

Processes of health, illness and healing in Santo Daime: Reflections about the Arrochim Line

*Processos de saúde, doença e cura no Santo Daime:
Reflexões sobre a Linha de Arrochim*

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ABSTRACT:

This paper aims to trace a logical path between the foundation of the Santo Daime doctrine and the development of the healing work of the Arrochim Line. I try to point out how it was possible to establish the structures that made it legitimate for godfather Wilson Carneiro de Souza to carry out healing work and the formation of a “Daime Emergency Room”, run by his family and today institutionalized as the Raimundo Irineu Serra Spiritual Centre and Emergency Room (Cepseris). Based on a literature review, the analysis of interviews with relevant figures and a reflective effort, I work on the theme of the *healing* provided by the drink, the notion of *deservedness* to receive such healings and the *passing on* of a ritual model in the Daime context.

KEYWORDS: Santo Daime, Healing, Emergency Room, Wilson Carneiro de Souza, Arrochim Line.

RESUMO:

Este texto busca traçar um caminho lógico entre a fundação da doutrina do Santo Daime e o desenvolvimento do trabalho de cura da Linha de Arrochim. Procuo apontar como se estabeleceram as estruturas que tornaram legítimas a realização de trabalhos de cura pelo padrinho Wilson Carneiro de Souza e a formação de um “Pronto Socorro do Daime”, dirigido por sua família e hoje institucionalizado enquanto Centro e Pronto Socorro Espiritual Raimundo Irineu Serra (Cepseris). A partir de uma revisão da literatura, da análise de entrevistas com figuras relevantes e de um esforço reflexivo, trabalho a temática da *cura* proporcionada pela bebida, a noção de *merecimento* para receber tais curas e a *entrega* de um modelo ritual no contexto daimista.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Santo Daime, Cura, Emergency Room, Wilson Carneiro de Souza, Linha de Arrochim.

Introduction

This article is derived from research conducted between 2016 and 2017 while I was preparing a thesis for my bachelor's degree in social sciences. The work was titled *Como um beija-flor: Notas sobre a origem de uma linha de cura no Santo Daime*. Here, I wish to explore (especially from the point of view of anthropology, but trying whenever possible to elaborate reflections of an ethnophilosophical nature) the use of psychedelics—specifically ayahuasca/Santo Daime—related to health and illness processes, analyzing the dimension of healing present in a particular ritual form, namely the daimista works¹ of the Arrochim Line. The healing works of the Arrochim Line are a ceremonial form developed by Wilson Carneiro de Souza and continued by his family—the Carneiro family. Wilson was one of the *keepers* of the teachings left by Raimundo Irineu Serra, founder of the Santo Daime doctrine, and he was entrusted with the task of maintaining a “Daime Emergency Room,” that is, a place where he should attend to people seeking healing. The Linha de Arrochim is one of the dissident lines of the daimista doctrine and is relevant because it focuses on one of the aspects most dear to the group: the healing power provided by the drink in a ritual context. For the faithful, daime² (a drink perceived as the materialization of divine power or God himself) allows the patient to access the divine force (*força*) through feelings and mirages (*mirações*³), connecting with spiritual entities and divine beings and accessing spiritual and karmic healing processes.

There is a significant body of work dedicated to the study of the uses of ayahuasca and Brazilian ayahuasqueiro religions (Santo Daime, Barquinha, and União do Vegetal), conducted by pharmacists, botanists, doctors, neuroscientists, psychologists, historians, sociologists, anthropologists, philosophers etc. Among these studies on amerindian use: the work of botanist Richard Spruce (1908), who in the 19th century witnessed an indigenous ceremony using a beverage made from a vine belonging to a then-undescribed plant species, which he proposed to name *Banisteria caapi* (now known as *Banisteriopsis caapi*); the studies of Michael Harner (1973) in the 20th century on hallucinogens and shamanism; and Esther Jean Langdon's (1986) work on the ethnobotanical aspects of *yagé* (one of the many names for ayahuasca).

¹ The daimists refer to the ceremonial sessions as “works”.

² Traditionally, the drink is prepared from the decoction of two plants: the bark and trunk of a vine, *Banisteriopsis caapi*, and the leaves of a shrub, *Psychotria viridis*. *B. caapi* is rich in harmine and harmaline, selective inhibitors of the enzyme monoamine oxidase (iMAO), while *P. viridis* contains the hallucinogen N,N-dimethyltryptamine (DMT). When administered orally, DMT is degraded by monoamine oxidase (MAO) and is not absorbed by the body. Therefore, the presence of iMAO in the drink prevents DMT molecules from being inactivated and allows them to reach the central nervous system (see Fontes, 2012). In this text, we refer to the Daime doctrine with a capital letter and to the daime drink with a lowercase letter.

³ Visions and mental images experienced during the psychedelic trance induced by the ritual ingestion of daime/ayahuasca.

Regarding vegetalism⁴ and Amazonian healing practices: the research of Luís Eduardo Luna (1986) studying the use of psychedelic and psychoactive plants by Peruvian mestizo healers, and Marlene Dobkin de Rios (1972) work on healing in the Peruvian Amazon. On Barquinha and União do Vegetal (UDV): pioneering works by Wladimir Sena Araújo (1999) with the first academic study on Barquinha and by Anthony Henman (1986), Afrânio Patrocínio Andrade (1995), and Sérgio Brissac (1999) on UDV. Regarding Santo Daime, one of the first academic studies was conducted by Clodomir Monteiro da Silva (1986), followed by various researchers such as Vera Fróes (1986), Fernando de La Roque Couto (1989), Edward MacRae (1992), Sandra Lúcia Goulart (1996; 2004), Arneide Bandeira Cemin (1998), Alberto Groisman (1999), Beatriz Labate (2000; 2004; 2011), Labate, Rose, and Santos (2008), and Monteiro and MacRae (2011).

Beyond these general contributions on the Santo Daime doctrine, there are also works by Maria Cristina Peláez (1994) and Isabel Santana de Rose (2005) on the theme of healing, and Eduardo Bayer Neto (2005), Henrique Antunes (2012; 2015), and more recently Julia Lobato Pinto de Moura (2018), who conducted research on the life of Wilson Carneiro de Souza and the Raimundo Irineu Serra Spiritual Centre and Emergency Room (Cepseris⁵). When I wrote and defended my thesis, Julia Moura's article had not yet been published, though it was in the writing process. I had access to some reflections she was sketching out in what would become the article “As origens de uma casa de cura do Daime” (2018), which at that time I cited through a reading made by Henrique Antunes from the preprint. Now, with this material available, I had the opportunity to revisit the citations and access firsthand the rich research she developed.

Thus, most of what I develop here about the history of Santo Daime and the biographical data of its founder, Raimundo Irineu Serra, has already been meticulously collected, organized, and analyzed by various researchers. The data concerning the life of Wilson Carneiro, his family, and the Emergency Room they developed, however, have been less thoroughly examined. While it is true that Wilson Carneiro's story permeates the history of Santo Daime, as he was a prominent figure within the doctrine, it is not difficult to find mentions of his name and accounts of events he experienced with Master Irineu and other followers of the doctrine. However, as mentioned, only anthropologist Henrique Antunes and geographer Julia Lobato Moura seem to have published works on this family and this healing line in academic circles; the research conducted by Eduardo Bayer Neto, a writer and video-documentarian, while well-done and rich in details, is not currently available where it was originally published (online in

⁴ Practice of mestizo shamanism in the Peruvian Amazon, cf. Luna; Amaringo (1993).

⁵ Acronym in Portuguese for Centro e Emergency Room Espiritual Raimundo Irineu Serra.

the website of Revista Virtual Arca da União, that no longer exists), being scattered across blogs and websites on the internet.

My goal is to gather available information about Wilson Carneiro and the healing sessions conducted by him and his family, specifically about the Arrochim Line, developing reflections on what differentiates this healing work from other existing works within the Daimista doctrine and the processes of legitimacy and recognition it underwent. I choose two questions to guide the analyses I develop: i)) How were established the structures of legitimacy of the power of *healer* and *keeper* of the healing rituals transmitted to Wilson Carneiro by Mestre Irineu? ii) What are the mechanisms of revelation and transmission of the healing line developed by Wilson in relation to other already consolidated lineages? To answer these questions, I mobilize two native concepts: *deservedness* and *passing on*, in addition to reflecting on ethnophilosophical concepts such as healing, cosmology, phenomenology, ritual, beauty, symbolism, imagery, spirituality etc.

