

## **Shamanisms and Neo-Shamanisms as Dialogical Categories**

### **An Examination of Local and Global Networks**

Esther Jean LANGDON and Isabel SANTANA DE ROSE

The Guarani Indians from Clear Waters village, located on the coast of southern Brazil, incorporated *ayahuasca* into their traditional prayer and chanting ceremonies in 2001. *Ayahuasca*, a tea-like substance used in Amazonian shamanic practices and known globally by its Quichua name, was introduced to this village by a non-indigenous medical physician affiliated with an international neo-shamanic group that we are calling here “Fire of Truth”. Since then, it has been incorporated in their ritual practices and is recognized as a traditional part of their culture. The nature and process of this appropriation is related to the formation of a network of relations between different groups, involving the Guarani; Fire of Truth; Santo Daime, a Brazilian syncretic religious cult that also uses the substance; and the health team contracted by the Federal Government. Our purpose in this work is to make a preliminary reflection on the dialogues and negotiations that take place in this network, self-identified as *Medicine Alliance*. On the one hand, its formation reflects local, national and international processes that involve representations of shamanism and indigenous medicine; on the other, it is a result of the praxis of the relations that this Guarani community establishes in their interaction with the larger society.

Historically, shamans and shamanisms have been the object of speculations regarding magic, primitive mentality and madness. Early anthropological analyses viewed shamanism as surviving archaic practices doomed to disappear in the face of modernity. Contrary to such a view, shamans today circulate in large cities in many parts of the world and

their practices are perceived as representing a primordial truth that offers a solution for the afflictions of contemporary society. In Brazil, shamans and their knowledge are regarded to be the essence of “indigenous traditional medicine”, an image that is held by medical personnel working in Indian health programs as well as many New Age therapists and clients. This representation of the shaman plays an important role in the dialogue that we are examining here. Based on the case study of the introduction of ayahuasca to Guarani ritual practices, we suggest that shamanism emerges out of historical and political contexts and is more adequately comprehended as a dialogical category, resulting from the interaction between actors with different origins, discourses and interests. Shamanism is best understood today, as an emergent dialogical practice rather than a philosophy, logic or spiritual consciousness independent of its social, political or historical context.

### **Shamanism in Anthropology**

Shamanism, a favorite topic in anthropology, has been part of this discipline’s discussions since its origins. Classic studies on the topic were concerned with the understanding of primitive mentality through classificatory opposites such as primitive/civilized; magic/religious or natural/supernatural. Shamans were defined, at the same time, through ambiguous categories such as magician/priest or doctor/sorcerer. There also were discussions about their mental instability, the practices of ecstasy, transvestism and other behaviors perceived as deviant or abnormal, which led some researchers to argue that shamans were schizophrenic (Silverman 1967). Since the 1960s, there has been an increase of anthropological fieldwork among lowland South American cultures which has resulted in a deeper understanding of the dynamics and meanings of the rituals and cosmologies of this region<sup>1</sup>. Studies of shamanic systems were part of this intensified research, and the number of publications and symposiums dedicated to examining the topic of shamanism and the use of “hallucinogens” multiplied during the 1960s, 70s and 80s. Some researchers attempted to define the essential elements of shamanism for comparative purposes; others were interested in studying

---

1. For a detailed history on the studies about shamanism in anthropology see “Introduction” in the collection *Xamanismo no Brasil: Novas Perspectivas* (Langdon 1996a).

particular native cosmologies and shamanic practices. The investigation of techniques of ecstasy, with focus on psychotropic substances, in order to identify a universal human potential for shamanic consciousness, was also pursued during these decades and was characterized by an interdisciplinary focus, as well as by an experimental ethos on the part of many researchers.

It was over two decades later that the first collection on the topic was published in Brazil (Langdon 1996a). This book attempted to draw together and systematize investigations carried out in Brazil that were guided by contemporary theoretical paradigms. Shamanic practices were conceived as a result of the interplay between the symbolic system and action, with a diversity of specific practices and symbolic conceptions influenced by specific historical, cultural and political contexts. The chapters were oriented by a general concept of shamanism; by the premise that the Amazonian cultures share a common cultural tradition and cosmology; and that, despite the great diversity, this generic shamanism can be identified in the diverse symbolic expressions and practices.

We do not intend to examine here the concept of shamanism proposed in the book, but it is useful to highlight some aspects present in the introduction and their relevance for the case study presented here. In this text, Langdon characterizes shamanism as a collective institution, central for indigenous cosmology and society and one that expresses the culture's central themes, such as the concern with the flow of vital energy and its influence on human well-being. As a cosmologic vision, it provides the basis for the interpretation and understanding of daily events as well as the attempt to influence them. In its broader sense, shamanism is concerned with the well-being of society and its individuals, the social harmony and the growth and reproduction of the universe. It embraces the supernatural, the social and the ecological. Accordingly, shamanism is a central cultural institution which, through ritual, unifies the mythical past with world-view and projects them in daily activities (Langdon 1996a: 27-28).

The articles in the collection explore the cosmological, ritual, playful and esthetic dimensions, as well as the diversity in this institution's changes and adaptations, in the face of contact with non-indigenous societies. Shamanic cosmology expresses itself in ritual, music (Montagner 1996) and in plastic and corporal arts (Lagrou 1996). As a collective institution, it is a political and social force. In some groups, its practices reflect the incorporation of Christian metaphors (Wright 1996). Mota (1996) argues that the shaman, or *pajé*, has become the central symbol for the identity of the Kariri-Xocó Indians of the Northeast. In other societies, there is shamanism without shamans (Brunelli 1996). Gallois (1996) argues in

her chapter that shamanic power is central to the understanding of the politics of contact among the Wayãpi.

Also in the end of the 1990s, the concept of *perspectivismo* was introduced to Brazilian anthropology by Viveiros de Castro (1996b, 1998). This concept presents an innovative discussion about the philosophy common to South American lowland indigenous groups. Perspectivism is a complex notion, built out of the research and theoretical discussions since the 1960s and particularly on the themes of symbolic ecology, eschatology, nature/culture, the body and the notion of transformation that is so central in shamanic cosmologies. The discussion constitutes an excellent synthesis of the recent ethnologic production (Viveiros de Castro 1996a) and is directed to a philosophical and anthropological field much wider than that of the theme of shamanism. It expresses, however, central elements that other researchers have recognized in their discussions about shamanic cosmologies – an animated and intentional universe and the multiplicity of invisible beings behind the appearances of the visible world. For instance, after his study of Wayãpi shamanism, Campbell defines in 1989 shamanism as related mainly to a vision and knowledge that result in a completely different form of comprehension, allowing to see beyond the daily appearances. It consists in a way of looking at the world through which the “other reality” is highly humanized and its beings appear as humans. According to the author, the *pajé* (shaman) wasn’t just a role or office. “*Pajé* was a whole way of being in the world, an outlook on the world and a relationship with the world, that everyone was involved in.” (Campbell 2003: 123). Shamanism “is a quality that includes the power to heal and the power to harm, but it is more completely to do with knowing and seeing: a whole other way of understanding. Those who have learned how to grasp this power can see beyond the everyday appearances of people, animals, and the rest of the natural world to another reality ... the heart of that shamanic reality reveals a human relation between ourselves and the natural world” (*ibid.*: 135-136). Brunelli (1996) characterizes Zoró shamanism as a conception of the universe constituted by an inextricable interweaving of the visible and invisible worlds and by a continuous traffic between beings of different form and nature, a conception that persists, independent of the presence of practicing shamans.

