because that is the lesson, otherwise it would, *"no matter if it is a person or a chair. I can say that there are those mediums that are so tough but in so much need of counseling that we incorporate the Preto Velho, giving advice to a lot of people and many of those advices are also good for us and we are there, listening."*

It is placed on the day of the Umbandaime gira, a small wooden table as the altar of the house or a stone as a table in which the cross of caravaca¹⁷⁰ is placed, a lit candle and a bottle of Daime that will be distributed by the godfather to the participants. In the ritual there is the Daime for the mediums and in the course of the session the entities when they arrive they ask to take the Daime and they "hit the head" on that table/altar that ends up becoming a congá. When the medium incorporates, the drink taken is for the entity and not to the apparatus. *"It's a wonderful thing to see, they take it and it looks like they have already taken it or when they had life on earth they used to take it and then he asked to draw his ponto. This happens inside the Daime work for the Caboclo to identify himself. "*

The drawn ponto is the designation for the drawn symbols by Caboclos as a way of identification of placing the ponto and fixing its vibration. They are symbols that carry the strength of nature represented by the sun, the moon, the star, the water, the arrow, the ax, etc. In the little house, the entity draws the ponto with chalk on the floor, right in front of the medium. In Umbandaime gira there is not necessarily a drawn ponto since these symbols are sung, differing only in how they are expressed. Thus the entity drawing the ponto when "it comes", is not a rule or a trivial behavior in Daimist terreiras. In some the ponto is never drawn; at other at times, and in some always; usually there is not a defined location. In Rio Grande do Sul in the giras the pontos are usually drawn and placed in front of that table/altar. The gira is closed as the closing of the work of concentration and dance,

¹⁷⁰ The cross of Caravaca is a double-cross-barred crucifix.

being sure that everybody is well.

The “mesa branca” works usually occur on the last Saturday of each month at the Church of each Santo Daime community lasting about six hours. The “mesa branca” or “banca aberta” (open stand), as it is also known, which is the expression used when the leader says "the stand is open" is then allowed to incorporate. In this sense, the works of healing end up being banca aberta works and the works of concentração and bailado are banca fechada (closed stands). Therefore, to open the stand means that participant members that medium are allowed to incorporate and also that the spiritual side can manifest. The leader of the work, the godfather, is who gives the command and also closes the stand. Theoretically, anyone could receive an entity in the middle of banca aberta work, but as it is a work of spiritual indoctrination there should be an effort to allow demonstrations of healing and attentive surveillance of the house that follows an order for each type of manifestation.

Here there is a cutting between the line of Padrinho Sebastião that enables incorporation and the line of Mestre Irineu that does not permit incorporation which allows switching or cohabitation within the same ritual of logical in them incompatible.

The banca aberta work starts with the prayer of the Daime (made from a selection of hymns that open all Daimists works) followed for a moment of Spiritist prayers (prayer for the beginning of the meeting, prayer for the mediums and prayer to ward off evil spirits, all from Allan Kardec).

Subsequently, start the share of the Caboclos and entities and then it goes back to the hymns of Daimist closing, the “Cruzeirinho”, this is a pretty happy moment when all are standing in a circle seeing each other to "confirm the spiritual stream." So who has not "returned yet" starts "coming back" and centering again. It closes with the final prayers.

In the Canta Galo Church the godfather Edson opens and closes the banca aberta works, but during the incorporation part he delivers the command to Luiz’s Caboclo.

For a work to flow in peace, harmony and balance and for the spiritual entities to act on

behalf of the people, it is necessary to sign the Tronqueira¹⁷¹ because thus activated it is a portal to the relative emptiness governed by an Exu guardian related to Orixá, the right hand of the medium who guides the work. An Exu guardian is seated in the Tronqueira on the left as you enter the church hall and many others are firmados¹⁷² within it, being these ones related to other Exu guardian of kingdoms and areas governed by other Orixás.

The others cannot be settled otherwise two relative empty ones can open up around the inner spiritual church space and interferes with the action of one another. One Exu guardian is seated and all others are only firmados on the Tronqueira, because if two are sitting in the action of one can interfere with the action of another relative empty open on the outside of the church. To the left of who is on the inside of the ritual space facing the front door.

As for the Terreiro only the candle of the “cruzeiro must be lit up”. It is not a rule to have the “ponto ” on the front door, it is optional and Exu’s house cannot be inside the hall, it must be always on the outside, to the left of the entrance.

Each church has a certain way of working, according to its demand. For example, the search for the cure of cancer of a woman in Céu de São Miguel Church, where during the ritual she remained lying on a mat and various entities were energizing her and worked on her. Also the case of a believer that at the time she lost custody of the child to the father, because she and her child attended to the Santo Daime. The mesa branca was performed in order to release those energies risen in dispute with the father. Each group has its way to foster the evolution of its work, to be eclectic, everything can be done but always paying respect to the rules of the house.

Incorporating will always depend on the order of command of each church. If the godfather does not give the command, the medium should hold entities that want to come, requiring a mediumistic discipline. As already mentioned Santo Daime’s work "refines" and "enlightens" the chakras allowing mediumship to bloom. It turns out that these beings end up coming to all Daimists works. *"You stay, for example as a guard on the door or*

¹⁷¹ Tronqueira is a little house that aims to activate the power of the guardians of the left side like Exu.

¹⁷² Firmeza. Firmness

even guarding the hall and you can feel the difference, that you're not alone. Even brothers who are not with their mediumship tuned they sense there is a spiritual being who is with them, hence soon they incorporate ".

Anyhow incorporations end up happening in works of banca fechada stands that need to be disciplined, knowing the right moment to allow it. There is a difference between who is with its “mediumship blooming” and who has its mediumship already “studied”, the “médium tarimbado” (The skilled medium).

Accordingly, in Rio Grande do Sul, it is recommended to respect those “brothers”, patience, doctrine, education and orientation (importance of well-prepared guards). The Godfather Edson says that *"one should not incorporate, but if a brother does, we will take care of it, will respect that because it is happening, but the general rule is not to do so."* When the manifestations disrupt the work we are in the presence of low light beings, drawing attention away from the true meaning to meet your Higher Self with God. Many arrive at the Daime very heavy, with all its demons, with their obsessors, and in a Daimist work erupted by the need to unload the medium.

In this sense it is very important for the brothers to be well grounded in Daime line. *"It plays your maraca¹⁷³ and stays firm and the other will be handled by the spiritual guidance of the house."*

The Godfather Edson says: *"The Daime takes and the Daime brings, no one should be scared, because within the work itself the brother will be healed."* Sometimes experienced mediums, like Luiz, incorporate on some very strong need or demand. I have noted in the Céu de Sao Miguel Church the godfather Alan giving an extra dose of the Daime to the manifested as a form of indoctrination. If the being is from the light, he takes it and quiets down, if he is not, he will refuse to take it. The medium can also be sent to the Cruzeiro to perform a cleanup enabling him to return to work; if the person is still in a "passagem" (passage) he has to stay in the healing room until he is be able to compose himself again.

¹⁷³ A Latin-American percussion instrument consisting of a hollow-gourd rattle containing pebbles or beans and often played in pairs.

These types of work is a watchword. The mediumistic incorporation depends on the order of the Godfather's command requiring mediumistic discipline. Given a situation, the person begins by impregnating the information constituting the situation to find the appropriate reaction and get/modify it.

There is a slippage between cutting, butinage, and decoding line (reinterpretation and bricolage). The person must make bricolage, "enable schemes". The information is useful, it should be to triage them and treat them according to a vital interest or proper use. It is formalized occurrence. The type of use that is made from butinage. In the strict sense, an information when it is taken in such a scheme (line in which it must be attached) and is early recognized as useful even if they do not know what to. The person who does not make bricolage and disrupts the work is also useful for the work of Daime, since the group, the collective fits him/her in the Daime line.

The Thursday night work at the Casinha, is a work that demands, a work of disobsession. They are the Caboclos who stand with pontos drawing on the ground, pulling the "demons" of the people "becoming ugly" in performances, demonstrations, but always under the control of Caboclos and the house protection. This work happens from spiritual physics, in which the obsessor is transferred to the medium and the medium from Umbanda rituals forwarding it to the nature, to the sea, to the forest. So the obsessor is transferred from the person to the medium with no return from a physic passage that causes it to be shut down and the person comes out relieved.

And there in the Daime, the Daime itself makes cleaning. The power of the spiritual stream because the Daime is extremely sung here is also often sung. At this work here on Thursdays a single ponto is sung during the whole session. So the work of the brothers there playing their musical instruments, the maracas and the singing will make this environment protected, the brother there can see his past lives and from time to time one of us who're more well executed in this Umbanda work goes there and gives him an energizing pass to help him to process. So we have to be very careful there, the guards have to be very careful not to interfere beyond measure, right? The brother is there twitching and we need to be careful that he won't hurt himself, but we take it easy, because he's being taken care there, him and the beings that surround him.

Many in the Daime can see the obsessors of the other, requiring great care if to disclose it or not. Preferably is best to be quiet, observing whether they will leave or not, rarely

interfering, leaving the Daime to do its work. Depending on the situation, one can warn: "*Oh my, watch out, there, look what you're attracting to yourself*" but unlike the Umbanda, in the Daime that is a very delicate matter. Every human organ has a being and when there is a disease the negative beings are dominating and the anchorages, the heaviest loads are also in the chakras. So every Daime work ends up being a healing work, disobsession and charity, also in Umbanda.

As in the Santo Daime there is not a sequence of banca aberta work, it occurs averagely once a month, depending on the official calendar. So many entities speak to their apparatus who want to work recommending the search for a home. "*One of the beautiful things is when the guy shows up to me by the power of the Daime: 'They told me to talk to you' Then, I already know what it is about.*" Luiz' idea is not to bring a medium potential of the Daime to the Little House, but many end up going.

When I started to go more often I thought well, I'll take some mediums there, so it may be that someone will fall in love with the Daime and will leave Umbanda behind, so far it has not happened. It has happened that many from there came to Umbanda and also didn't leave the Daime. That is the example that I give myself. I am treasurer of the church of the Cruzeiro do Sul, I'm well adapted there and do both things. Once I started someone told me this: "ah there is only one person in Brazil that does both things: Baixinha and then I said to myself: "If one monkey does it, everyone can do it" and that's what is happening to me and other mediums here, we do both things.

In Umbanda rituals from Luiz's CEU, some Daimist hymns are sung together with the Umbanda pontos as the hymn received by Baixinha referring to Iemanjá, "Come rising from the seabed / the blue star on its heavenly throne / there it comes, there it comes to heal us / blue star on its divine throne/ it comes to heal those who believe / blue star on its heavenly throne." Concerning the implications of Santo Daime in the work of Umbanda, Luiz explains:

The experience we have had, you know. You go there on a Daime work from Friday to Saturday, you do a 4 hours work, whatever it is, then 8 hours after, you come here to an Umbanda work and you feel the entity arrives to you fully, because the Daime purifies you, so... You threw up there. This is something that people do not understand, you throw up all the crap, you know? You have relieved yourself. Then you come here for a work, for example a work I did here on the day of Oxum, before I had made a strong work in the Daime in the evening, there and here in the afternoon, there ended at 8 or 9 am and then in the afternoon here. Then you feel that inner vibration of the entity within you and then whoever comes close to you gets the benefit. Where did you prepare yourself? There. It's fantastic

that union. The practice showed me that. There was a work we did, I took with me 4 or 5 mediums from here. They all came to tell me: "Oxum got me and she worked those people through me," overflowing, you know? And what happened? We did a wonderful concentration through the Santo Daime and then you see what a beautiful union, right? We went there, we did our work, we saw things, heard things for ourselves as well and then we came here and shared that with those who came. We were in a very intense preparation, we came over here and brought this power to whoever came. This is a beautiful aspect of it.

Thus, CEU's Luiz also makes syncretic work with Santo Daime from butinage: "*It's fantastic that union. The practice showed me that*" The butinage is a rupture in the represented experimentation. It creates a line of flight in the Umbanda line and they represent this line of flight: the works of Daime purify the mediums that work best in Umbanda. Making butinage in the Umbanda line is not to kill, but opening the line to connections that implies the whole assemblage, a web of lines. It is necessary to keep enough of the Umbanda line, for the Umbanda line reforms every dawn. Since then the problem is not to get away (from Umbanda line) but to make an escape. There is therefore no incompatibility and evolution between butinage and symbolic work, only a difference of emphasis.