“I Stepped on the First Step”⁶: Research Interest and methodology

My interest in Santo Daime began in August 2016 when I had an experience that led me to ayahuasca, and from ayahuasca arose curiosity about Santo Daime. I became acquainted with Master Irineu's doctrine on Carnival Monday 2017 when I participated in a healing work at Céu da Campina, a daimista church located in Campina Grande/PB. Returning to the city where I lived, Natal, I sought out the nearest church, Céu da Arquinha⁷, located in the municipality of Nísia Floresta/RN, 35 km from the capital. I began participating in ceremonies in April and continued attending Arquinha throughout that year. On the occasion of Robson Nascimento Teixeira de Souza's visit (current president of the Raimundo Irineu Serra Spiritual Centre and Emergency Room, Cepseris, located in Rio Branco/Acre), I had the opportunity to participate in a healing work of the Arrochim Line on June 17, 2017.

Among the works I participated in at Céu da Arquinha in 2017, three were directed by Robson (one Arrochim work and two Estrela works⁸). Besides being the president of Cepseris, he is the son of Raimundo Nonato Teixeira de Souza and grandson of Wilson Carneiro de Souza, being one of the members of the Carneiro family mentioned throughout the text. These works caught my special attention; not only because they were directed by a guest and marked my personal experience but mainly because of the way they were regarded by the daimistas with whom I lived. When it was said that a healing work directed by a member of the Emergency Room, whether Estrela or Arrochim (the two main ceremonial

⁶ Verse from the hymn “Papai Samuel”, by Mestre Irineu.

⁷ To find out more about Céu da Arquinha, see “A escritura de quem não sabe ler” - Transmissão de conhecimentos no Santo Daime (Bezerra, 2016), master's thesis presented to PPGAS at UFRN.

⁸ In Portuguese, “trabalho de Estrela”, Star work. We'll discuss it more later in this article.

models developed by them at the Emergency Room), was going to take place, people tended to be more attentive and excited. They said it was a “very powerful” work (i.e., where one felt more the effects of the sacred beverage), and in practical terms, I noticed that these were days when the church was fuller, receiving a larger number of both uniformed⁹ members and visitors (non-uniformed who attended the works). Additionally, Maria da Liberdade and Moura Neto—a couple present at the first Daime works in Rio Grande do Norte and who helped found Arquinha, being important figures in the church today—have a close relationship with Padrinho Wilson's family, encouraging their visits and feeling great joy in receiving them.

Furthermore, on occasions when daimista churches or centers receive guests, the work is directed by the guests in their models and particularities. The Daime to be consecrated can also be brought by them, and a small selection of “house” hymns¹⁰ is chosen to be sung and honored by the hosts. These factors can change the “aura” of the work, breaking the routine and providing a different experience. Other elements that can influence the differentiation and increase the esteem of these works are the association with the idea of *healing* and the fact that the Carneiro family is considered a *family of healers*, with its patriarch, Wilson Carneiro, having been a contemporary of Master Irineu and having received directly from him the task of caring for the healing of all who sought him.

To better understand how the title of *healers* was attributed to the members of this family, the development, consolidation, and legitimacy of the Arrochim Line, and the works carried out today by Cepseris (both at its headquarters in Rio Branco and in other Santo Daime centers and churches around Brazil), I briefly present the history of the development of Santo Daime, always trying, whenever possible, to associate it with the idea of healing, the biographical trajectory of Wilson Carneiro, and the succession of events and transformations that influenced the formation of the Emergency Room.

I base this on the works already conducted by researchers (Antunes, 2012, 2015; Bayer Neto, 2005; Moura, 2018) and from data obtained in interviews given by Raimundo Nonato (known as Padrinho¹¹ Nonato, son of Wilson Carneiro), Robson Souza, Sandra Costa (Robson's partner), and Maria das Graças (known as Madrinha Graça, Robson's mother and wife of Padrinho Nonato). The interview with Padrinho Nonato was conducted by Moura Neto on June 14, 2003, and the interview with the other family members was conducted by me on October 8, 2017, at the home of Liberdade and Moura Neto

⁹ In Portuguese, “fardados”, the followers of Santo Daime, those who have gone through the uniform and become full members of the house, wearing a uniform during the ceremonies, as well as receiving a star — an insignia that symbolizes their commitment to the doctrine.

¹⁰ “Religious songs whose lyrics are bound and read (or memorized) by all the participants, who chant the songs of praise, 'dance' and/or play musical instruments throughout the ceremonies” (Rehen, 2007).

¹¹ “In Santo Daime, it is common for some older followers, as well as the spiritual leaders of the centers, to be considered by the adepts as ‘godfathers’ [padrinhos] and ‘godmothers’ [madrinhas]” (Oliveira, 2011).

(at Santa Rita Beach, Extremoz/RN), who were also present, making important interventions and remarks.

“I am Buddha, I am Krishna, I am Christ”¹²: Origins of the Doctrine

Santo Daime is a doctrine that brings together philosophical elements from various traditions and wisdoms around the world. According to the Daimistas themselves, the Santo Daime doctrine is a Christian and ecumenical religious practice founded on evolutionary eclecticism and has as one of its main elements the ritualized ingestion of ayahuasca, a psychotropic substance considered a sacrament and called *daimé* by the group (Assis and Labate, 2017).

"Evolutionary eclecticism" refers to a set of values based on the acceptance of different spiritual traditions from various religious matrices (Groisman, 1999 apud Oliveira, 2011). Thus, the Daimista doctrine possesses a "cosmology in construction" (Araújo, 1999), which allows for the constant possibility of incorporating new philosophical-religious elements into the spiritual quest of the faithful. According to Alberto Groisman (1999, p. 46 apud Oliveira, 2011, p. 19), evolutionary eclecticism arises in Santo Daime as a "way of representing and justifying the coexistence between various cosmological systems: Umbanda, esotericism, Kardecist spiritism, and others, in the group's cosmology."

Influences from Christianity, European esotericism, Kardecist spiritism, and elements of Amerindian and Afro-Brazilian religions have been present since the doctrine's creation, manifesting throughout its history and legitimizing in its current “multiple expressions in different institutions” (Oliveira, 2011). After the death of its founder, Raimundo Irineu Serra, a process of branching and formation of dissident lines within Santo Daime began. However, as Sandra Goulart and Bia Labate point out, the lines continue to have points of convergence, as they maintain the “basis” of the set of fundamentals that composed the original formation (institutionalized in the form of Alto Santo/CICLU, which we will explain later), which aggregates “[a] set of elements derived from beliefs in popular Catholicism, doctrines such as Kardecist spiritism, and, of course, ancient Amazonian practices of ayahuasca use, linked to caboclo shamanism and rubber-tapper culture [...]”¹³.

It is important to highlight these characteristics because Cepseris and the spiritual works carried out there are part of this group of “dissident lines” of Santo Daime, which implies the adoption of new ceremonial elements — something that seems to have been anticipated since the doctrine's foundation, as we have seen above. According to Goulart (2005), Clodomir Monteiro da Silva (1983) was the first to

¹² Verse from the hymn “Eu Sou (Cristo É O Daime)”, by Alex Polari de Alverga.

¹³ Excerpt from an interview with Sandra Goulart and Beatriz Labate granted to the IHU online magazine. Available at: <http://www.bialabate.net/bia-labate/interviews/especial-sobre-o-campo-religioso-brasileiro> (Accessed November 2017).

use the term “line” to designate doctrinal variants within the same ayahuasca religious tradition. In her doctoral thesis, the same author states:

In this thesis, “linha” is a concept elaborated for analytical purposes, although it is also a notion used by some of the groups analyzed here. Thus, the term is prevalent in the Santo Daime and Barquinha cults. In both, it can imply various meanings. Initially, in both cults, it is used as in Umbanda, indicating a “linha” of spiritual works, comprising certain “classes” of supernatural beings. For example, in Barquinha, there is the “linha” of the “pretos-velhos” or the “caboclos” who act and manifest themselves (“incorporate” in the faithful) in different ways and at different times. In Santo Daime, which as we will see, has less proximity to the Afro-Brazilian religious universe, the expression is also used to categorize types of entities, but more particularly species of rituals, marking the differences between them — such as between “concentration” and “white table” or “crosses” and even “healing” rituals. In the União do Vegetal, the term “linha” is only occasionally used, in a vaguer sense, and is not directly related, as in Santo Daime and Barquinha, to its cosmological order (Goulart, 2004, p. 13).

“The caboclos have arrived [...] to heal the christians”¹⁴: Healing and Daime

The history of Santo Daime began with Raimundo Irineu Serra — who later became known as Mestre Irineu —, a black man from Maranhão, grandson of slaves who migrated from Maranhão to Acre in the early 20th century to work as a rubber tapper. It was during this time that Irineu developed an interest in *oasca* (as daime/ayahuasca was better known by the caboclos of the Amazon at that time), having his first experience with the brew with the help and company of a friend, Antonio Costa. It was probably between the years 1914 and 1916¹⁵ that Irineu went through his initiation processes, diets, visions, and encounters with entities; experiences that took place between Brasiléia (AC, Brazil), Cobija (Bolivia), and the rubber plantations of Peru (Moreira; MacRae, 2011).

