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Ethnobotanical Contributions to Medical Anthropology

Beiträge aus der Ethnobotanik zur Medizinethnologie

- Ayahuasca in Urban Circuit
- Peyote as Medicine
- Entheogens in Focus
- Ethnobotanical Title Pictures in *Curare*

- Die Ayahuasca-Liane
- Der Peyote-Kaktus
- Entheogene

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The famous wooden carved anthropomorphic Mandragora figures of "The grete herball" from Peter Treveris, London 1526, which were used frequently as logo in AGEM-publications.

“My Grandfather Served Ayahuasca to Mestre Irineu”: Reflections on the Entrance of Indigenous Peoples into the Urban Circuit of Ayahuasca Consumption in Brazil*

Beatriz Caiuby Labate & Tiago Coutinho

Abstract This article makes a critical reflection on the entrance of Brazilian Indians into the contemporary urban circuit of ayahuasca consumption. We describe processes of contact by different indigenous populations such as Kaxinawa, Guarani, Apurinã, Kuntanawa, and Yawanawa with Brazilian ayahuasca religions and neo-ayahuasca practitioners. We note the insistence by some of these groups that their own ancestors were responsible for teaching Raimundo Irineu Serra, the legendary founder of the Santo Daime religion, about ayahuasca. We examine how such discussions have entered into the arena of public debate, and try to understand indigenous peoples’ demands to participate in the legal process of recognizing ayahuasca as immaterial cultural heritage by Brazil’s National Institute of Historical and Artistic Heritage (IPHAN). We analyze how the entrance of indigenous people into the urban ayahuasca circuit, and the participation of non-Indians in ayahuasca ceremonies in villages in the Amazon, is reconfiguring the religious domain of Brazilian ayahuasca religions.

Keywords ayahuasca – indigenous groups in Brazil – Santo Daime – ritual – shamanism –immaterial cultural heritage – public debate – Brazil

„Mein Großvater überreichte Ayahuasca an Mestre Irineu“: Wie indigene Gruppen in den urbanen Kreislauf des Ayahuasca-Konsums in Brasilien gelangen

Zusammenfassung Der vorliegende Artikel unterzieht den Eintritt indigene Gruppen in Brasilien in den Kreis des gegenwärtigen urbanen Konsums von Ayahuasca, einem halluzinogenen Getränk aus der Ayahuasca-Liane, einer kritischen Untersuchung. Wir beschreiben dabei Prozesse der Kontaktaufnahme verschiedener brasilianischer Gruppen wie den Kaxinawa, den Guarani, den Apurinã, den Kuntanawa und den Yawanawa mit eigenen Ayahuasca-Religionen zu Santo Daime und den Praktizierenden der Neo-Ayahuasca-Religionen. Einige dieser Gruppen erklären, dass ihre Ahnen das Wissen über die Ayahuasca-Liane an Raimundo Irineu Serra, dem legendären Gründer der Santo Daime Kirche, gegeben haben. Wir untersuchen, welche Rolle diese Diskussion in der Öffentlichkeit spielt und weshalb diese indigenen Brasilianer fordern, dass das IPHAN (Nationales Institut für das Historische und Künstlerische Erbe, Brasilien) Ayahuasca als immaterielles Kulturerbe anerkennen möge. Schließlich analysieren wir, wie die Beteiligung der indigenen Gruppen im urbanen Kreis des Ayahuasca-Konsums und die Teilnahme nicht-indigener Gruppen an Ayahuasca-Ritualen in dörflichen Gebieten des Amazonas die Domäne der brasilianischen Ayahuasca-Religionen neu konfiguriert.

Schlagwörter Ayahuasca – Indigene in Brasilien – Santo Daime – Ritual – Schamanismus – immaterielles Kulturerbe – öffentliche Debatte – Brasilien

Résumé français p. 263

This article makes a critical reflection on the entrance of Brazilian Indians into the contemporary circuit of urban consumption of the psychedelic brew Ayahuasca, and on the transformations within the domain of Ayahuasca religions in Brazil more generally. During the 1980s and 1990s, public debates and processes of legal regulation of Ayahuasca use in Brazil hinged on the idea that Ayahuasca religions had deep historical roots in Amazon traditions. A vague, diffuse image of Amazonian indigenous peoples permeated these debates, giving Ayahuasca traditions an air of age-old authenticity, though indigenous peoples themselves were almost entirely absent. Both at the national level and in the

* This is a slightly modified version from the original published in Portuguese: Labate, Beatriz C. & Coutinho, Tiago. 2014. “O meu avô deu a ayahuasca para o Mestre Irineu”: reflexões sobre a entrada dos índios no circuito urbano de consumo de ayahuasca no Brasil. *Revista de Antropologia da USP*, vol. 57, 2: 215–250, translated into English by Glenn Shepard.

Amazon region, religious groups like Barquinha, Santo Daime and União do Vegetal (UDV) benefited from this mantle of authenticity supposedly inherited, directly or indirectly, from the sacred practices of the original indigenous populations. These groups portrayed themselves, and were seen by larger society, as "authentic ayahuasca traditions" (Labate 2004).

Beginning in the 1990s, new ayahuasca groups began to appear and multiply in Brazilian cities. Different branches and groups of the UDV and, especially, the Santo Daime encountered various movements like North American shamanism, New Age spirituality, Hinduism, Umbanda, holistic and alternative therapy, and psychedelic artistic circles. Labate (2004) has described these diverse manifestations, which combined elements of the ayahuasca matrixes with urban religiosities, as "urban neo-ayahuasquero" groups. At first, they had little legitimacy and were seen as dissident, clandestine, legally dubious, even religiously heretical offshoots of the state-sanctioned ayahuasca religions of Santo Daime and UDV. Indeed, state authorization to consume ayahuasca in Brazil is tied to ritual and religious use, so heterodox "therapeutic" and other uses fall outside the margins of legality.

However, little by little, the neo-ayahuasquero groups gained a degree of legitimacy. In part, their constant growth and spread, and the public's increasing awareness and tolerance of a set of practices that were until recently very little known, may have contributed to wider acceptance. By 2006, these neo-ayahuasquero groups were even allowed to participate alongside the established ayahuasca religions in a national meeting to define representatives of the various ayahuasca traditions to Brazil's National Council on Drugs (CONAD).[1] A quick check of the Internet today will reveal a vast proliferation of websites and forums that advertise all manner of ayahuasca ceremonies and practices. Some groups have shown marked growth, having related groups in several cities, and even outside Brazil. In short, the panorama has shifted significantly over the past decade. The dynamics of transformation and constant renewal and innovation, already established a decade ago (Labate 2004), have only intensified.