CHAPTER 5

THE SANTO DAIME AND UNIÃO DO VEGETAL BETWEEN BRAZIL AND SPAIN

In this last chapter I intend to complete my butinage approach understanding the transnationalization process of the Brazilian religions Santo Daime and União do Vegetal to Spain. Transnationalization or transposition means the expansion and integration of these Brazilian religions in Spain; the process of re-location of ritual and doctrine of the Santo Daime and União do Vegetal from its Brazilian context to a Spain one.

The syncretism present in the religious transnationalization process refers to how elements coming from several religions, historically constituted in different geographic and cultural areas, produce new forms of doing and living the religious experience beyond its original national borders. (Meirelles, 2012) Here, the syncretism focuses on how religions are inserted in different national context and end up absorbing elements of local culture.

I define butinage as an intrinsic experience in the religious practices in which something escapes from the preceding religious tradition/system from desire that produces new connections. In the transnationalization process this experience implies the concept of deterritorialization¹⁷⁴ and reterritorialization.

¹⁷⁴ Deterritorialization is a concept created by Deleuze and Guattari (1987) to refer to the fluid and dissipated nature of human subjectivity in contemporary capitalist cultures. Its most common use, however, has been in relation to the process of cultural globalization. Deterritorialization and reterritorialization exist simultaneously. Anthropologists started to use the term to refer to a weakening of ties between culture and place. This means the removal of cultural subjects and objects from a certain location in space and time. It implies that certain cultural aspects tend to transcend specific territorial boundaries in a world that consists of things fundamentally in motion. Deterritorialization and reterritorialization are seamlessly conjoined; reterritorialization occurring immediately after, as the local community becomes a part of the global culture. This relates to the idea of globalization of culture. In this process, culture is simultaneously deterritorialized and reterritorialized in different parts of the world as it moves. As cultures are uprooted from certain territories, they gain a special meaning in the new territory which they are taken into.

I have argued to assess the religious landscape from the perspective of the religious practitioners. In this chapter I assess the transnationalization process from the perspective of the religious practitioners in relation to the founders, the established churches and power (including state power). So, I will start this chapter describing how the churches of Santo Daime and União do Vegetal are organized structurally in Brazil and what the implication of its structures in the agency of religious practitioners (agency in relation to structure) is. Then I will describe the insertion of the Santo Daime and União do Vegetal in Spain from religious trajectories and desires that construct “actresses and actors” in assemblages and then these systems can be disturbed, attacked and rebuilt (agency that escapes to structure).

The União do Vegetal (UDV) in Brazil

The União do Vegetal was founded in July 22, 1961 in Porto Velho, Rondônia, Brazil by the rubber-tapper José Gabriel da Costa (1922-1971) known as Mestre Gabriel.

Mestre Gabriel was born in Coração de Maria, a town near Feira de Santana. Uneducated, he left home at the age of 20 to become a rubber tapper in the Amazon region, thereby coming into contact with the South American Indians of Bolivia and Caboclos¹⁷⁵ of Brazil, experiencing their Ayahuasca. Inspired by his visions, he founded UDV. UDV members say he never had contact with the Mestre Irineu.

The União do Vegetal is considered to be a reincarnation of the Christian religion. For Gentil and Gentil (2002), the doctrinal body of UDV is eclectic. The doctrine is based on Christianity, but it has elements of other traditions such as indigenous and African, approaching spiritualism as it believes in reincarnation. But the UDV turns to the indoctrination of the incarnate spirit, not realizing incorporations or distribution of passes. According to the doctrine of the UDV a body can only occupy a spirit. There is no belief in mediumistic incorporation.

¹⁷⁵ Caboclo (“Forest Peasant”): José Gabriel da Costa and the other initial members of the UDV were caboclos, mixed-race manual laborers who inhabit the frontier towns and wilderness of the Amazonian rainforest in the north of Brazil. (Labate, Meyer & Anderson, 2009).

Its rituals involve the uses of ayahuasca (called vegetal or Hoasca¹⁷⁶), music (whose words are in conformity with the teachings of the Master thereby assisting in doctrine), stories (stories that are left by Mestre Gabriel), teaching by speech (doctrine transmitted orally) and “chamadas¹⁷⁷” that are chants of doctrinal nature that lead to the experience of "burracheira".

For the UDV, the ayahuasca is a divine vehicle of mental concentration, through which the doctrine transmitted by Mestre Gabriel is spread to his disciples.

The União do Vegetal is an initiatory cult: the transmission of the doctrine is oral and made judiciously, within “sessões¹⁷⁸”. The disciples receive the teachings gradually, according to the "grau de memória¹⁷⁹" or "spiritual level" and to demonstrate behavior in line with the statutes and newsletters. "Degree of memory" means the ability to listen, understand and memorize the teachings under the influence of tea, i.e. "burracheira". "Degree of memory" is different from intelligence and academic title. The statutes and newsletters are the law of the institution UDV. The statute is a basic document of this

¹⁷⁶ The name given to ayahuasca (*Banisteriopsis caapi* brewed with *Psychotria viridis*). The term bears close resemblance to the Quechua word for vine or rope, waska, which is generally recognized by scholars to refer to the *Banisteriopsis* species used in the preparation of ayahuasca. The portion of Hoasca that comes from *B. caapi* is said to "bring force" while the portion that comes from *P. viridis* is said to "bring light." (Labate, Meyer & Anderson, 2009).

¹⁷⁷ Chamada (from the verb chamar, "to call" or "to summon"): A performance genre in which a single member intones a chant a cappella. Chamadas are intended to channel the "force" of the burracheira by calling on divine entities and/or revealing certain aspects of nature's mysteries. . (Labate, Meyer & Anderson, 2009).

¹⁷⁸ Sessões ("Sessions"): Religious ceremonies that revolve around the ritual imbibing of Vegetal. A sessão is run by the Mestre Dirigente, a disciple of high hierarchical status who is appointed on a per sessão basis. (Labate, Meyer & Anderson, 2009).

¹⁷⁹ Grau de Memória ("Degree of Memory"): a.k.a. grau de evolução do espírito, grau de evolução espiritual, grau de conhecimento espiritual ("the degree of the evolution of one's spirit", or "the degree of spiritual evolution", or "the degree of spiritual knowledge"), the grau de memória is a measure of the compreensão ("comprehension") of each person during, and when not in, the burracheira. The grau de memória encompasses a series of dimensions that include the abilities to utilize the mistérios das palavras ("mysteries of words"), to speak adequately during a sessão, and to memorize the teachings of the União do Vegetal, such as the chamadas, the stories, Mestre Gabriel's explanations, the history of the UDV, etc. Depending on the person's grau de memória, he or she will hold a certain position in the hierarchy of the UDV. (Labate, Meyer & Anderson, 2009).

religion, the only doctrinal writing and always read in the beginning of the “sessões de escala¹⁸⁰” that occur every first and third Saturday of the month.

The statute deals with the administrative organization of the doctrinal principles of the "master belief" and religious theodicy titled "Mysteries of vegetal". The statute defines what rights and duties of partners. The Statute disciplines a 'flawless' moral conduct for its members. "The infraction to the rules results in sanctions, subjecting violators to penalties ranging from disciplinary warning to temporary and permanent leave" (CEBUDV, 1989: 28). Associated with moral behavior is ethics that is centered on the concept of responsibility (one of the central themes of religion): all the follower talk has to have a direct relationship with its practice, which shows the degree of awareness towards this doctrine ministered.

The União do Vegetal is organized into hierarchies. There are four segments: Mestre (Master¹⁸¹) (responsible for the transmission of the doctrine); Corpo do Conselho (Council Body¹⁸²) (responsible for advising the brotherhood and direct assistance to the Masters); Corpo Instrutivo (Instructive Body¹⁸³) and Sócios (Associates) (the other partners).

¹⁸⁰ Sessões de Escala ("Scheduled Sessions"): Regular ceremonies of the União do Vegetal that are intended for all members. These ceremonies always take place on the first and third Saturday of the month. Sessões de escala anual are held on specified dates of the UDV's yearly ritual calendar. (Labate, Meyer & Anderson, 2009).

¹⁸¹ Mestre ("Master"): The highest position in the UDV hierarchy, a Mestre is responsible for the transmission of UDV teachings and the spiritual guidance of the disciples. Only men reach the class of Mestre (with the exception of Mestre Pequeninina, Mestre Gabriel's widow). There are several requirements for reaching this hierarchical class, including: memorizing the Story of Hoasca and successfully telling it during a session; being married; and meeting the UDV's moral standards of excellence in family, social, and business life. . (Labate, Meyer & Anderson, 2009).

¹⁸² Corpo do Conselho or CDC ("Council Body"): A hierarchical class in the UDV composed of male and female Conselheiros ("Counselors"), helpers of the Mestres. Together with the Quadro de Mestres, the CDC makes up the leadership of each nucleus and pre-nucleus. The Counselors are responsible for advising and orienting the group's disciples. Preferably, Counselors are married and exhibit exemplary behavior according to UDV moral standards. (Labate, Meyer & Anderson, 2009).

¹⁸³ Corpo Instrutivo ("Instructive Body"): A class in the UDV hierarchy composed of disciples who are in a position to receive the "instructions" of the UDV; these disciples have access to the UDV's ensinios reservados or "reserved teachings" (which should not be revealed to anyone who has not reached this level). Disciples are convoked to the Corpo Instrutivo by the Representative Master according to his/her dedication to the group's activities, his/her "evolution" in the ritual, and his/her "degree of memory" (see grau de memória). If, in the narrow sense, the Corpo Instrutivo refers to a position in the internal hierarchy that comes after the category of Sócio and before the category of Conselheiro,

The members belonging to the "Instructive Body" are summoned by the UDV Representative Master in Scheduled Sessions and they can join the instructional sessions. The Instructive Sessions¹⁸⁴ are held every two months, usually on Sundays and always at midday. These sessions must be attended by the Counselors, Masters and Instructive Body. The teachings of Instructive degree are considered secrets, should not be discussed nor revealed in an environment other than the Instructive Session. The disciple who fails to comply with this guidance is subject to being removed from the Instructive Body and may or may not continue being part of the membership at the discretion of the Representative Master.

The disciples of Instructive Body should have a behavior compatible with the occupied degree, therefore they should do not smoke, not drink alcohol, have no "addictions", seeking to walk according to the newsletters and statutes that governing the center. They have greater responsibility to work for the Núcleo¹⁸⁵, such as: task forces cleaning and preparation of the vegetal¹⁸⁶.

The Masters are considered to be the mirror of the disciples, so their attitudes are observed and should serve as an example of conduct to be followed. The Quadro de Mestres ("Masters' Board") comprises the following hierarchical order: 1) Mestre Geral Representante (General Representative Master): Lives in Brasilia and is responsible for the União do Vegetal in Brazil and abroad 2) Mestre Geral Assistente (General Assistant Master): Directly assists the General 3) Mestre Central Regional (Region Central Master):

then in a wider sense, it refers to any disciple who has at least reached this hierarchical class (including Conselheiros and the Mestres). (Labate, Meyer & Anderson, 2009).

¹⁸⁴ Sessões Instrutivas ("Instructive Sessions"): Intended for members of the UDV's Corpo Instrutivo in order to teach them the ensinios reservados ("reserved teachings"). These sessões are generally held at intervals of at least two months, on Sundays, and they begin at noon. (Labate, Meyer & Anderson, 2009).

¹⁸⁵ Núcleo ("Nucleus"): A set of physical constructions (a plot of land, temple, preparo house and a lavatory) that serves a determined number of UDV disciples. There also exist pré-núcleos and distribuições — developing centers of worship that are lacking some physical infrastructure and usually have fewer members. All núcleos follow the same doctrinal and structural hierarchy and the same ritual calendar, and they function in accordance with the directives passed down from the Sede Geral, the UDV's institutional headquarters located in Brasília (D.F.), Brazil's capital. (Labate, Meyer & Anderson, 2009).

¹⁸⁶ The name of the ritual for making Hoasca.

Indicated by the General Master to oversee the centers of each region. 4) Representative Master: Elected by the direction of each Núcleo, i.e, for masters and counselors, for a period of three years and may be reelected for three more. It replies by the deliberations of each core. 5) Assistant Master: Assists the Representative Master directly, including in the ritual moment of the session and he is replaced every two months. 6) Masters: Assist the Representative Master and Assistant Master in the administrative and ritual part, assisting in the doctrinal part.