It was also during this period that Irineu himself, based on the teachings transmitted by the female instructive entity with whom he maintained contact (Clara/Queen of the Forest/Virgin of Conception/Virgin Mary), renamed terms traditionally used by the indigenous people and caboclos of the Amazon; thus, at some point, he began to call that brew “daime” — referring to the conjugation of the verb “dar”, “dai-me”¹⁶. Regarding this, Dona Percília Ribeiro (contemporary and personal secretary of Irineu) clarifies in an interview given to anthropologist Sandra Lúcia in 1994: “she [the Queen] said that the drink was called daime. It's a request, a prayer that we make to God... give me health, give me love [...] We can ask for everything because this drink is truly divine, it has everything we need [...]” (Goulart, 2004, p. 34–35).

¹⁴ Verse from the hymn “The Stars”, by Mestre Irineu.

¹⁵ Most of the dates of the events that took place in the early years of the development of the Daimist doctrine are uncertain, and vary in the works of different researchers. Here, we have given preference to referencing dates presented by Edward MacRae (1992 and 1996) and Paulo Moreira and Edward MacRae (2011), who carried out extensive research, interviews and document analysis that gave rise to the book *Eu venho de longe: Mestre Irineu e seus companheiros* — a rich biographical text, illustrated with photos and maps and which brings together testimonies from the first participants in the religious movement.

¹⁶ In Portuguese “dar” means “to give” and “dai-me” means “give me”.

The theme of healing and illness appears recurrently from the earliest narratives about Santo Daime. Edward MacRae (1992) shows how the popularization of Mestre Irineu's healing knowledge made him known to members of the elite and local authorities, and how this fact protected him from new attacks and police persecutions based on articles of the Penal Code referring to the prohibition of the illegal practice of medicine, quackery, and magic. According to MacRae (1992), this relationship with the elites would also have reflected in the centrality, in the religious movement that was being created, of “white” elements: greater importance given to Catholicism and esoteric Spiritism, to the detriment of practices associated with black and indigenous religions, such as possessions referring to the tradition of Amazonian folk healing.

“*The daime, it is the daime*”¹⁷: Ritual Forms

The development of the religion that became known as Santo Daime began around 1930, marked by the establishment of dates for formal gatherings and the introduction of elements such as hymns, dance, and uniforms¹⁸. Mestre Irineu regulated four types of "works" or ceremonial formats: Concentration, Hymnal, Holy Mass, and Cross Works¹⁹. We will now briefly indicate what each of them entails.

Concentration works are part of the official calendar of the Santo Daime doctrine, to be held every 15th and 30th of each month. Participants wear blue uniforms, and the ceremony consists, as the name suggests, of a work in which everyone sits around the cross and seeks to practice concentration and meditation. Only a small number of hymns are sung, with the remaining time dedicated to silence, introspection, contemplation etc. (Oliveira, 2008).

Hymnal works are festivities held on holy days (such as Three Kings' Day, Saint Joseph's Day, Saint John's Day, All Souls' Day, Virgin of Conception, Christmas...) and on special days for the tradition, such as the anniversary and passage (death) of important figures in the doctrine. On these days, participants wear white (gala) uniforms — except on All Souls' Day, when blue uniforms are worn — and perform the dance, which consists of a simple choreography that follows the rhythm of each hymn sung. The works begin at night and extend until the following dawn. As the hymns are divided into three rhythmic

¹⁷ Verse from the hymn “O daime é o daime”, by padrinho Alfredo.

¹⁸ Daimista ceremonies today consist of singing collectively (most of the time accompanied by musical instruments) the hymns (teachings revealed by the divine beings and “received” by the Daimistas in the form of stanzas), playing the maraca (only those in uniform) and dancing (performing a series of simple movements to the rhythm of the hymns). The uniforms (there are two, the white one, for celebration days, and the blue one, for all other ceremonies) are standardized clothes worn by those who have gone through the fardamento - a rite of passage that makes the neophyte an official member of the doctrine. Symbolically, the uniform is seen as a kind of armor, and by wearing it the daimista feels part of the battalion commanded by the Queen of the Forest and Mestre Império Juramidam, one of the names by which Raimundo Irineu Serra is known.

¹⁹ Concentração; Hinário; Santa Missa; and Trabalho de Cruzes.

types, namely: march (quaternary beat), waltz (ternary beat), and mazurka (binary beat), the dance follows suit: the march with two steps to the right and two to the left; the waltz with a light sway from side to side, without moving from the spot; and the mazurka with a movement of turning 180 degrees from side to side. (Oliveira, 2008; Vasconcelos, 2016).

The Holy Mass is held every first Monday of the month, on the day of Mestre Irineu's passing, on the day of Padrinho Sebastião's passing, during Holy Week, on All Souls' Day, and on the occasion of the passing of any member of the doctrine (with the body present, on the seventh day, and on the first anniversary). It is a work intended for the souls, usually beginning at 4 p.m. (other works start only after sunset), participants wear blue uniforms, and the ceremony begins with the praying of the souls' rosary. No musical instruments are played, and there is no dance; instead, the Mass hymns (which are ten) are sung *a cappella*, interspersed with three Our Fathers and three Hail Marys, closing with the Salve Regina. During the eighth hymn, four of the members sitting around the table stand up, each holding a lit candle in their right hand and forming a cross shape in prayer for the *disembodied* beings. (Oliveira, 2008).

Finally, the Cross Works, which are performed more rarely and by few churches. It consists of an *exorcism* work for the benefit of one or more seriously ill individuals — it functions as a spiritual aid. Only a small group of participants, who must be experienced *mediums* capable of forming a positive healing chain, gather. The work takes place for three consecutive days, always starting at noon and lasting for one hour. The work is performed standing, and only two hymns are sung, dedicating the remaining time to reading a text invoking all saints, angels, and archangels for the salvation of souls. (Oliveira, 2008).

It is interesting to note that the elements present in Santo Daime sessions closely resemble those of cabocla pajelança, a mediumistic cult widespread in the Amazon that, like Santo Daime, incorporated Catholic, Kardecist, and African beliefs and practices (Maués, 1994). For his doctoral thesis, Raymundo Heraldo Maués conducted fieldwork in Itapuá, a fishing village on the coast of Pará, where he observed a typical pajelança session. From his description and analysis of such a session (cf. Maués, 1994, p. 73–5), we can perceive common elements and symbols to Santo Daime works, such as the figures of princesses, kings, and queens, the healing master, and the session president; the use of terms like work, chain, and apparatus; the arrangement of session participants around a table with images of saints; the ceremony starting in the middle of the night, lasting through dawn, the presence of maracas, chants, and dances, etc. Maués reports:

The pajelança session (or "work," as it is called by participants) is conducted with the assistance of several invited individuals. It always takes place at night, starting around eight o'clock and ending in the early morning hours (usually around one or two o'clock). It is often sponsored by a sick person or their relative (husband, in the case of a woman), who is referred to as the "owner of the work." In addition to the patient for whom the session is held, other people (sick or non-sick) attend, many of them invited by the pajé himself, or the owner of the work, or their

relatives.

The "work" begins with a prayer by the pajé, in front of a shrine or table where images and prints of various Catholic saints are placed. During this prayer, the pajé "surrenders" his spirit to God, which will leave him for a few hours [...] Receiving the first guide [...] bids good night to those present and sings his "doctrine," shaking the maraca and dancing around the hall. It is an initial chant to "open the chains" (that is, to start the healing session itself), during which the "caruana" asks for the blessing of the saints for everyone present and also refers to the most important "enchanted" figure in the region: "King Sebastião" (Maués 1994, p. 73–74).

“He heals those who seek him”²⁰: The healing brew and the healer man

As we have seen, the theme of healing has a constant presence in the uses and beliefs surrounding ayahuasca/daime. It is present from indigenous shamanic use and Amazonian caboclo healing and pajelança to the contemporary urban use of the brew. In the early stories that make up the narrative of the "origin myth" of Santo Daime, experienced by Raimundo Irineu Serra in his early encounters with daime, the healing capacity of the brew is emphasized. Mestre Irineu cultivated within himself the desire to become a great healer, guided by the teachings transmitted to him by the Virgin of Conception (or Queen of the Forest, depending on the version), which would help him fulfill his mission here on Earth, developing a "Holy Doctrine" (Santo Daime) according to the instructions from the *astral* (celestial region). Thus, Mr. Luís Mendes narrates one of the episodes involving the initiation of Mestre Irineu:

After completing the diet, She [the Virgin of Conception] came to him, clear as daylight. She said she was ready to grant him whatever he asked for. He asked Her to make him one of the best healers in the world. She replied that he could not make money from it.

— My Mother, I do not want to make money.

— Very well! But, you will have a lot of work!

He asked Her to associate everything related to healing in this brew.