Since the year 2000, a new phenomenon has emerged within the noted trend: the arrival of indigenous people to the urban circuits of ayahuasca consumption. Diverse indigenous populations began to carry out multi-ethnic festivals in different villages in the Amazonian state of Acre, attracting tourists and organizing workshops for non-Indians in towns and larger cities including Rio Branco, Ceú do Mapiá, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Florianópolis, Curitiba, and Alto Paraíso. It appears the ayahuasca scene in Brazil is becoming more like that found in Peru, where "ayahuasca tourism" at esoteric healing centers is in full swing. Ayahuasca use is dominated less and less by the monopolistic presence of ayahuasca churches like Santo Daime and UDV, and is more influenced by the Peruvian model of "ceremonial retreats" offered by indigenous or mestizo riverine dwellers to middle-class urbanites and foreigners (Labate 2011, Labate & Cavnar 2014).

This transformation has consequences and implications as much on the symbolic level as in arenas of public debate. On the one hand, the entry of indigenous people has blurred the boundaries between what was previously considered "traditional" vs. "unorthodox" ayahuasca use. Previously, the established churches of Santo Daime and UDV were considered the legitimate, authentic ayahuasca traditions, in contrast with the eclectic neo-ayahuasca groups. In other contexts, UDV and Alto Santo (an orthodox branch of Santo Daime) were held up as "traditionalists," in contrast with the hybrid or eclectic CEFLURIS/ICEFLU branch of Santo Daime founded by Sebastião Mota de Melo, known as "Padrinho Sebastião" (see Labate 2012). On another level, indigenous people have taken part in public debates concerning the regulation of ayahuasca use; something that had not occurred in the previous two decades.

In this article, we first describe the process of contact of different indigenous groups, like the Kaxinawa, Guarani, Apurinã, Kuntanawa, and Yawanawa, with the established ayahuasca churches and the neo-ayahuasquero groups. For this purpose, we rely on a diverse array of available sources, including not only scholarly publications and doctoral, master's and undergraduate theses, but also blogs, websites, and media reports. We trace the claim made by several of these groups that they were responsible for revealing ayahuasca to Raimundo Irineu Serra, or "Mestre Irineu," the legendary founder of the Santo Daime religion. We examine how these views entered the public debate, paying special attention to their demands to participate in the process of formal recognition of ayahuasca as immaterial cultural

heritage by Brazil's National Institute of Historical and Artistic Heritage (IPHAN). We try to understand the motives behind their demands, and how they were received and appropriated by other actors. We attempt to understand how the presence of indigenous people in urban ayahuasca circles, and the presence of non-Indians in indigenous villages in Acre, reconfigured the religious field of ayahuasca usage in Brazil.

The Kaxinawa (Huni Kuin)

The Kaxinawa indigenous people first entered the neo-ayahuasca universe in 2002, when the brothers Fabiano and Leopardo Yawa Bane traveled to the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, respectively. They offered ayahuasca rituals, applications of the frog venom *kampum* or kampô (*Phillomedusa bicolor*), public lectures, and individual shamanic consultations to urban, mostly middle-class dwellers. Called *pajés* ("shamans") by their urban clients, the brothers belong to a Kaxinawa family with a solid tradition of shamanism and political leadership. From a young age, both were taught to defend the interests of their people in the urban world of non-indigenous "whites." Their mother is an important indigenous artist known for traditional geometric designs, and their father, Siã Kaxinawa, is currently the most important leader of their people (Coutinho 2011).

The young brothers arrived from their village in Acre and were quickly welcomed in New Age spiritual centers that added the Kaxinawa *Nixi Pae* (ayahuasca) ceremony to their menu of traditional knowledge offerings. A well-known subject of anthropological and other research, the *Nixi Pae* ceremonies carried out at Kaxinawa villages of the Rio Jordão involve consumption of ayahuasca to gain knowledge and obtain access to spirit beings who have influence over health issues; they can prevent illness and serve as agents of communication in the spirit world where many illnesses are attributed to the vengeance of game animal spirits (Lagrou 2013).

In the new urban context, *Nixi Pae* ceremonies take place alongside diverse activities such as yoga, acupuncture, shiatsu, native North American shamanism, massage, and diverse alternative therapies. The ceremonies are held monthly and paid individually. Participation varies; typically around 30 people and the ceremonies are held in rural areas away from the city to better reflect the native Amazonian context. The Kaxinawa ceremony is an especially attractive way of experiencing ayahuasca in a traditional context; which is to say, without the Christian influence of Santo Daime and UDV. The ceremonies reinforce the idea that healing can be obtained through ayahuasca consumption. Participants include adepts of established ayahuasca religions, New Age enthusiasts, urban professionals, and those in search of relief for physical, emotional, and other problems. Both Fabiano and Leopardo married and had children with non-indigenous women who work with them in several of their activities.

Fabiano, based in Rio de Janeiro, has held *Nixi Pae* ceremonies in Spain, Norway, and Denmark, while Leopardo has worked in South Africa and the USA. Both are considered pioneers in the urban expansion of ayahuasca in Brazil. These Kaxinawa siblings have achieved a degree of recognition and visibility equaled by no other indigenous shaman except Sapaim, from the upper Xingu (Moraes 2004). Their activities also resulted in negative media attention, questioning the legitimacy of indigenous practices held in an urban context; especially after the journalist Altino Machado, from Acre, published a piece on his blog entitled "*Nixi Pae* Pays" ("*Nixi Pae* Dá Grana"). The article, published on October 6, 2005, was a commentary on an announcement of the *Nixi Pae* ritual posted by author Beatriz Labate on her blog. Machado, citing Joaquim Tashka Yawanawá—another indigenous leader in Acre and political rival of their father—accused the brothers of commercializing ancestral knowledge and questioned their shamanic qualifications: "All this frightens me, these kids becoming professionals in the midst of this neo-shamanic fad. They are selling the traditions!" (Machado 2005). Fabiano replied to these criticisms, "We came respectfully to this city in our Brazil to learn new knowledge, to valorize the traditions of my people, and show the true culture of Brazil" (Machado 2005). The piece provoked a long online debate in the "comments" section among neo-ayahuasqueros and Santo Daime adepts about topics such as origin, tradition, authenticity, expansion, and, above all, about the legitimacy of charging for ayahuasca sessions. This debate happened shortly before the publication of the first CONAD report on "ethical principles of ayahuasca use" in 2006. It can be seen

as the first episode in the historical phase, designating the set of issues this article addresses.

The Guarani

The Guarani people of southern Brazil represent another example of how the spread of ayahuasca use has facilitated the entry of new, and sometimes unexpected, actors into the scene. Despite their geographical distance from the Amazon, and their lack of historical relationship to that region's shamanistic traditions, in recent years, the Guarani have begun consuming ayahuasca. The process appears to be a result of the creation of new networks of relationships between Guarani, especially of the village of Mbiguaçu in Santa Catarina state, and members of an international neo-shamanic group called Sacred Fire of Itzachilatlan, Santo Daime adepts, and Brazilian health care workers (DE ROSE 2010). These networks brought a new element to Guarani culture never before observed by missionaries, anthropologists or other Tupi-Guarani scholars.