Councilors are also summoned to take up the Masters' Board by the Representative Master, who summons them to tell the story of Hoasca, the origin of Hoasca during the session. If the summoned after telling the story of Hoasca is approved, he receives a "master's star", which may or may not be maintained, depending on his behavior, is or is not in accordance with the laws of the Center¹⁸⁷.

So far the Masters Board has only one woman, Mestre Pequenina, the wife of Mestre Gabriel, i.e, the maximum degree that a woman can reach is the counselor. The disciples belonging to the Masters' Board should be married and should have a good family life. They do not receive any compensation, payment or financial benefit for services rendered to the UDV; they can and must fulfill their professional functions so that they can support themselves and their family.

When someone joins the CEBUDV, the disciple joins the first rank of the hierarchy: the Associates' Board. There is a set of laws governing the organization of the Center and seeking to propitiate to the followers conditions for its transformation in the sense of spiritual development. In this sense there are a number of principles and values to be observed within the group, once a person chooses to be a member of the CEBUDV. Compliance with these principles is even one of the conditions for the permanence as an associate. The ascension to the degrees is made from summoning by the Master

¹⁸⁷ Centro Espírita Beneficente União do Vegetal - CEBUDV ("Union of the Vegetal Beneficent Spiritist Center" - CEBUDV): The official name of the UDV organization.

Representative and has, as a basic criterion, behavior in harmony with the doctrine¹⁸⁸, regardless of social and cultural condition of the disciple. Likewise, as the disciple ascends in the hierarchy, regardless of the degree that he is occupying, can also be lowered in degree or removed of the Center.

It is from its hierarchy which emanates the guiding principle of the doctrine: Obedience. The obedience serves as a selection criterion for the rise and maintenance of hierarchical positions: not to obey superiors, not to ascend the steps of the "cult" and likewise do not get access to secret knowledge and cannot stay in these hierarchical positions.

According to Andrade (2002) the subject is complex because on the one hand, the experience of drinking tea is intimate, and there is a space open to individual interpretations from the UDV institution. But on the other hand if the follower does not obey superiors, he never ascends to the highest levels and, consequently, does not have access to secret knowledge of the group. Thus, the "obedience" works as a criterion of maintaining the power structure, imposing limits to any possibility of internal criticism.

In the sessions, associates, from all hierarchical levels, wear uniforms. For all green shirts with embroidered letters on the pocket, which identifies the degree to which the disciple in the hierarchy belongs. Shirts of masters have an embroidered star. Women wear skirts or yellow pants and men wear white pants. Masters wear blue shirts with the identification of the different hierarchical levels, which are: Representatives Masters, General Masters and the General Representative Master.

The members belonging to the Instructive Body wear green shirts (men and women) with the UDV letters in yellow embroidered on the pocket. Those who do not belong to the Instructive Body (called associates) have these letters embroidered on the pocket in white. Sometimes followers refer to the degree as white and yellow pockets for members who respectively do not belong and belong to the Instructive Body.

¹⁸⁸ Doutrina ("Doctrine"): The spiritual teachings left by Mestre Gabriel to the irmandade ("brotherhood"). (Labate, Meyer & Anderson, 2009).

In this sense from my ethnography I observed that the ascension in hierarchical ranking and behavior in harmony with the doctrine generates a very strong game of status within the group provoking the control of emotions.

As for example the ritual to make the Hoasca, called the “preparation of the vegetal” (preparo do vegetal). The preparation of the vegetal is a very important moment within the UDV, in a sacred and social sense. It is a moment of intense contact between members and masters, in which masters can analyze, observe the behavior of their disciples that aims to ascend in hierarchical ranking. As they are preparing a sacred tea, the people seek to have a positive thinking, as well as words and harmonious acts for this to reflect on the “Grau do Vegetal¹⁸⁹”. Discussions and negative words should be avoided, lest the vegetal “captures” such energy, taking the risk of not “getting the level”. Level is the “point of the vegetal”, which provides high burracheira. Thus, getting and not getting the level means respectively present and not present burracheira.

Hence the recommendation in relation to the harmony of the members, the union for the completion of work, the cultivation of good feelings ... According followers all this is reflected in the "Degree of the vegetal". One should also be careful with the spoken word. The União do Vegetal has its own language of which the group says it belongs to the "mysteries of the word" called Udevist language. One should always be careful with the use of the word and especially in the course of preparation of the vegetal, because it has a direct influence on vegetal and burracheira.

The Masters say that the preparation of the vegetal is an important time for socializing, confraternization, making friends, to strengthen relationships. People living together, have the opportunity to learn some new things with each other, to create social bonds among themselves and to put the teachings into practice in order to have more patience,

¹⁸⁹ Grau ("Degree" or "Grade"): A determined level of spiritual evolution; the term represents the quality of something: the grau of a disciple in the internal hierarchy, the grau do Vegetal, vamos ver o grau do Vegetal means "let's test the Vegetal" to find out quanta burracheira apresenta ("how much burracheira appears"). It can be said that with a given grau, a disciple is able to understand a certain dimension of the ensino ("teaching"); upon obtaining a higher grau, a new, more occult significance to the same teaching may be revealed in accordance with each disciple's merit. (Labate, Meyer & Anderson, 2009).

understanding, love and stay in harmony with the doctrine. The Masters and Council Body will be watching the behavior of the disciples, if it is in harmony with the doctrine, analyzing who can ascend in hierarchical ranking.

Elias (1994b) emphasizes the importance of the courts as a source of social authority and patterns of behavior. The Masters' Board and Council Body can be related to the court for civilizing economy of the impulses and the conduct of this upper class associated with increased social control, and dependency of other classes on masters. For the Masters' Board, the self-control imposed to them by their function and position serve as both prestige value as a means to distinguish themselves from the lower groups. On the one hand, these upper classes are compelled to maintain, at all costs, its control of the impulses as a mark of distinction. On the other hand the situation, along with the structure of the general movement which they are part, compels them to long term to reduce these differences in behavior patterns. The fear caused by the situation of the whole group, by their struggle to preserve and idolized position threatened, acts directly as a force to keep the code of conduct for its members. It is converted into personal anxiety, with the fear of the individual to degrade or simply lose prestige in the religious society in which he/she lives. And it is this fear of losing prestige in the eyes of others, instilled in the form of self-compulsion, whether in the form of shame or on the sense of honor, that ensures the usual reproduction of the characteristic behavior and as its condition a strict control of impulses in each person.

This hierarchical ascension mobilizes the whole functioning of the religious group directly influencing the behavior of people and composing a remarkable status game, which can be analyzed as a means of social distinction in the UDV society. People are seen from their degree. Their degrees are on the uniform for all they know and see. Members are always called first by the degree and then by name. When I met an adept he/she was always introduced as, "This is Counselor Arthur". "This is Associate Peter," for example. "The court is a kind of "stock exchange" and as in any good society, an estimate of the value of each individual is continually being made (...) Any error or any slip reduces the value of the individual in the court's opinion and may be risking their position "(Elias, 1994b: 226).

For this reason, the issue of uniform good behavior becomes increasingly burning, especially because the structure of the upper class (masters and counselors) exposes each individual on an unprecedented extent to the pressures of others and social control. Like Elias (1994a) says, people forced to live in a new way in society become more susceptible to pressure from the other, the pressure that people exert on each other reciprocally. It becomes immediately clear that the extremely gentle, polished and fairly attentive to correct someone as exercised by the Master that is a superior is a much stronger and much more effective way to instill durable habitus than the insult, mockery or threat of physical violence. People impose themselves more control and some degree of impulses and control of emotions and slowly it turns into an internalized habit, part of the self-control. Prohibitions supported by social sanctions are reproduced on the individual as forms of self-control. The social norm that the individual was initially forced to conform by external constraint (restriction) is finally reproduced, more or less smoothly inside through a self-control that operates even against their conscious desires. The social code of conducting records in such a way in the human being that becomes a constituent element of the individual.

Really what I could observe in the rituals as the preparation of the vegetal was a "perfect" harmony between the followers, a joy, and a pleasure to be making the tea. People do not scream, treat each other kindly, and demonstrate affection for each other, friendship, respect, love and trust. Children become "loose" playing peacefully, they are cared for and loved by everyone as one big family. The UDV is a "protected" environment. According to Elias (1994b) the controlling agency that is formed as part of the personality structure of the individual corresponds to the controlling agency that is formed in the society in general. The first and the second tend to impose highly differentiated regulation at all emotional impulses, to the conduct of man in its entirety. Both, each one mediated largely by another, exert constant uniform pressure to inhibit emotional outbursts, softening extreme fluctuations in the behavior and emotions. The constant self-control to which the individual is now increasingly used seeks to reduce the contrasts and sudden changes in behavior and the affective charge of the whole self-expression. Pressures acting on the individual tend to produce a transformation of the entire economy of the passions and affections towards

a more continuous, stable and uniform regulation, thereof in all areas of conducts all sectors of life. The atmosphere in the UDV Núcleo gave me the feeling of "perfection" and "completeness". The Religion, the vegetal, the union between the members is what completes them.

The União do Vegetal is configured as a parallel society of Brazilian society, a society with its rules, which requires and prohibits even the current discourse, is that the UDV does not prohibit, the UDV does not oblige, the UDV does not require. This power is delegated through the tea, which is a teacher plant that charges it through the "peia"¹⁹⁰. Peia is when the burracheira come accompanied by unpleasant feelings with physical discomfort, vomiting, nausea, pains. These sensations are attributed to some disharmony in body and mind. The disharmony of the body may be due to some disease or bad food. But the peia is often viewed from two perspectives: as a "punishment" given by the vegetal as a result of any acts, or thought badly tuned to the doctrine or may be due to feelings of guilt, anger, grief, traumatic experience of unresolved situations, stress etc. Anyway, the peia is considered as being something positive and transformative. After the discomfort normally they feel invaded by wellbeing. It's as if they recognized themselves in what is not good and in that sense try to solve their problems, change their thoughts, actions and behaviors seeking harmony, balance and wellbeing.

For example, at the session held during the preparation of the vegetal in which I drank the tea, when I was vomiting there was a man next to me vomiting also. He gave me the following explanation for his peia: "I took a peia from the Mestre" (Mestre Gabriel - who sees and transmits his teachings to the Master leading the session at the time of burracheira). "Now I will quit smoking for good!" The disciples must be in harmony with the doctrine that values marriage, family, fidelity, i.e, it is ideal to be married, have children, no drinking, no smoking, do not use any kind of drugs, be a worker, be honest, do not lie, be courteous, be obliging, attend all sessions of the UDV. And according to the masters

¹⁹⁰ Peia ("Beating"): A difficult experience of burracheira that might include vomiting, diarrhea or other unpleasant sensations; it is understood as a form of limpeza ("cleansing") and ensinamento ("teaching"). (Labate, Meyer & Anderson, 2009).

your behavior outside the session, outside the UDV it appears in burracheira, your conscience charges you by the tea, by Mestre Gabriel.

So the disciple must have great self-control since it is necessary to shape the doctrine. The subject goes through an individual civilizing process that he/she must undergo. This is a function of a social civilizing process of this rigid society that União do Vegetal is configured. UDV members seek only to socialize among themselves, their circle of friends is only with members of the UDV and if there is a friendship outside the UDV, everything is done to take this friendship into the UDV. There is a clear division between those who drink tea and among those who do not drink tea, between “hoasqueiros¹⁹¹” and “non-hoasqueiros”. Hoasqueiros are evolved people or seekers of evolution being in contact with the divine, with another type of conduct that has ways of behaving and emotions consistent with the UDV institution. It means that hoasqueiros are "civilized" compared to non-hoasqueiros that must be understood not only as "lack of civilization" or "non-knowledge", but as something that met the needs of those people who seemed important and necessary exactly that way for them.

The Santo Daime (SD) in Brazil

In the hierarchy within the Santo Daime, in decreasing order, first there is the Mestre Irineu, followed by the Padrinho Sebastião and currently Padrinho Alfredo is the head of all the churches of the Daime. The hierarchical relationship of the branch churches is closely linked to the mother church of Céu do Mapiá. Each church individually has his godfather and his godmother, with their respective vice-godfather and vice-godmother. (Silveira, 2007).

The Daime has its own hierarchy related to the churches, but has no internal divisions, with different degrees of commitment to its partners. According to Couto (2002: 396), the ritual of Santo Daime worked for many years with an explicit hierarchy in uniform, according the number of stars, increasing the "patent" of the partner. The Mestre Irineu

¹⁹¹ Hoasca user.

however, long before he died (about fifteen years before), leveled all with the same uniform, "we knew the people by division; went from one star to nine. But then began misperceptions and who had more stars wanted to massacre who had less, then the Mestre extinguished it".