— Is this how you are asking? Well, it is done. And everything is in your hands. (Revista do Centenário, 1992, p. 14–5 apud Goulart, 1996, p. 29).

Irineu became known throughout Rio Branco for his healing power. Regarding this, Paulo Moreira and Edward MacRae (2011) clarify:

In the beginning, Mestre Irineu's works were focused on concentration and healing. Health-related issues were the main reasons why people sought him out, from the beginning of his work with daime in Rio Branco until his last days. Often, people who felt blessed with healing became his followers along with their families (Moreira; MacRae, 2011, p. 145).

The authors believe in the possibility that many of the healing methods developed by Mestre Irineu derive from the vegetal traditions of indigenous people and caboclos, who “conceive diseases and other

²⁰ Verse from the hymn “Peço força”, by padrinho Sebastião.

ailments as a result of organic imbalances or even envy, spells, or panemas,” and from cultural elements linked to popular Catholicism and the esotericism of the Esoteric Circle of the Union of Thought (Moreira; MacRae, 2011, p. 147). Furthermore, according to Moreira and MacRae, for Irineu, "healing should be accompanied by a change of life, guided by Christian principles such as love, forgiveness (for oneself and others), repentance, charity, and fulfillment of promises" (Moreira; MacRae, 2011, p. 149). Groisman (1991) points out that notions such as karma, incarnation, and reincarnation, typical of Kardecist Spiritism, are recurrent in the discourse of Santo Daime faithful and suggests that they should be considered in interpretations and explanations regarding death, illness, and all kinds of misfortunes. Goulart (1996) understands that it is through forgiveness to the "suffering spirits" that the individual can heal because the sick person would be a victim of "impurities," "disharmonies," and "negative forces and entities"; thus, the work of Santo Daime would consist of eliminating impurities and restoring spiritual balance and harmony.

With this strong emphasis on healing, Irineu Serra's doctrine attracted countless followers. Important figures in the doctrine, such as Padrinho Sebastião, Mestre Daniel (founder of Barquinha), and Padrinho Wilson, came to Santo Daime precisely in search of a *cure*. This is one of the points I wish to further explore in the following topic: if the revelation of the Santo Daime doctrine and the attribution of *healing powers* were transmitted to Mestre Irineu by the enchantments of the forest and through a non-human entity, how were established the structures of legitimacy of the power of *healer* and *keeper* of the healing rituals transmitted to Wilson Carneiro by Mestre Irineu? What are the mechanisms of revelation and transmission of the healing lines, and how is recognition and endorsement given in the face of already consolidated lineages?

“The paths are open”²¹: Wilson arrives at Daime

The history of the daimistic healing family, the Carneiro family, begins with Wilson Carneiro de Souza, born on July 19, 1920, near the Tarauacá River in Acre. Son of Antônio and Antônia, Ceará natives who migrated to Acre due to the rubber boom and who would pass away when Wilson and his brother, Nelson, were still children. Orphans, the two boys had to work from a young age, becoming rubber tappers. (Bayer Neto, 2005; Moura, 2018).

In the early 1940s, Wilson married Zilda Teixeira and had seven children with her: José Ribamar, Terezinha, Francisco das Chagas, Raimundo Nonato, Gecila, Tânia Maria, and George Washington (the last two not being biological children, only fostered). After marriage, Wilson left the rubber plantations and began working as a butcher — buying, slaughtering, and processing animal meat for sale. This led

²¹ Verse from the hymn “Os caminhos estão abertos”, by Raimundo Gomes.

the family to move to the capital, Rio Branco, in the 1950s; at that time, they even negotiated with Mestre Irineu, who owned a pig farm on his property. (Bayer Neto, 2005; Antunes, 2015; Moura, 2018).

However, it would only be in the following decade that Wilson and his family would truly establish a relationship with Irineu and the doctrine he led: in 1961, José Ribamar, the eldest son, fell seriously ill; this caused great concern in the family, as neither traditional medicine nor promises of alternative or spiritual cures seemed to bring improvement. They were then advised to seek help in the spiritual work performed by Raimundo Irineu Serra (Bayer Neto, 2005).

I had the opportunity to access an interview with Raimundo Nonato, given to journalist Manuel Moura Neto in 2003. This interview was never published; it was recorded by Moura at the time and later transcribed by his wife, Maria da Liberdade. The couple kindly provided me with this transcription, in which — among several other clarifications — Nonato tells his version of how his parents and brother came to Daime:

My father, Padrinho Wilson, who is my father and also my godfather, he met Mestre Raimundo Irineu Serra through a brother, his eldest son José Ribamar. He, already leaving adolescence, fell ill — with a disease that was unknown to doctors. So, my father sought various Umbandists, leaders of terreiros [Afro-Brazilian religious centers], until one day he arrived at the house of Major Holderness Pereira Maia. Then Major Holderness said to my father, "Wilson, I don't have the strength to take care of your son, but I know someone, who is Mestre Raimundo Irineu Serra... just by him placing that blessed little hand on his head, he will be well." But my father... he heard a lot of things about Mestre Irineu, [...] they said a lot of things about Mestre Irineu that he did with people — which, in this case, are words that cannot be confirmed, because he never acted in bad faith with anyone, and only sought to treat. Then, one fine day, my father said, "Zilda, let's take José to Mestre Irineu's place," and my mother, with the words she heard, said, "Wilson, the God there is the same as here. He can die here with a broken tooth, but I won't go there." Then my father said, "Zilda, this boy is in bad company, he's with evil spirits, if he dies in the condition he's in, he and the whole family are lost" [...] Then, after much struggling, my father went there and took José with him [...]. (Interview with Raimundo Nonato Teixeira de Souza, granted to Moura Neto, Santa Rita, 2003).

The family arrived at the, at the time, Center for Divine Light Mental Radiation²², in 1962. A bit further in the same interview, Padrinho Nonato recounts that one of his sisters, Terezinha, was also brought to the master's works and that Wilson himself was ill at the time. He then narrates the moment when Wilson began to believe in the healing power of Santo Daime:

²² Tattwa Center for Divine Light Mental Radiation. The Centers for Mental Radiation are cells of the Esoteric Circle of Thought Communion (CECP), the first occultist order established in Brazil. It was founded in 1909 by Antônio Olívio Rodrigues and disseminates ideas from various esoteric currents, characterizing itself as a “doctrine without rigid dogmas, open to various beliefs attentive to the ties of universal brotherhood and human evolution.” They cultivate the ideal of “communion of thought,” that is, a collective mental current aimed at generating “radiating waves of thoughts of Harmony, Love, Truth, and Justice — the Order’s mottos.” To this day, even after disassociating from the CECP, many daimista headquarters and churches still display the same motto on the walls of their ceremonial halls. (Information from the official website, available at: [<http://cecpensamento.com.br/historia/>])(<http://cecpensamento.com.br/historia/>), accessed in November 2014).

[...] during the Master's time, there were many healings, and when a person was undergoing cleansing, instead of looking at the person, my father turned his head towards the Master. I remember he said: "My God! This man is here doing his work, taking care of humanity, and people are misjudging him!". Then he surrendered himself wholeheartedly, body and soul, and he was healed. He, who had severe bronchitis, a headache, and very strong leg pain. And both José and Terezinha were healed. Thus, he surrendered body and soul to the Holy Doctrine (Interview with Raimundo Nonato Teixeira de Souza, given to Moura Neto, Santa Rita, 2003).

After that, Wilson, Zilda, and their children, grateful, gradually joined the doctrine, donning the uniform and dedicating themselves to spiritual work.

***"The world is in balance"*²³: Changes and Dissensions**

In 1963, as one of the first efforts to institutionalize Santo Daime, the Ciclu (Center for Universal Christian Illumination) was founded in the territory known as Alto Santo. According to Henrique Antunes (2015), this occurred after Irineu disassociated himself from the works carried out by the Esoteric Circle of Thought, then presided over by Chico Ferreira, who had rivalled the master for control of the center. Several attendees of the old Center for Mental Irradiation Divine Light abandoned the Esoteric Circle to follow Irineu; among them, Wilson and his family, who began attending the new center.

In the year 1965, Sebastião Mota de Melo arrived at the community, also in search of a cure — he had a serious liver ailment. He and Wilson became close friends, and both ended up standing out in the doctrine: in 1966, Mestre Irineu entrusted Wilson with the responsibility of serving Daime to those who sought it in the city of Rio Branco, and Sebastião Mota de Melo to receive the sick and produce daime²⁴ at his home, on a property that became known as Colônia Cinco Mil (Bayer Neto, 2005; Oliveira, 2008; Moura, 2018). In an interview I conducted with some members of the family, Robson talks about his grandfather.