According to de Rose (2010), this process of appropriation began when a Guarani man from Mbiguaçu was hospitalized for leukemia. He refused to take chemotherapy or even speak with the doctors. A medical resident with experience treating Indians was called in to help with the case. This doctor also happened to be the leader of the Sacred Fire of Itzachilatlan, an alternative spiritual group tied to the global Red Path movement. His group carried out neo-shamanic sessions in the city of Florianopolis and rural parts of the state, combining ayahuasca with North American shamanic elements such as the vision quest, sweat lodge, and the format of the "tipi" ceremonies, borrowed from the Native American Church. After a series of initial contacts, the doctor-neo-shaman started to visit the Guarani village and participate in the *petynguá* sacred tobacco rituals and Prayer House ceremonies. He was soon baptized with a Guarani name and was invited to help in the blessings and cures that took place during these rituals. It was then that he suggested holding an ayahuasca ceremony in the village.

The ayahuasca sessions continued and, as more villagers participated, the ceremonies began to be held in the *opy* or Prayer House. In this way, ayahuasca became a part of the nocturnal singing and prayer ritual known in Guarani as *opyredjaikeawã*. This ritual is carried out to help Nhanderu Kuaray, one of the main Guarani gods, take care of the world and protect people during his nightly absences. The inhabitants of Águas Claras, together with the neo-shaman, decided to take ayahuasca to other Guarani communities. The project received support from Brazil's National Health Foundation (FUNASA) through contracts with a non-governmental organization (NGO) hired to provide specialized health care for indigenous communities in the area. Among the project's actions was the hiring of this neo-shamanic doctor as part of the Multidisciplinary Indigenous Health Team (EMSI) that provided care to the region's Guarani villages. For four years, frequent ayahuasca sessions were held in at least ten Guarani villages in the states of Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul, and Paraná (DE ROSE 2010). The aforementioned doctor supported and participated regularly in these sessions. He even lived for almost a year and a half in Águas Claras.

Ayahuasca became an integral part of the ceremonial life of the Guarani of Mbiguaçu, and they adopted the Guarani-ized terms "guasca" or "ayaguasca" to refer to the beverage. They also used the term "medicina" (medicine), borrowed from the aforementioned neo-shamanic group. According to Alcindo Wherá Tupã, a renowned Guarani shaman, "both the plants that compose ayahuasca, as well its names and effects, were already known to the Guarani (DE ROSE 2010: 153).

Guarani appropriations of ayahuasca, neo-shamanic values, and New Age discourses are creative and dynamic. De Rose (ibid.) argues that outsiders frequently have a reductionist or essentialist view of the Guarani culture. However, the fact that non-Guarani people value the Guarani culture and spirituality, as well as the expression of this in public policies, helps the Guarani themselves to value their own traditions. Therefore, this foreign interest helps foster a process of "cultural revalorization" among the Guarani. The Guarani's involvement in urban ayahuasca circles was not entirely without conflicts, however. There was resistance in some villages, where these practices were met with varying degrees of acceptance. There were also wider debates over notions like "tradition," policies towards indigenous peoples, and public health policy.

The Apurinã

The Apurinã people from the villages of Camicuã, near Boca do Acre in Amazonas state, also established a close relationship with Brazilian ayahuasca

religions; in this case, Santo Daime. Santo Daime arrived in this village in 1993 through of an important Apurinã leader, Francisco Gonçalves, who had been invited to try ayahuasca with a Santo Daime member in Boca do Acre (Lima 2002). After feeling a sense of identification with the rites and cosmology of this religion, Gonçalves brought the ayahuasca beverage to the village and called other Apurinã to try it. With the help of a man named Alex, from São Paulo, who lived nearby and wanted to marry an Indian woman from the village, they built a small church and began carrying out rituals according to Santo Daime doctrine.

According to Apurinã Daime members, ayahuasca brought "many positive and important teachings to the village" (Lima 2002: 16). In the words of one local leader, "Daime brought a valuable elevation of consciousness for the Indians, especially with regard to the valorization of indigenous culture" (Lima ibid.). As was the case among the Guarani, the Apurinã identified so deeply with ayahuasca that the beverage became inserted into "ancient" myths. The main negative influence mentioned was a certain tension on behalf of other inhabitants who belong to different religions: they do not accept ayahuasca as part of Apurinã tradition, and the introduction of Santo Daime appears to have heightened existing religious tensions between Catholic, Protestant, and now Daime community members. Catholic and Protestant Apurinã complain that Daime adepts have lost interest in negotiations with the federal Indian agency, FUNAI, regarding indigenous politics. In 1993, non-Daime informants in the village alerted the Federal Police and other authorities, resulting in the confiscation of 12 tons of ayahuasca vine and many gallons of prepared ayahuasca beverage, highlighting how debates and conflicts over ayahuasca use spread from the national to the village level. In this instance, the conflict did not arise over non-indigenous interests in the use of ayahuasca in the village, but rather from rivalries among different village factions. Nonetheless, the general parameters of the controversy—drug trafficking, and non-ritual or non-traditional use—are influenced by, and dialog with, the broader debates present in the national religious field of ayahuasca.

Despite these points of conflict, one important positive effect noted in Lima's interviews was the reduction of alcohol consumption—a grave problem among the Apurinã—by community members who entered Santo Daime. According to her reports, the arrival of Daime caused a reduction in the incidence of domestic violence related to binge drinking by Apurinã men both in the village and in nearby towns. The idea that "ayahuasca helps combat alcoholism" was also noted by the Guarani, and is frequently mentioned by urban neo-ayahuasqueros as well. Such discourses are one element behind the growing social legitimacy of ayahuasca and its special status in relation to other "drugs" (Labate 2011, see also Labate & Cavnar 2014).

The Kuntanawa

The introduction and appropriation of ayahuasca became a central element in the resurgence of indigenous identity among the Kuntanawa people in the upper Juruá region (Pantoja 2006, 2008, 2010; Pantoja & Conceição 2004). Descended from a family composed of one Indian captured as slave during the rubber boom and migrants from Northeast Brazil, the Kuntanawa were originally known only as group of rubber tappers referred to as the "Miltons," named after the family patriarch. The family confronted the local bosses, took control of the rubber camps, and came to occupy important positions in the local rubber tapper cooperative.

Beginning in 2000, the group began to seek affirmation of its indigenous heritage, demanding ethnic recognition and the demarcation of their own territory. Their claims are based on the family history as told by Dona Mariana, Milton's wife, about how her mother, Regina, a Kuntanawa Indian, was captured by rubber tappers along the Envira River in the early 20th century (Pantoja 2010). Since the 1980s, the "Miltons" had resisted being classified as "caboclos" (riverine people of mixed descent who do not speak an indigenous language), but it was not until twenty years later that they laid claim to a specific Kuntanawa indigenous heritage.

