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Handbook of Contemporary Religions in Brazil

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Brazil's Ayahuasca Religions: Comparisons and Contrasts

Andrew Dawson

Introduction

Literally translating from the Quechua language of the north Andes as 'soul vine' or 'vine of the dead,' ayahuasca is a psychotropic beverage ritually consumed in both indigenous and non-indigenous contexts. Within its originary indigenous context, ayahuasca has traditionally been consumed across the upper reaches of the Amazon river system (that is, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru) by the Aruák, Chocó, Jívaro, Pano and Tukano peoples. Known by various names within its respective indigenous contexts, ayahuasca is a generic term most commonly associated with preparations of the mildly psychoactive vine *Banisteriopsis caapi*. Other natural substances, such as tree barks and coca or tobacco leaves, are also combined with the vine owing to their ability to intensify and prolong the psychotropic event (Luz 2004). Beyond the indigenous context of the Upper Amazon Basin, ayahuasca is most popularly consumed within the three religio-spiritual traditions of A Barquinha, Santo Daime and A União do Vegetal.¹ The transmission of ayahuasca consumption from indigenous to non-indigenous contexts occurred in the latter parts of the nineteenth century through the combined forces of cultural miscegenation and contact with non-indigenes working as, for example, territorial border-markers or rubber-tappers. The most common form in which ayahuasca passed from indigenous to non-indigenous use comprises the combination of the vine *B. caapi* with the leaves of the shrub *Psychotria viridis*. Containing the psychoactive agent N,N-Dimethyltryptamine (DMT), the foliage of *P. viridis* likewise intensifies and prolongs the psychotropic effects of ayahuasca consumption.² The subject of successive government investigations, the

1 'A Barquinha' translates as 'The Little Boat' and 'A União do Vegetal' (known commonly as the UDV) is best rendered as 'The Union of the Plants.' Santo Daime, however, has no literal translation but is commonly understood by practitioners to encapsulate the ritualized pursuit of spiritual purification.

2 The bio-chemical properties and physiological processes associated with *B. caapi* and *P. viridis* are treated by McKenna *et al.* (1984) and Callaway (2005).

consumption of ayahuasca beyond its indigenous contexts is legal in Brazil when undertaken as part of a religious ritual and regulated according to a number of stipulated principles (Labate 2011). While the ritual use of ayahuasca is occurring in a progressively varied range of religio-spiritual contexts (see Labate 2004), the 'ayahuasca religions' of A Barquinha, Santo Daime, and A União do Vegetal (hereafter UDV) continue to represent the most popular formats in which ayahuasca is religiously consumed. This chapter focuses almost entirely upon these three religious worldviews.

As the trajectories of and relationships between Brazil's ayahuasca religions have, at times, been respectively schismatic and no little contentious, the landscape mapped by this chapter is both ideologically riven and normatively charged. It is also a progressively diverse terrain. On the one hand, diversity arises as dissensions and developments internal to these movements combine with the external forces of societal transformation driven by Brazil's continued socio-economic development (Rohter 2010; Roett 2011). On the other, diversity emerges through ayahuasca religiosity's progressive internationalization engendered by the combined processes of transnational migration and global transmission (Dawson 2016; Labate, Cavnar and Gearin 2016). Unable to do full justice to the ongoing diversification of the movements engaged, and not wishing to be encumbered by prevailing rivalries and disputes, the following treatment employs broad and, I hope, relatively objective brushstrokes to sketch the commonalities and contrasts pertaining to the ayahuasca religions of Brazil.

These introductory points having been made, the following material opens by identifying the key components of the popular religious culture to which each of the founders of Brazil's ayahuasca religions was respectively exposed. The chapter then engages the progressive formalization of their ritual repertoires as it occurred from the mid-twentieth century to the early 1970s. A subsequent section then brings matters up to date by charting the processes of institutional fragmentation and repertorial diversification which each of these movements has experienced in different ways and to varying degrees over the past few decades.

Popular Religious Roots

The religious roots of Brazil's ayahuasca religions are firmly embedded within the Amazon region's popular *caboclo* ('peasant') culture (Pace 1997).³ Those

³ The term 'Amazon region' is used here as shorthand for the Brazilian side of the Upper Amazon Basin which falls principally into the three states of Acre, Amazonas and Rondônia.

commonly termed *caboclos* descended from indigenous inhabitants, early Portuguese (including each of the respective groups drawn to the region (principally from the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century) (branco) descendants of colonial settlement, and African migrants (Parker 1985). In fact, the caboclo religiosity exemplified by Brazil's ayahuasca religions comprises a mixture of Catholicism, indigenous beliefs and African Brazilian provenance.⁴ As such, caboclos have employed incantations as well as magical rites and called upon the local faith-healer and 'peasant shaman' (Villacorta 2004). Three aspects apparent in the articulation of a differentiated and variegated ritual repertoire.

Prior to the emergence of the ayahuasca religions, the most popular form of spiritism occurred principally among *mesas* in Brazil, Colombia, Peru and Bolivia. It involved the consumption of ayahuasca and the spirits of certain plants (*vegetal*) (Labate 1986). As with their indigenous counterparts, caboclos invoke the presence of or facilitate communication with spirits and other supernatural forces. An *ajalé* (or *ayahuasqueiro*) consults different spirits relative to the specific task at hand, and on account of their fo-

⁴ Mello e Souza identifies the Catholicism of the late-medieval and early-modern periods as "imbued with paganism" and accordingly distinguishes between the natural and the supernatural, the image and what it represents, the supernaturalized world and African-derived belief systems that represent outright hybridism.

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commonly termed *caboclos* descend from the variegated miscegenation of indigenous inhabitants, early Portuguese settlers and later migrant workers (including each of the respective founders of the three ayahuasca religions) drawn to the region (principally from northeast Brazil) by the rubber-booms of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. As well as the 'white' (*branco*) descendants of colonial settlement and subsequent European immigration, this latter group included significant numbers of Afro-Brazilian and mixed-race migrants (Parker 1985). Reflecting its culturally miscegenated character, the caboclo religiosity experienced by the respective founders of Brazil's ayahuasca religions comprized a hybrid worldview drawing on popular Catholicism, indigenous beliefs and practices and sundry elements of an Afro-Brazilian provenance.⁴ As such, caboclo culture lauded saints and spirits alike, employed incantations as well as prayers, practiced both Christian rituals and magical rites and called upon the religious ministrations of Catholic priest, local faith-healer and 'peasant shaman' (Galvão 1955; Brandão 1980; Maués and Villacorta 2004). Three aspects appropriated from popular caboclo religiosity by ayahuasca religions are worthy of note: the ritual consumption ayahuasca, the articulation of a differentiated religious worldview and the employment of a variegated ritual repertoire.