The uniform is the same for all associates, established by the Mestre Irineu. The uniform consists of two uniforms: "official uniform", also called "white uniform" and "unofficial uniform" or "blue uniform". The first is used in festive dates, the *bailados*, and the second, in the rituals of *concentração* and *mesa branca*. (Cemin, 2002).

The daimists consider themselves to be part of a "living doctrine". According to Alverga (1998: 23) it is a doctrine that is still doing, "that has not yet been trapped on the need to formulate theologically".

Peláez (1994) uses the expression Free Center, emic term synthesizes, for Daimists, its eclectic features and at the same time, means flexibility and openness to continue incorporating other traditions that could contribute to its enrichment.

Oliveira (2008) notes a constant re-elaboration and a continuous redefinition primarily through the hymns, since the ritual itself has a permanence and it is more difficult to break.

Says Rituals Standards Book of CEFLURIS:

We must avoid the extremes of both ignore the requirements as wise tradition as stiffness to the point of being trapped formulas. In this sense there must always be a zeal and a respect towards that what was prescribed by the masters, without preventing the tradition of keeping the contents of your current message and helpful to the different needs of each era (Cefluris, 1997: 2).

Both the União do Vegetal and Santo Daime have an eclectic doctrine. But the Santo Daime has flexibility and openness to continue incorporating other traditions that may contribute to its enrichment with the prospect of a "living doctrine", "mutable", which Groisman (1999: 233) has called the "evolutive eclecticism". The União do Vegetal has an immutable doctrine, trying to keep a standard and to follow only the teachings of Mestre Gabriel. What I have called the "involute eclecticism" (Greganich, 2010).

The Santo Daime does not require a radical departure of its associates with their past religious, where we found in the group, for example, Daimists that are also Umbandist, Buddhist or followers of Kardecists spiritual centers.

The Daime does not have a strict discipline and does not "impose" the converted to assume a new identity. The Santo Daime emphasizes the need for morality, with the same ethical and moral principles of the UDV, and obedience is also present, it is clearly highlighted in the hymnal of Mestre Irineu. And disobedience is called "rebellion". However, indoctrination occurs in a more flexible way than in the UDV because Daimists believe that the disciplinary authority is the power of the tea and consciousness of each person. Thus, in the Daime, control comes from the consciousness of each person, resulting from the process of evolution of the Daime work, in which the teachings come from the hymns and the "force". It is the very ritual experience which has an illuminating and exonerating effect on those who participate.

The Daime condemn the use of alcohol and drugs, but do not blame the person who makes use because everyone knows about its evolutionary walk and the Daime and the godfather are there to help. And all Daimists know that "to hurt the precepts and moral code of the Daimist system is to risk getting 'out of power', identified with the absence of *miração*¹⁹² and fullness, and mental and materials disorders" (Cemin, 2002: 377).

According to MacRae (2002: 502), given its doctrinal notion that the sacrament should not be denied to anyone who requests it, also hindering a more limited selection of potential "Daimists candidates", this notion has fostered an almost missionary posture, manifested in a recent movement of expansion of this doctrine to foreign lands. However, as Cemin

¹⁹² *Miração*: A noun used in the context of União do Vegetal, Santo Daime and Barquinha rituals to denote the state of consciousness associated with drinking ayahuasca, especially its visionary aspects. The term is often associated with the verb *mirar*, which has a range of meanings sharing reference to the visual faculty: to aim, to gaze or stare at, to catch sight of. However, in the context of the older practice of mestizo vegetalismo in Peru, the Spanish verb *marear* (meaning "to make dizzy" and derived, apparently, from *mar*, "sea") is often used to describe the effects of ayahuasca and other psychoactive plant preparations. This verb yields a nominal form that also appears to be quite common: *mareación*. Given the influence of this mestizo tradition on Daime and Vegetal practice, it is possible that this Spanish term gave rise to a neologism in Portuguese based on a rather different portion of ayahuasca's spectrum of effects. (Labate, Meyer & Anderson, 2009).

observes (2002: 381), "the entry in the center is 'free', however, it implies a moral obligation", to have good will and respect the ritual rules.

There is a tolerance for conversion requirements (the uniformed ones), allowing people who are not converted and participating when it suits them, navigating between different religious experiences, as so-called free. They are also allowed visitors, who do not always demonstrate commitment and conviction. The uniformed people have the possibility of missing the rituals, according to their daily commitments. However, the Daimist group has certain procedures that guarantee the possibility to remove or cast out associates who do not behave according the rules, whose commitment is not up to the demands of the doctrine.

The Daimists believe the Daimist doctrine can save and guide the battalion for the New Age that will emerge after the global environmental disasters. The Padrinho Sebastião said that "the people of God are being collected by the sacrament¹⁹³ of Daime." The religious community appears therefore as the mediating place of initiation necessary to the knowledge and customs, which will be the "remnants", by which humanity will be perpetuated beyond the disaster.

The Santo Daime intends to show by their practice where it is the salvation: in a return to consistent order, harmonious, immutable of the nature, which defines itself, what should be the relationship of man with his environment and with other men. In Daime, the return to nature is related to the community life of the refund back to a harmonious adjustment between man and nature, in order to achieve a "New Golden Age Planetary" or "New Jerusalem", after the apocalypse.

Thus, the UDV and Santo Daime have a very different ecological bias. For the UDV, the emphasis is on "feel" and to preserve nature, within an urban context and together with it, without the apocalyptic idea. The Daime has an anti-capitalist view and, above all, anti-modern, in which the dominant idea is the capitalism destroying the concrete social relations of cooperation and solidarity in the very movement by which it keeps the violent takeover of man over nature. The UDV religious Society has its own laws, but lives in

¹⁹³ Sacramento ("Sacrament"): A term used by the UDV and quite a few of the other Brazilian ayahuasca groups to refer to ayahuasca. (Labate, Meyer & Anderson, 2009).

harmony with the existing social system. The Santo Daime aims at a new world, a new life, a new people into a new system.

In the UDV and Santo Daime as a model of conduct, Christ is the original source of the spirituals group design. The UDV says its first Master is God (Jesus), the second is Solomon and the third is the Mestre Gabriel. Some Daimists believe that Mestre Irineu is the reincarnation of Jesus, or the Second Coming of the same. Others believe that the Mestre Irineu is not the reincarnation of Jesus, but he "incorporated" Jesus, that is, "Jesus took him when Mestre Irineu took Daime". Also many associates of the UDV believe that the Mestre Gabriel is the reincarnation of Jesus or His manifestation, indeed it was never confirmed or denied by any master. For both, Christ is considered to be the master-teacher, the savior, the redeemer. "His passage through the earthly plane means the key of communion with God, for Christ would have left the teachings and returns promises to divinity, or the divine dimension of every human being" (Groisman, 1999: 17) expressed in the Santo Daime, by spiritual evolution and the Community model, focused on "New Jerusalem" and later in the "grace to reach Father's house", while in the UDV, is expressed in the return to house of Father, by the grace of spiritual evolution here in hell that is Earth.

Structure and agency in Santo Daime and União do Vegetal

In Brazil we have a larger number of faithful members of the União do Vegetal compared with the Daime CEFLURIS line. Currently there are about 42 churches affiliated to the Santo Daime CEFLURIS in Brazil and approximately 4,000 official members. The União do Vegetal has approximately 15,000 official members, but there is a greater movement of people who go to Santo Daime to experience it or remain for a while not becoming official members.

I came to the conclusion that the eclectic involution doctrine of União do Vegetal, their organization, their rituals and their myth of origin point out to a "society of religious court."

The UDV has a religious social structure centered on a hierarchical rise with a rigid discipline and strict control of emotions, showing the character of streamlining in a

Weberian perspective contained in this institution of religious experience which marks the "rational religious ethic" with a much more controlled and smoother ecstatic trance than the Santo Daime kind. I have realized that this rationalization is facing a 'civilizing process' (Elias, 1994a and 1994b), understood as the pacification of behavior and control of affects from a social distinction ("hoasqueiros" X "no-hoasqueiros"), a dynamic reminiscent of a "society of religious court" referring to the work of Norbert Elias (2001).

According to Elias (2001) the court must be regarded as a society that is a social formation in which the relations between social citizens are defined in a specific way and where reciprocal dependencies that link individuals to each other engender codes and unique behaviors. Moreover, a court society should be understood as a society endowed with a (real or princely) court and fully organized from it. The UDV is considered a "religious society with origin of nobility" from a myth about the origin of kingship (with king, council, liege and disciples). This royalty is being recreated (master, counselor, instructive and associates) as a religious society founded on this hierarchy in order to perform a "personal transformation" aiming to bring order and peace to the world.

The UDV society conceives new codes and behaviors, from a hierarchical rise and reciprocal dependencies between different degrees. The UDV religious society is shaped distinctly from the rest of our society, the "inside" and the "outside" as its faithfulness refer to these two areas, as a doctrine, laws and their own penalties constitute a central device, being at the same time a laboratory of unusual behaviors and a place of development of new standards. The social reality lies precisely in the position and reputation attributed to someone for their own society, in other words the hierarchical level.

Santo Daime with its eclectic evolutionary doctrine, its organization, its rituals and its myth of origin points out to an "apocalyptic religious community". Santo Daime presents an apocalyptic community structure (alluding to the work of Léger & Hervieu, 1983) religious messianic character, a grouping network, centered on the charismatic leader, the godfather, in a Weberian perspective of "routinization of charisma" with a flexible and tolerant discipline emphasizing the autonomy and freedom of the subject, from a point of view that divinity is within each of us, reconciling individualism and holism from a cult of

ordering nature where there is the displacement of the system to its structure and not to its anti-structure (*communitas*) in which it reinforces the cosmological order, where the remaining will attain salvation in a "New Age" centered on the return to nature.

I have established a comparative structural perspective between União do Vegetal and Santo Daime based on the notions of "figuration, interdependence and balance of tensions" proposed by Elias (2001: 158), being essential networks of mutual dependency that makes each individual action dependent on many others but modifying in turn of the very image of the social game.

The UDV religious society centered on a hierarchical rise of "court" and the Daimist religious community centered on the "charismatic leader", the godfather, is linked in a didactic principle that occurs by different logics. In União do Vegetal it is by a self-taught process where God and the Master manifest in "burracheira" and with the incarnate masters that represent the knowledge of the Mestre Gabriel and comprise the highest level of the hierarchical structure. In Santo Daime learning by itself, by "force" where God and the Master are manifested and therefore the consciousness of the individual becomes its own guidance which points to the idea of "agency", Ortner (2007)

To Ortner (2007) the notion of "agency" has two fields of meaning. In a field of meaning "agency" has to do with intentionality and with the fact of pursuing projects culturally defined. In another field of meaning agency has to do with power, with the fact of acting in the context of relations of inequality, asymmetry and social forces. In fact "agency" is never merely one or the other. Its two "sides", as (chase) "projects" or as (the fact of having or being against) the "power", or mix/transfuse in a Moebius type relationship. Moreover the power itself is a double-edged sword working from the top down as domination and from the bottom to the top as resistance (Ortner, 2007: 58).

According to Elias, it is the variable mobility of each one of the chain of interdependencies, which may be more or less long, more or less complex, more or less coercive, defining the specificity of each training or social figuration:

As a chess game every action decided in a relatively independent way by an individual represents a movement on the social board, which in turn entails a move from another subject, or in the reality of

many others, by limiting the autonomy of the first one and demonstrating its dependency (Elias 2001: 158).

Thus, in these specific "figurations" that are set in the religious society UDV and the Santo Daime religious community, the disciples have built "agencies" distributed differently.

In União do Vegetal, the master is the interpreter, that who has the duty to interpret. The disciple is in the position of apprentice, in a place of not knowing of understanding towards a knowledge. The knowledge is within the master and the master plant (vegetal), in other words, is on the other. The master is the one who knows the one in the place of mastery, knowledge and/or power. Understanding occurs through indoctrination, through interpretation of the Master and the Master within himself with the intake of tea. There is a knowing reference placed, structurally, as agent for the production of "hoasqueiros". The master's speech is controlled by a master signifier introduced to the other as the knowledge of the true master that he places on the other, based on the ideal of accessing knowledge that, henceforth shall regulate the practice of the master attaining a degree of knowing how to act with his disciples/masters training.