Ayahuasca appeared as an unexpected element in the midst of this process of emergent indigenous identity: "It was through the visceral experience of this beverage, held sacred by these peoples, that Milton and his children affirmed that they gained access to more profound dimensions of Kuntanawa indigenous identity" (Pantoja 2008: 8).

According to oral history sources gathered by Pantoja (2004), the use of ayahuasca by rubber tappers of the Rio Tejo can be traced to the practice

of an indigenous shaman named Crispim, originally born in a village on the Rio Envira, but who was captured on a slaving raid and ultimately remained among the rubber tappers. He used different plants and medicinal herbs in his healing practice and also traveled in the region carrying out ayahuasca healing ceremonies. The first accounts of ayahuasca use among rubber tappers in the region date to 1980, when according to Pantoja (ibid.) the ceremonies were carried out in secret. The *Milton,* as they were known in those days, came into contact with the Christian-influenced doctrine of Santo Daime. The ayahuasca practice that developed in this part of Acre was thus hybrid: people would drink ayahuasca while lying in a hammock and listening to tape-recorded music while singing Santo Daime hymns. Ayahuasca came to serve a role in orienting practical and spiritual life and providing guidelines for moral behavior.

It was in this context that the Milton family recognized in ayahuasca the ancestral sacred beverage that their matriarch Mariana had heard mentioned in stories told by her mother about the Kuntanawa people. It is likely that these stories were molded and re-signified in light of contemporary contact with ayahuasca religions and new actors. In sum, the introduction of ayahuasca among this rubber-tapper community resulted in the construction of a resurgent Kuntanawa identity.

Currently, the Kuntanawa consider ayahuasca to be their guide and "teacher," and use it to plumb deeper dimensions from which they have recovered body decorations, songs, and magical and botanical knowledge. "It is under the command of ayahuasca, and now with the support of Ashaninka shamans, that Osmildo [a Kuntanawa man] is preparing himself to be the shaman of his own people" (PANTOJA 2008: 382). New Kuntanawa songs, inspired by the ayahuasca trance state, are chanted alongside traditional songs learned from the related Kaxinawa and Yawanawa peoples. The Kuntanawa language itself is been irreparably lost, but efforts are being made to reconstruct it from Dona Mariana's memories, from the ayahuasca songs themselves and from related Panoan languages in the region. In the following section, we describe how the Kuntanawa have popularized various cultural practices, including ayahuasca consumption, among a broader indigenous and non-indigenous public.

The Panoan Cultural Festivals

The first "Panoan Cultural Festival" was held from July 24 to 31 in 2010 at the Kuntanawa village of Kuntamanã in the Upper Juruá Extractive Reserve,[2] Marechal Thaumaturgo municipality, Acre (PANTOJA 2010). The event was supported by the federal Culture Ministry (via *Convênio* 747864) and by the Organization of the Indigenous Peoples of the Rio Juruá (OPIRJ). The festival was intended to celebrate a new unity among the indigenous peoples of the Panoan cultural-linguistic family by activating the "Panoan Corridor," an interconnected cultural and environmental region and establishing an integrated set of policies for the region and its native peoples. Indigenous groups included in the movement include the Kuntanawa, Kaxinawa (Huni Kuin), Yawanawa, Katukina, Jaminawa, Jaminawa-Arara, Arara, Apolima-Arara, Nukini, Poyanawa, Shanenawa and Nawa. In addition to various indigenous groups, participants included non-Indians from various Brazilian cities and international guests from Canada, England, Spain, Germany, and Greenland. The event included ayahuasca sessions as well a sweat lodge.

The Panoan Corridor was first conceptualized by Haru Kuntanawa, a young leader who was very active in the movement of ethnic resurgence narrated above, and also thoroughly involved in urban ayahuasca networks. According to Haru, the idea was born out of conversations among indigenous and non-indigenous leaders worried about the future of forest peoples' lands, culture, and society. Their concerns included everything from the demarcation of land claims not yet formalized to forest habitat preservation.

The second festival, named the "Festival of the Panoan Cultural Corridor," was carried out from June 15 to 20 of, 2011, in the same village. According to a blog posting by Haru Kuntanawa on the Culture Ministry blog (KUNTANAWA 2011), this event was supported by the Ministry, the Secretariat of Tourism and Leisure from the state of Acre, OPIRJ, the "Tuxua Prize,"[3] the Chico Mendes Biodiversity Conservation Institute (ICMBio), the National Health Foundation, the state Transportation and Infrastructure Department, and the Kuntanawa people themselves.

According to Haru, the participants were able to relive traditions in order to mark the centennial of

the "discovery" of the Kuntanawa people by non-Indians. The activities included sacred rituals, the mariri dance, storytelling, traditional fishing, body painting, and discussion groups on the problems facing forest peoples. Following the guidelines of the first festival, the event organizer stated that the main objective was cultural exchange among the Panoan cultural-linguistic family "in order to share experiences and knowledge, becoming ever more important for the process of cultural salvage and revitalization, creating a new model for cultural sustainability" (ibid.)

The Yawanawa

The Yawanawa of the village of Nova Esperança along Rio Gregório, Tarauacá municipality have developed partnerships with private companies, NGOs, and various people involved in spiritual practices with the explicit purpose of sharing their culture with non-Indians (Oliveira 2011, 2012). The "Yawa Festival," attended by a diverse national and international public of forest peoples and their allies, is held annually at this village and includes music, chanting, dances, and uni (ayahuasca) ceremonies. Through the festival, Yawanawa leaders build ties with non-Indians and become involved in alternative therapeutic and spiritual movements in distant cities. The Yawanawa recognize the festival as a symbol of cultural revitalization that highlights the group's vigor. Feather crowns, palm-frond skirts, body painting, games, songs: these diverse signals of indigeneity are displayed with special pride and visibility during the festival, which is considered extremely important in reviving such practices: "An event for the young to learn about tradition from the elders." Though the festival concentrates a larger number of guests, the village hosts other visitors year-round to participate in ayahuasca ceremonies, shamanic "initiation diets" and ecotourism activities.

According to a news report by Flaviano Schneider (2009), the first Panoan Festival included the reopening of the "sacred village." On that occasion, the Yawanawa chief Biraci Brasil invited Santo Daime members from the Juruá Basin to carry out Santo Daime ceremonies, including the ayahuasca preparation ritual, and to participate in an *uni* ceremony. This contact between the Yawanawa and Santo Daime deepened further during the 8th Yawanawa Festival, when Biraci Brasil formed an alliance with Paulo Roberto Silva e Souza, leader of the Daime church Céu do Mar, in Rio de Janeiro. UDV adepts and members of urban neo-ayahuasca groups were also present.