Prior to the emergence of the formal ritual repertoires of Brazil's ayahuasca religions, the most popular form of non-indigenous ayahuasca consumption occurred principally among *mestiço* communities living on the borders of Brazil, Colombia, Peru and Bolivia. Commonly referred to as *vegetalismo*, the mixed-race consumption of ayahuasca is orchestrated by specialists claiming the spirits of certain plants (*vegetales*) as their teachers (*professores*) (Luna 1986). As with their indigenous counterparts, *vegetalistas* use ayahuasca to invoke the presence of or facilitate interaction with the spirits of plants, animals and other supernatural forces. Addressed as 'Master' (*mestre*), the *vegetalista* (or *ayahuasqueiro*) consults different plants, animals, and supernatural agents relative to the specific task at hand; not least, healing and divination. Indeed, and on account of their focus upon the ritual pursuit of healing (*cura*),

4 Mello e Souza identifies the Catholic Christianity established in Brazil as an admixture of late-medieval and early-modern religiosity. As a result, she maintains, Brazilian Catholicism was "imbued with paganism" and accustomed "to a magical universe" in which "people could barely distinguish between the natural and the supernatural, the visible and the invisible, part and whole, the image and what it represented" (2003: 48). The strong correspondence between the supernaturalized worldview of popular Catholicism and those of indigenous and African-derived belief systems thereby lent itself to much by way of religious overlap and outright hybridism.

vegetalistas are sometimes also known as *curandeiros*. As with its ritual consumption by indigenous peoples, ayahuasca may be taken on its own and in combination with or alongside other substances. It may also involve the invocation of spirits to possess the body of the Master or employ the shamanic motif of soul-flight in which the, now disembodied, spirit of the healer seeks supernatural guidance by visiting the heavenly realms of both natural and supernatural worlds. Likewise in tandem with indigenous contexts, *vegetalista* practices are commonly accompanied by dietary restrictions, the use of songs (whistled or sung) and employment of rhythmical instruments such as the maraca. The use and spraying of alcohol or blowing of tobacco smoke throughout ritual space and over those being treated is also widespread (Mabit 2004).

Particularly in their earliest forms, each of the three ayahuasca religions embodied beliefs and practices drawn explicitly from popular regional repertoires such as *vegetalismo*. At the same time, however, the formation of ayahuasca religion constitutes a self-conscious purification (sometimes understood as the 'Christianization') of established modes of ayahuasca consumption. Though variously articulated by each of the three traditions, the founding narratives of Santo Daime convey a shared concern to move beyond and improve upon popular practices of ritualized ayahuasca consumption. Reproduced below, these narratives involve the founder of Santo Daime, Raimundo Irineu Serra (1892–1971), and recount both his initial experiences with ayahuasca and subsequent calling to establish the movement in which he came to be known as 'Master Irineu'. Having migrated from the northeast to the Amazon region in the early-twentieth century, Irineu Serra worked in the forests as both a rubber-tapper and border-marker charting the territorial divisions between Brazil and its neighbors. According to Santo Daime's foundational narratives:

It was at this time that he first encountered *ayahuasca* at a rubber plantation near Peru [...] Only there, those taking the drink had a Satanic pact in order to bring fortune and ease to their lives [...] when the others started to work they put their mouths to the ground, calling the demon. He also started to call, but the more he called the demon, only [Christian] crosses would appear. So many crosses that he felt suffocated. Then the Master began to analyse things: "The Devil is scared of the cross and the more I call him, the more the crosses appear. There's clearly something in this" [...] The next time, after taking the Daime [ayahuasca] [...] he saw a beautiful woman seated [...] She said to him: "You dare to call me Satan? [...] Now tell me, who do you think I am?" Faced with such light, he said: "You are the Universal Goddess!" "Very good [she said]. Now you are going to subject yourself to a diet so that you may receive what I have

to give you." [...] After the d the best healers in the world with healing in the drink [...] in your hands."

Cited in DAWSON 2013: 10–

The beliefs and practices associated with ayahuasca consumption are present throughout the region but are framed, qualified and ultimately distinct from other calling and commissioning of Irineu within a progressively formed (and self-consciously 'Christian') movement in Acre, Brazil. Branco (Acre) in May 1930, what is now the first official ritual thereby framed ayahuasca consumption in a distinct local cultic context oriented principally towards healing and purification (Moreira and MacRae 2011).⁵ Since then, ayahuasca and purification exist in A Barquinha (1888–1958) founded A Barquinha visions in which supernatural entities and commissioned him to understand spirits alike (Araújo 1999). Likewise, the UDV in 1961 after receiving its association with spirit possession and perception (*burracheira*) made ayahuasca (known by the UDV as 'He

As well as the ritual consumption of ayahuasca, ayahuasca is derived from popular caboclo religions' differentiated religious work and ritual repertoires. Although each reinforced by the subsequent irineu formats owe much to the ayahuasca of the Amazon region. The different ayahuasca festivals, for example, in both organized and unorganized ayahuasca distinctions and hierarchical structures pertaining to material space, such as

5 Understood as healing in its broadest sense, ayahuasca is a form of popular religiosity and as such comprises both material and spiritual wealth as it does spiritual outcomes (see Camargo 1961; Azzi 1978; Brandão

andeiros. As with its ritual consumption may be taken on its own and in ices. It may also involve the inclusion of Master or employ the shamanic embodied, spirit of the healer seeks to reach realms of both natural and supernatural indigenous contexts, *vegetalista* dietary restrictions, the use of songs and musical instruments such as the burning of tobacco smoke throughout the ceremony is so widespread (Mabit 2004).

The three ayahuasca religions emerge from popular regional repertoires. However, the formation of ayahuasca consumption (sometimes understood as a rite of passage of ayahuasca consumption). In these traditions, the founding narrative is to move beyond and improve ayahuasca consumption. Reproduced below are the experiences of Santo Daime, Raimundo Irineu Serra, and the way in which he came to be known in the northeast to the Amazon region. He worked in the forests as both a rubber tapper and territorial divisions between Brazil and Peru in his foundational narratives:

I had never had ayahuasca at a rubber plantation. I was taking the drink had a Satanic influence on their lives [...] when the others fell to the ground, calling the demon. I called the demon, only [Christian] that he felt suffocated. Then the demon said that the evil is scared of the cross and the demon disappear. There's clearly something wrong with the Daime [ayahuasca] [...] he said to him: "You dare to call me demon? I am?" Faced with such light, she said: "Very good [she said]. Now you see that you may receive what I have

to give you." [...] After the diet [...] He asked that she make him one of the best healers in the world [...] and] that she combine everything to do with healing in the drink [...] "It is already done [she said], everything is in your hands."