There's a saying that you only seek religion for some reason, like illness. Rarely do you go if everything's 'fine,' right? You go to a healing house, a prayer house... So, it wasn't different with us. My grandfather sought [the religion] in search of a cure for his children. And he found it within the light of Santo Daime, with Mestre Irineu. That's where this lineage comes from. So, he, as a very respectful, upright man, gained the trust of the Master. The Master saw in him a man capable of conducting the works, of carrying this story forward — due to this posture of firmness, respect, and faith in the brew and in the Divine Creator (Robson Souza. Interview with the author, Santa Rita Beach/RN, Oct. 2017).

Mestre Irineu identified the need for these services in the city, knowing that people needed the healing of Daime, but many couldn't go to Alto Santo – which was far from the city center and difficult to access, especially during the rainy season (Antunes, 2015). Therefore, by the late 1960s, he began authorizing people to lead some works in locations farther away from the headquarters. That's how the

²³ Verse from the hymn "Subi", by Tetéo.

²⁴ In Portuguese the production of daime is called "feitio".

splits or extensions of Daime began, which, according to Moreira and MacRae (2011, p. 328), were referred to by Irineu as "emergency rooms," in metaphorical reference to health services. However, it's interesting to note that Julia Lobato Moura (cf. 2018, p. 177), commenting on this statement by Moreira and MacRae, states that the term "emergency room" only appears in the literature about Santo Daime when researchers specifically refer to the "Wilson's Carneiro Emergency Room"; this is confirmed in the following list, compiled from the survey conducted by Moreira and MacRae.

The first of these extensions of the Santo Daime is said to have been led by Daniel Pereira de Matos (the founder of Barquinha), still in the 1940s; then, in 1961, another extension, led by Raimundo Gomes, in the Chapada Settlement; also in 1961, the Saituba Settlement (now Barro Vermelho), led by Raimundo Ferreira (Loredo); in 1963, under the leadership of José Nunes and his wife Maria, a settlement called Limoeiro; in 1966, in the Bosque neighborhood, in Rio Branco, the extension known by the name "Emergency Room Wilson Carneiro," at the house of Wilson Carneiro de Souza; in 1968, the Fernandes Filho family, in the Apolônio Sales Colony, under the leadership of Pedro Fernandes Filho; also in 1968, the Colônia Cinco Mil, formed by Sebastião Mota de Melo, his family, and some associates and followers (who would eventually form a community); and another extension, farther from Alto Santo, located in a settlement known as "Cá-te-Espera," between the municipalities of Bujari and Sena Madureira, by an individual known as Manuel Cabeludo. (cf. Moreira; MacRae, 2011, p. 328–32).

At the beginning of the 1970s, Mestre Irineu, already in his eighties, began to experience serious health problems, passing away on June 6, 1971. Despite the fact that the lines and different expressions of the Santo Daime did not necessarily originate only in the extensions, in 1971, with the absence of the unifying leader, they became the target of disagreement by the new leaders of the headquarters. This, combined with the existence of potential leaders who could continue the work initiated by Irineu, resulted in the formation of the first independent centers of the Ciclu/Alto Santo (Moreira; MacRae, 2011; Antunes, 2015; Moura, 2018).

Moreira and MacRae (2011) clarify:

Some of these "dissidences" had a brief existence and disappeared. The "lines" seem to result from a policy of autonomy that Mestre Irineu bequeathed to the extensions and potential leaderships that emerged within his center. The lack of a formal federative organization for the various groups of followers, ensuring their unity; the oral and musical nature of his doctrine ultimately led to the emergence of a series of different interpretations of its practices and postulates (p. 333).

It is in this context that, in 1974, Padrinho Sebastião founded a dissident line, the Church of the Eclectic Cult of the Fluent Universal Light patron Sebastião Mota de Melo (Iceflu²⁵), in a place called

²⁵ In 1974, Sebastião Mota's group was registered under the name of the Eclectic Center of the Flowing Universal Light Raimundo Irineu Serra (Cefluris), later renamed the Church of the Eclectic Cult of the Flowing Universal Light (Iceflu).

Colônia Cinco Mil, in Rio Branco/Acre. Raimundo Nonato recounts that, after the passing of Mestre Irineu, persecutions of Padrinho Sebastião began, leading him to withdraw to Colônia Cinco Mil along with "his people," those who accompanied him to Alto Santo. This would have occurred between 1972 and 1974, and Wilson Carneiro and his family were part of his followers. Nonato recounts:

[...] at that time, they said: "Wilson, are you giving more value to the disciple than to the Master?". Then Dad said: "No, I am giving equal value: to the Master and to the Padrinho of the same size. Because the Master came and replanted this Holy Doctrine and the Padrinho is helping to replant it with all strength and firmness. So you are mistaken, for I am with the Master on one side, the Padrinho on the other, and Mom guiding, I am with the three of them." So the segments continued (Interview with Raimundo Nonato granted to Moura Neto, Santa Rita, 2003).

And he continues:

At one point, Dad said, "Padrinho, they are trying to take the daime out of my hand, the daime that the Master gave me." Then the Padrinho said, "Wilson, if they take the daime out of your hand, I will put mine, because I learned to make daime from the Master. So take care of what he gave you, and daime will never be lacking in your hand, because what he gave me, I am taking care of." So daime was never lacking with my father, it was always abundant. So when Dad passed away, there was plenty on the furniture where he kept daime. I took it home because it was daime from the Emergency Room, so I kept it (Interview with Raimundo Nonato granted to Moura Neto, Santa Rita, 2003).

Therefore, we understand that starting in 1966, Wilson is entrusted with the responsibility of attending to the sick in his residence in the city of Rio Branco and that, after the death of Raimundo Irineu Serra, he ceases to attend Alto Santo (Ciclu) and begins to participate in the works carried out at Colônia Cinco Mil, led at the time by Sebastião Mota de Melo.

According to Moura (2018), in the early 1980s, Sebastião offers Wilson a plot of land near Colônia Cinco Mil, proposing that he leave his business in Rio Branco and integrate into community life, earning his and his family's livelihood there. Wilson and his wife, Zilda, accept. They then start living off their pensions and farming the land. Shortly thereafter, they even take on the role of church commanders at Colônia Cinco Mil because Padrinho Sebastião moves to a more distant land near Rio Purus/Amazonas, where he would found Vila Céu do Mapiá — the current headquarters of Cefluris — in 1983 (Bayer Neto, 2005).

Padrinho Wilson himself recounts:

On February 15, 1981, I moved [to live] at Cinco Mil. I stayed there at a farmer's house, at my son-in-law's house. I stayed, and when the end of June came, he [Padrinho Sebastião] called me to take care of the church. I said:

— Padrinho, I don't want to be the church director; I'm not capable of that.
 — But you are the chosen one; you have nowhere to run.
 — Padrinho, but I recognize in myself that I am not capable of leading a spiritual center.

— Learn as I learned, but there's no escaping it: you are the chosen one.

So I went with Alfredo, who is the general commander of the doctrine, and said:

— Alfredo, the Padrinho wants me to stay as the church leader; I know in myself that I am not capable of leading a spiritual center.
— Padrinho, but you are the chosen one, there's no use running away; you are the chosen one. Look, Dad took the helm, I took it, now it's your turn.

[...] So when they handed me the church key, Alfredo gave me a hymn that says "Now you receive this golden key." That was the hymn they gave me when they handed over the church key. But my real mission is to take care of the sick; that was the mission the Master left me with. I live directing the church, but my real mission is to take care of the sick...(Bayer Neto, 2005).

“By asking and praying”²⁶: Healing works

As soon as Wilson assumed responsibility for the Emergency Room, he conducted closed healing works with a reduced number of people, focusing on the benefit of a specific patient. When asked about Wilson's early healing works, Madrinha Graça clarified:

There wasn't Arrochim yet. It was simply healing work... he would give out the daime and concentrate. Then he would sing the hymns. And there was a lady who was his companion in conducting the healing works, which was Dona Clícia Cavalcante. If the patient couldn't go to his house, he would take the bottle of daime and she would go with him to perform the healing at the patient's house. With three works, he already knew if the healing occurred or if more was needed. It goes up to nine. It starts with three, which are consecutive, and sometimes, with these three, the issue is already resolved. If not, he would do three more. (Maria das Graças. Interview with the author, Santa Rita Beach, RN, Oct. 2017).

Wilson conducted the healing works following the instructions given to him by Mestre Irineu. According to these instructions, he should not offer daime to anyone, but also could not refuse if they approached him. If the "patient" could come to his house, that's where Wilson should attend to them, opening the works, serving daime, and providing assistance for at least two hours. If the "patient" could not make it to Wilson's house, he should invite two or three fellow members of the doctrine and go to the patient's house, serve daime, and remain for the minimum two hours, extending the work according to the situation of the beneficiary.