Within this context of direct exchange between villages in Acre and various urban ayahuasca users, certain aspects of indigenous ayahuasca rituals are now being reproduced in urban therapeutic and spiritual centers (Oliveira 2012). Oliveira describes two related contexts of urban consumption that have emerged from this contact with the village of Nova Esperança: *uni* rituals carried out by Yawanawa shamans, and rituals carried out by non-Indians when the Yawanawa are not available, but still conducted within the "indigenous tradition." Chief among these rituals are the "healing circle," an abbreviated ayahuasca ceremony pioneered in the town of Boca do Acre, and the "study of tobacco snuff," during which ayahuasca is also consumed, "not to 'work' [i. e., for healing or spiritual purposes] but rather to learn and practice the Yawanawa chants" and become familiar with the traditional uses of powdered tobacco.

This exchange between village/festival and city/*uni* ritual constitutes what Oliveira (ibid.) calls the "Yawa network," articulating the people of the village of Nova Esperança with: 1. ayahuasca religions, especially the Santo Daime churches in Florianopolis (Céu do Patriarca) and Rio de Janeiro (Céu do Mar); 2. neo-ayahausqueros: branches who have diverged from the Santo Daime and UDV doctrines to incorporate therapeutic, artistic, and New Age influences (Labate 2004); 3. neo-shamanic groups inspired mostly by North American shamanism and known generically as "Red Path" (Rose 2010); and 4. the "indigenous line or tradition" (*linha indígena*), practiced in what might be called "neo-indigenous" centers such as Shaku Bena in Curitiba and Rapa Nui in Porto Alegre where indigenous Amazonian shamans make regular appearances. In this way, the Yawanawa people of Rio Gregório have become an integral part of the Brazilian ayahuasca scene, connected to cities in Acre, in southern Brazil and even overseas in Canada, the U.S. and Europe.

"My Grandfather Served Ayahuasca to Mestre Irineu"

In addition to their direct participation in the ayahuasca circuits of Brazil, indigenous people also begun to participate in public debates related to

ayahuasca use. 2010 marks the first time when an indigenous representative made a public declaration regarding the native origins of Santo Daime. A Kaxinawa told a reporter from a national news magazine that "one of the older generation of *Huni Kuin*, his grandfather the shaman Sueiro, first served *nixi pae* [ayahuasca] to the legendary Raimundo Irineu Serra ['Mestre' Irineu, founder of Santo Daime] from Maranhão, who had traveled to Acre looking for work in the rubber camps" (BRESSANE 2010: 100). Curiously, as sometimes happens in contemporary anthropology, co-author Tiago Coutinho contributed to this situation. He was involved at the time in doctoral research on Kaxinawa ayahuasca rituals in urban contexts, and mentioned to Fabiano the theory, advanced in an article by Patrick Deshayes, that Mestre Irineu's first contact with ayahuasca was with the Kaxinawa or *Huni Kuin*: "During his travels along the rivers of Acre, Irineu first came into contact with the Amazonian beverage among the *Huni Kuin.* It was with this people that Mestre Irineu had his first experience with ayahuasca" (DESHAYES 2006: 127; authors' translation). Deshayes suggests that the term "Daime" comes from the Kaxinawa word *dami*, referring to visions of transformation that shamans must interpret and master. Irineu, according to Deshayes, believed that the Kaxinawa were repositories of the divine substance and its use, but did not understand the true significance of the term "Daime": supposedly theirs was not a "divine language." For Irineu, the true meaning of Daime is "Gift of God," which only becomes apparent in Portuguese, a descendant of Latin, and hence a "language of God." Note that this theory regarding the origins of the term "Daime" is not found in any other scholarly work on the subject (see also MONTEIRO DA SILVA 2004) and also contradicts Daime teachings in which the word comes from the Portuguese verb *dar*, "to give": "*Dai-me o amor, dai-me força, dai-me a Luz*" ("Give me love, give me strength, give me the Light").

Although Fabiano, a young Kaxinawa "shaman," showed little interest in cosmological discussions regarding the native term *dami*, it seems likely that the information supplied by Coutinho informed his statement to the reporter that "[my] grandfather … Sueiro … first served *nixi pae* to [Mestre Irineu]" (note that this statement has not been corroborated). Another Kaxinawa shaman, Celso, who offers ayahuasca in Rio and São Paulo, has made similar statements at some of his sessions.

The second instance of an indigenous group laying claim to Mestre Irineu's legacy comes from Benki Piyanko, an Ashaninka shaman and leader from a village in the Marechal Taumaturgo municipality near the border with Peru. In an interview with the magazine *Carta Capital,* published March 13, 2012, he stated that he was "a grandson of Samuel Piyanko who, according to him, served the ayahuasca beverage for the first time to Raimundo Irineu Serra (1892–1970), in military service at the time, and who soon would become known as Master Irineu, founder of Santo Daime, one of the first religious groups to adopt the Amazonian brew" (MINUANO 2012). (Note that the Ashaninka people do not participate as actively in the urban ayahuasca scene as other groups described here). According to Piyanko, Mestre Irineu stayed for a time in his grandfather's village, where he had a series of revelations. Piyanko further claims that his grandfather is mentioned in one of the first hymns Irineu "received" through divine inspiration, called "Father Samuel."[4] These statements were included in an article about the tragic death of Santo Daime leader and renowned Brazilian cartoonist Glauco Villas Boas,[5] which mentions ancestral indigenous uses of ayahuasca that predate Santo Daime. Within the context of the ongoing movement to recognize ayahuasca as immaterial Brazilian heritage, also mentioned by the reporter in the article, Piyanko emphasized that Indians are "the true, centuries-old bearers of the traditional knowledge related to so-called sacred plants." Such declarations were entirely absent ten to fifteen years ago, but today are becoming ever more prominent.

Indians and the Debate over Ayahuasca as Cultural Heritage

In 2006, anthropologists Edward MacRae, Beatriz Labate, and Sandra Goulart were called on to take part in governmental meetings to help organize a summit in Rio Branco to elect six representatives to take part in the Multidisciplinary Work Group on Ayahuasca (GMT), tied to the National Drug Policy Council (CONAD) (MACRAE 2010). At the time, Labate suggested that indigenous groups be invited to take part, but CONAD members denied this request, claiming that public policy about ayahuasca in Brazil was concerned only with urban re-

ligious groups, since indigenous populations' rights are guaranteed by existing legislation and agencies, like the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI). Nonetheless, Labate made informal contacts with several indigenous leaders in Acre and suggested they attend the event, though none came. This episode reinforces the observation that indigenous people were absent from the ayahuasca public debate until very recently.