Cited in DAWSON 2013: 10–11

The beliefs and practices associated with popular modes of ayahuasca consumption are present throughout the foundational narratives of Santo Daime but are framed, qualified and ultimately relativized through reference to the calling and commission of Irineu Serra to purify such practices by inserting them within a progressively formal ritual repertoire of an explicitly religious (and self-consciously 'Christian') character. Celebrated in the outskirts of Rio Branco (Acre) in May 1930, what is regarded by members of Santo Daime as its first official ritual thereby framed the consumption of ayahuasca within a formal cultic context oriented principally to the 'cure' (*cura*) of those taking part (Moreira and MacRae 2011).⁵ Similar foundational narratives of commission and purification exist in A Barquinha and the UDV. Daniel Pereira de Mattos (1888–1958) founded A Barquinha in the mid-1940s after receiving a series of visions in which supernatural entities handed over a 'Blue Book' (*livro azul*) and commissioned him to undertake a charitable ministry to humankind and spirits alike (Araújo 1999). Likewise, José Gabriel da Costa (1922–1971) founded the UDV in 1961 after receiving instructions from the 'astral plane' to end his association with spirit possession and concentrate instead upon the spiritual perception (*burracheira*) made available by the ritual consumption of ayahuasca (known by the UDV as 'Hoasca' or 'Oaska') (Melo 2011).

As well as the ritual consumption of ayahuasca, two other aspects appropriated from popular caboclo religiosity worthy of note are the ayahuasca religions' differentiated religious worldview and their employment of variegated ritual repertoires. Although each of these characteristics, as will be seen, was reinforced by the subsequent influence of other belief systems, their basic formats owe much to the aforementioned popular religio-cultural matrix of the Amazon region. The differentiated worldview of ayahuasca religions manifests, for example, in both organizational preoccupations (for example, gender distinctions and hierarchical structures) and symbolic divisions such as those pertaining to material space, supernatural entities and community–society

5 Understood as healing in its broadest sense, the notion of 'cure' is endemic to Brazilian popular religiosity and as much comprises psychophysical benefits (e.g. health, happiness and wealth) as it does spiritual outcomes (e.g. cleansing, forgiveness and post-mortem wellbeing) (see Camargo 1961; Azzi 1978; Brandão 1980; Bastide 1985).

distinctions. Paralleling the traditional gender divisions of prevailing caboclo culture, the earliest version of each ayahuasca religion employed practical and symbolic modes of differentiation by sex. While the relatively recent geographical spread and ensuing demographic shift (see below) experienced by certain forms of ayahuasca religion has somewhat eroded traditional gendered distinctions, differentiation by sex nevertheless continues to manifest in physical demarcations of cultic space (for example, male and female areas), functional divisions of ritual labor (relating, for example, to hymn singing and spirit mediumship) and material differences in ceremonial uniform (for example, colorfulness and style).

The wearing of uniforms by members of all three ayahuasca religions also reflects traditional preoccupations with hierarchical stratification as a means of both institutional structuration (for example, 'battalions' and 'ranks') and the outward display of organizational standing relative to an individual's presumed inner spiritual status. Members of A Barquinha, for example, regard themselves as 'sailors' (*marinheiros*) whose service aboard the 'Little Boat' takes them across the 'Sea of Life' to dock finally at the base of the Cross of Christ. Purified by the trials and tribulations associated with crossing the Sea of Life, the journey aboard the Little Boat is understood to involve a transitional pilgrimage from our material world of illusion and falsehood to the heavenly realm of light and truth. Empowered by the ritual consumption of ayahuasca ('Daime') and guided by Daniel Pereira de Mattos and his successors, A Barquinha orders its ranks along naval lines, with members (the 'uniformed') wearing sailor-like livery (two versions of 'blue' and 'white' respectively) and believing themselves to be an 'armed force' embroiled in the battle between light and darkness (Margarido and Araújo Neto 2005). The differentiated worldview articulated, in part, by the use of uniforms, martial imagery and military-like motifs owes much to the influence of religious millenarianism upon caboclo culture (Queiroz 1965; Mycofski 1988). Among other things, millenarianism situates the community of belief in the midst of a transhistorical battle between the forces of good and evil. Interpreted against this overarching backdrop, concrete events and processes (for example, meteorological disasters and social transformations) impacting upon the community of belief are given a theological significance which valorizes collective identity and purpose while reinforcing existing organizational arrangements and the hierarchical structures thereof; not least, the messianic status of community leaders and their charismatic modes of authority (Negrão 2001; Dawson 2007). At the same time, collective self-understanding as a community of the saved is further bolstered by its differentiation from the world of sinfulness, illusion and darkness. Whereas the differentiating theological scenario of

millenarianism helps signify the organizational stratification, their influences of popular Catholicism framed and mobilized migrant labor in the plantations of the Amazon (Lacheco 2004).

Popular caboclo religiosity befitting Brazil's ayahuasca religions appears to have further additions and adaptations. Ayahuasca religions engaged a superimposition of indigenous nature spirits. These supernatural beings were landscape ordered, for example to mountains and rivers), land (mountains, vernal pools, astral bodies and the sky). Each of these popular healing practices, from spirit mediumship. Alongside this stood as a sacred 'sacrament'), the ritual of praise, thanksgiving and contemplation, song, dance and periods of quietude, which all of these elements were had no formal tradition of scripturalism, though, ayahuasca religion was concerned with healing (*cura* as merit) through the ritualized en-

Institutionalizing Religion

The adoption by the ayahuasca religions of organizational arrangements occurred chiefly through institutionalization coincided with the building and infrastructural in the Amazon region to the kind of dynamics already experienced by Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo). A process of regional urban industrialization facilitated the relatively rapid spread of a repertoire previously limited to modern esotericism, Spiritism a

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millenarianism helps signify the wearing of uniforms and other modes of or-
 ganizational stratification, their actual origins most likely lie in the combined
 influences of popular Catholic festival dress and the military motifs which
 framed and mobilized migrant workers within the 'rubber battalions' estab-
 lished in the plantations of the Amazon region (Brissac 2004; Labate and Pa-
 checo 2004).

Popular caboclo religiosity bequeathed a variegated ritual repertoire which
 Brazil's ayahuasca religions appropriated and subsequently modified through
 further additions and adaptations. In their earlier forms, each of the three aya-
 huasca religions engaged a supernatural realm populated by respective assort-
 ments of indigenous nature spirits, Catholic saints and Afro-Brazilian entities.
 These supernatural beings were also understood to populate a differentiated
 landscape ordered, for example, relative to the domains of water (sea, lakes
 and rivers), land (mountains, valleys, forests and villages) and air (heaven,
 astral bodies and the sky). Each ayahuasca tradition employed a mixture of
 popular healing practices, formal ritual celebrations, and various modes of
 spirit mediumship. Alongside the ritualized manufacture of ayahuasca (under-
 stood as a sacred 'sacrament'), their cultic repertoires involved rites of petition,
 praise, thanksgiving and contemplation variously enacted through prayers,
 song, dance and periods of quiet. As with the popular religious matrix from
 which all of these elements were drawn, earlier forms of ayahuasca religion
 had no formal tradition of scriptural reading or preaching ministry. Overall,
 though, ayahuasca religion was orchestrated by the prevailing popular pre-
 occupation with healing (*cura*) as a psychophysical outcome achieved (as gift or
 merit) through the ritualized engagement with supernatural agents and forces.