The discussion about perspectivism is oriented for a comprehension of pan-Amazonian thought and philosophy and not specifically to the theme of shamanism and its practice in the face of the surrounding society. This discussion, however, has had a very important analytic influence in the studies of shamanism in Brazil. Since Viveiros de Castro’s article was published, studies oriented by the concerns of this concept have multiplied. Some examples are the works of Elsje Lagrou (2002, 2007) on

esthetic production and otherness among the Cashinahua and Renato Sztutman's (2005) review on shamanic action in the Guyanas. Lima, one of the central contributors for the development of this concept (Lima 1996), has promised to publish her view of the importance of perspectivism for the understanding of Juruna shamanism (Lima 2005)

Important for our present discussion is the privileged status that Viveiros de Castro and colleagues have given to themes such as predation and cannibalism, correcting the tendency of a romantic vision of indigenous ethos and cosmology. This has been especially useful for the analysis of the dark side of indigenous shamanisms. In a comprehensive synthesis of the metaphor of cannibalism and its potential for comparative research, Carlos Fausto (2007) suggests that the relationship between shamanism and health/disease processes among Amazonian cultures is an expression of the metaphor of predation. This is more evident in Indigenous discourse about sorcery, where the victim is equivalent to the prey and the sorcerer is equivalent to the hunter. Here the aggressor shaman is the hunter - the predator, and the notion of cannibalism associates the qualities of sickness, decay and emaciation with the body. Among many indigenous peoples, disease is seen as a result of a pathological object that is "cannibalizing" or "eating" the patient (Fausto 2007:502; Langdon 2007a:517). Two recent books, *In Darkness and Secrecy: The Anthropology of Assault Sorcery and Witchcraft in Amazonia* (Whitehead and Wright 2004) and *Dark Shamanism* (Whitehead 2002), analyze shamanic sorcery through the metaphor of predation, showing vividly that Amazonian shamanism is not so good or so noble. In addition, they, as Taussig (1987), demonstrate that sorcery also has an important role in the mediation with the colonial situation and modernity.

Perspectivism builds upon a classical article published in 1979 that proposes that the body and its construction should serve as the central paradigm for the comprehension of South American lowland native cultures, rather than that of kinship which has oriented studies of African societies (Seeger *et. alli.* 1979). Perspectivism and the centrality of the body should be considered as important Brazilian contributions to indigenous ethnology. This is not to say that Brazilian concerns about the diverse and contemporary manifestations of shamanism were not always in dialogue with international paradigms that initiated with Eliade's publication and the ethnological research made after the 1960s. Rather, Brazilians were involved in creating a paradigm for understanding the basis of Amazonian cultures, and shamanism was a secondary, but closely related, subject.

Internationally publications on shamanism have continued to grow since the first collections organized by Harner (1973) and Furst (1972)

and collections reflecting the scientific production on the theme have been published in many languages. With the new studies, changes in the interests in the study of shamanism are evident (see Harvey 2003 as an example of current interests). Evaluation of the changes in the contents of these books indicates a shift from an interest in the essential traits of shamanism and an increase in the analysis of shamanism in interethnic situations. This trend follows the tendency in current anthropological theory to include wider political and historical contexts (Ortner 1994). The book by Thomas and Humphrey, *Shamanism, History and the State* (1994), was one of the first to focus on the mediating role of shamans and shamanism between indigenous peoples and external political forces. By the beginning of the 1990s, anthropologists were talking about *shamanisms* in the plural (Atkinson 1992), emphasizing the difficulties in conceiving the phenomenon as uniform and universal or as having essential and universal traits. Concomitantly to the recognition that native cultures and shamanisms are dynamic processes in constant change, neo-shamanic practices and groups have risen as a global phenomenon. It has become evident that the multiple forms of shamans and shamanisms are not only caused by cultural diversity, but are also a result of the persistence of shamanism as a distinct phenomenon before « the » larger society. Based on these premises, we agree that shamanism today is better understood as a product of modernity (Perez Gil 2004; Gow 1994).

### **Neo-Shamanism**

Since the 1980s, forms of “neo-shamanic” practices have flourished throughout the world, as evidenced in workshops, therapies and spiritual paths that promote shamanic practices. Anthropologists such as Harner (1982) and Goodman (1990) were pioneers in founding workshops to teach techniques of ecstasy. While initially most anthropologists emphasized shamanism’s indigenous nature, implicitly taking for granted that it is a phenomenon that developed among groups that can be thought of as culturally, temporally and geographically contiguous, the “global heterogeneous movement” of neo-shamanism introduces non-indigenous elements that come from different places and contexts. The roots of the neo-shamanic movements are linked to a wider global context, in which the Indian is objectified as the “primitive Other”, as the possessor of an ancestral and primordial knowledge. Some common characteristics of neo-shamanism are: the promotion of a primordial shamanism as a capacity independent of specific cultural contexts, the expression of

values of modern individualism, and an orientation to individual psychological and therapeutic goals (Johnson 2003).

Atkinson (1992) considers that these new shamanisms have emerged primarily from the popular fascination with ecstasy practices and the interdisciplinary focus on altered states of consciousness, rather than from purely academic anthropological concerns. Since the first publications about experiences with altered states of consciousness caused by substances such as mescaline, LSD and ayahuasca (Huxley 1954), psychotherapists, ethnopharmacologists, anthropologists and others have argued for the benefits of their use, stating that these substances work to liberate the mind and integrate the psyche (Winkelman 2000), rather than to disintegrate it, as previously suggested by terms such as psychomimetics or hallucinogens (Sell 1996). Through the years, the connection between shamanic altered states and the sacred has assumed central importance in the discourse of neo-shamanism, and today the most common term to designate the countless substances used in these contexts is *entheogen*, in a reference to the access to sacred dimensions provoked by their ingestion (Metzner 1999). It is important to highlight that the use of entheogens in the current world makes an intimate connection between spirituality and psychic health, associating these plants with contemporary notions of self-knowledge and therapy.

“Shamanisms today”, as suggested by Atkinson (1992) in the title of her review, do not represent a homogeneous universal phenomena or a cosmologic system that might be thought as exclusively “native” or “traditional”. The emergence of New Age shamanisms, especially among urban and privileged classes, forces us to recognize that shamanism is not confined to the historical development of indigenous cultures. Shamanism is better understood as a dialogic category, negotiated on the frontiers of local indigenous societies and their interface with national and global groups.