In the ritual of the UDV the disciple operates from its own issues in a ritual centered on questions and answers to cause the other master to produce knowledge. To the master, what matters is to make things work/flow. The disciple knows from the "burracheira" and he works to transfer this knowledge to the master, who produces knowledge in the speech is the master because the disciple grants him knowledge and hopes that he will produce.

In Santo Daime the godfather has the knowledge but does not stand as the one who possess it. Knowledge is shifted to the position of the agent's speech: Jesus, Master Irineu, Padrinho Sebastião. The Godfather teaches as someone that has no knowledge, it comes to him from the Master, the astral, causing his disciples to produce knowledge themselves from their leadership. The Godfather operates from its own issues, aiming to reach the other, in its relationship to the signifier so the disciple may produce, from the teaching of hymns and "force" a knowing that belongs to him. The truth at play in the Godfather's

speech would be its own relationship with the impossible to tell with the lack, In other words, it is a discourse that questions the human knowledge and mastery clearly represented in "Juramidam Empire".

In this sense, when it comes to the "agency" as a form of power that people have at their disposal, of their ability to act on their own behalf, to influence other people and events and keep some kind of control over their own lives, it can be concluded that Daimists have much more agency than the Udevists since in the UDV what dominates is the Law of the Center and in the Santo Daime what dominates is the knowledge produced by each one.

As for the agency to pursue culturally defined projects which would be in both religions the spiritual evolution being defined by the local logic of the good and desirable and how to pursue them, it is concluded that both the UDV as the Santo Daime are guided by the experience of transformation brought by ayahuasca as a basis of the religious butinage process. The experience of trance is a line of flight where the body opens up to new connections in a "wandering learning" to be represented. However, it is mixed with the agency in the sense of power and therefore the UDV has project as "climbing grade" to get to the master's degree and in Santo Daime the agency's project is "open" to the choice and creation of each one, which can take us to a conclusion of it being one of the factors that make the UDV to have much more members than the number of Daimist believers, while there are more people who visited the Santo Daime than the UDV as statistics cited above.

The insertion of Santo Daime and União do Vegetal in Spain

According to my ethnography carried out during 2009 in Spain which is supported by Groisman's thesis (2000) and by Pavillard's essay (2008), the arrival of ayahuasca in Spain occurred through the Spanish journalist Francisco de La Cal (currently a small farmer living in the countryside in Spain), brother of Juan Carlos de La Cal (currently responsible for the Santo Daime Church "San Juan de Madrid" and president of the Spanish Federation of Daimist Churches).

Francisco de La Cal, known as Paco, was a "hippie journalist" that toured Brazil in the beginning of the eighties until in 1983 he founded "Colonia 5000" in Acre. Francisco had taken ayahuasca with shamans before but it was with the Padrinho Sebastião that he had a transcendent experience with the Daime. Francisco became a Santo Daime's believer and lived for some years in Colonia 5000 and in Céu do Mapiá at the same time he wrote for Spanish magazines. In the end of 1985 he returned to Spain carrying a bottle of Daime with which conducts, once in a while, informal sessions between relatives (among them his brother Juan Carlos) and friends.

In 1988 Juan Carlos visited Céu do Mapiá for the first time and even met the Padrinho Sebastião who would "discarnate" (passed away) in 1990. During that year there was an encounter between Paulo Roberto, the godfather of the Céu do Mar Church (Rio de Janeiro) and the gestalt Chilean psychologist Claudio Naranjo. At the time he invited Claudio to join the rituals in Céu do Mar.

Claudio Naranjo's research was about to refine the program of the Gestalt Therapy designated SAT, where enneagram of personality, interpersonal meditation and various therapeutic resources were taken. He also directed researches with psychopharmacology exploring individual therapy with psychedelics (psychedelic therapy). Claudio offered workshops in Europe until 1987 when he presented his program of Gestalt therapy in a property called Babia near the province of Almeria in Spain. The SAT is reborn in Spain under the name of "SAT in Babia", a program for personal and professional development. Thus in 1988 there was a meeting in Babia in which Claudio Naranjo, through a friend of him, invited a Brazilian Daimist to come to Almeria with ayahuasca to perform meetings in Spain.

After participating in rituals in Céu do Mar, Claudio Naranjo invited believers to coordinate Santo Daime sessions in Spain. Thus, in 1989 a group of five persons came to Babia from Céu do Mar led by Paulo Roberto and invited by Claudio Naranjo, the first time that the Brazilian church left its country of origin. It was formally considered the first official work of CEFLURIS in Europe. Amongst the ones who attended these sessions was Francisco de La Cal. There were two sessions on two consecutive days with over a hundred

people, all of them related to the field of health sciences. Another member present at these sessions was Dácio Mingrone, coming from Colonia 5000. Dácio did not have a good relationship with Paulo Roberto because he believed that Paulo's rituals, coming from an urban context, were celebrated in a rigid and authoritarian way, differently from the country way, open and flexible where Colonia 5000 belonged.

According to Pavillard (2008) the 1989 SAT in Babia is the point from which one can trace the main lines that were formed later in Spain with the use of ayahuasca: Dácio Mingrone and Santo Daime. From these two groups and their subsequent ramifications it can be described to a large extent of the consumption of ayahuasca in Spain.

In 1990 Paulo Roberto restarted directing other sessions with his wife Nonata (the daughter of Padrinho Sebastião). In 1991 the Babia's owner visited Brazil.

In 1992 Padrinho Alfredo traveled to Spain for the first time, led sessions in Babia and then moved to the province of Guadalajara. In August 1993 Padrinho Alfredo visited Catalonia, finding the first permanent group of Spain with fifteen members. After Catalonia Padrinho Alfredo traveled to Madrid, Seville and Ibiza and in all these places people became ayahuasca believers.

In an attempt to consolidate the Daimist presence in Europe the 1st European meeting of Daimist Centers (1st EMDC) was held in 1996 in Spain. The 1st EMDC occurred in late October, early November of 1996, at an inn on the outskirts of the city of Girona, Catalonia. Representative groups from ten European countries had part of this encounter. On the occasion representatives of CEFLURIS proposed, among others, two central theses: (1) the search for an "institutionalization" of CEFLURIS now "internationalized" and an alliance between the authority, the radiators nuclei power (located at the time in Mapiá do Céu) and European groups. In this sense a regulation was proposed based on the standardization of the ritual procedures and establishing a more systematic flow of financial control of the group's activities and (2) to include in the agenda of the movement to think about expanding the Santo Daime within a scope for the establishment of a world citizenship. In this period according to data collected at that meeting, there were around 500 people

participating regularly in Santo Daime's activities in Europe, around 300 of these were members of organized groups, totaling 28 in 10 countries (Groisman, 2004).

Currently there are four nuclei of the Santo Daime Church in Spain but the hegemony has naturally passed to the group from Madrid who bought a piece of land and built the church trying to follow the community model proposed by CEFLURIS. The Church of Madrid is over ten years old and usually gathers about a 100 people for the big work (hymnals) according to Juan Carlos.

Until 2000 the Spanish Daime church has functioned without legal support and a specialized department of the Spanish police was investigating them. According to the conversation I had with Fernando Ribeiro, Godfather of Céu das Estrelas Church in Juiz de Fora, State of Minas Gerais in Brazil, who was leading a work that I participated in the church of Madrid, this investigation was top notch and wiretapping.

This investigation culminated in the arrest of two Brazilian Daimists, Fernando Ribeiro and Chico Corrente at Barajas airport on April 5, 2000. Along with Juan Carlos de La Cal. They had landed carrying 10 liters of ayahuasca from Brazil. Juan Carlos was released on bail but also sued along with Fernando and Chico who stayed 54 days in prison.

After one arrest the Spanish Police closed the case against the Daime Church since six members were sued. According to the Spanish Daimists in the police operation about 60 policemen went in the church with dogs, searched all over and sent six of them to the residence of every ayahuasca believer.

The case had worldwide repercussions and the Spanish church and the two Brazilian prisoners began to receive support from a number of people in dozens of countries. In Brazil for example, senators Marina Silva and Tião Viana visited the Spanish ambassador, Cesar Alba, explaining that the Santo Daime religion was recognized in Brazil. Senators wrote down a document on behalf of the Brazilian parliament with positive results for the religions that use ayahuasca. In this sense they claimed that the two Brazilians could not be confused with international traffickers. On the occasion Marina explained that the use of the drink had immemorial origin in the indigenous traditions and syncretism with

Catholic tradition brought by Northeastern immigrants, eventually generating the manifestation of Santo Daime. Senator Tião Viana also invited the Spanish ambassador to visit Acre and got to know the Amazonian culture including Daimists communities. There were also several positive testimonials from Frei Betto, Frei Leonardo Boff and a supporting document signed by 13 Catholic bishops, including two former ex-presidents of the Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil, CNBB ¹⁹⁴ and two Spanish bishops. Lawmakers also gave a book to the Spanish ambassador with the Hymnal of the founder of the doctrine Mestre Irineu.

After 54 days in prison, Fernando Ribeiro and Chico Corrente were released on probation and two and a half months after freedom they regained their passports. The case was closed and filed without trial including the six Spanish Daimists. The lawsuit was dismissed without trial according to the document signed by the judge because "*no ha quedado justificada la perpetración del delito*". This case went to the National Court, the highest legal instance of Spain, being the first time a case is filed at the National Audience without trial. According to Juan Carlos, the day he went to court and received the news that the case had been filed, all secretaries and people who work with this judge stood up to greet him and, amid hugs, someone that was passing by asked what the celebration was about and one of the secretaries answered that "*finalmente se hizo justicia en esta casa*".

The arrests prompted the Daimist Spanish church to restart the legalization process in the Department of Religious Affairs related to the Ministry of Justice. The registration was granted on October 7, 2003 under the name "Iglesia del Santo Daime de España (CEFLURISE)", CEFLURIS plus the E for "España", (Spain). But still with an uncertain legal backing: The ayahuasca churches were recognized as religious organizations in Spain but could not freely import ayahuasca tea (since there is no ecological conditions for the development of the plants, they come from Brazil). Thus the Santo Daime had been

¹⁹⁴ Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil, CNBB (the National Conference of Bishops of Brazil). All diocesan bishops in Brazil belong to CNBB along with coadjutor bishops, auxiliary bishops and other titular Bishops who exercise in the same territory a special charge, entrusted by the Apostolic See or by the Conference of Bishops. The CNBB was founded on October 14, 1952, in Rio de Janeiro. The headquarters moved to Brasília in 1977. CERIS is in a part a research center for the Catholic Church. The CERIS was founded in 1962.

complaining since 2006 to the Spanish Agency of Medicine and Health Products a permit to import the drink stating that it was only used as a sacrament. After two denials from the Agency the church appealed to the Administrative and Court Litigation without success. After losing in two instances they won the right to legality by the decision of the National Court in 2008.

With the decision of the National Court in Madrid and the resignation of the prosecutor to appeal to the Supreme Court, Spain became the second EU country to legalize the right to practice their Daimist religion, including the right to consecrate the sacred drink Santo Daime. The incident occurred after a legal battle that lasted about two years.

Juan Carlos said that the decisive victory of the Santo Daime legalization was the proof that ayahuasca is not toxic, according to a report from the UN Commission on Narcotics in Vienna which affirms ayahuasca and the other plants that compose it have no need for inspection.

The prohibition by the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties is 30 years old and is signed by almost all countries of the world including Brazil. That is the reason being for the prohibition of the DMT (dimethyltryptamine), although the ranges of tolerance are not defined since it is very difficult to establish a toxic amount. International laws stipulate that in the case of not having a tolerance table is considered a hazardous substance for health when you have more than 2 % of that forbidden alkaloid in its content. The Spanish court that had started proceedings against the Daimists, believed that Daime contained from 20% to 70% of DMT. Therefore when the toxicological analysis determined that the contents of DMT in all bottles Daime collected did not exceed 0.08 %, they had to release Fernando and Chico and closed the case. The official expert certified that even with this content of DMT ayahuasca is not harmful to health. The judgment stated that in addition the use of this substance in a religious context is not a crime. This was the basis of the later success against the Spanish Government.

The União do Vegetal (UDV) arrived after Santo Daime in Spain, in 1992. This was the centenary of the Mestre Irineu Serra, founder of Santo Daime and due to that a group of SAT Babia traveled to Brazil. Two women looking and asking about ayahuasca established

a casual relationship with a member of the UDV who put them in touch with the UDV church which has opened the doors to Masters of UDV to visit Spain. The first session of the UDV in Spain was on 2 October 1994. Initially the sessions were organized when masters and counselors came from Brazil.