Institutionalizing Religion

The adoption by the ayahuasca religions of increasingly formal institutional
 arrangements occurred chiefly in the mid-twentieth century. This process of
 institutionalization coincided with government-sponsored projects of nation
 building and infrastructural integration which progressively opened up the
 Amazon region to the kind of modernizing processes and transformative dy-
 namics already experienced by the center-south of the country (for example,
 Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo). As well as catalyzing already incipient processes
 of regional urban industrialization, such government-sponsored projects facili-
 tated the relatively rapid spread across the Amazon region of religio-spiritual
 repertoires previously limited to the center-south; not least among which were
 modern esotericism, Spiritism and Umbanda. For a variety of historical reasons,

each of these repertoires included elements which were markedly similar to beliefs and practices already embedded in popular caboclo culture. In contrast to the otherwise diffuse manifestation of these elements in popular religiosity, however, the repertoires of modern esotericism, Spiritism and, to a lesser extent, Umbanda comprised ritual regimes of a significantly more formal, if not systematic, nature (Furuya 1994; Santos 2004; Moura da Silva 2006). In respect of Santo Daime and the UDV, modern esotericism had the greatest impact upon the mid-twentieth century institutionalization of the ayahuasca religions, while Umbanda most influenced the progressive formalization of A Barquinha's ritual repertoire. As detailed later, beliefs and practices associated respectively with Spiritism and Umbanda subsequently impacted Santo Daime by way of what is today the largest branch of the ayahuasca movement founded by Master Irineu.

Though elements of commonality exist, the self-consciously moralistic and 'scientific' nature of modern esotericism contrasts significantly with the magical character of popular esoteric beliefs prevalent in caboclo culture (Mycofski 1988). Founded in São Paulo in 1909, the Esoteric Circle of the Communion of Thought (*O Círculo Esotérico da Comunhão do Pensamento*) was chiefly responsible for the mid-twentieth century diffusion of the kind of modern esotericism then articulated by the likes of Anthroposophy, Rosicrucianism and Theosophy (Moura da Silva 2006).⁶ The term 'esoteric,' derived from the Greek word for 'inner' (*esoterós*), is used by modern esotericism in two complementary ways. First, and in contrast to what is outside (that is, 'exoteric') and available to all and sundry, it refers to a corpus of *inner* knowledge and practice available exclusively to initiates. Along with such knowledge, for example, comes an understanding of the immaterial forces and supernatural dynamics constituting the universe at both spiritual and material levels. Encapsulated in a series of 'laws' (for example, 'karma' or 'reciprocity,' and 'reincarnation' or 'perpetual return'), these forces pervade the universe as a whole and thereby impact directly upon the spiritual and physical wellbeing of every rational entity. As with most of these laws, modern esoteric representations of karma and reincarnation are modelled analogically on scientific laws such as magnetism or gravity. Embodying typically modern preoccupations, these laws and their ritual manipulation encapsulate an ameliorative and moralistic vision of the cosmos. As such, human consciousness is held to evolve by ascending an evolutionary chain of being through the pedagogical opportunities

afforded by successive incarnations. The meritocratic ethic of just deserts with merit and punishment from one term highlights the importance of positions which are awakened and practice made available by a range of disciplines and techniques (and regression), the interior awakening provides access to further truths esotericism as the 'higher' or 'true ego' (or lower self) by which, the higher self is normally suppressing the lower self, the injurious effects by way of improper thoughts and prior incarnations.

The two complementary aspects of practical knowledge ('scientific' a reading of reality and oneself and both the development of previous faculties residing in the higher self. Consequently, the more one learns one is empowered to eradicate the ties of the higher self. Esoteric disciplines of exclusivity and custodial exertion and reward, and hierarchical (Goodrick-Clarke 2008). Popularized non-confessional worldview suited the modern esoteric paradigm and Santo Daime and furnished the dominant across the UDV.

In respect of Santo Daime, the complemented its already strong corporatized tenor oriented to the ameliorative self-scrutiny. At the same time, the ritual pursuit of inner awakening therapeutic concerns with healing 'self-cure' (*curar-se*), which remained a ritual repertoire. In the same vein, the movement was formally established caboclo practices with

⁶ Complementing the nationally distributed publications of the Esoteric Circle, Meyer (2013) highlights the role of military and other state personnel who, as part of the government-sponsored programmes of nation building and infrastructural integration, helped spread modern esotericism to the Amazon region.

which were markedly similar to popular caboclo culture. In contrast to the elements in popular religiosity, such as Spiritism and, to a lesser extent, Spiritism, which are significantly more formal, if not more so (Moura da Silva 2006). In respect to Spiritism had the greatest impact upon the development of the ayahuasca religions, while the formalization of A Barquinha's ritual practices associated respectively with Santo Daime by way of what is known as the movement founded by Master Irineu. The self-consciously moralistic contrasts significantly with the practices prevalent in caboclo culture. In the Esoteric Circle of the Comunidade do Pensamento) was a century diffusion of the kind of practices of Anthroposophy, Rosicrucianism (Meyer 2013).⁶ The term 'esoteric,' derived from the Greek *esoterikos*, was used by modern esotericism in contrast to what is outside (that is, 'exoteric') to a corpus of *inner* knowledge. Along with such knowledge, for the material forces and supernatural spiritual and material levels. Enkarmas, 'karma' or 'reciprocity,' and 'reincarnation' pervade the universe as a whole and physical wellbeing of every individual. In modern esoteric representations analogically on scientific laws such as quantum physics and modern preoccupations, these practices are an ameliorative and moralistic process in which righteousness is held to evolve by which the pedagogical opportunities

of the Esoteric Circle, Meyer (2013) is a scholar who, as part of the government-structured integration, helped spread

afforded by successive incarnations, while the law of karma functions as a meritocratic ethic of just deserts which ensures the appropriate dispensation of merit and punishment from one incarnation to the next. In a second sense, the term highlights the importance of interior states of mind, experiences and dispositions which are awakened and mobilized through access to the knowledge and practice made available by modern esoteric traditions. Nurtured through a range of disciplines and techniques (for example, meditation, introspection and regression), the interior awakening made possible by esoteric knowledge provides access to further truths located deep within the inner self. Known by esotericism as the 'higher' or 'true' self, the inner self exists in conflict with the 'ego' (or lower self) by which, given the stultifying effects of materiality, the higher self is normally suppressed. Signifying all of the failings and defects of the lower self, the injurious effects of the ego may be accumulated in this life, by way of improper thoughts and behavior, or inherited (as bad karma) from prior incarnations.