### *Neo-shamanism in Brazil: Fire of Truth*

Fire of Truth is a fictitious name used to designate an international network found in countries such as Mexico, Brazil, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Argentina, Spain, United States, France, England, among others. The leaders claim inspiration from the Native American Church and conduct rituals that combine elements originating from different indigenous traditions of the American Continent. The main sources are the practices of the North-American Indians, especially the Lakota (Macklin *et. Alli.* 1999). The combination of these different elements is legitimized by an idea of searching for the ancestral, if not primordial,

roots of humanity present in all indigenous knowledge (Langdon 2008). Labate (2004:356) characterizes Fire of Truth as an example of “an essentialist pan-indigenous religion”.

In Brazil, this group began its activities in the early 1990s and established its national headquarters in the mountains of the interior of Santa Catarina. People from different parts of Brazil and elsewhere annually congregate there to take part in the *vision quest* and *sun dance* ceremonies that are among the main rituals of the Fire of Truth. The vision quest consists in a kind of reclusion in which the apprentice isolates himself in a place designated as “mountain” during a certain period of days (from four to thirteen), fasting and meditating in order to seek contact with the “Great Spirit”. Likewise, those who take part in the sun dance, a rite dedicated to life’s continuity, fast and dance from dawn till sunset during four days.

Other rites considered important by the group are the *shanoopa* or “sacred pipe” and the *temazcal* (sweat lodge). The *shanoopa*, which involves the ceremonial use of tobacco, represents the center of this group’s tradition. Fire of Truth’s members consider that tobacco has always been a “power plant” for indigenous peoples, and that through the pipe it is possible to achieve connection with the divine and to elevate one’s prayers to the “Great Spirit”. The *temazcal* consists of a sweatbath created in an enclosed space by pouring water mixed with aromatic and medicinal herbs over hot stones. Although the group’s members use a Nahuatl name for their ritual sauna, the inspiration for its realization comes from the sweat lodge of North America’s plains Indians, for whom it is an important ceremonial procedure for spiritual development<sup>2</sup>.

In the symbolic universe of Fire of Truth, ayahuasca and tobacco are considered as “power plants” and as “medicines”. Medicine is a category that refers to these plants, but also can be extended to a wide range of elements, circumstances, feelings or even individuals. In this context, the “medicines” have agency and can promote healing; new ways of self-consciousness; and also better paths of understanding (Oliveira and Gomes in press). The use of these plants, as well as practices like the *temazcal*, are justified by the conviction that they are part of pan-indigenous knowledge.

---

2. For a detailed analysis of the sweat lodge among North-American Indians, see Bucko 1999.

*Ayahuasca Religions and the expansion of ayahuasca's use*

In Brazil, several religious movements, including Santo Daime, União do Vegetal and Barquinha, have originated through the appropriation of the indigenous ritual use of ayahuasca, and have come to be known as Brazilian ayahuasca religions (MacRae 1999). Ayahuasca is a tea-like beverage prepared from the vine of the genus *Banisteriopsis* and other plant additives. It was used by many, although by not all, Amazonian groups as a central part of their shamanic rituals.

The Brazilian ayahuasca religions began among the *caboclos* (mixed peoples) in the Brazilian Amazon between the 1920s and the 60s founded by immigrants attracted to the jungle during the rubber boom. Charismatic leaders who adopted the beverage in ecstatic rituals that attracted a religious following based on their visionary experiences. These groups represent syncretic cults that prepare and drink the indigenous brew, but their symbolism draws upon popular Catholicism, afro-Brazilian and spiritualist religious practices. However, depending upon the local group, one can witness a diversity of eclectic practices drawing upon a number of spiritual traditions. Since the 1980s, these groups have spread outside the Amazon and are now found in all major cities in Brazil. Both Santo Daime and União Vegetal were established in Santa Catarina in the early 1980s.

More recently, Brazilian ayahuasca religions have spread throughout the world and are currently found in at least 23 countries in North America, Europe and Asia. Today ayahuasca religions and the substance, circulate between different territorial and symbolic boundaries, contributing to the transformation of this beverage into a transnational pan-entheogen (Labate, Rose and Santos 2009).

As Beatriz Labate (2004) shows, there is a wide world network related to the ingestion of ayahuasca. Originating in Indian and mestizo healing systems, it spread to the ayahuasca religions that have given rise to contemporary experimental practices in the form of psychotherapy, spiritual groups and leisure activities. Different figures are found in the network: Indians, mestizos and caboclos, neo-shamans, neo-natives, shamanic tourists and psychonauts are a few of these contemporary subjects<sup>3</sup>. Labate argues that all these categories constitute hybrid identities, making it impossible to distinguish clearly between traditional and modern forms. On the contrary, the modern and traditional combine in dynamic ways. This wide and diverse network constitutes a religious universe marked by the constant construction and multiplication of ritual practices and symbolic systems (Labate 2004).

---

3. For a reflection about these categories, see Labate 2004.

As Beatriz Labate, Edward MacRae and Sandra Goulart (2010) point out, one of the consequences of the growth of ayahuasca religions in Brazil is an incipient, but ongoing process, in which diverse indigenous groups have been influenced by the interchange with mestizo healers as well as the ayahuasca religions. Peter Gow (1994) argues that ayahuasca healing in Peru originates in the conditions of the urban mestizo population, which in turn came to be adopted by a number of indigenous groups that did not previously use it. Several anthropologists among the Pano Indians of Acre have reported that its current use has been inspired by Santo Daime, and not the reverse. An example are the Apurinã from Boca do Acre, that have come to use ayahuasca after the contact with the non-indigenous ayahuasca religions (Lima da Silva 2002). Moreover, evidence suggests that the Cashinahua Indians from Acre adopted it as a result of contact with such groups, and today young Cashinahua shamans perform ayahuasca rituals for non-Indians in large cities, such as São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. In other words, the Guarani case described here is not unique, and should be comprehended as part of a wider context connected to the expansion of ayahuasca religions and the diversification of ayahuasca's uses in the contemporary world. According to Labate, MacRae and Goulart (2010), there is a migration of symbols and subjects on a global scale as well as an exchange between diverse religious practices that are resulting in the construction of hybrid religiosities and identities in a post-colonial context.

### *The Medicine Alliance*

The movement that identifies itself as Medicine Alliance in Southern Brazil consists of a union between groups whose shared character is the ritual use of power plants, such as ayahuasca and tobacco. This alliance resulted from the contact between members of the local groups of Fire of Truth and Santo Daime involved in the introduction and provision of ayahuasca for the Guarani, a process we shall describe below. In 2002, the leader of Santo Daime in Florianópolis, the capital of Santa Catarina, journeyed to the headquarters of the Fire of Truth in Mexico to form this alliance, resulting in the constitution of a network of reciprocal exchange between these two groups in Brazil.