Currently the UDV has an administrative unit in Spain (the only one in Europe), located in the province of Madrid and Valencia in a small group where there is a “distribuição autorizada do vegetal”¹⁹⁵. In Portugal, Lisbon the “distribuição autorizada do vegetal” is in the final registration process being dependent on the first “pré-núcleo”¹⁹⁶.

In total, the UDV has approximately eighty members in all countries of Europe. The UDV in Spain is established as "Association".

It is important to track the trajectories of people in order to understand their desires and assemblages and how they created a line of flight that can disturb, attack and rebuild systems (religious and cultures).

The União do Vegetal and Santo Daime between Brazil and Spain

I have found an opposite approach in Spain within the ayahuasca religious field compared with the Brazilian one. In Spain we have more members in Santo Daime than in União do Vegetal, approximately 200 in Daime to 100 in the UDV, referring to this approximation only to the Daime in Spain, and the UDV refers to whole Europe, that is there are Daime believers in other European countries as in Holland, Italy, Germany, and France. The only Daimist church in Europe is in Madrid but there are works of Daime all over Spain and in other European countries in gardens, rented rooms or even in the work leader’s homes. There are about 100 believers scattered by the nuclei of Madrid, Catalonia, Andalusia and Balearic. Thus Spain, according to Juan Carlos was given approximately

¹⁹⁵ Distribuição Autorizada de Vegetal ("Authorized Distribution of Vegetal") refers to a developing center of worship that has not yet reached the status of pre-núcleo or núcleo. (Labate, Meyer & Anderson, 2009).

¹⁹⁶ Developing centers of worship that are lacking some physical infrastructure and usually have fewer members. (Labate, Meyer & Anderson, 2009).

200 Daimists with 100 believers being most of the participants Spanish, estimated in 95 %. Juan Carlos tells us that new people increasingly appear in search of Santo Daime. *"Especially now that the court pressure that kept us almost two years with the doors closed and almost a year without taking Daime is over"* According to a Spanish master the União do Vegetal has about 80 registered members related to all countries of Europe since there are only UDV sessions in Portugal and Spain, except some distributions elsewhere when there is a qualified person to undertake, thus residents in other countries such as Germany and Italy sometimes attend to the sessions once a year of the UDV in Spain. Of these 80 members, about 25 are European and the remaining are Brazilian residents in Europe.

According to one of the masters of the UDV in Portugal most of the members are also Brazilian. At the session I attended there was a Brazilian from Italy and a Brazilian couple from Germany. It was a young couple who belonged to the Nucleus of Dallas in the United States. The girl, 22 year old, is the daughter of a master of the UDV who moved to the United States when she was six. She was born within the context of the UDV and back then, newly married, she was going to live in Germany. She told me that most members of the United States are also Brazilians.

I was hosted by one of the masters of the União do Vegetal who told me that the UDV is concerned with the fact that most Udevist members are Brazilian immigrants and the difficulty of the Spaniards to join the UDV. He was researching about this difficulty and hypothesized that the language must be a barrier since in Portugal that is also the case. All rituals occur in Portuguese or should occur, as in the Santo Daime all the hymns are sung in Portuguese and Spanish, Daimists end up studying Portuguese. But in order to attract more Spaniards to the UDV some changes in the rituals were made as the reading of the Statute governing the CEBUDV that is always read at the beginning of the sessions, to not bore the Spaniards who do not understand Portuguese and questions could be asked and answered in Spanish. Being that so, the masters should be preferably Spaniards so that there is a decrease in the mobility of the possibility of hierarchical ascension that is related to the "degree of memory" and to the "practiced" befitting with the doctrine and not nationality or origin.

The UDV has internal divisions and its own hierarchy with different degrees of commitment from their agents. The Masters' Board acts as an "elite" and the hierarchical ascension mobilizes the whole group functioning directly influencing people's behavior. In this sense also the care with the words "Udevist language" that sets its own distinctive language used between "hoasqueiros", which, according to the UDV, is related to the "mysteries of the word" rigidly followed in Brazil but is not evidenced in Spain since many of that does not make sense for the Spanish people. For example one cannot say "thank you" but "grateful" because thank you "obrigada" in Portuguese comes from obligation and in the UDV nobody is obliged to anything; one should not say "wife" but "partner" because wife, "esposa" in Portuguese has the "es" (ex) in the word; one should not say "husband" but "partner" because husband, "marido" in Portuguese has the word "ma" (bad) in the word; one should not say "I would like" but "I want" because I would like is not a strong affirmation; one should not say "the last session" but the "ultimate" one, because "the last" implies that there will be no more; one should not say "to take the tea" but "drink the tea" because taking can mean other things besides drinking and so on.

In Brazil members call themselves firstly by their hierarchical level and then by their name. What differentiates the "brothers"¹⁹⁷ is the hierarchical level that represents the level of spiritual development, personal transformation achieved by the person and being "all the same", "everyone has a chance" an opportunity to ascend in the scale. In Spain the members rarely call themselves by their hierarchical level, only by their name despite being a master. In the session that I participated, the Brazilian master, in a moment of collective effort in the Nucleus, reminded us that everyone could call each other by their importance in the context of the UDV who had nothing to do with authoritarianism, but that did not happen.

In Brazil on the rituals' day partners must occupy their seats in the temple chosen by themselves, depending on the availability at the time, according to a hierarchical order, the first seats are reserved for masters, then the counselors. The instructive body, associates

¹⁹⁷ Irmão ("Brother"): A term used internally to address fellow UDV members in a congenial, familiar fashion; it reflects the importance of family values within the religion. The collection of UDV members is the irmandade ("brotherhood"). (Labate, Meyer & Anderson, 2009).

and people who already attend UDV, but not yet have joined choose the seats that are available. In Spain that order is not followed, at the time I attended the ritual I sat in the back row and one of the masters suggested me to sit in the first row where there was seat available, so I could be able to see and listen better.

The Brazilian UDV as a "religious society" has its laws and rules that require and forbid its most coercive conventions and they have a tighter control of people's behavior. The disciples must be in harmony with the doctrine, that values among other things, marriage, family, fidelity, that is what would be the ideal, like to be married, to have children, not drink alcohol, not to smoke, not to use any type of drugs, to be hard worker, honest, truthful, to fulfill the duties, to be friendly, helpful, loving, calm, compassionate, etc.

If the partner does not commit to the doctrine, before being dismissed, he/she will be properly "indoctrinated" by the master and "demanded". The "demands" are given by the master in a fairly, attentive and polite way to "improve its attitude", during the ritual, under the effect of "burracheira" acquiring a character of indoctrination. That also does not occur in Spain, at least during the sessions there is no indoctrination. Since Spanish and Brazilian immigrants do not tolerate this kind of behavior even if it comes from a master. I witnessed the case of a Brazilian woman who had an argument with the master during the session because she disagreed with her position. That would never happen in Brazil where the word of the master is the law, since the master represents Mestre Gabriel. In Brazil members are required to attend all Scheduled Sessions occurring in the first and third Saturday of each month. In Spain it also does not occur since it is the only church in Europe and many members cannot always afford to travel. Although there is this "loosening" from the religious orthodoxy, it is perceived in the Spanish Udevist members the appreciation and importance they give to "good actions" and to the teachings of the Mestre Gabriel.

The União do Vegetal plays a role of support and protection to the members setting the great family UDV. This also occurs in Spain, for example, in the case of a Brazilian immigrant who had a child with a Spanish man and he kicked her out of the house after the birth of the child. She was unemployed and homeless and then she was fully received in the house of one of the masters, where she remained for a year before her reestablishment.

The Brazilian UDV from its strong hierarchical and moral structure has a control over emotions and a civilizing process upon its members. The Spanish people from New Age seem not to need a religious group to perform this "civilizing" and "family" role, unlike what the Spanish want is an uncivilized way, very well expressed through freedom, flexibility and autonomy offered by the Santo Daime, what we came to realize in the Spanish UDV composed mostly for Brazilian people, is that in an immigration situation families help each other. So the Udevist religious structure makes no sense for the Spanish people who have a strong history of dictatorship and inquisition. The religious structure of the UDV seems to go against the problems and interests of the Spanish people facing the "New Age".

The UDV unlike Santo Daime does not accept homosexuality, recommends no sex before marriage, prizes, marital fidelity and divorce. The UDV proscribes the use of cigarettes, alcohol and other "plants of power" as *cannabis sativa* used by Daimists and once member of the UDV, one has to commit not to belong or attend to other religious services.

The UDV had to be more flexible with their orthodox rules so they could bring Spanish members into it, thus causing a break in its original engine. This did not occur in Santo Daime which has an eclectic evolutionary doctrine that by itself allows openness and flexibility, admitting to incorporate other practices or beliefs that contribute to the "enrichment" of the doctrine anywhere.

In Santo Daime each Daimist church has a godfather - the leader of the church which authenticates the prophetic mission of the founders, having a relative interdependence for doctrinal interpretation since it is a "changeable doctrine", a "living doctrine" is a doctrine that is still building itself, "which has not yet been imprisoned on the need to be theologically formulated" (Alverga 1998: 23).

The "evolutive eclecticism", according to Groisman enables the coexistence of various cosmological systems such as Umbanda, Spiritualism and Christianity, being a whole system that encompasses all aspects of life. Thus the Santo Daime in Spain has strong

intersection with alternative therapies and the use of other psychoactive substances, field of interest of the people that came.

The União do Vegetal does not approve of its members to attend other religious services after their adherence to the doctrine and being a member, especially other neo-ayahuasca or ayahuasca religions. For the UDV, the true master, the highest master is Mestre Gabriel; the rest are curious, called "masters of curiosity"¹⁹⁸. Thus, the União do Vegetal would be the "real science"¹⁹⁹. According to MacRae (2002: 501):

The União do Vegetal claims for itself a purity of traditions based on purely doctrinal conceptions, considering its founder leader the only one who holds true knowledge of ayahuasca and so calling the rest, including indigenous healers ayahuasqueiros of great prestige in their communities, "masters of curiosity", in other words, people driven by curiosity and ignorant of the eternal truths of ayahuasca, that only the most senior followers of Mestre Gabriel would hold.

Andrade (2002) states that it is important to distinguish between formal and institutional speeches of the statements made during the meetings, informal reviews of supporters attitudes and practices of the institution. Formal and institutional speeches are characterized by an articulated defense of respect for religious diversity, freedom of the individual and similar values. For example, an article that is read in all the sessions which was published by the founder master, entitled "Conviction of the Master" in which he says: "We can be censored by all, but we cannot criticize anyone; they may offend us, but we cannot offend anyone." But in the informal discourse there is an intolerant and an authoritarian attitude visible. "I have witnessed several times in the sessions, implicit or explicit accusations from masters towards other religious institutions, especially the Santo Daime, a group that seems to occupy much of the imaginary of the UDV" (Andrade, 2002: 610)

¹⁹⁸ Curiosidade ("Curiosity"): False knowledge, speculation, superficiality. The "curious" do not have true knowledge, although they may be seeking it. (Labate, Meyer & Anderson, 2009).

¹⁹⁹ Ciência ("Science"): The body of UDV spiritual and material knowledge; the "true knowledge". This term is also commonly used by rubber tappers to refer to the arts of surviving in and understanding the rainforest; in some areas, rubber tappers refer to the art of making and using ayahuasca as a science (a ciência da ayahuasca. (Labate, Meyer & Anderson, 2009).

In Spain this does not exist, or "cannot exist" as one Daimist member said, a Brazilian immigrant whom I interviewed. He is an adopted child of a very important leader of the Santo Daime, since he founded and currently heads the second largest Daimist community located in Florianopolis Brazil. He was born within the União do Vegetal, because his parents were members of the UDV until the time he was eight-years-old and parents got divorced. His father remained in UDV and his mother moved to the Santo Daime where she got re-married with the leader. From there he began to attend Santo Daime and became a believer, but he kept in touch with the UDV because of his father who is a member of the group until today, therefore he has friends and a connection with both the UDV as the Santo Daime. Currently a member of the Santo Daime in Spain (where he lives) but he also visited the União do Vegetal in Spain. He says that the União do Vegetal had to join the Santo Daime, which was ahead of the law case that benefited both religions and that is very common in Spain (unlike Brazil) believers (members and believers), are in touch with each other and they walk in between these religions as well as in the other several therapeutic uses of ayahuasca found in Spain in the ecumenical perspective of union and religious liberty.