The two complementary aspects of 'esoteric' come together as a privileged form of practical knowledge ('science') whose learning and execution permits a reading of reality and oneself as they truly are. This reading in turn facilitates both the development of previously dormant powers or hidden subjective faculties residing in the higher self and the incremental annihilation of the ego. Consequently, the more one learns to read the world and oneself, the more one is empowered to eradicate the ego and further develop the latent capabilities of the higher self. Esoteric discourse and practice thereby embodies elements of exclusivity and custodial responsibility, initiation and development, exertion and reward, and hierarchy and ascent (Faivre 1992; Hammer 2001; Goodrick-Clarke 2008). Popularized throughout Brazil as a contemporary and non-confessional worldview suited to a modernizing and integrated nation, the modern esoteric paradigm both reshaped the established repertoire of Santo Daime and furnished the basic template for beliefs and practices still dominant across the UDV.

In respect of Santo Daime, the esotericization of its ritual repertoire complemented its already strong communitarian ethos with an increasingly subjectivized tenor oriented to the inward-looking preoccupations of an ameliorative self-scrutiny. At the same time, new esoteric emphases placed the ritual pursuit of inner awakening and moral purification alongside traditional therapeutic concerns with healing; a combination resulting in the notion of 'self-cure' (*curar-se*), which remains a central component of the Santo Daime ritual repertoire. In the same vein, popular beliefs and rituals were progressively formalized as the movement and its members distanced themselves from established caboclo practices with which they were once closely associated.

Over time, for example, the use of rum and tobacco in rituals involving the consumption of ayahuasca (a characteristically *vegetalista* practice) was banned in favor of the sole presence of the 'sacrament' of Daime. The cultic engagement with indigenous nature spirits and Afro-Brazilian entities was also downgraded in favor of the ritualized harnessing and manipulation of universal cosmic forces. Some of the key invocations of the Esoteric Circle were also adopted at this time, as were characteristically rationalizing universal principles such as harmony, love, truth and justice. Formerly interpreted through the lens of popular caboclo religiosity, the 'vision' (*miração*) engendered by Daime consumption was likewise nuanced to signify *inner* sight of the psychical world within, as much as any outward journey to a spiritual world beyond. Such was the influence of esotericism that Master Irineu's eventual break from the Esoteric Circle in the 1960s (caused by his refusal to give up the ritual use of ayahuasca) had only a superficial effect upon Santo Daime's now well-established and thoroughly esotericized ritual repertoire (MacRae 1992; Goulart 2004).

In contrast to modern esotericism impacting an already well established ritual repertoire such as that of Santo Daime, its influence upon the UDV was far more thoroughgoing by virtue of esotericism's foundational status as the core component around which the UDV's nascent religious worldview was subsequently formed. Prior to establishing the UDV, Gabriel da Costa had practiced as both a popular healer (*curandeiro*) and Afro-Brazilian medium (*pai de santo*) before leading a religious group combining elements of Catholic, Afro-Brazilian and mestiço-indigenous beliefs and practices. Having worked with ayahuasca for some time, Gabriel da Costa became increasingly interested in modern esotericism, subsequently pronouncing many of his own popular beliefs and practices to be superfluous to the spiritual quest. Swapping his popular religious worldview for the aforementioned approaches of the modern esoteric paradigm, Gabriel da Costa declared, on the basis of instructions received from the astral plane, the founding (or rather the re-founding) of the Union of the Plants Charitable Spiritist Center (*Centro Espírita Beneficente União do Vegetal*) in 1961. Suffused with themes and motifs drawn from the modern esoteric paradigm, foundational narratives of the UDV define it as 'the world's oldest religious order.' Master Gabriel (as he came to be known) thereby 'reconstituted' the UDV rather than creating it *de novo*. This is so because the origins of the movement lie in the primordial experiences of humanity as exemplified by Caiano, the first 'Oaskeiro' (consumer of Oaska) (Gentil and Gentil 2004).

Caiano, it is believed, was an earlier incarnation of Master Gabriel and worked as an assistant to King Solomon (not the Solomon of the Judeo-Christian tradition) in the sacred, and secret, sanctuary of Minguarana. Through the consumption of Oaska, Caiano received the 'Seventh Secret

of Nature,' which encapsulates the universe. The Seventh Secret of religion and science through achieved. As the Seventh Secret made possible through the union subsequently scattered. Existing the world's religions as unrelated which spiritual union with the city. It was not until Gabriel da Costa had been preserved by Amazon significance) that the union of science loss of this knowledge reversed. tion with the illusory world of nature 'scientification' (*cientificação*) as the evolutionary chain of being. of the UDV regard the movement humankind's religious quest (Ar

Compared with Santo Daime manifests an intellectualized, if esoteric influences. Indeed, of religion, the UDV has done most popular caboclo culture. For example Santo Daime, the UDV denigrates rejecting the curative employment ('quackery') unworthy of a scientific the esoteric nature of its religious knowledge unavailable to occult secrecy, initiation and hierarchy exposition and instruction during templative settings of UDV ritual discursive dimensions of ayahuasca UDV and while hymns are sung participants of the supernatural realities of ritual participants (Lab. instruct and guide practitioners as they introspectively harness to the end of obtaining the enhanced 'burracheira' (Milanez 2003; Rod

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of Nature,' which encapsulates the fundamental truths about the laws of the universe. The Seventh Secret of Nature thereby comprises the absolute union of religion and science through which communion with the 'Higher Force' is achieved. As the Seventh Secret of Nature was later forgotten, the knowledge made possible through the union of religion and science was fragmented and subsequently scattered. Existing only in piecemeal form and strewn across the world's religions as unrelated fragments of insight, the knowledge through which spiritual union with the cosmos is achieved was in effect lost to humanity. It was not until Gabriel da Costa consumed Oaska (the practice of which had been preserved by Amazonian tribes without, it is said, appreciating its significance) that the union of science and religion was re-established and the loss of this knowledge reversed. Released by Oaska from its erroneous fascination with the illusory world of matter, humankind can now undergo a gradual 'scientification' (*cientificação*) as it ascends through successive incarnations up the evolutionary chain of being. Citing such foundational narratives, members of the UDV regard the movement as both the foundation and culmination of humankind's religious quest (Andrade 2004; Milanez 2001).