Currently Fire of Truth, Santo Daime and the Guarani Indians in Santa Catarina are tightly bound in relations of mutual influence, forming a network in which people, knowledge and substances circulate. More recently, the ceremonies of this alliance have benefited from an ever expanding network that has included new participants, such as the Cashinahua from the Brazilian Amazon, *taitas* and Shuar shamans from Ecuador; and members of the Sangoma tradition from South Africa. The

insertion of new actors in the network and the desire to expand even more these alliances is evidenced in the annual Medicine Gatherings established in 2007 at the Santo Daime community in Santa Catarina. These events intend to create the experience of ritual “designs” (structures) from different traditions and to provide an opportunity for encounters, exchange and socializing between distinct spiritual groups.

In the following, we summarize the history of incorporation of ayahuasca by the Guarani Indians and formation of this alliance network based on the fieldwork conducted by the second author of this text. Since June 2006, Isabel de Rose has conducted research on ayahuasca use among the Guarani and their relations with Fire of Truth and Santo Daime (Rose 2010). This research has a multi-local character, aiming to emphasize the dialogues, as well as the negotiations and emergence of symbols and meanings within this network. Thus, participant observation included an extended period of residence in Clear Waters village as well as in different activities sponsored by Fire of Truth and Santo Daime groups outside the Indian community.

### **Ayahuasca and its adoption by the Guarani**

In 1999 a Guarani Indian interned in the University Hospital in Florianópolis with lymphoma refused to submit to the prescribed chemotherapeutic treatment and to communicate with the doctors. The hospital attendants contacted a resident physician who was known for conducting shamanic ceremonies and for expressing identity with indigenous peoples in general. Informed that a “relative” of his was sick by the attendants, he contacted the Guarani Indian Kuaray, to help resolve the situation. In the beginning Kuaray was reluctant to talk to him, but little by little the doctor gained his confidence, using strategies like singing Guarani tunes and inviting him to smoke a ceremonial pipe on the hospital grounds. The doctor inquired about his village, Clear Waters, and asked if it had any traditional healers. Kuaray indicated that there was an elderly married couple of *karaikuery*, a term of respect used for important spiritual leaders<sup>4</sup>, each one designated respectively as *tcheramoi* and *tchedjary* (“my grandfather” and “my grandmother”).

---

4. This couple founded Clear Waters in the 1980s, leading their extended family in a migration from further south as a result of a prophetic dream. Currently, many Guarani recognize them to be healers and chanters with admirable shamanic powers, and, as a married couple, they are considered to be the eldest and most powerful *karaikuery* in the region (Mello 2006).

This doctor, the current leader of Fire of Truth in Brazil, slowly gained acceptance and was invited to the village. According to what many Guarani told us, upon his arrival the *tcheramoi* looked at him and said: “It is you I had been waiting for”. This elder had a prophetic dream informing him that someone would arrive to help revitalize Guarani traditions in the village and this doctor was identified as such a person. After this, the doctor began to visit the village from time to time, taking part in prayer house ceremonies and in *petynguá* (sacred pipe) rituals. With time, he was given a Guarani name and was invited to help in healing rites.

He proposed to hold the first ayahuasca ritual in the village. Initially ayahuasca ceremonies were conducted in the kitchen of the elder couple’s house, an important space of sociability in which each evening community members gathered to drink mate, smoke tobacco and tell stories, myths and jokes. Ayahuasca was first introduced into these meetings, and many Guarani to whom we spoke affirmed that in their first experiences with the beverage they relived the past, leading them to conclude that ayahuasca had been used by their “ancestors”. As a consequence, most Guarani from Clear Waters deny that the use of ayahuasca is a new practice, and affirm that the beverage’s use represents a “revival” of past practices and a cultural “revitalization” (Mello 2006; Rose 2010).

As the inhabitants of the community increasingly began to participate in the rituals, the ceremonies were transferred to the *opy*, the traditional prayer house that is the center of every Guarani village. Ayahuasca was incorporated into the nightly prayer and chanting rituals called *opyred-jaikeawã*, that have the central purpose of aiding *Nhanderu Kuaray* (one of the main gods for the Guarani) to take care of the world, protecting humanity during his absence (Mello 2006).

The inhabitants of Clear Waters and the doctor decided that they should also introduce ayahuasca to other Guarani communities. This project was supported by the non-governmental organization contracted to offer primary health services in Indian communities, using resources from the National Foundation of Health (*Fundação Nacional da Saúde*, FUNASA). As part of the national policy for Indian health, medical teams working in Indian communities are obliged to provide primary health services that respect the native culture and incorporate traditional healing practices (Langdon 2004). The introduction of ayahuasca into the Guarani communities was interpreted by this NGO as satisfying this demand. The doctor was employed to work in the Multidisciplinary Team of Indigenous Health (*Equipe Multidisciplinar de Saúde Indígena*, EMSI) that attended the Indian reserves in southern Brazil. The resulting project proposed to “promote the health of the Guarani people, recuperating and strengthening the spiritual/mystical aspects based on the ancient traditional ceremonies”; to combat alcoholism; and to reinforce the village’s

spiritual leaders (Vargas 2002: 8). These actions constituted the basis for a “model of assistance for indigenous spiritual health” (Vargas 2002: 13). During four years, ayahuasca ceremonies in at least ten Guarani villages in the states of Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul and Paraná were conducted. In this period, the doctor and leader of Fire of Truth was constantly present, helping to organize and participate in the ceremonies in the villages. He also built a house in the Clear Waters and resided there for approximately one and a half years.

Although ayahuasca has been used throughout the centuries by several Amazonian indigenous groups, combining other plant additives to vary its potency, neither the plants nor the use of the beverage are documented as native to southern Brazil. With the expansion of the use of ayahuasca in the Guarani villages, the need for a more reliable source for the substance arose. After frustrated contacts with the ayahuasca religion União do Vegetal, the doctor was able to engage the interest and collaboration of the leaders of a local Santo Daime community, the other local ayahuasca group that plants the vine and produces the beverage. One consequence of their collaboration was the inclusion of the Guarani in the alliance between Santo Daime and Fire of Truth.

Along with the ayahuasca ceremonies, the *temazcal* sweat bath was introduced, and an igloo shaped mud dwelling called *opydjere*, or “round prayer house”, was constructed beside the village’s prayer house. Both the incorporation of ayahuasca in traditional ceremonies and the *temazcal* have come to assume important spiritual and therapeutic meaning for the Guarani. At the same time, some of Clear Waters’ inhabitants, especially the village’s spiritual and political leaders, started to take part in Fire of Truth’s yearly *vision quest* and *sun dance* ceremonies held in the mountains in the interior of the State and also in the Santo Daime activities in Florianópolis, including the ritual production of ayahuasca (*feitios*) and the *Medicine Gatherings* mentioned previously.