The UDV refers to something of an intransigent Catholicism that is articulating with Hervieu-Léger resetting the anti-modernism of the Roman Curia (such as the "religious court" society of UDV) in the resumption of doctrinal stability without committing with the demands of modern rationality and assertion of primacy of the Papal Authority (in this case the master). Although the discourse brings the idea that all its members could achieve the degree of Master, it seems that this idea does not capture the Spanish people from New Age oriented to the use of entheogens, approaching the description of pilgrim's Hervieu-Léger (1999), crossing spaces and boundaries in their individual religious path, the idea of reflexivity and hyper-individualization, radical freedom of self-questioning and choice of paradigms (D'Andrea, 1996). They would like an agency project "open" to the choice and creation of each one.

Since the colonial period Brazil has a strong spiritual tradition. Until at least the late nineteenth century there was not a 'disenchantment of the world', in the Protestant style or even a strict Catholic control over religiosity, as in Latin Europe. The so-called Luso-

Brazilian Catholicism related to the patronage regime characterized by a low degree of ecclesiastical control over religiosity practiced on the margins of the Church. There was here a multifaceted process of cultural encounters, crossings and syncretism between beliefs in deities and eguns of African religions brought by slaves with shamanic spirituality of indigenous and catholic popular beliefs in saints, guardian angels and wandering souls (Souza, 1987).

Spain, currently as a secular country still has marks of strict control over the Catholic religiosity. The article 16.3 of the current Spanish Constitution defines the country as a state without confession: "No confession will have a state character." However, it is guaranteed freedom religiosity and worship of individuals and is assured a cooperative relationship between the government and all faiths. Many Daimists by facing painful lawsuits for the right of religious freedom in Spain, they still feel living in a kind of dictatorship and inquisition. Here, some testimonials:

Last April 5 Spain reached the inquisitorial process to pursue our sacrament throughout Europe.

We talked a lot about ecumenism promoted by the Vatican and the need for interreligious dialogue.

Spirituality is a heritage site. No one should forget it.

No more civil wars (Spanish people know much about that), no more strife, no more inbred movements, no more fighting please! All people that are used in power plants, for better or worse, are in the same boat. And in the beginning of this millennium they have no choice but to unite

Discussion

I understand the process of religious transnationalization of the Santo Daime and União do Vegetal in Spain from butinage. It implies the concept of deterritorialization and reterritorialization.

Deterritorialization intimately affects the structure. Deleuze and Guattari define deterritorialization as the movement by which something escapes or departs from a given territory (D&G 1987: 508), to make reterritorialization in another form, in changing territory, a "new earth" to come and be built. In the case of religious transnationalization,

deterritorialization certainly implies the geographic space (Brazil and Spain), but it does not consist only in the objective delimitation.

The deterritorialization of Santo Daime and UDV emerge from assemblages between humans and nonhumans, people and their life path. The insertion of Santo Daime in Spain began with the trajectory of the journalist Francisco de La Cal in Brazil, and from there we can map the network of agencies that are formed among people with interest in the New Age, alternative medicine and psychedelics. Within this network two women had a chance to encounter with the União do Vegetal in Brazil whom began their own place in Spain.

The processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization are lines. The União do Vegetal and Santo Daime de-territorialize and reterritorialize between Brazil and Spain. Between and not to, because these lines do not imply any return to the origin. The reterritorialization, correlate of deterritorialization, is never a return to the same.

The Brazilian UDV and SD de-territorialize by forming an image, a tracing of UDV and SD; but the UDV and SD reterritorialize on that image. The image is not an agent, it is possessed by the action, and it is immersed in the different lines. The Brazilian UDV and SD are nevertheless de-territorialized, becoming a piece in the SD and UDV's reproductive structure. But it reterritorializes the UDV and SD in Spain by transporting its idea. Brazil and Spain as heterogeneous elements, form a line of flight. It can be said that the Spanish SD and UDV imitate the Brazilian UDV and SD, reproducing its image in a signifying fashion. But this is true only on the level, such that a religious organization on one imitates a religious practices organization on the other. At the same time, something else entirely is going on: not imitation at all, but a capture of code, a veritable becoming, becoming Brazilian SD/UDV. Becoming bring about the deterritorialization of one term and the reterritorialization of the other; the two becomings interlink and form relays in a circulation of intensities, pushing the deterritorialization ever further and exploding of two heterogeneous series on the line of flight, composed by tangled lines.

So, the process of deterritorialization and reterritorialization of Santo Daime and UDV are lines tangled to other lines. I identify at least four lines:

1. The problematic of what Foucault (1979) calls "governmentality", the art to govern and tactics "conduct of behavior" of the population and the subject. They are the tactics of government that allow you to define every moment what should or should not be the State's business, which is public and private, which is state-owned or not. The ayahuasca religions, in their survival and in their limits in Spain, also should be understood from the tactics of governmentality. Spain today is a secular country that guarantees religious and worship freedom to individuals and strategies should ensure a cooperative relationship between the government and the various religious denominations. However the ayahuasca religions are facing some burden of legal processes of legitimation as well as the power actions, in this case anchored on issues, involving the use of a psychoactive substance - which refers to what Foucault (ibid) called bio-power.

Health and public safety are considered by the Spanish state factors that limit the free practice of religion in Spain (Organic Law of Religious Libertad, 1980, Article 3). Spanish criminal law, however, is primarily focused on the impacts of traffic upon health and public safety (Organic Law of the Criminal Code, 1995, Section 368), not in the possession and personal use, considered protected by the right to privacy (Spanish Constitution, Article 18). In this sense, the role of religious ban in Spain has been assured by the state running the mode of bio-power. The state has used the toxicity issue to exercise its power since there is not a criterion, a rule to declare whether ayahuasca is harmful.

2. Specific historical moments and specific social settings: Spain has a strong history of dictatorship and inquisition that is currently associated with human rights and ecumenism, the expansion of the rights of religious freedom and inter-religious dialogue. In this sense, religious projects involve moral, religious and political meanings.
3. The definitions of religion. As stated by Labate and Feeney (2012), definitions of religion that have been sustained in the process of legalization of ayahuasca religions in Europe are substantially influenced by Western concepts, based on

Judeo-Christian model and exclude rules as ayahuasca shamanism, a practice deeply rooted among Indians and mestizos in the Amazon.

4. The analysis of the structure of the religious groups in question and their power relationships. As demonstrated earlier, the specific "figurations" of the religious society of the UDV and Santo Daime religious community, provide to their disciples the possession of buildings agencies distributed in different ways.

The Santo Daime and União do Vegetal when trans-nationalized emerge power devices: the power that the state exercises over these religions, bio-power, and the internal power of religious groups that arise otherwise. These power devices are a component of assemblages. The assemblages are always historically notable. But the desire of the Spaniards joins a particular agency. Surely the assemblage of desire holds power devices. There are power devices that would agency or would be constituents of transnationalization of the Santo Daime and União do Vegetal, but the assemblages of desire is what spread power formations.

Butinage is the intrinsic experience in the religious practices which something escapes from the preceding religious tradition/system/structure from desire and assemblages like a web. In the transnationalization processes the web is composed by different lines: the deterritorialization and reterritorialization lines, governmentality line, history line, definitions of religion line, the religious structure line (like I explained above). These lines entangled like a web producing new experiences that break the fixed relations that contain UDV society all the while exposing it to new organizations and the Spanish system as well in the flow of desire. That means, from the desire of the Spaniards. I showed that the Spaniards have agency loaded by the UDV structure and the system of government but they also have agency loaded by desire. This desire emerged from the new experience and attacked the system/tradition. This is about butinage.

CONCLUSION

“I invite you to abandon all haste, all expectation of getting somewhere, and to simply relax and enjoy the journey. Let me take care of you”

(Sri Prem Baba)

This is the invitation of the Brazilian guru Sri Prem Baba. The spiritual leader mobilizes ten thousand followers around the world. He says that at its most profound essence, religion is a path that leads back home. It is what allows the experience of oneness. The word ‘religion’ comes from the Latin word ‘religare’, which is the reconnection of the individual soul with the absolute. In this sense, religion is synonymous with yoga, which means union. Over time, however, the human mind appropriated this knowledge and has actually turned religion into a path that leads us to imprisonment instead of leading us back home.

It means, as I apprehended in my fieldwork, that for the religious practitioners the most important is the path, the journey. It is most important being-in-the path instead of the start-point and end-point of the path, reasons and goals – the processes of rationalization. The mind of the anthropologist would be appropriating the experience of the practitioners, the knowledge and turning it into imprisonment? The religious experience of the practitioner is being imprisoned in a structure as I showed in the analysis of the Chico Xavier’ story, made by the anthropologist Bernardo Lewgoy. The experience of the religious practitioner, who leads to the religious mobility and therefore religious pluralism and syncretism, is imprisoned in the search for structures (syntheses, juxtaposition, parallelism, etc.) and origins.

As I have explained in the introduction, the Brazilian population is predominantly Christian and mostly Catholic, a religious heritage from the Portuguese colonization undertaking. The Catholic Church was the official religion until the Republican Constitution of 1891. From Africa the slavery practices from previous enslaved people arrived, who survived the oppression of the colonists and led to the African-Brazilian

religions. In the second half of the nineteenth century Spiritism begins to be released in Brazil and became the country with the highest number of Spiritists in the world. In recent decades the Protestant religion has grown quite a lot of devotees and has reached a significant share of the population. Likewise those who say people that have no religion are increasing too, a group of people that lose in quantity only for Catholics and Protestants. Brazil is a country with a rich religious diversity because of its cultural miscegenation as a result of several migratory processes, which is why Brazil has so many religions. By being a secular state Brazil has freedom of religious worship and also church and state separation.

My thesis shows that these factors create a certain condition to shape the Brazilian religious landscape but these factors do not explain satisfactorily how the Brazilian religious pluralism and syncretism occur as well the explanations that seek to understand the syncretism from a structure (even if we understand structure as not fixed content) and culture as a framework.

In order to understand how religious pluralism and syncretism occur in Brazil, I built up an approach that reintegrates the experience (the experience that is not fully imprisoned to a structure and culture/tradition) of the religious practitioner to the level of knowledge.

Ingold (2012a: 22-23) says that Boria Sax in his encyclopedic research on animals in myth, in legend and in literature, points out that the English word "tradition" comes from "trade", which originally meant "track" or "trace". "Studying a tradition" is to track a creature like we were a hunter back in time. Each creature is its story, its tradition so that when we follow it, we perform an act of remembrance and of continuity with past values. Generally, the name of the creature is a condensed story that, in its statement, the story is continued. But it is also continued in vocalizations of the creatures themselves, if they had any voice, in their manifest and visible presence and in their activity. As a node in a tangle of descriptions, stories, called, visions and other observations interconnected, none of them is ontologically superior to the others, or in some senses, more "real" than others. Any creature, one might say, is not a living thing, like the instance of a certain way of being alive, but each one, to the medieval mind, would open a path to the experience of God.

In this sense that the religious butinage approaches the tradition, religious pluralism and syncretism. From the “track” or “trace”, the religious practitioner and its story, as a node in a tangle of lines (descriptions, logics, stories and etc.) interconnected where humans are not more real than non-humans.

The key point is to understand the practices of individuals and groups and their different kinds of experiences. These are not reducible to linear explanations of cause and effect. The experiences must be understood not only as external variables to the religious phenomenon itself, such as class, ethnicity, regional origin, occupation, etc. And also not only understood as what defines and delimits the religion itself as a particular socio-cultural experience and producer of meanings. The trance, possession and mediumship have created a social space with connotations of specific cultural values. They obviously do not arise from nowhere, from an absolute vacuum. They are linked to many other experiences, experiences shaped by the culture but also from experiences that escape the culture (the kind of experience that decontextualizes the set of relations) intrinsic in the religious practices. As I have claimed in Chapter 1. The void that separates the world of meanings of its structural determinations ultimately assumes an immediate causal relationship between the world of experience and the world of culture and society as we can see in the analysis made by the anthropologist Bernardo Lewgoy (2001) about the story of the Brazilian medium Chico Xavier and how he built and established a new paradigm of religious practices. Unlike I have analyzed, the experience of Chico Xavier as a move away from a culture that has enabled the creation of something genuinely new.

My thesis draws attention to the complexity of situations involving mobility between religions. One must take into account the individual trajectory, the journeys. Moreover these religious changes do not necessarily involve the so-called conversion, changing of values, lifestyle, and beliefs exclusivity, thus so often are not recognized as such by the person concerned; Finally those are processes often reversible, which depend on not necessarily subjective variables (see Fry, 1974; Machado, 1996; Montero, 1994) and the transformation of narrative as it moves.