Compared with Santo Daime, the religio-spiritual worldview of the UDV manifests an intellectualized, if not somewhat austere, reading of formative esoteric influences. Indeed, of the three movements comprising ayahuasca religion, the UDV has done most to expunge the foundational traces of popular caboclo culture. For example, and in marked contrast to A Barquinha and Santo Daime, the UDV denigrates the therapeutic pursuits of ritual practice, rejecting the curative employment of ayahuasca as a form of *curandeirismo* ('quackery') unworthy of a scientific faith. At the same time, and stressing the esoteric nature of its religious repertoire as a form of privileged practical knowledge unavailable to outsiders, the UDV places great emphasis upon secrecy, initiation and hierarchy. Along with the prominence given to textual exposition and instruction during 'sessions,' the intentionally plain and contemplative settings of UDV rituals underline their prioritization of the rational-discursive dimensions of ayahuasca religion. There is no dance ritual in the UDV and while hymns are sung by some communities, they neither laud occupants of the supernatural realm nor serve to heighten the subjective experiences of ritual participants (Labate and Pacheco 2010). Rather, music is used to instruct and guide practitioners (who remain seated throughout the 'session') as they introspectively harness the cosmic energies made available by Oaska to the end of obtaining the enhanced spiritual perception known by adepts as '*burracheira*' (Milanez 2003; Rodrigues 2001).

Prior to founding A Barquinha in 1945; Melo 2016, Daniel Pereira de Mattos participated in Santo Daime rituals after receiving therapeutic treatment from

Master Irineu. It was during one of Santo Daime's rituals that Daniel received the last of a series of visions instructing him to undertake a charitable ministry of healing the sick and indoctrinating wayward spirits. Wholly independent from Santo Daime, this ministry was established on the outskirts of the Acrean city of Rio Branco as the House of Jesus Source of Light Spiritist Center and Prayer Ritual (*Centro Espírita e Culto de Oração Casa de Jesus Fonte de Luz*). Given its formative influence upon 'Brother Daniel' (as he came to be known), A Barquinha adopted many of the beliefs and practices prominent within Santo Daime before its aforementioned appropriation of modern esoteric influences. As such, A Barquinha draws freely upon popular caboclo religiosity; not least Catholic devotional traditions (for example, saintly intercession, pilgrimage and festival), mixed-race Amazonian spirituality (for example, ayahuasca and nature spirits), and Afro-Brazilian discourse and practice (for example, spirit mediumship and divination). Mirroring preoccupations of the Santo Daime worldview in the mid-1940s, A Barquinha employs a strongly therapeutic emphasis which informs its ritual practice in respect of both the living (by way of healing) and disincarnate spirits (by way of 'indoctrination'). Whereas Santo Daime progressively downgraded its ritual engagement with many of the spiritual entities drawn from popular caboclo religiosity, A Barquinha did not. Indeed, the place of spirit-oriented practice within A Barquinha became increasingly prominent thanks to the combined influences of Spiritism and, most importantly of all, Umbanda (Araújo 1999).⁷ Today, A Barquinha engages a wide variety of supernatural forces and entities including, for example, those most closely associated with Catholic Christianity (for example bishops, saints and angels); spirits of indigenous and folkloric origins such as *encantados* ('enchanted ones');⁸ spirits drawn from Umbanda (notably, *caboclos*, *pretos velhos*, *orixás* and *exus*); and, typical of Spiritist influences, the spirits of recently or long deceased human beings (Mercante 2012).

Suffused by varying kinds of mediumistic practice, the cultic repertoire of A Barquinha comprises three principal components: 'blessed ritual' (*culto santo*), 'works of charity' (*trabalhos de caridade*) and 'dance' (*bailado*). Alongside the consumption of ayahuasca, and in addition to regular periods of quiet contemplation and occasional instruction, 'blessed ritual' includes prayers and hymns (*salmos*) of adoration, thanksgiving, celebration and petition. 'Works

of charity' pertain to both human and non-human spirits. In the former, A Barquinha offers a variety of services to securing the psychophysical well-being of its members. Medicines, remedies and medical interventions for diagnosis and treatment is achieved through the use of herbs to eradicate or placate the spiritual forces behind the illness. In the latter, diagnosis of psychophysical ills such as psychosomatic disorders is achieved through employment. When applied to the treatment of the orientation, indoctrination (dedication) to the spirits of spiritual entities which, for a variety of reasons, are in need of the attention of trained mediums.⁹ In some cases, mediums themselves to or occupied the bodies of spirits sought help on account of the irritation. In other cases, the supernatural forces are sought by trained mediums in search of 'low' spirits in need of instructional practices, the ritual of 'dance' (usually reserved for spirit mediums), the opportunity to incorporate the spirits into the community through dance, play and generation. It is possible by their temporary incarnation that mediums themselves to indoctrination or a variety of services to the community (Mercante 2002; Ara

Organizational Diversification

A Barquinha remains the smallest of Brazil's ayahuasca religions. The center continues to be located in Rio Branco since its formation in 1945. The formation of an alternate, but still independent, Charity Spiritist Center (Centro Espírita Daniel Pereira) in 1995. Other branches of A Barquinha have since been established, the most noteworthy of which are in the Amazon (Centro Espírita Daniel Pereira) and the Prince Kingdom of Peace Spiritist

⁷ See Engler and Isaia, "Kardecism" and Engler "Umbanda," this volume.

⁸ *Encantados* are disincarnate spirits of human beings who have been transported to the supernatural sphere without first going through physical death. When assuming incarnate form, they appear most commonly as mermaids, dolphins, water-snakes, princes, princesses, fairies, kings and queens (Maués and Villacorta 2004).

⁹ As with other key elements of A Barquinha, the center embodies Umbandist and Kardecist influences of Santo Daime or ap

ne's rituals that Daniel received undertake a charitable ministry and spirits. Wholly independent of the outskirts of the Acrean Center of Light Spiritist Center and *Casa de Jesus Fonte de Luz*. Daniel' (as he came to be known), practices prominent within Sanation of modern esoteric influence popular caboclo religiosity; notable, saintly intercession, pilgrimality (for example, ayahuasca use and practice (for example, the preoccupations of the Santoinha employs a strongly therapeutic in respect of both the living way of 'indoctrination'). Where ritual engagement with many of caboclo religiosity, A Barquinha did practice within A Barquinha became the influences of Spiritism and, 9).⁷ Today, A Barquinha engages practices including, for example, those of unity (for example bishops, saints of origin such as *encantados* and *ida* (notably, *caboclos*, *pretos velhos*), influences, the spirits of recently (2).

practice, the cultic repertoire components: 'blessed ritual' (*culto te*) and 'dance' (*bailado*). Along with regular periods of quiet 'blessed ritual' includes prayers and celebration and petition. 'Works

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who have been transported to the suicidal death. When assuming incarnate forms, water-snakes, princes, princesses,

of charity' pertain to both human beings and disincarnate spirits. In respect of the former, A Barquinha offers a wide variety of therapeutic services oriented to securing the psychophysical wellbeing of those in need. While natural remedies and medical interventions are by no means spurned, much by way of diagnosis and treatment is achieved through ritual intervention. This aims to eradicate or placate the spiritual forces commonly identified as the root causes of psychophysical ills such as problems relating to health, relationships and employment. When applied to disincarnate spirits, works of charity involve the orientation, indoctrination (*doutrinação*) and, where appropriate, baptism of spiritual entities which, for a variety of reasons, require the ritual intervention of trained mediums.⁹ In some cases, the entities engaged have attached themselves to or occupied the bodies of individuals who have subsequently sought help on account of the injurious consequences of such spirit infestation. In other cases, the supernatural entities have been intentionally engaged by trained mediums in search of disoriented spirits in want of guidance or 'low' spirits in need of instruction and baptism. Likewise involving mediumistic practices, the ritual of 'dance' is principally ordered to celebration and gaiety. Usually reserved for spirits who have been baptized (that is, 'spirits of light'), the opportunity to incorporate at a *bailado* provides spirits with the chance to dance, play and generally enjoy the trappings and festivities made possible by their temporary incarnation. In return, incorporated spirits submit themselves to indoctrination or assisting in the ongoing therapeutic regime of the community (Mercante 2002; Araújo 2004; Frenopoulo 2004).