After four years, the Guarani from Clear Waters continued to conduct ceremonies using ayahuasca, gradually achieving more autonomy in the organization of these rituals and in contacts and negotiations with Santo Daime, their source of the substance. Currently, they continue to conduct regular ayahuasca ceremonies in their village. Outside the village, they take part in Fire of Truth’s rites and in events sponsored by the Santo Daime community. Moreover, they occasionally organize events such as *temazcal* and medicine ceremonies in different religious and esoteric centers outside the village, directed to a non-indigenous urban middle-class population.

The introduction of ayahuasca in Guarani prayer and chanting ceremonies as well as the adoption of the *temazcal* in the village is mentioned in the works of Oliveira (2004) and Mello (2006), although they do not

explore these practices in depth. Oliveira (2004) examines briefly the children's participation and experiences in the ceremonies, including the ingestion of ayahuasca. She states that the village's inhabitants accord the "ayahuasca medicine ceremonies", as well as the temazcal, great healing powers. For her, religiosity assumes a central role in the process of the "re-valuation of tradition" that has resulted from the medicine ceremonies. Mello (2006) points out that the introduction of use of ayahuasca has also created social conflict between the Guarani, especially with those from other villages. However, she affirms that, although polemical, the introduction of ayahuasca in Clear Waters has contributed importantly to the stimulation of dialogue regarding cultural revitalization and has placed ritual practices in the center of the village's daily life. She also indicates that these new traditions and practices are reoriented and reinterpreted according to Guarani symbolic structures and cosmology. Thus, these foreign traditions are cannibalized or *guaranized*, increasing the village's spiritual leaders' shamanic power.

The governmental medical team, which participated actively in the introduction of ayahuasca and the temazcal, has an even more favorable view of the benefits that these practices have brought to the community. One member of the team, in a special report, argues that before the use of ayahuasca, the village was in an evident process of cultural and social disintegration: high frequency of alcohol abuse, loss of *compadrio* (neighborhood) relations, social and family disharmony, and poor attendance at the *opy* ceremonies (França 2008). For this medical professional, the Guarani adoption of ayahuasca resulted in cultural "rescue". The regular performance of the ceremonies and the increased presence of community members have decisively contributed to revert this situation. According to him, the "revitalization of Guarani traditional medicine" has contributed to reestablishing of *compadrio* relations, renewed cultivation of sacred plants such as corn and beans, reduction of domestic violence and alcohol abuse, and improvement of epidemiological indicators.

The discourse of these actors and researchers suggests that the adoption of ayahuasca has an important role in the process of renovation and strengthening of spiritual practices and values in the Guarani village. In a similar way, our field data indicate that the introduction of ayahuasca should be understood as part of a wider process that includes a series of relatively recent initiatives, such as the establishment of the first school in the village in 1996, the formation of the *Yytchi Ovy* (Blue Clouds) coral in 1998; the building of the prayer house in this same year; and the re-introduction of native varieties of corn and other agricultural products. Oliveira considers that religiosity is central to understanding this process, and Mello states that, for the Guarani, one of the main goals of these new activities is the preservation of the "knowledge of the elders". In sum,

most observers, in distinct ways, are in agreement that ayahuasca has had a positive impact upon the Guarani community.

Other important issues must be considered in the understanding of this process. First, it is important to highlight that, among the villages in which the ayahuasca ceremonies were introduced, only Clear Waters has maintained the practice, although inhabitants from other villages, both in and beyond Santa Catarina, often take part in them. On one hand, this relates to the fact that the ayahuasca was first introduced in this village; on the other, it is important to stress that many Guarani, especially those from other villages, don't agree with the beverage's use, discounting it as "white people's stuff". Even in Clear Waters, many families have stopped taking part in the ceremonies, and some people began to criticize them, questioning their status as a Guarani "tradition". Therefore, among the Guarani living in the network of villages along the southern coast of Brazil, as well as among the inhabitants of Clear Waters, there is no consensus about this theme; it continues to be a controversial issue raised in conversations and criticisms.

### *Dialogues and negotiations*

Looking back at this case study, we can identify several main actors in this process. Among them are the Guarani Indians; medical personnel employed by FUNASA; members of Fire of Truth and also those of Santo Daime. We consider that all these actors have agency, as acting upon their own discourses and interests (Greene 1998). These are negotiated along with the meaning of the material and symbolic elements that circulate in the Medicine Alliance network.

For the Guarani from Clear Waters, the relations with Fire of Truth and Santo Daime as well as the incorporation of ayahuasca and other ceremonial practices can be seen as a strategy for attracting material and symbolic resources. It is important to recall that Brazilian federal health services financed the implantation of ayahuasca and *temazcal rituals*. Subsequently, the Guarani ceremonies have begun to be performed for non-Indians who pay a fee in order to participate, resulting in additional income for the village. Also, the Guarani are among the few participants who are not required to pay the expensive fees for taking part in the vision quest, sun dance and other activities sponsored by Fire of Truth. Their presence in these events has also become an opportunity for contact with people from different parts of Brazil and the world, including leaders from indigenous groups and new dialogues about ideas and practices.

Although it can be argued that followers of neo-shamanic movements, such as Fire of Truth, have a reductionist or essentialist view of shamanism, resulting in a possible homogenization or globalization process of shamanic practices among the Guarani, the contact between the Guarani and members of new shamanic movements has, without doubt, stimulated a dialogue which reflects a new configuration of relations between Indians and non-Indians in Brazil. Traditionally placed in a subordinate position, Indians have historically suffered from prejudice, violence and exclusion by the larger society. There has been a sizeable growth in Indian political organizations and they are increasingly exercising their rights as citizens (Langdon 2004). However, the Guarani living on the periphery of larger cities in the affluent southern region of Brazil have tended to resist silently by maintaining their native language and excluding non-Indians from their ritual practices (Litaiff 1996). At the same time, the Guarani communities have increasingly suffered from poverty and its resulting problems that include a high infant mortality rate, domestic violence, alcohol abuse, and in some cases, high rates of suicide. The dialogue initiated between the various actors and the introduction of new age elements into the community has, without a doubt, accorded the Guarani more equality and respect than is traditionally seen in Indian/non-Indian interactions. Our observations indicate that relations are still not equal between the Guarani and their non-Indian interlocutors, and we cannot argue that the dialogue established is one between partners of equal power and influence. However, different from most Indian-white relations in southern Brazil, the high regard for Indian culture held by new age practitioners has contributed to the renewal of Guarani values and ritual practices, in addition to placing the Guarani in a more active role in negotiation with the larger society than is customarily seen among this population. In sum, we consider that the incorporation of ayahuasca by the Guarani has been accompanied by their insertion in a wide network in which symbolic and material substances, people and knowledge circulate, resulting in new powers for negotiations as well as new possibilities for Clear Waters' inhabitants.