Therefore, if someone felt the need to participate in a healing session with Padrinho Wilson, they should request that the family organize the attendance. Saying that the work was "closed," according to Robson, does not mean it was inaccessible. He explains that the work of the Emergency Room entrusted to Wilson Carneiro, from its inception, is for all daimists and for all those who have faith, "for the sick who have faith in Christ Jesus, first, then in Mestre Império Juramidam and in the holy beverage" (Robson Souza. Interview with the author, Santa Rita Beach, RN, Oct. 2017). For him, this is the purpose

²⁶ Verse from the hymn “É pedindo e rogando”, by madrinha Rita.

of the Emergency Room: “to heal all members of the chain and those who are not part of the chain²⁷ as well, but who have faith.”

In these early works, Wilson conducted the healing sessions singing the hymnal “O Mensageiro,” by Maria Marques²⁸. He worked like this until the day he was admonished for doing things backwards: he was starting the studies with the "branches" when he should start with the "trunk," that is, with the hymnal "O Cruzeiro," by Mestre Irineu — only after strengthening himself in the firmness of the trunk could he move on to its ramifications.

After that, Padrinho Wilson began to organize a selection of hymns to sing in his healing works. Hymns are of great importance within Daimista cosmology and phenomenology because they are understood as a manifestation of the divine word; as such, they carry teachings of a spiritual, moral and ethical nature, as well as causing new perceptions and triggering effects of aesthetic pleasure through the musical performance of the songs and the melodies that can accompany them. There is a lot of discussion about the beauty of hymnals and the feeling of the sublime or ecstasy that comes from them. It is when the selection is ready that the development of the Arrochim Line begins. Madrinha Graça (Interview with the author, Santa Rita Beach, RN, Oct. 2017) believes that knowledge about Arrochim was acquired through the oldest hymns that already mentioned the "Arrochim Line" as a line of *healing spirits*. From the line of healing spirits, the family line of healers begins to form, which is actually the formation of a *healing chain*, that is, the realization of works in which the entire *chain* concentrates for healing purposes, summoning and channeling energies, spirits, and healing entities.

According to Bayer Neto (2005), in 1988, in response to the need for registration of the religious institution, the Centro Eclético da Fluente Luz Universal Wilson Carneiro de Souza (CEFLUWICS) was established in Cinco Mil. Padrinho Wilson, already a widower and with some health problems at the time, assumed the position of honorary president and began to groom his youngest son, Raimundo Nonato, as his successor. Nonato, who joined Santo Daime at the age of just 13, became a daime maker and took seriously the task of succeeding his father. His entire family nucleus joined him, developing a sense of responsibility to ensure the continuation of what was *passed on* to the patriarch by Mestre Irineu. Nonato built a family that “was born within Santo Daime”. As Robson, his son, puts it:

We come from this lineage... the whole family. Our entire family is within Santo Daime. Since the Master handed it over to Grandpa Wilson, there's this responsibility, this weight of the Emergency Room that was entrusted to Wilson

²⁷ The chain [corrente] is the spiritual force of the work. Each participant in the session is considered a member of the chain that is being formed, so it is believed that individual conduct and behavior affects the entire group - which makes it all the more important that everyone strives for “firmness”, “discipline” and “attention” during the sessions.

²⁸ Also known as Maria Damião. She was an important figure who, together with Germano Guilherme, João Pereira and Antônio Gomes, formed the “four companions of Mestre” and, like him, received the hymns that are considered the doctrinal basis of Santo Daime.

Carneiro. So there's already a lineage of protection, respect, guardianship. We are guardians, guardians of the work. We have authorization to develop this work... given by the founder of the doctrine (Robson Souza. Interview with the author, Santa Rita Beach, RN, Oct. 2017).

In Robson's discourse, we can discern a sense of "duty to be fulfilled." He and the other members of his family feel responsible for maintaining the healing work entrusted to Wilson by Irineu Serra (the *passing on* or "authorization" would therefore extend to the entire Carneiro family), feeling themselves as "guardians" and continuators of the healing line that Wilson would develop throughout his life.

However, the ceremonial model of the Arrochim Line work, as executed today, took time to "take shape." At that time, a "first version" was carried out, still of a closed and directed nature, initially in the city of Rio Branco and later at the residence of Colônia Cinco Mil. Meanwhile, Wilson and his family also helped lead the works that took place at Cinco Mil: the works of the Official Calendar (hymns of festivals and holy days and birthdays of important figures for the doctrine), the Concentrations of the 15th and 30th of the month (instituted by the Master), and the Estrela works.

The Estrela work is a healing ritual developed by Padrinho Sebastião and ended up being incorporated into the calendar of works carried out by the Carneiro family. Next, we will understand a little more about it and analyze how it approaches and distances itself from the Arrochim work.

“The Arrochim Line is a healer's line”²⁹: The healing work of the Carneiro family

The Arrochim work remained in Padrinho Wilson's hands until 1997, a year before his death. Even when he was already ill, he carried out the works. Madrinha Graça recounts the episode of the *passing on* of the Arrochim work:

Arrochim was done by compadre Wilson. As long as he was alive, even when he was sick and all, he did it. When he saw that he was saying goodbye to life, he came to me and said, “Graça, Nonato doesn't do my work...”. That's because Nonato was more into Estrela, because he hadn't *passed on* the Arrochim work for him to do, right! So, the work was with him! Then I went and said, “But compadre... you didn't *pass on* the Arrochim work for Nonato to do... so how is he going to do it, without you having handed it over?” (Maria das Graças. Interview with the author, Santa Rita beach, RN, Oct. 2017).

It was after this conversation that Wilson called Nonato and Graça to *pass on* the Arrochim work into his hands. It was understood that the work had been transmitted to him and to the entire family.

Madrinha Graça emphasizes the importance of the act of *passing on* a work that was received, recalling that when Mestre Irineu was still alive, if someone came seeking healing work, he would immediately refer that person to Wilson. This is because after a work is *passing on*, it effectively belongs to the new “owner”. Graça clarifies: “The healing work was with Wilson Carneiro. So it wasn't with him

²⁹ Verse from the hymn “Os caminhos estão abertos”, by Raimundo Gomes.

[Mestre Irineu]. After he handed it over, it was with Wilson Carneiro” (Maria das Graças. Interview with the author, Santa Rita beach, RN, Oct. 2017).

The Arrochim Line consists of a healing hymnal organized by Wilson Carneiro, composed of hymns that address the theme of healing. A particularity of the healing works of the Arrochim Line is that this hymnal is sung entirely a cappella. Henrique Antunes, in his master's dissertation (2012), describes how the session unfolds:

The session begins with the sign of the cross, followed by the recitation of three Our Fathers and three Hail Marys. The first dose of Santo Daime is served, followed by the recitation of the "Consecration of the Room" prayer and Padrinho Raimundo Nonato's "Prayer for Healing." The hymn "Sun, Moon, Star" by Mestre Irineu and "I Will Call Juramidam" are sung, followed by a "healing concentration" lasting between thirty and forty minutes, during which everyone sits silently in their chairs. After the concentration, the hymnal is resumed, and the hymns continue to be sung a cappella, with instruments only being allowed in the final three hymns. Two more mandatory doses of Santo Daime are served during the eighth hymn, "I Invoke My Master," by Padrinho Sebastião, and the thirtieth hymn, "The Daime is the Daime," by Padrinho Alfredo. Depending on the occasion, the session may be extended by singing an Appendix of hymns added by Padrinho Raimundo Nonato. At the end of the session, three Our Fathers and three Hail Marys are recited again, followed by the Prayer of Caritas, Padrinho Nonato's Prayer for Healing, and the Hail Holy Queen. After the closing formula, the participants make the sign of the cross, and the session is concluded (Antunes, 2012, pp. 93–94).

The choice to conduct these sessions without the presence of musical instruments accompanying the hymns has been made since the early sessions conducted by Wilson; Madrinha Graça recalls that even before the development of the hymnbook of the Arrochim Line, when the hymns of Maria Marques were sung, the sessions were done “all in the voice” and adds:

[...] in Arrochim, there's no percussion, no drumming. Everyone is there singing because my father-in-law used to say that music distracts. And when you're singing, you're focused on the hymn. Music gives that lightness... and, no, in Arrochim, it's for you to enter and feel healing, real strength. [...] Music comforts, right? A cappella, no, the voice provides a more focused strength. When the instrument comes in, you feel that softness, that lightness (Maria das Graças. Interview with the author, Santa Rita beach, RN, Oct. 2017).

The absence of instruments also relates to the nature and intentions of the work. When asked, Graça and Robson confirm that Estrela sessions are "open bench" sessions, while Arrochim sessions are "closed bench." The absence of the "drumming" to which Graça refers in her statement above is due to the desire not to stimulate the *embodiment* of spiritual entities. This is one of the reasons that guided the scheduling of the sessions held at the Emergency Room: Estrela sessions are conducted before Arrochim sessions. Estrela, according to the family, serves as preparation for Arrochim. The Estrela work is considered a work of cleansing and purification; therefore, it should be performed first so that the *mediums* are cleansed and are lighter for the Arrochim work, which brings healing.