To explain the conversion became for many researchers a way to decrypt the puzzle of religions growth in a secularized world. A sociology of values centered on the idea of conversion is unable to perceive the inner meanings of religious practices and how they are linked to an individual experience. In addition, as emphasized by Montero (1999), the paradigm of modernization / secularization implied in the analysis leads to postulate a very immediate and casual relationship between the sphere of religion and political behavior, when it is known that the adherence to a belief does not promote necessarily unitary political attitudes and / or cohesive in the world of devotees.

As the paradigm of modernization/secularization Pierre Sanchis²⁰⁰ points out that the great idea that guided the modernization of contemporary societies was based on the separation between the fields of religion - reserved to an individual and private engagement - and the public, which should be secular. This is the secularization that reduces the role of the religious dimension into public space and that now goes through a reinterpretation. The researcher has no clarity whether the phenomenon of secularization is losing its impetus and is being replaced, or if it is the interpretation that scientists have given to secularization that should be reviewed. It is true that secularization has ceased to be the engine that structure social and private life, but probably secularization does not end with religion but transforms its role in society. There was a rational tendency in the world of religions. Myths lost ground before theological elaborations closest to reason, which was reflected even in this religion's entry into the political terrain. Apparently, this movement gives signs of exhaustion and what we see is a return to a more mystical and mythical dimension. And all of that has a common denominator: the individual's emergence at the heart of the religious phenomenon, the individual is at the center of that struggle of transformation by the religious life. But that was given within a large totalizing structure, which we call churches. Today, who builds the religious reference is no longer this global entity, but the individual himself. He can appeal to many of these synthesis and put together a set of convictions that could result in a perspective of life, ethical and cultural practices that meet his needs.

²⁰⁰ An interview with Pierre Sanchis on "Indivíduo volta a ser o centro do fenômeno religioso" by Priscila Cirino. In: Boletim da UFMG. <https://www.ufmg.br/boletim/bol1237/pag6.html>

On the anthropological approach, usually the social agents disappear as actors in the corporate space; anthropological studies turning to the analysis of religious worldviews that are expressed from rituals and particular beliefs, develop predominantly in the key to the culture.

According to Paula Montero (1999), works on Candomblé emphasize, as in the case of popular Catholicism, a Durkheim's understanding of the symbolic systems of these services; in a kind of parallelism to the peasant longing, these studies often led to an appreciation of the African Resistance to white values. Moreover Umbanda's work were built around a more Weberian key, as it happens in Protestantism studies, they have associated religious secularization values to modernization. Nevertheless, either by their own characteristics to African cults in general (organized around terreiras under the personal authority of the father/mother of Saint), is the set of values that constitute them (bearing a cosmology that for the most part of the time positions the researcher for its sensitivity and training, to a relationship of externality in relation to the services researched by him), these religions have demanded deeper analysis in which notions of society and social classes disappear and with them, the dilemma between religion and democracy.

My thesis shows that it is by the individuals that cultures are produced from butinage. Butinage is an intrinsic experience in the religious practices in which something escapes from the preceding religious tradition/culture/structure from desire that produces new connections/new traditions and syncretism. It emerges from the exchange forces that are produced along of lines or logics. Switching from lines. It can be read as a web of intertwined lines in which the religious practitioner is tangled in that web from assemblage.

Religious butinage is a process that is directed toward a course of line of flight, it cannot break away entirely from the system/tradition that it escapes from. While it seeks a mode of articulation that is free from the binding tropes of subjectification and signification, it must play a delicate game of maintaining some reference to these systems of organization, or else risk obliteration or reterritorialization back into these systems. In other words, such butinage is an incomplete process. Instead, it is continuous and oriented only towards its process or movement rather than toward any teleological point of completion. Consistent

with this, and in order to be affective (or to have affect) it must exist, more or less, within the system that it escapes.

In chapter 3 I described in detail the story of Marisa, an Umbandist with an intense religious mobility in several kinds of religious practices when the butinage is immediately subjected to the conviction of her Ogun which enclose or obstruct her lines of flight and when the lines of flight prevails over secondary convictions, even though it may still fail to connect with other lines or enter into a new assemblage. Marisa's trajectory shows that "to be Umbandist" corresponds to a development of an identity tied to a range of specific and dense values. It also shows that religious mobility goes beyond religious identity as well as "reasons" and seeking goals. Religious mobility is a displacement along with the transformation of the practice that allows the individual to produce its subjectivity. Her religious narrative in her trajectory is un-configured and reconfigured by the desire and the becoming of Marisa living often in chaos, despair, and aspiration of "successful life". From her trajectory we can capture the dominant processes in Porto Alegre (her trajectory speaks of racial prejudice, the attendance of the SUS, the poverty and to survive from monthly minimum wage) and understand the religious mobility.

In chapter 4 I understood the syncretism of the new Brazilian religious cosmology called Umbandaime from the perspectives of movements and practices of individuals. That is, as how they do, produce Umbandaime. The Umbandaime in Rio Grande do Sul was introduced by Godfather Chico Corrente from Céu do Mapiá. But the Umbandaime has been trying to be consolidated from meeting and alliance with Luiz and his center of Umbanda. The Umbandaime is under construction like a scheme axiomatization (web of lines) from the desire to consolidate it we can follow the incessant slippage between butinage and decoding. I have shown that to think of syncretic religious array place our eyes on the past, it does not allow us to think of the contemporary role of religion in a new way of creation and it does not allow us to think about its place in the construction of actants individuals in the public sphere. As I have analyzed in chapter 5 as the "actors and actresses" Santo Daime and União do Vegetal have disturbed, attacked and rebuilt systems in Spain.

Roger Bastide places culture at the heart of his reflection to understand how Brazilian society is formed. Rejecting the limits of culturalism, Bastide always seeks to explain the social conditions of cultural permanence; even so not being able to distance the notion of syncretism to the idea of fusion and / or miscegenation ["cultural symbiosis, a kind of chemistry of mystical feelings" (1989)], it turned out to fix a paradigmatic field of Herskovitsiana inspiration for the anthropology of African-Brazilian religions, which emphasizes the preservation and / or combination of cultural forms at the expense of an interpretation of the practice of strategies. When hypostatize Africa Yoruba as "the" African culture, Bastide incurs the same Herskovits errors: subsumption of cultural differences between Egba, Egbado, Ijebu, Ekiti and Igesha in a single homogeneous Yoruba culture; an assumption that a theological unity (actually non-existent in Africa) would have been disorganized by transit; the idea that cults dedicated to a particular Orixá could have been rearranged in America to house new gods. This perspective remained alive in most subsequent studies. The renewed version of syncretism claims that the idea of "synthesis", as proposed in the case of the Umbanda, it does not break with the original model. The idea of syncretism seems to have something in common with the notion to race the persistence of its empirical evidence. Syncretism is a "solution" for contact situations because it presupposes a particular combination of differences. Studies on African traditions put contact relations in terms of syncretism. (Montero, 1999)

I did not go into the ideological debate that the notion of syncretism raises the idea that divides scholars on supporters or critics. But it is fundamentally the field of Afro-Brazilian cults which are organized around the concept of syncretism, while numerous other religious combinations in Brazilian society seem to be able to get rid of it. It is interesting to observe for instance, that works on Santo Daime or Ayahuasca religions in Brazil, although they address the issues of identity or combinations of cultural traditions, they do not build their problematic having syncretism as a parameter.

Although there is a tradition of ayahuasca consumption in several countries in South America, only Brazil has developed religions of non-indigenous populations using this beverage; religions that use this beverage are reworking ancient traditions of local systems from a point of view influenced by Christianity (Labate apud Haag, 2006: 92)

In this sense my thesis presents an innovative point to be built as a concept of syncretism from the ayahuasca religions going beyond the idea of synthesis. As Montero (1999) claims, it is necessary to go beyond the merely formal level of "exchanges" (analogies, correspondences, amalgams, etc.) that treat religions as cultural totalities (flows of tradition) that regardless of the roles, they are more or less prone to synthesis through these "bridging elements" channels through which meanings flow. This perspective will always have to face the difficulty of defining how the "original" cultures were before contact. Putting aside the "contact myth" as a favoring situation of those symbolic exchanges, it becomes possible to converge the analysis of culture to the study of sociological materiality that gives form, meaning and direction to the available repertoires. So, for an equivalence to be able to give space for a certain kind of integration, the availability of cultural elements is not enough; it becomes also necessary to be stated by some agents and also recognized and meant as such by the groups of interest.

Thus, I rethink the idea of syncretism. Syncretism is a process composed by symbolic work (bricolage, reinterpretation, cutting and analogy) and by the experience that escapes the symbolic work (butinage). The syncretic work such that the vital force, as well as the duration, dissociates at every instant in two movements: an update, differentiation in a form, the other by which it recovers as totality, in the way of tradition. It is the tradition that opens on a whole and therefore refusing to circumscribe the experience in the limits formed by tradition. The creative trend that crosses the practitioner can be thought beyond the unsatisfactory alternative of the tradition mechanism and the finality.

Therefore it is not about denying the continuous process of interaction between cultural forms, but of a refusal to handle this movement as a totality, explainable through the same concept that designates it.

To capture that experience which escapes the symbolic work could be considered as the limitations and weaknesses of my concept, once it escapes from our understanding, it is at an abstract level, but the question is how to place this experience and the notion of individual and its subjectivity and how to articulate it in a broader process of social construction of reality and culture. That is what religious butinage is about.

The religious participant as a hummingbird communes with its life path, the environment.

I believe metaphors can be an anthropological tool. According to Roy Wagner (1981), a metaphor incorporates a new or innovative sequence. It also changes the associations of the elements to integrate them together in a distinctive and often original expression. The metaphor can, innovatively, continuously redirect the force of previous expressions and subsume them in new construction. It is because the metaphor is the opposition between “that with which we do not deal”, and “everything that can be named” (the convention). It is the thing that makes the metaphor, but it always escapes in its expression. And butinage is the religious experience intrinsic in the religious practice that escapes in its expression.

The biological metaphor highlights the process of how the hummingbird flies, and not on the result, or what might come out of that flight, the start-point and end-point. The concept of religious butinage allows us to understand how Chico Xavier built a new religious paradigm, and not the description of that paradigm from syntheses. On how Marisa makes her religious movements and thus builds and reconstructs its subjectivity, not in search of comfort and resolution for her problems. As Umbandaime is produced by its practitioners as a new cosmology and not in search of its origin and matrix. And finally the process of trans-nationalization of the Santo Daime and União do Vegetal to Spain coming from "loaded" actors with desire and structure.

The concept of butinage could be thought in other contexts besides the Brazilian. It could be thought in any context. Of course there is a difference that distinguishes Brazil.

In Brazilian society there is an order of meanings that revolves around the belief in spirits. Gilberto Velho (1991) says that belief in spirits in trance, in mediumship and in possession creates a common basic language that does not empty the importance of the substantial differences between the groups, with their identities and particular values. In this language, the domain of "supernatural" appears as fundamental to understand the system of representations of Brazilian society or the cultural system itself. Central thematic, such as changes in social relations and traditional models of social inclusion and

construction of identity, are expressed in all these rituals producing meaningful social experiences. Besides being expression, they are and elaborate the social.

But, like Sonia Maluf (2011) points out the limits of religious concept being able to cope with experiences and paths that bring wider articulations, emphasizing that some authors have suggested, since the 80's a decline of religion and the rise of religious. For the author the interesting thing is not the use of this or that concept, but the importance that the historical discernment of theory has when incorporated into these uses, rethinking the concept with the erasures of criticism and tensions raised by the emergence of new phenomena, on which theories of religion allow themselves to be "affected" by these new emergencies. She realizes how certain phenomena (which do not find satisfactory theoretical and conceptual correspondence in the tradition of anthropological, sociological or historiographical of religion) are ultimately disqualified as irrelevant phenomena for an academic and scientific study. The limits and capabilities of the religion concept today are given by the persistence of an approach that identifies and nouns religion, which would imply an approach to religious phenomenon from religious institutions, from subjects as willing agents in a hierarchical field, skills and cosmology as belonging to a doctrinal body marked in central and established narratives. There is a greater plasticity and dynamics of the phenomenon.

Religion is no longer a transcendent substance, and above the particular practices, becomes a qualifier of different types of assemblages, both central as well as peripheral, marginal, underground.

That is why the concept of butinage should be considered in any context.

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