As pointed out, the Brazilian government, represented here by the medical team contracted to provide services to Guarani communities, had an important role in this process by formulating the project that funded ayahuasca and temazcal ceremonies in Clear Waters and other villages during four years. The team justified the project using the National Policy for Indigenous Health discourse expressed in several governmental documents. This policy guarantees universal access to health services for Indian populations and promotes primary health care services that integrate and articulate biomedical practices with traditional indigenous medical practices in what is known as "differentiated assistance" (Brazil

2002: 17). These concerns are in accord with the principles of multiculturalism laid down in the 1988 Constitution<sup>5</sup>. Since 2004, FUNASA has increasingly promoted the integration of traditional medicines in an effort to guarantee that the communities have culturally adequate primary health care services. In 2005, the Indigenous Traditional Health Area was implanted by the Health Vigilance Secretary (VIGISUS), which has created community participation projects in traditional medicine which are supported by resources from the World Bank (Ferreira and Osório 2007).

The Guarani ayahuasca project was rejected for support by the VIGISUS program, and its funding came from regional sources of FUNASA. In this sense, it constitutes a local endeavor to implement “differentiated assistance” on the part of the medical team members, without explicit orders from the centralized governmental agency, which is most frequently the case. It is, in fact, one of the few projects that has emerged spontaneously from a local health team initiative. Although there is no clear proof that it has been effective in improving the health indicators of this Guarani population, we suggest that it has had a positive consequence in the inter-ethnic dialogue and negotiations of the Guarani with members of the larger society.

Reverse benefits can also be perceived. Guarani presence in the ceremonies of Fire of Truth and Santo Daime constitute a way to legitimize the claim of indigenous origin of their knowledge and rites. The importance of this fact can be understood if we consider the representation that the Indian has in contemporary context of neo-shamanic movements. As noted before, one of the main principles of Fire of Truth’s discourse is “revival of ancestral knowledge”, as well as the general idea that the indigenous knowledges and its shamanisms all reflect the same “essence”.

## **Final Comments**

There is a fairly evident relation between the search for the “authenticity” of Indian peoples on the part of neo-shamanic groups and the

---

5. With the revision of the constitution, the policy of indigenous health care received more attention and resulted in the creation of the sub-system of Indian health 1999. An important principle that guides this system is called “differentiated attention” which calls for respect toward traditional knowledge, health practices and healing specialists (Langdon 2004).

general and global process of “cultural revival” on the part of indigenous peoples, as shown in the case described here. For us, the Guarani should not be considered as naive in this process. On the contrary, they are engaged in active and dynamic dialogues and negotiations that go beyond the limits of their village and link them to regional, national and global discourse.

In a reflection on how the possibilities and limitations of cultural innovation and the exercise of creativity co-exist and articulate in a society and how cultural meanings are produced and recreated, Sahlins (1997a, 1997b) underscores the capacity of indigenous people to encompass and integrate the global system into their own world view. This author, who perceives indigenous peoples as conscious actors in the construction of their culture, argues that, contrary to the expectations of the 1950s and 1960s, they have refused to disappear as well as to become like us. Rather, they are engaged in an effort to “incorporate the world system into an order that is even broader: their own system of the world” (1997a: 52). It is this apparently paradoxical refusal by the indigenous peoples to disappear that he calls *indigenization of modernity*. This movement, which Richard Salisbury designated as “cultural intensification”, is related to the selective incorporation of elements from global society into indigenous cultures. It is also associated with a search for reflecting traditional notions of “the good life” and with an explicit promotion of indigenous “culture” (Salisbury *apud* Sahlins 1997a: 53). According to Sahlins (*ibid.*), although this has been happening for centuries in some places, this process has become more visible and acquired global dimensions since the 1980s.

Thus for him, it is necessary to recognize that there is a simultaneous development of global integration and local differentiation (Bright and Geyer 1987 *apud* Sahlins 1997a:57) in a way that “cultural similarities of globalization relate dialectically to opposing demands of indigenization” (Sahlins 1957a:57). In this way, homogeneity and heterogeneity should not be seen as mutually exclusive, but as two constitutive tendencies of global reality (1997a:58). Addressing the question of “cultural survival”, Sahlins affirms that it consists of the attempt by indigenous peoples to appropriate the capitalist system in their own terms, emphasizing, however, a historical vision of these peoples, according to which “the continuity of indigenous cultures consists in the specific forms by which they transform themselves” (1997b:126).

The discussion about possibilities of cultural innovation or cultural variation is of great interest to contemporary anthropology. Reflections on issues such as relationship between past and present and reproduction/recreation of myths and rites articulate underlying theoretical questions linked to the relations between structure and event; ritual, myth and

history; individual creativity and interpretation as a contribution to the production of collectively appropriated innovations. Furthermore, these reflections invite us to rethink concepts such as modernity and tradition, pointing to the idea that, as Sahlins suggests, tradition consists “in different ways by which transformation is accomplished” (1997a:63). This view is based on a major change of perspectives in anthropology that began in the 1980s (Ortner 1994), and which has, as its main premises: the questioning of the view of culture as a totality and as a self-contained, self-bounded social unit; an idea that all social units should be situated in time and history (Oliveira Filho 1999); that the process of construction of identities and boundaries has an important political dimension (Barth 2000); and, finally, a vision of culture as fluid, emergent and dynamic (Langdon 1996b).

In a recent article, Langdon (2007b) discusses the analytic status of the terms shaman and shamanism, arguing that the growth of shamanic rituals practiced by non-indigenous groups in urban centers forces us to review these concepts. This author points out that the expansion of shamanism to non-indigenous groups can be considered as relating to exchange between the local and the global in a wider context, and thus reflecting central issues in contemporary anthropology, such as notions of culture and tradition, continuity, place and praxis. Accordingly, the growth of New Age shamanisms among urban classes, which has become increasingly evident since the 1990s when shamanism emerged as a global phenomenon, forces us to recognize that shamanism is more than an indigenous phenomenon, and that shamans and shamanisms should be seen today as dialogical categories, negotiated at the boundaries of local indigenous societies and their interfaces with global and national societies.

Anthropology has long recognized shamans as translators of other realities or as mediators between the visible and invisible worlds, but Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (1998) suggests an additional role for the shaman: that of translator of native knowledge, including ecological, for non-indigenous society. On the other hand, Hamayon (2003), an important specialist of Siberian shamanism, has suggested that western comprehension of the phenomenon is a way of objectifying the Other, constituting a mirror through which we construct his image. For us, shamanism is not simply translation or objectification, but a phenomenon that emerges dialogically based on interactions between all actors involved in its global revival – anthropologists, journalists, environmental organizations, health care professionals, Indians and neo-shamans, among countless others. The tight network of relations formed during these last ten years between the Guarani from Clear Waters village, Fire of Truth, Santo Daime and medical team, and the intense circulation of people, knowledge and substances that we have described in this text, provide in an example of

such a dialogue. Contemporary cases such as this lead us to question the concept of culture as internally homogeneous with clear and well defined boundaries, suggesting that shamanism is a dialogue; a constantly emergent phenomenon, that creates and recreates itself based on the interactions between actors in a post-colonial and post-modern world.