It is interesting to note that the elements present in the Estrela work and absent in Arrochim (such as “drumming,” open bench, *embodiment of entities*) have a clear influence from Kardecist Spiritism, with which Sebastião Mota had proximity, and Afro-Brazilian religions such as Umbanda and Candomblé. In the Arrochim work, *embodiment* or *incorporation* are not as welcome or encouraged; it is said to require “focus” and “discipline,” qualities that are somewhat opposed to states of trance or possession. However, the *força* and ecstasy experienced during Arrochim sessions seems to be greater, perhaps felt through the reduction of some external stimuli (the use of instruments), inviting attendees to redirect their attention from the perceptions stimulated by the beverage to the internal³⁰ environment — something that can be described as an inner dive, capable of providing phenomenological experiences (cf. Husserl, 2012) of the most diverse kind, because if

Phenomenology can be understood as the area of philosophy dedicated to the study of consensual states [...] Santo Daime constitutes a vast phenomenological field, a horizon from which understanding the processes of ecstasy, trance and mirages becomes easier [...] [Thus] analyzing in depth the various consensual states that manifest themselves in the Santo Daime force reopens the doors of perception for the creation of a new phenomenological conception³¹ (Freitas, 2023b, p. 66–7).

It is important now to make some remarks about the concept of *healing* that is so often discussed and sought in the presented works. The idea of *healing* cultivated by daimists involves notions of *faith*, *trust*, *deservedness*, and *karma* (cf. Antunes, 2012; La Roque Couto, 1989; Pelaez, 1994; and Groisman, 1999). This is evident in the words of Padrinho Wilson Carneiro:

Each healing occurs according to the *deservedness* of the person; not everyone receives it. The healing is, I serve the Daime, perform my duties as he [Master Irineu] taught me, and *if the person has the deservedness, they receive it*. Because there's a hymn that says: "Not everyone is in grace to receive the healings." So, sometimes they heal, like this lady here, she came from Argentina with cancer. There she is, cured, thank God. (Statement by Wilson Carneiro de Souza, Documento Especial: Santo Daime program, 1988, cited in Antunes, 2012, p. 94. Emphasis mine).

Next, another statement by Wilson about the work he received and how he conducts healing sessions:

I respect all rituals of work being with God. But the work I received from my Father and direct does not involve mixtures. You don't touch the patient, you don't massage them. When someone falls losing consciousness, you shouldn't

³⁰ See also the discussion by Cunha (2021) on the analytical method and Kant's theoretical thinking. The author states that “the analytical method, insofar as it replaced the point of reference for philosophical investigation with empirical psychology (internal experience) and cosmology (external experience)—to the detriment of the old paradigms of ontology, psychology and rational theology—was important for the forthcoming epistemological reformulation of the concept of metaphysics, which would characterize critical reflection (Cunha, 2021, p. 92–3).

³¹ In the original version: “A fenomenologia pode ser compreendida como a área da filosofia que se dedica ao estudo dos estados conscienciais [...] o Santo Daime constitui um vasto campo fenomenológico, um horizonte a partir do qual a compreensão dos processos de êxtase, de transe e das mirações se torna mais fácil. [...] [Assim] analisar com profundidade os diversos estados conscienciais que se manifestam na força do Santo Daime reabre as portas da percepção para a criação de uma nova concepção fenomenológica”.

touch the person because they may be receiving a healing or an operation. You should only support them so they don't feel uncomfortable, letting the Daime manifest in the person. Attention must be paid to the hymns, not sung hurriedly to understand their teachings and be able to put them into practice. The healing chain requires total concentration and attention to the goal of the work so that *the sick can surrender with full confidence and spiritually unravel their visions of the disease, its karmic causes, and the required transformations, so that healing can occur and be maintained*. One should also stay in place for at least two hours, only leaving in case of necessity. Coming and going disrupts the chain. During the work, one should not drink water because it disrupts the *mirações* [visions]. In the first work I participated in, it was to clear my doubts. Within the Daime, I was operated on, they removed the old intestine and put in a new one. I was cured by the Master, it depends on *trust* (BayerNeto, 2007, apud Antunes, 2012, p. 94. Emphasis mine).

Therefore, the *healing* that one can obtain from participating in sessions with Santo Daime has much to do with acts of faith and with a disposition, which must come from the individual themselves, to "surrender" to the *força*, to the effects, of the drink, to allow oneself to be indoctrinated. The idea of indoctrination involves acquiring forms of conduct that are considered correct by the adherents of the religion. In the hymns, which are the basis of the doctrine, many instructions are presented on ways of being and acting in the world; those who do not heed such teachings would not possess *deservedness*, after all, they are one of the main ways of transmitting knowledge from the *astral* realm (Rehen, 2007). Judikael Castelo Branco (2023), when analyzing Eric Weil's reflections "about man and about the world" and his notes on the world of nature and the world of culture as domains that are increasingly difficult to separate, stresses that virtue is what fulfills and gives meaning to individuals as beings in community. The author reflects on how human experiences try to reconcile apparently inseparable elements, such as intellect and reason, nature and culture, freedom and morality. He states, for example, that morality does not lie in freedom of action, but in reflection and judgment about that action (cf. Soares, 2021). It seems to me that the indoctrination and healing experienced through the act of drinking daime, taking part in rituals and learning from the hymns and the religious community, mirror the movement of man who perceives himself as facing not only a material and concrete world, but also a spiritual and subjective world, which is constituted on the basis of its own moralities of a specific cosmology and belief system.

Goulart (1996) draws an analogy between the hymns of Santo Daime and the *ícaros*³² sung by vegetalists and points out that "in both cases, music is the means by which divine beings reveal themselves to man" and emphasizes that "the hymns of Santo Daime preserve the most important function of the ancient icaros: the power of healing" (p. 28). Therefore, it is through the hymns that session participants can come into contact with divine beings, heal, and be indoctrinated — that is, learn about behaviors and

³² Magical melodies sung by healers from the Peruvian Amazon, for more information see Luna (1984) and Dobkin de Ríos (1971).

values considered appropriate inside and outside the Santo Daime halls, ethical and moral norms, beliefs about life, death, time, etc. (Rehen, 2007).

Therefore, the concept of healing goes beyond notions involving only the reversal of physical and/or psychic illnesses, and can refer to the healing of a myriad of human problems. The healing performed by the Carneiro family is, above all, spiritual — which cannot be dissociated from the idea of faith. They themselves do not recommend that, in cases of serious illnesses, people seek help solely from the services offered by the Spiritual Emergency Room, but rather advocate for an association between a medical team from a hospital or formalized health center and a team that channels spiritual healing forces, as is the case with the Cepseris team. Robson recounts a case of the association of these two treatments when Washington, a foster son of Padrinho Wilson, developed meningitis:

Recently, a cousin of ours, a foster child of grandpa, got meningitis and was in a near-death state; I saw this boy dead myself when I visited. He was like... in the hands of others. So what did we do? We conducted healing sessions. Nine closed sessions for his benefit. And, thanks to God, after the sessions, he improved. But it was like this, a combination: there was *the material medical team, and the spiritual medical team, working together, combining forces*. And after the last session, he really had a fantastic improvement (Robson Souza. Interview with the author, Santa Rita Beach, RN, Oct. 2017. Emphasis mine).

Arrochim is described in the hymns as a "healing spirit," whose image is associated with the figure of a hummingbird, or as a "line of healers." It is possible that Wilson Carneiro established a connection with this line from the hymn "The paths are open," by Raimundo Gomes, which was constantly sung in his house and says: "The Line of Arrochim / Is a healer's line / I heal to serve / With the power of the Creator / Arrochim is a spirit / That comes like a hummingbird / Call the nine points / And here I am right away." According to philosopher Jan Clefferson Costa de Freitas (2023a), in the context of Amazonian cosmologies and folk legends and mythologies, "the hummingbird symbolizes pure love, spiritual healing, good fortune, psychological rebirth, crystal clearness and ontological lightness" (p. 9). Furthermore, he points out that animals can be understood as representing guardian spirits that guide the shaman through sacred journeys, from which we can understand the hummingbird as a totemic figure that accompanies the family and the line of healing they have developed.

It was precisely after the hymnal was written that the spirits of the Arrochim Line came to be associated with Wilson and his family, as we can observe in the hymn "Linha de Arrochim" by Vera Fróes, where both the Line of Arrochim and a well-known episode from Wilson's life are mentioned: the occasion when he had a conversation with Mestre Irineu about feeling weak and "afraid of the daime," to which the master advises him not to "run away," but simply to reduce the amount of daime he was taking, because by going slowly, one also reaches the destination. In Fróes's hymn, the event is remembered in the verses: "The diseases that appear / Are discipline / For those who deserve it / Ask

the healing spirits / Of the Line of Arrochim / To Jesus Christ the Redeemer [...] You shouldn't be afraid of dying / If you run away / It'll be worse for you [...] With calmness / and tranquility / Your path / Will be illuminated.”