This situation has changed in the past few years. Indigenous peoples' demands to be included within this debate correspond, on the one hand, with the recent arrival of indigenous ayahuasca practices in urban centers and, on the other, with internal disputes among the established ayahuasca religions about various doctrinal and other issues. One important catalyst of this transformation appears associated with the outcome of the original request made to IPHAN (Brazil's cultural heritage institute) in 2008 by the "traditionalist" ayahuasca groups Alto Santo, UDV, and Barquinha. (It must be remembered that debates over ayahuasca as cultural heritage take place within the sphere of the Culture Ministry, and are largely independent from debates over its legal status, regulated by CONAD).

The initial request did not go as smoothly as the ayahuasca churches had hoped, and the revised proposal is still being reviewed by IPHAN. IPHAN requested a broad inventory (part of the heritage protocol) of cultural references and uses that included ayahuasca branches other than the three signatory churches, as well as indigenous practices, and the role of ritual in the constitution of cultural references to the social groups involved (Santos 2010, Labate 2012, Gusmão 2013). As a result, ayahuasca groups and public institutions worked together intensely during 2011 and 2012 to develop an inclusive cultural inventory, identify common cultural references across multiple ayahuasca traditions, register these cultural manifestations, and establish means of strengthening and safeguarding this cultural heritage. It was at this stage that Indians became involved in the debate. This process resulted in a novel reclassification of the ayahuasca universe into three main categories: "original" indigenous users, the "traditional" religions of Alto Santo, UDV, and Barquinha, and "eclectic" groups including Santo Daime (CEFLURIS/ICEFLU branch), and independent neo-ayahuasca urban modalities (Neves & Souza 2010, Neves 2011). This classification emerged from these authors' reading of the available literature, as well as discussions with Alto Santo, UDV, and Barquinha leaders.

From April 12 to 14, 2010, the "Seminar of Traditional Ayahuasca Communities" was held in Rio Branco, with the participation of the Culture Ministry, IPHAN, the Elias Mansour Foundation (FEM), the Garibaldi Brasil Foundation (FGB), and representatives of diverse religious centers. The participants discussed public policy in the areas of cultural heritage as well as education, culture, health, safety, environment, and tourism, and various important figures in the ayahuasca community were given homage. One Alto Santo representative, Jair Facundes, asked why Indians were not present, and Antônio Alves, from a different branch inside the so-called "Alto Santo line," as registered in the event annals, responded:

> The Seminar was proposed and organized by the Thematic Chamber on Ayahuasca Cultures and by the Municipal Council of Culture Policy, based on the criterion of formal agreement by the Ayahuasca Centers with the Letter of Principles, according to which these aforementioned Centers shall be affiliated with the founding Masters: Irineu [Raimundo Irineu Serra, founder of Alto Santo/Santo Daime], Daniel [Daniel Pereira de Mattos, founder of Barquinha] and Gabriel [José Gabriel da Costa, founder of the UDV]. He [Alves] emphasized that indigenous and Original Peoples were invited by the entities present and active in the city of Rio Branco. After this clarification, Antônio Alves stated that even though the Seminar had not included Original Peoples, this did not represent ignorance or disrespect for the cultures of these Peoples, and that it was to be understood that these would need to hold a specific Seminar because this discussion of complex and singular character should include other countries where these Peoples are present. He added that it is possible to establish a prior agreement that the recognition of ayahuasca as Brazilian Cultural Heritage should begin with the three traditions represented by the aforementioned Masters, and that the Original Peoples would have to join with neighboring countries to gain the Registry of Ayahuasca as Latin American Cultural Heritage, since it involves, besides indigenous ethnicities of Brazil, those of Peru, Bolivia and other Latin

> American countries (NEVES & SOUZA 2010: 23, author's translation).

This statement highlights the complexities of including indigenous peoples in public debates about ayahuasca in Brazil. Yet, there also seems to be a certain ambiguity on behalf of both public authorities and the ayahuasca churches towards indigenous peoples, as becomes apparent in certain episodes narrated below. Four months after the Seminar, Indians made their first proactive appearance in the public debate. On August 27, 2010, representatives of the Panoan peoples met with Alfredo Manevy, the executive secretary of the Ministry of Culture, to call attention to the necessity of including Indians in the process of registering ayahuasca as cultural heritage with IPHAN. Also present at the meeting were the directors of the Secretariat for Identity and Cultural Diversity (SID), the Audio-Visual Secretariat, the chief advisor to the Secretary of Cultural Policies (SPC), as well as Haru Kuntanawa (mentioned above) and his shamanic music partner from the urban Brazilian ayahuasca circuit, Shaneihu Yawanawa, son of the Yawanawa indigenous leader Biraci Brasil. According to the envoy from the Culture Ministry who was present:

> We will recognize the religious use of ayahuasca, but in relationship to its cultural dimension. And the participation of indigenous leaders is fundamental in this discussion, since they are the protagonists of its utilization and they were the ones who permitted the diffusion of its use for religious purposes (ESPÍNDOLA 2010, our translation).

After the meeting, it was determined that SID and SPC would be responsible for following up with IPHAN on the process of heritage registry. The main evidence presented by the Indians to justify their inclusion in the process was a video about the first Cultural Festival of the Panoan Corridor. Haru Kuntanawa argued that,

> The integration of Panoan peoples, through their festivals and cultural activities, will facilitate rapprochement with people of other nations (ethnicities). We want to initiate a process of peace with other peoples and, at the same time, expand our knowledge since it doesn't just belong to indigenous people, but it is a part of the cultural history of Brazil (ibid.)

In 2011, the eclectic CEFLURIS/ICEFLU and CEFLI ("Lotus Flower Eclectic Center") branches of Santo Daime—which had not been invited by the traditionalist triumvirate of Alto Santo, UDV, and Barquinha to participate in the heritage claim— received support from the Ministry of Culture to organize the "First Cultural Encounter of Ayahuasca Diversity." Neo-ayahuasquero groups of various orientations (neo-shamanic, oriental, Umbanda, therapeutic, artistic) also participated. Alto Santo, UDV, and Barquinha were invited, but did not attend. The event, held in Rio de Janeiro from October 7–9, aimed to "contribute to the registry of ayahuasca rituals as Brazilian immaterial cultural heritage." The document produced at the meeting, titled *Manifest of Cultural Diversity,* states:

> The first encounter of ayahuasca diversity is an expression of the richness of this movement, which by virtue of its very breadth provides legitimacy for a relevant segment of Brazilian society; we hope that this, our first step, could represent a growing path and dialog with all [ayahuasca] communities. We meet to express and debate the nature of the diversity of this uniquely Brazilian manifestation and emphasize our rights to religious expression. We believe that defending the diversity that characterized the ayahuasca universe is equivalent to defending the richness of our cultural and religious expression of tolerance that characterizes us in this period of democratic freedom and culture of peace.
>
> The movement for ayahuasca cultural diversity and for the registry as immaterial heritage of Daime/vegetal/ayahuasca in IPHAN (MANIFESTO 2011, author's translation).