## Bibliography

- ATKINSON Jane Monnig, « Shamanisms Today », *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 21, Palo Alto Annual Reviews Inc., 1992, p. 307-330.
- BARTH Frederick, « Os grupos étnicos e suas fronteiras », in *O guru, o iniciador e outras variações antropológicas*, Rio de Janeiro, Contra-Capa, 2000, p. 25-67.
- BRUNELLI Gilio, « Do Xamanismo aos Xamãs: estratégias Tupi-Mondé frente à sociedade envolvente », in Esther Jean Langdon (ed.), *Xamanismo no Brasil: Novas Perspectivas*, Florianópolis, Editora da UFSC, 1996, p. 233-266.
- BRASIL, Fundação Nacional de Saúde, *Política Nacional de Atenção à Saúde dos Povos Indígenas*, 2a Edição, Brasília, Ministério da Saúde, Fundação Nacional de Saúde, 2002, 40 p.
- CAMPBELL Alan T., « Submitting », in Graham Harvey (ed.), *Shamanism, a Reader*, London, Routledge, 2003, p. 123-144.
- CARNEIRO DA CUNHA Manuela, « Pontos de Vista sobre a Floresta Amazônica: Xamanismo e Tradução », *Mana*, 1998, 4(1), p. 7-22.
- FAUSTO Carlos, « Feasting on People: Cannibalism and Commensality in Amazonia », *Current Anthropology*, vol. 28, 2007, p. 497-530.
- FERREIRA Luciane Ouriques e OSÓRIO Patricia S. (ed.), *Medicina Tradicional Indígena em Contextos: Anais da 1ª Reunião de Monitoramento*, Brasília, Brasil, Ministério da Saúde, Fundação Nacional de Saúde, Projeto Vigisus II, 2007, p. 110-119.
- FERREIRA OLIVIERA Aline, Agência das Medicinas, agência dos sujeitos: produzindo corpos intensivos e alter-agôes no Fogo Sagrado. Punto Urbe, omo 03, versao 05. Available at: <http://www.pontourbe.net/edicao5-graduacaoencampo/43-agencia-das-medicinas-agencia-das-sujeitas-produzindo-corpos-intensivos-e-alter-aco-es-no-fogo-sagrado>
- FRANÇA Marcelo, *Relato da Aldeia Yynn Morothi Wherá da Terra Indígena M'Biguaçu*, 2008, available at: [http://www.neip.info/downloads/textos%20novos/relato\\_aldeia.pdf](http://www.neip.info/downloads/textos%20novos/relato_aldeia.pdf) (February 2009).
- FURST Peter (ed.), *Flesh of the Gods. The Ritual Use of Hallucinogens*, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1972, 304 p.

- GALLOIS Dominique Tilkin, « Waiãpi: nos caminhos invisíveis, a relação i-paie », in Esther Jean Langdon (ed.), *Xamanismo no Brasil: Novas Perspectivas*, Florianópolis, Editora da UFSC, 1996, p. 39-75.
- GOODMAN Felicitas D., *Where the Spirits Ride the Wind. Trance Journeys and Other Ecstatic Experiences*, Bloomington, University of Indian Press, 1990, 242 p.
- GOW Peter, « River People: Shamanism and History in Western Amazonia », in Nicholas Thomas and Caroline Humphrey (eds), *Shamanism, History, and the State*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1994, p. 90-114.
- GREENE Shane, « The shaman's needle: development, shamanic agency and intermediality in Aguaruna Lands Peru », *American Ethnologist*, 1998, 25(4), p. 634-658.
- HAMAYON Roberte, « Introduction à *Chamanismes*. Réalités autochtones, réinventions occidentales », *Revue Diogène – Chamanismes*, Paris, Presses Universitaires Françaises, 2003, p. 7-54.
- HARNER Michael (ed.), *Hallucinogens and Shamanism*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1973, 200 p.
- , *The Way of the Shaman*, New York, Bantam Books, 1982, 214 p.
- HARVEY Graham (ed.), *Shamanism, A reader*, London, Routledge, 2003, 461 p.
- HUXLEY Aldous, *The Doors of Perception*, New York, Harper and Row, 1954, 63 p.
- JOHNSON Paul C., « Shamanism from Ecuador to Chicago. A Case Study in New Age Ritual Appropriation », in Graham Harvey (ed.), *Shamanism, A reader*, London, Routledge, 2003, p. 334-354.
- LABATE Beatriz Caiuby, *A reinvenção do uso da ayahuasca nos centros urbanos*, Campinas, Mercado de Letras, 2004, 535 p.
- LABATE Beatriz Caiuby, MACRAE Edward et GOULART Sandra Lucia, « Brazilian Ayahuasca religions in perspective », in Beatriz Caiuby Labate and Edward Macrae (eds), *Ayahuasca, ritual and Religion in Brazil*, Mondon, Equinox, 2010, p. 1-20.
- LABATE Beatriz Caiuby, SANTANA DE ROSE Isabel e GUIMARAES DOS SANTOS Rafael, *Ayahuasca Religions. A comprehensive bibliography & critical essays*, Multidisciplinary Association for Psychedelic Studies – MAPS. Santa Cruz, California, 2009.
- LAGROU Elsje M., « Xamanismo e Representação entre os Kaxinawá », in Esther Jean Langdon (ed.), *Xamanismo no Brasil : Novas Perspectivas*, Florianópolis, Editora da UFSC, 1996, p. 197-233.
- , « O Que nos Diz a Arte Kaxinawa sobre a Relação entre Identidade e Alteridade ? », *Mana*, 2002, 8(1), p. 29-61.
- , *A fluidez da forma: arte, alteridade e agência e uma sociedade amazônica (Kaxinawa, Acre)*, Rio, Topbooks, 2007, 565 p.