In general, Arrochim is associated with the figure of the hummingbird and the idea of healing. It is interesting to note that the hummingbird is one of the great symbols of Santo Daime, also evoking a being that disseminates healing. We can say that the association between the figure of the hummingbird, a line of healers and the Carneiro family thus makes up the imaginary and symbolic universe of the Daimistas, especially if we consider that “[the] myth, the rite and the symbol express, on different planes and with their own means, a complex system of coherent statements about the ultimate reality of things: it is synthetic, plurivocal and equivocal and can reach very deep strata of the psyche”³³ (Cunha, 2021, p. 91).

The Carneiro family assumed the leadership of Colônia Cinco Mil in 1990. At that time, the administrative personnel changed every four years, which meant they were supposed to stay until 1994. During this period, according to the family, things seemed quite prosperous, it was the "peak" of Cinco Mil — they were achieving their goals: working seriously and making everything function as best as possible. However, by 1994, some friction began to occur, the administration started to face several criticisms, having its legitimacy undermined. The criticisms, according to Goulart (2004), were related to issues regarding the management of resources for the material improvement of the community. Thus, despite remaining in charge of the Colônia until 1997, the family gradually began to distance themselves from the administration. In 1999, after Wilson's death, Nonato and his family would request to step away from Cefluris and disengage from Cinco Mil, which passed into the hands of Maurílio Reis. A little earlier, they had already begun to build Vila Carneiro, the current residence of the family, taking the opportunity to construct their own hall for the execution of the Spiritual Emergency Room sessions — which had already been taking place in the form of "small sessions" within the house they lived in (Goulart, 2004).

Robson recalls that the hall emerged out of necessity; for some time, they felt it was necessary to separate the residential space from the ceremonial space. They believed that the heavy energies of the people seeking help would be released from the patient, who would be healed, but would end up impregnating the house. Consequently, its inhabitants would be affected and fall ill. Therefore, in 1996, the construction of a rectangular hall began—similar to the ceremonial spaces of the headquarters of Ciclu/Alto Santo. The Emergency Room would come to be identified as a "headquarters" or "center"

³³ In the original version: “[o] mito, o rito e o símbolo exprimem, em diferentes planos e com meios próprios, um sistema complexo de afirmações coerentes sobre a realidade última das coisas: é sintético, plurívoco e equivoco podendo atingir estratos muito profundos da psique”.

rather than a "church," the latter being a more common denomination among groups following the model of Cefluris/Céu do Mapiá, influenced by modifications introduced by Padrinho Alfredo, son of Padrinho Sebastião.

Along with the new space came the desire to refine, "tune," the work carried out by the Emergency Room. Robson explains:

[...] we had to tune ourselves. Because sometimes, you have a job to do, but you don't do it, because when you go to do it, you get whipped. So I'm going to prepare my people to receive the patients. The idea is to tune the devices that are there to receive those who are coming" (Robson Souza. Interview with the author, Santa Rita Beach, RN, Oct. 2017).

It is in 1997 that the Line of Arrochim begins to be developed again. After Padrinho Wilson *passed on* the work into the hands of Nonato and Graça, and after Nonato ended his activities with the administration of Colônia Cinco Mil, being able to dedicate himself entirely to Emergency Room, the work of the Line of Arrochim begins to take on the contours it has today. A new format begins: the works become open, they are no longer carried out only in the patients' homes or in a restricted manner (with few family members), but are performed in the Emergency Room, open to anyone who wants to participate.

In 1997, Wilson was already very ill, and the family did everything they could to inaugurate the headquarters of the Emergency Room with the patriarch still alive. They succeeded. He even performed works in the new space, which from then on would be known as the Center and Spiritual Emergency Room Raimundo Irineu Serra (Cepseris).

Graça recounts:

Even when he was very ill, we did the work. He went to Emergency Room, but he didn't lead the work, but he went, and we worked for him. According to Tânia [Wilson's adopted daughter], when it was time for padrinho Wilson to pass away, he finally *passed the work on* to Nonato. She said that, for her, it would end. Whoever was healed, was healed, and whoever was not healed, was not. But that's when Nonato's father *passed it on* to his son: "Don't let Emergency Room end, carry on this history, it's in your hands" (Maria das Graças. Interview with the author, Santa Rita Beach, RN, Oct. 2017).

With the headquarters having been inaugurated, a schedule of the works to be carried out there is established. The family was careful not to "rivalize" or compete with the works that took place in the church of Colônia Cinco Mil, so during the first years, they only performed two formats, both for healing: Estrela work and Arrochim work. They determined that the Estrela work would be performed on the Saturday preceding the 15th day of the month and Arrochim on the Saturday preceding the 30th day. At some point, Padrinho Nonato felt the need to start carrying out other types of work. Starting with the institution, on the Cepseris calendar, of the Concentration works for the 15th and 30th, and then gradually began to also perform the Hymn works. About this, Madrinha Graça recounts:

We started doing Hymns there at Emergency Room because it was very turbulent in Cinco Mil, it was very... messy, let's put it that way. It so happened that the leader... Padrinho Wilson's hymnal, for his birthday, we did it in the church there [...], Nonato made the Daime and took it from home to celebrate Padrinho Wilson's party at the Cinco Mil church. Then it happened that the leader didn't get along very well with Nonato [...], so when Padrinho Wilson's birthday arrived, I don't remember which year, he said he didn't understand why Nonato didn't do Padrinho's hymnal at Emergency Room. He said he wouldn't accept... that if he [Nonato] took his Daime to the church to celebrate Padrinho Wilson's party, he would leave it at the main house, the Daime wouldn't go to the church. [...] That upset us a lot because the war was raging on the other side... what were we going to do now? That shook us, it was a really strong shake (Maria das Graças. Interview with the author, Santa Rita Beach, RN, Oct. 2017).

That year, Padrinho Wilson's birthday celebration took place at Emergency Room, and the family began to consider the possibility of also conducting official Hymn works at Emergency Room, as they already had the structure and capacity to do so. The decision was made collectively, as Graça explains:

We gathered all the children to see if that was really what they wanted. Because if it wasn't, it would stay the way it was, with just Estrela and Arrochim. And everyone agreed for us to start doing Hymns at Emergency Room. So, from then on, we started and don't do it anymore at Colônia Cinco Mil. This caused a lot of gossip, [...] many people distanced themselves because they thought we wanted to start another church. *But it wasn't another church, we are a healing point!* But there came a point where we needed to expand, finish the headquarters. We had a lot of help, we finished it — it's not quite finished yet, but it's already well prepared (Maria das Graças. Interview with the author, Santa Rita Beach, RN, Oct. 2017. Emphases mine).

Today, Cepseris, in addition to its healing works, follows a "slimmer version" of the Official Calendar established by Alto Santo, which includes the Concentrations and Hymn works. In the Arrochim line, closed works are still performed, "depending on the patient and the disease, we seek those heads that are more attuned, firmer, to do the work," explained Madrinha Graça.

Final considerations

This work sought to trace a logical path between the foundation of the Santo Daime doctrine and the healing work of the Arrochim Line. Seeking to point out, along this path, how the structures were established that legitimized the performance of healing works by Wilson Carneiro and the formation of a "Daime Emergency Room," directed by his family and now institutionalized in the form of the Raimundo Irineu Serra Spiritual Center and Emergency Room (Cepseris).

To achieve this, it was necessary to revisit events in the life of the founder of Santo Daime, Raimundo Irineu Serra, and the process of institutionalizing the doctrine. After that, we focused on the trajectory of Wilson Carneiro de Souza, who received from Irineu the task of maintaining an Emergency Room to assist, in the city of Rio Branco, the sick who sought healing through Daime. Next, we outlined the relevant events concerning the developments and segregations undergone by the Daime doctrine after the death of its founder, before returning to Wilson and his family, presenting elements related to

the theme of *healing* that involve them. Finally, contextualized, we addressed the development of the Arrochim line, the transfer of responsibility for this work to Wilson's youngest son, Raimundo Nonato, and the institutionalization process of the Emergency Room that was entrusted to Wilson but ends up becoming the responsibility of the entire Carneiro family, which begins to assist in its operation, consolidation, and construction of its legitimacy as a spiritual healing space.

In this path, we could perceive that the theme of healing is very recurrent in Santo Daime, being present in various narratives and permeating the searches and understandings of those who have Daime as their guide. Seeking healing, Wilson Carneiro found the ideas, the people, and the "spiritual guides" that would accompany him for the rest of his life, becoming, because of his *deservedness*, one of the great contributors to the growth and expansion of Santo Daime — making the Master's prediction about taking his sacred drink to the "whole world" more possible.

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