Alex Polari de Alverga, Board Member of ICEFLU sent a letter to be read in his absence:

> In a letter sent to the Seminar on Ayahuasca and Public Policy held in Rio Branco last year [see above], we expressed the opinion that the request sent by the state of Acre [regarding ayahuasca as immaterial heritage] contained two major omissions: 1) the non-inclusion of representatives of indigenous nations, ancestral holders of this heritage; 2) and in relation to the ayahuasca religious segments, the exclusion of relevant and traditional branches of these segments (including ours) from all manner of consultation and debate prior to the submission (POLARI DE ALVERGA 2011, author's translations).

Several indigenous leaders from Acre were invited, including Haru Kuntanawa (mentioned above), Paulo Luis Yawanawa (brother of Joaquim Taskha, mentioned above), Ibã Huni Kuin, and Xiti Nukini, all of who signed the manifesto. Of these, at least two (Haru and Ibã) were already known to circulate in the urban ayahuasca universe. However, the inclusion of Xiti Nukini was somewhat surprising to us, since the Nukini people were not previously known to be involved in urban ayahuasca circles. The participation of indigenous representatives was notable, since they had previously been entirely absent from public debates about urban ayahuasca use. Polari de Alverga's letter highlights how the introduction of indigenous people into the discussion was closely associated with ongoing internal disputes among various ayahuasca factions that intensified in the aftermath of the heritage claim submitted by Alto Santo, UDV, and Barquinha, excluding Santo Daime's CEFLURIS/ICEFLU branch. The fact that Alto Santo, UDV, and Barquinha declined to participate in the "Ayahuasca Diversity" event was thus notable, if not surprising.

In more recent events in Rio Branco, like the "First Sectorial Forum on Ayahuasca Cultures," organized by the Thematic Chambers on Ayahuasca Cultures from November 9–10, 2012, "sympathizers and indigenous representatives" (Albuquerque 2012) were also present. And yet, ironically, in photographs of the event in which indigenous people appear, they are not identified by name or ethnicity: the inclusion of indigenous peoples, while perceived as necessary in the arena of debate, appears to remain incipient and somewhat generic.

Conclusion: Origin, Ethnicity, and Tradition

The Brazilian ayahuasca religions have undergone major transformation in recent decades, expanding and diversifying from their Amazonian origins into a wide variety of spiritual and therapeutic settings in urban areas in Brazil and internationally. And yet, recently, this process of expansion has come full circle as various ayahuasca churches and urban neo-ayahuasca groups have gone "back to the forest" and come into contact with indigenous groups in several regions in Brazil, especially in the Amazon. Indigenous groups like the Guarani, Apurinã, Kaxinawa, Kuntanawa, and Yawanawa have encountered ayahuasca religions and neo-ayahuasquero groups and become involved in urban ayahuasca networks in diverse ways, contingent on both the particular groups and the individuals they have encountered, and their own dynamic appropriations of ayahuasca as a nexus of cultural pride, revitalization, and re-invention. Ayahuasca has played special role among the emergent cultural identity of the Kuntanawa, and for the broader coalition of indigenous peoples in Acre developing a pan-Panoan cultural and territorial alliance.

Until very recently, the established but historically recent churches of Santo Daime and UDV have dominated public debates about ayahuasca in Brazil. They occupied a symbolic place of genuine and traditional expression of ayahuasca use in Brazil. When asserting ayahuasca use as an authentic religious and cultural expression of the Amazon region, these religious movements sometimes evoke indigenous cultures indirectly, historically, and generically as a source of legitimacy and authenticity for their practices. Actual, contemporary, indigenous peoples and cultures remained almost entirely absent from these debates and forums. Yet, the situation has changed in recent years; in part, due to the growing participation of indigenous shamans in urban neo-ayahuasquero networks and especially in the aftermath of the (as yet unfulfilled) proposal to register ayahuasca as Brazilian cultural heritage. Indigenous groups, for their part, have become more active in ayahuasca networks and in public debate. Several indigenous leaders have made public statements asserting pioneers or ancestral rights to ayahuasca. Even the Guarani, who live far from the Amazon region and have no historical contact with ayahuasca traditions, have incorporated ayahuasca into their religious practices and inserted it into mythical narratives.

And yet the entry of indigenous peoples into the debate has been mediated by the dominant ayahuasca religions. Statements by Kaxinawa and Ashaninka leaders that "my grandfather first served ayahuasca to Mestre Irineu" highlight how Santo Daime serves as a central referent in the dialog between Indians and non-Indians. Such statements can also be understood in the light of several native myths asserting that their group is the "true connoisseur," or custodian, of ayahuasca.

Appreciation of indigenous knowledge has grown in recent years across all segments of the ayahuasca universe, and indigenous voices have finally entered public debates. Yet the interest in in-

digenous traditions on behalf of urban neo-ayahuasqueros has much to do with their opposition to or rejection of the Christian elements permeating the established ayahuasca churches of Santo Daime and the UDV. It is apparent that the scene is changing quickly.

The participation of Indians in the urban ayahuasca circuit is somewhat ironic, given the origin narratives of both Santo Daime and UDV, according to which Mestres Irineu and Gabriel brought "light" and "doctrine" to the original indigenous practices, seen as backwards and un-Christian due to their association with witchcraft, black magic, seduction, power-plays, and conquest. Followers of ayahuasca churches see this process of Christianization as an important contribution toward the "evolution" of ayahuasca use (GOULART 2004, MACRAE 1992, see also MELO 2013).

Another irony is that internal rivalries between these same ayahuasca religions over the IPHAN heritage registry process has introduced and insisted on the inclusion of indigenous peoples in the debate as important elements in the cultural diversity of ayahuasca. IPHAN, for its part, considered indigenous presence a *sine qua non* condition to move forward with the process of registering ayahuasca as cultural heritage; it also supported the Ayahuasca Diversity Encounter, which included indigenous representatives. Finally, it is somewhat ironic that the native individuals who have become the main spokespeople for the authenticity of indigenous ayahuasca traditions and their role in Brazilian culture are precisely those who most closely adhere to urban New Age and neo-shamanic movements.

Rivalries and disputes among different indigenous groups, as well as within them, are also an important element in the processes described here, such as the controversy disputed in Machado's blog between some Kaxinawa and Yawanawa. The participation of some members of a group in the urban ayahuasca network is certain to generate dissonance and envy, and some indigenous representatives are openly opposed to the participation of non-Indians in native rituals.[6]

Some leaders we spoke to informally even questioned their communities' participation in the debate over the ayahuasca heritage registry, a process which has taken place far from the villages. In this text, we did not delve into the relationships between Santo Daime and UDV with other groups such as the Ashaninka, Arara, Manchineri and Katukina. It is likely that more indigenous groups will become involved in the urban ayahuasca circuit; such circuits have proven to be highly dynamic and fluid.