- LANGDON Esther Jean (ed.), *Xamanismo no Brasil: Novas Perspectivas*, Florianópolis, Editora da UFSC, 1996a, 367 p.
- « Performance e preocupações pós-modernas em antropologia », in João Gabriel L.C. Teixeira (ed.), *Performance, performáticos e sociedade*, Brasília, Editora da UNB, 1996b, p. 23-29.
- « Uma Avaliação Crítica da Atenção Diferenciada e a Colaboração entre Antropologia e Profissionais de Saúde », in Esther Jean Langdon e Luiza Garnelo (eds), *Saúde dos Povos Indígenas: reflexões sobre antropologia participativa*, Rio de Janeiro, Editora ContraCapa, 2004, p. 41-57.
- « Commentary to Fausto's Article », *Current Anthropology*, 2007a, 28, p. 517-518.
- « Shamans and Shamanisms: Reflections on Anthropological Dilemmas of Modernity », *Vibrant*, 2007b, 4(2), p. 27-48. [http://www.vibrant.org.br/downloads/v4n2\\_langdon.pdf](http://www.vibrant.org.br/downloads/v4n2_langdon.pdf). (February 2009).
- New Perspectives of Shamanism in Brazil: Shamanisms and Neo-Shamanisms as Dialogical Categories, Paper presented at *Seminário Permanente de Etnografia Mexicana*, Instituto Nacional de Antropologia e Historia, México, 2008.
- LIMA Tânia Stolze, « O dois e seu múltiplo: reflexes sobre ao perspectivismo em uma cosmologia tupi », *Mana*, 1996, 2(2), p. 21-47.
- , *Um Peixe Olho para mim. O povo Yudjá e a perspectiva*, Sao Paulo, Editora da UNESP, 2005, 400 p.
- LIMA DA SILVA Raquel, *Natureza, Rainha da Floresta e Indianidade: o caso da igreja do Santo Daime entre os índios Apurinã da aldeia Camicuã*, Trabalho de Conclusão de Curso em Ciências Sociais, Universidade Federal do Acre, 2002.
- LITAIFF Aldo, *As divinas palavras. Identidade étnica dos Guarani-Mbyá*, Florianópolis, Editora da UFSC, 1996.
- MACKLIN June, ACEVEDO MARTINEZ Victor e GONZALEZ TORRES Elizabeth, « New Religious Movements and Ritual Transformations of the Modern Self », *Scripta Ethnologica*, 1999, XXI, p. 35-58. Bs. As.
- MACRAE Edward, « The Ritual and Religious Use of Ayahuasca in Contemporary Brazil », in Whitney A. Taylor, Rob Stewart, Kerry Hopkins, and Scott Ehlers (eds), *DPF XII Policy Manual*, Washington, D.C., The Drug Policy Foundation Press, 1999, p. 47-50.
- MELLO Flávia Cristina, *Aetchá nhanderukuery karai retarã: Entre deuses e animais. Xamanismo, parentesco e transformação entre os Chiripá e Mbyá Guarani*, Tese de doutorado em Antropologia Social, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, 2006.
- METZNER Ralph (ed.), *Sacred Vine of Spirits: Ayahuasca*, Vermont, Park Street Press, 1999, 399 p.

- MONTAGNER Delvair, « Cânticos Xamânicos dos Marúbo », in Esther Jean Langdon (ed.), *Xamanismo no Brasil: Novas Perspectivas*, Florianópolis, Editora da UFSC, 1996, p. 171-195.
- MOTA Clarisse, « Novaes da. Sob as Ordens da Jurema: o xamã Kariri-Xocó », in Esther Jean Langdon (ed.), *Xamanismo no Brasil: Novas Perspectivas*, Florianópolis, Editora da UFSC, 1996, p. 267-296.
- OLIVEIRA Aline Ferreira e GOMES Laura, *Cerimônia de medicina : etnografando segundo o modelo de processo ritual*, in Esther Jean Langdon e Everton Luis Pereira (eds), *Rituais e Performances : Iniciações em Pesquisa de campo*, Florianópolis, Editora da UFSC, in press, p. 53-86.
- OLIVEIRA Melissa Santana de, *Kiringué i kuery Guarani. Infância, educação e religião entre os Guarani de M'Biguaçu, SC*. Dissertação de mestrado em Antropologia Social, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, 2004.
- OLIVEIRA FILHO, João Pacheco de, « A problemática dos 'índios misturados' e os limites dos estudos americanistas: a um encontro entre antropologia e história », in João Pacheco de Oliveira Filho (ed.), *Ensaio de Antropologia Histórica*, Rio de Janeiro, Editora da UFRJ, 1999, p. 99-123.
- ORTNER Sherry B., « Theory in anthropology since the sixties », in Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley and Sherry B. Ortner (eds), *Culture, Power, History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, Princeton, University of Princeton Press, 1994, p. 372-411.
- PÉREZ GIL Laura, « Chamanismo y modernidade: fundamentos etnográficos de un proceso histórico », in Calavia Sáes, Óscar, Marc Lenaerts, Ana María Spadafora (eds), *Paraíso Abierto, Jardines Cerrados: Pueblos indígenas, saberes y biodiversidad*, Quito, ABYA-YAHA, 2004, p. 179-201.
- ROSE Isabel Santana, « Tata endy rekoe – Fogo Sagrado : encontros entre os Guarani, a ayahuasca e o caminho vermelho », PhD diss. Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, 2010.
- SAHLINS Marshall, « O 'pessimismo sentimental' a experiência etnográfica: Por que a cultura não é um 'objeto' em via de extinção (Parte I) », *Mana*, 1997a, 3 (1), p. 41-73.
- , « O 'pessimismo sentimental' a experiência etnográfica: Por que a cultura não é um 'objeto' em via de extinção (Parte II) », *Mana*, 1997b, 3 (2), p. 103-150.
- SEEGER Anthony, DA MATTA Roberto e VIVEIROS DE CASTRO Eduardo B., « A Construção da Pessoa nas Sociedades Indígenas Brasileiras », in João Pacheco de Oliveira Filho (ed.), *Sociedades Indígenas e Indigenismo no Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, UFRJ/Editora Marco Zero, 1987 [1979], p. 11-30.

- SELL Ari Bertoldo, « Neurobiologia e Xamanismo », in Esther Jean Langdon (ed.), *Xamanismo no Brasil: Novas Perspectivas*, Florianópolis, Editora da UFSC, 1996, p. 353-361.
- SILVERMAN J., « Shamans and Acute Schizophrenia », *American Anthropologist*, 1967, 69, p. 21-31.
- SZTUTMAN Renato, « Sobre a ação xamânica », in Dominique T. Gallois (ed.), *Redes de relações nas Guianas*, São Paulo, Associação Editorial Humanitas, FAPESP, 2005, p. 151-227.
- TAUSSIG Michael, *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1987, 517 p.
- THOMAS Nicholas and HUMPHREY Caroline (eds), *Shamanism, History, and the State*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1994, 230 p.
- VARGAS Haroldo Evangelista, *Fortalecimento das lideranças espirituais da nação Guarani*, Project presented by NGO Rondon Brazil to FUNASA, 2002.
- VIVEIROS DE CASTRO Eduardo B., « Images of Nature and Society in Amazonian Anthropology », *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 1996a, 25, p. 179-200.
- , « Os Pronomes Cosmológicos e o Perspectivismo Ameríndio », *Mana*, 1996b, 2(2), p. 145-162.
- , « Cosmological Deixis and Amerindian Perspectivism », *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1998, 4, p. 469-488.
- WHITEHEAD Neil L., *Dark Shamans. Kanaima and the poetics of violent death*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2002, 310 p.
- WHITEHEAD Neil L. and WRIGHT Robin (eds), *In Darkness and Secrecy. The Anthropology of Assault sorcery and Witchcraft in Amazonia*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2004, 328 p.
- WINKELMAN Michael, *Shamanism: The Neural Ecology of Consciousness and Healing*, Connecticut, Bergin and Garvy, 2000, 312 p.
- WRIGHT Robin M., « Guardiões do Cosmos: pajés e profetas entre os Baniwas », in Esther Jean Langdon (ed.), *Xamanismo no Brasil: Novas Perspectivas*, Florianópolis, Editora da UFSC, 1996, p. 75-117.