Organizational Diversification

A Barquinha remains the smallest and least geographically diffuse tradition of Brazil's ayahuasca religions. The center originally founded by Brother Daniel in 1945 continues to be located in Rio Branco and was complemented in 1962 by the formation of an alternate, but still local, branch entitled the Faith, Light, Truth, and Charity Spiritist Center (*Centro Espírita Fé, Luz, Amor e Caridade*). Other branches of A Barquinha have since been founded in and around Rio Branco, the most noteworthy of which are the Daniel Pereira de Mattos Spiritist Center (*Centro Espírita Daniel Pereira de Mattos*) established in 1979, the Swordfish Prince Kingdom of Peace Spiritist Center and Work of Charity (*Centro Espírita*

⁹ As with other key elements of A Barquinha's religious repertoire, the ritual enactment of charity embodies Umbandist and Kardecist emphases, either mediated through the original influences of Santo Daime or appropriated independently.

e Obra de Caridade Príncipe Espadarte Reino da Paz) formed in 1994, and the Our Lady of Aparecida Spiritist Center (*Centro Espírita Nossa Senhora Aparecida*) founded in 1998. Whereas the overwhelming majority of these branches have not spread beyond the Amazon region, the center founded in 1994 by Francisca Campos do Nascimento and dedicated to the spirit of the Swordfish Prince has spawned affiliated groups in various parts of Brazil (for example, Brasília, Fortaleza, Niterói and Salvador). The aforementioned repertorial template of A Barquinha is followed in all of these branches, with local variations emphasizing or downplaying different aspects of its constituent rituals and beliefs (Mercante 2012). The 'church' (*igreja*) in Niterói, for example, emphasizes characteristically Catholic aspects of A Barquinha's ritual template, while those in the northeast manifest typically Afro-Brazilian elements.

Like A Barquinha, the UDV encompasses a number of different branches which were established subsequent to the death of its founder. Most, such as the Rosy-light Masonic Order Charitable Spiritist Center (*Centro Espírita Beneficente Ordem Maçônica Rosaluz*) and the Order of the Universal Temple of Solomon Charitable Spiritist Center (*Centro Espírita Beneficente Ordem do Templo Universal de Salomão*), remain limited to the Amazon region. However, the Union of the Plants Charitable Spiritual Center (*Centro Espiritual Beneficente União do Vegetal*), founded in 1981 by Joaquim José de Andrade Neto, is based in the city of Campinas, São Paulo. Since moving its headquarters to Brasília, the original branch of the UDV founded by Master Daniel has expanded throughout Brazil and to a growing number of urban-industrialized countries across the world. As with Santo Daime, the geographical spread of the UDV has been accompanied by a demographic shift resulting in the contemporary preponderance of an urban-professional membership. Geographical expansion and demographic shift, however, have not resulted (at least, not yet) in the UDV manifesting the kind of repertorial diversification discussed below in respect of the now internationalized Santo Daime movement. The UDV's strongly centralized institutional authority structures are primarily responsible for this relative lack of organizational diversification (Bernardino-Costa and Mesquita da Silva 2011; Melo 2016).

Although Santo Daime dates its first official ritual to 1930, it was not formally instituted as the Universal Light Christian Illumination Center (*Centro de Iluminação Cristã Luz Universal*) until 1940. The founding community (known as 'Alto Santo') is still located in Rio Branco and, like A Barquinha and the UDV, has spawned a number of off-shoots and breakaway movements. Again in tandem with other ayahuasca religions, the majority of these new groups remain situated in the Amazon region. Certainly, personal disputes and kinship rivalries have played something of a part in the formation of splinter communities

in and around the Rio Branco region. In Rio Branco, practitioners have sought to integrate spirit-oriented practice within the Santo Daime repertorial template, but this has led to some discord and, in some cases, institutional fragmentation, although originally referencing Irineu, the term 'Alto Santo' now refers to a more otherwise discrete and self-regulating movement.

Today, the majority of Santo Daime practitioners in the Amazon region and belong to the large Santo Daime movement as a breakaway group in the early 1970s. Irineu in 1971. Led by Sebastião Irineu, the Santo Daime group remained initially in the Rio Branco region. The Raimundo Irineu Serra Eclectic Spiritist Center (*Centro Eclético da Fluente Luz Universal*) is led by Padrinho ('Godfather') Irineu, headquartered at a remote location of several hundreds of kilometres (and a few days' travel) from the Amazon region as a Spiritist medium before entering the field of stated mediumship as a key representative of the movement away from the originary community. The progressive adoption of Afro-Brazilian elements from Umbanda. (Dawson 2012). Padrinho Sebastião (known commonly as 'Padrinho') has attracted the attention of urban professionals and interested in ayahuasca by virtue of its 'power plant.' This attention resulted in the Santo Daime movement to most of Brazil's major cities and progressive internationalization in urban-industrialized countries. Significant demographic shift impacts upon the movement's gradual modification to meet the needs of the urban-middleclass membership (Dawson 2012).

Conclusion

Although a growing number of practitioners have sought to integrate ayahuasca's internationalization, the movement's earliest phase. Informing the earliest consumption of ayahuasca

da Paz) formed in 1994, and the *Espírita Nossa Senhora Aparecida*) majority of these branches have later founded in 1994 by Francisca the spirit of the Swordfish Prince of Brazil (for example, Brasília, mentioned repertorial template of es, with local variations emphasizes constituent rituals and beliefs i, for example, emphasizes char- 's ritual template, while those in 1 elements.

a number of different branches death of its founder. Most, such Spiritist Center (*Centro Espírita e Order of the Universal Temple ro Espírita Beneficente Ordem do d to the Amazon region. How- iritual Center (Centro Espiritual 81 by Joaquim José de Andrade ulo. Since moving its headquar- v founded by Master Daniel has number of urban-industrialized ime, the geographical spread of aphic shift resulting in the on-sional membership. Geographi- r, have not resulted (at least, not rtorial diversification discussed d Santo Daime movement. The erty structures are primarily re- nal diversification (Bernardino-*

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in and around the Rio Branco area. However, the desire by some to (re-) integrate spirit-oriented practices such as those of Spiritism and Umbanda within the Santo Daime repertoire has been a contentious issue generating discord and, in some cases, institutional fragmentation. As a consequence, and although originally referencing the single community founded by Master Irineu, the term 'Alto Santo' now more commonly refers to a collection of otherwise discrete and self-regulating groups (Oliveira 2011).