According to anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (cited in SAVIAN FILHO & SOUSA 2010, author's translation), Acre is "today the main exporter of indigenous practices and symbols (more or less transformed) to contemporary urban Brazil." And it is worthwhile noting that currently all 15 recognized indigenous groups who currently reside in Acre use ayahuasca (MARTINI 2014). The urban middle class' interest in ayahuasca has coincided with processes of indigenous cultural revitalization in Acre and elsewhere, all of which are broadly related to the reconfiguration of indigenous peoples' place in Brazilian society through the implementation of specific clauses relative to indigenous rights in Brazil's 1988 constitution.

Other indigenous substances have entered the urban neo-shamanistic circuit, such as *kambô* frog venom (*Phyllomedusa bicolor*), *rapé* (tobacco snuff containing various admixtures such as *Amburana acreana* or *Amburana cearenses*), *sananga* or *sanango* ("forest eyedrops," probably *Tabernaemontana undulata*), and *rare* ("queen of the bitter potatoes": species not identified). As part of the traditional pharmacopoeia of various indigenous groups, the arrival of these substances is hardly surprising. And yet, they also suggest a certain saturation of the urban market in ayahuasca consumption, as consumers seek novel substances. The ayahuasca circuit in Peru has seen a proliferation of competing retreats and workshops, each seeking to discover and offer some new or special diversion to attract clients away from competitors (LABATE 2014). However, in Brazil, the process of legalization involves the regulation of ayahuasca (CONAD 2010, LABATE & FEENEY 2011, MACRAE 2010), and does not mention these other substances. Although not explicitly banned by existing legislation (as coca is, for example, in the case of the Ashaninka), the inclusion of these additional substances could eventually lead to problems.

Up until now, New Age practices and beliefs in Brazil and elsewhere have drawn mostly from North American indigenous shamanism. Today, however, we may be seeing a shift as Brazilian indigenous cultures take center stage. Indigenous ayahuasca use, at the same time, has become ever more

entwined with urban religious, esoteric, and therapeutic movements. Independent of the dominant ayahuasca religions, indigenous shamanic practices can stake a power claim to legitimacy in the name of self-determination, cultural diversity, and ethnic minorities. It remains to be seen how these multiple alliances and conflicts, the newly resurgent movement of "original users," the heritage registry process, and the legal landscape, always fragile in the face of orthodox prohibitionist tendencies, will continue to interact, evolve and transform.

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Notes

1. It is necessary to note that even within these established ayahuasca religions, there are significant disputes and differences of opinion. There is a significant difference between a more regional and a more national notion of "tradition."
2. "Extractive Reserve" (RESEX) is a category of protected area intended to promote conservation through sustainable resource extraction by resident populations. The Kuntanawa live within this RESEX but are seeking FUNAI recognition for an indigenous territory ("Terra Indígena") there.
3. A prize created in 2009 providing ten months of support for social movements with activities relevant to the Brazilian Culture Ministry initiative, "Programa Cultura Viva" ("Living Culture Program").
4. The hymn states: "Father Samuel call me, tells me what he wants, to live eternally with the Virgin Mary... I have stepped onto the first rung, to follow resolutely, within my heart."
5. A former adept of the Daime church he himself established and led in São Paulo, Céu de Maria, murdered him. The murderer had severe mental problems and the incident ignited national debate about the religious use of ayahuasca in Brazil.
6. For example, the Ashaninka shaman Benki, mentioned above, was criticized when he was a young leader by a shaman from his community for taking ayahuasca outside the village to serve it to non-Indians in Rio Branco (Pimenta 2002).

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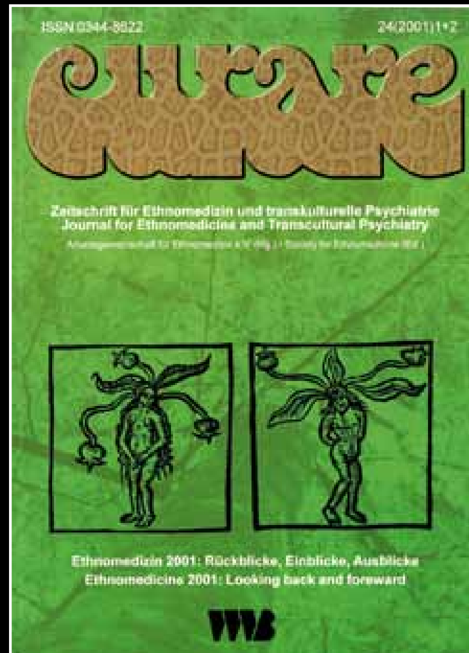

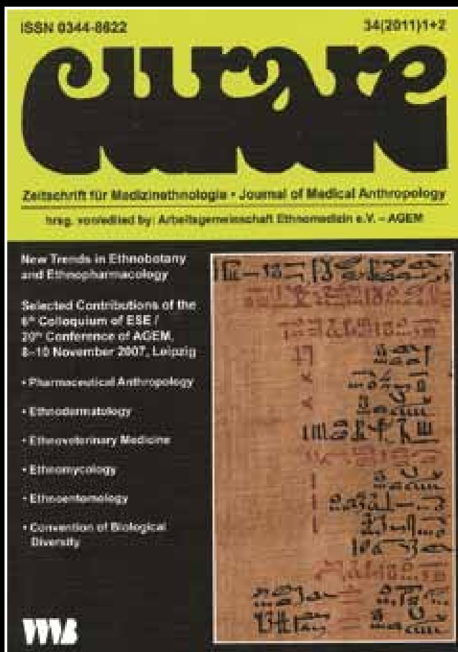

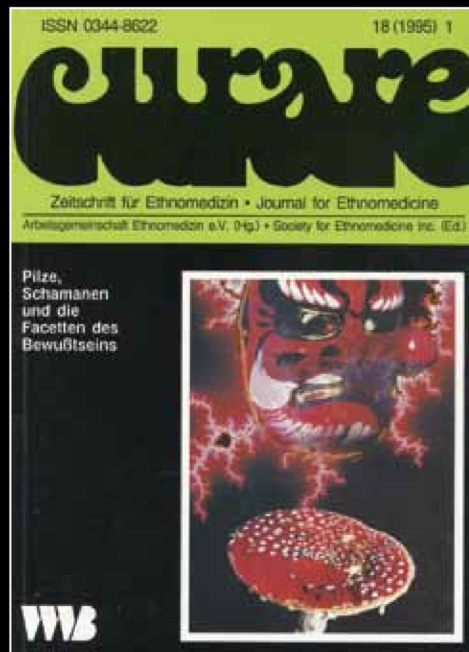

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