Today, the majority of Santo Daime practitioners reside outside of the Amazon region and belong to the largest branch of the movement which emerged as a breakaway group in the early 1970s subsequent to the death of Master Irineu in 1971. Led by Sebastião Mota de Melo (1920–1990), the breakaway group remained initially in the Rio Branco area and was officially instituted as the Raimundo Irineu Serra Eclectic Center of the Universal Flowing Light (*Centro Eclético da Fluente Luz Universal Raimundo Irineu Serra*). Today, the movement is led by Padrinho ('Godfather') Sebastião's son, Padrinho Alfredo, and is headquartered at a remote location in the forest of Amazonas State, some hundreds of kilometres (and a few days' journey) to the east of Rio Branco. Trained as a Spiritist medium before entering Santo Daime, Padrinho Sebastião reinstated mediumship as a key repertorial component subsequent to breaking away from the originary community of Alto Santo. This was followed by the progressive adoption of Afro-Brazilian motifs taken principally, but not solely, from Umbanda. (Dawson 2012). From the late 1970s, the movement founded by Padrinho Sebastião (known commonly as 'Cefluris') attracted the increasing attention of urban professionals familiar with alternative spiritual practices and interested in ayahuasca by virtue of its emerging status as an important 'power plant.' This attention resulted in the subsequent expansion of Santo Daime to most of Brazil's major conurbations and, from the early 1990s, its progressive internationalization to a growing number of the world's most urban-industrialized countries. Santo Daime's geographical spread and ensuing demographic shift impacts upon its beliefs and practices by way of their gradual modification to meet the needs and aspirations of a now preponderant urban-middleclass membership (Dawson 2013).

Conclusion

Although a growing number of treatments engage the most recent period of ayahuasca's internationalization, there is a relative dearth of material in respect of its earliest phase. Informal and anecdotal evidence, however, points to the earliest consumption of ayahuasca outside of South America occurring by

the mid-1970s as part of New Age rituals and psychotropic regimes influenced by the writings of, for example, Castaneda (1968) and Harner (1972). Subject to increasing academic treatment in recent years, the subsequent expansion and progressive internationalization of ritual ayahuasca consumption comprises two principal components, the first occurring chiefly beyond the confines of established ayahuasca religions, while the second is more immediately associated with existing traditions such as Santo Daime and the UDV. First, ayahuasca is transported and accessed internationally as part of alternative spiritual repertoires (for example 'power plant' events and 'enlightenment' retreats) and non-mainstream therapeutic regimes (for example treating drug addiction and depression) practiced by individuals and groups unaffiliated with aforementioned ayahuasca religions (see Thomas *et al.* 2013; Shoemaker 2014; Dawson 2016). Immediately associated with the likes of Santo Daime and the UDV, the second aspect of ayahuasca consumption's internationalization has two key elements: (1) the geographical dispersal of Brazilian members of Santo Daime and the UDV by way of transnational migratory movements (such as occurred during Brazil's 'lost decade' of the 1990s) and subsequent diasporic disseminations facilitated by the networks and flows of globalizing modernity; and, (2) the formal alliance with or adoption by Santo Daime and, less so, the UDV, of communities established beyond Brazil by non-Brazilians committed to consuming ayahuasca in the formal ritual contexts associated with aforementioned established traditions (see Labate and Jungaberle 2011; Groisman 2013; Labate, Cavnar and Gearin 2016). As well as impacting upon their respective religious repertoires, the internationalization of ritual ayahuasca consumption impacts upon a growing number of countries by forcing them to address demands for religious freedom made by ritual consumers of a substance which many legal systems continue to class as a dangerous narcotic (Dobkin de Rios and Rumrill 2008; Tupper 2008). Although arrests and prosecutions continue to occur outside Brazil, the ritual consumption of ayahuasca is gradually gaining a foothold, albeit still precarious, thanks to legal rulings delivered in various parts of Europe and North America (Labate and Feeney 2012; Labate 2013).

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sychotropic regimes influenced (8) and Harner (1972). Subject to the subsequent expansion and ayahuasca consumption comprises chiefly beyond the confines of and is more immediately associated with the UDV. First, ayahuasca part of alternative spiritual repertoires ('enlightenment' retreats) and multiple treating drug addiction and those unaffiliated with aforementioned; Shoemaker 2014; Dawson 2016). Santo Daime and the UDV, the second ayahuasca organization has two key elements: (1) the role of Santo Daime and the UDV by which has occurred during Brazil's 'lost decade' disseminations facilitated by the UDV, and, (2) the formal alliance with the UDV, of communities established consuming ayahuasca in the form of the UDV established traditions (see Labate, Cavnar and Gearin 2016). Religious repertoires, the international impacts upon a growing number of demands for religious freedom which many legal systems continue to deny (Dobkin de Rios and Rumrill 2008; Tupper 2009). In addition, in order to continue to occur outside Brazil, the UDV is gaining a foothold, albeit still in various parts of Europe and elsewhere (Dawson 2013).

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Judaism Revivals in Bra

Marta F. Topel

Introduction

In contrast to North American Jewish and human and educational resources in the Diaspora, the Brazilian Jewish centers such as Argentina, the United States, and human resources. There are significant Jewish centers in the Brazilian context (Topel 2008; Aviéglio 2008; studies of various aspects (historical and sociological) of different Jewish communities in Brazil (Nelson 2004; Lewin 2005; Falbel 2008) because it is impossible to separate the Jewish community and because up until the 1990s it was largely secular (Rattner 1977; Topel 2008).

The first wave of Jewish immigration to Brazil began in the seventeenth century, after a part of the Jewish community fled Dutch rule following the war between the Dutch and the English (1630–1657) in the Dutch-occupied territories, which attracted Jews from the Netherlands. It was also in this century that the Jewish community in the Americas found their brief presence in Brazilian lands. In the nineteenth century, Kahal Tzu Tzion, led by Aboab de Fonseca, was well-known for writing Hebrew texts about and in the Americas, forcing the Jewish community to leave their businesses and leave Brazil. So, in the nineteenth century, Jews from America and founded the first Jewish community in Brazil that later became New York City.

Jewish immigration to Brazil resumed in the nineteenth century. The Constitution of 1824 instituted freedom of religion and the entry of Jews from that period (from Central and Eastern Europe), and their principal de-