

Urban Neoshamanism: Updating the Sacred Jurema in Northeast Brazil

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Abstract— Contemporary urban life has shown an increasing discomfort to individuals who have been experiencing almost epidemic symptoms of stress, depression and persistent melancholy as a result of experiences increasingly removed from a satisfactory and comfortable human sense. We study here the involvement of two individuals from quite different origins involved in the search for this meaning and who found in neoshamanism a way of returning to Nature and fullness, still inserted in the urban social life to which they belong. Although of Italian origin, Garone comes to Brazil and from revelations given by the jurema itself as an entity, he receives a call for the creation of his own neoshamanic line, associating techniques experienced in several countries with his own experience of these revelations. He was responsible for the establishment of four more groups here in Brazil and another one in Italy. Nilma is a Brazilian descendant of the Anambés, people from a traditional indigenous community in Pará. Her original group did not have a tradition of using power plants. Biologist with a postgraduate degree in Human Ecology also found in the neoshamanic use of Jurema, the rescue of his identity and ancestral reconnection. Their reunion was motivated by the anthropological studies of their academic formation. Both find in the northeastern origin of this sacrament an identification that brings them to their coexistence, and both start to take up residence in the region. The two cases addressed demonstrate the need for a new meaning of religiosity in the urban environment, which can be catalyzed by the use of power plants, if necessary modified for uses in adapted environments, even if they are far from their ancestral origin. Both have in the Santo Daime Doctrine a gateway established to access a ritualistic way that allowed the development of two different lines of neoshamanism based on the use of Jurema. Both adapt to their own environment a different manifestation, revealed by the ritual itself for each one.

Keywords— Neoxamanism, Jurema, Urban, Power plants.

I. INTRODUCTION

The shamanic dimension is part of the evolutionary process of the human species. Neoshamanism seems to multiply in its narrative / discourse, from indigenous shamanism to current religions, gaining new outlines today, especially in urban areas. This article presents an analysis of how these neo-shamanic groups researched in this work are constituted in their narrative, therefore in their discourse.

Interviews were conducted with two leaders of neo-shamanic groups in two cities in the Northeast of Brazil: Aracaju in Sergipe, and Paulo Afonso in Bahia.

The first of them, Filippo Garrone, lives in the city of Barra dos Coqueiros in the State of Sergipe, a shaman of Italian origin who knew shamanism through his search for the energies of the world and all his invisibility. At a very young age he dedicated himself to esoteric practices and from an inner need that arose naturally, he met the Santo Daime, which was a watershed for him, as he carried out a direct experience with all that invisible that became visible

and that constituted if not only in seeing, but realizing his visionary perception of everything he knew existed and now in a strong manifestation of his pristine questions.

With his first contact with shamanic lines, he immersed himself deeply in the Santo Daime doctrine, left other spiritual works and dedicated himself to knowledge with ayahuasca tea coming to the Brazilian Amazon four times in order to participate in works in Céu do Mapiá (The main church of the Santo Daime doctrine in Acre). He felt that the referred doctrine was a way of learning how sacred plants work, how they should behave within a rite and the foundation of why working with these plants, functioning as a school that one day would end in a true higher impulse of spirituality said by ayahuasca in Santo Daime. Despite the deep and natural experience with Santo Daime, he felt gratitude for the doctrine in his spirit, however, this religious form would not be his identity.

After all the experience described, in conversations and research regarding power plants, he really got to know jurema through an anthropologist from Rio de Janeiro

named Pedro Luz, who introduced him to the Jurema plant about 15 years ago, in João Pessoa in Paraíba, where he had remarkable experience, in which he understood that this was the plant and the superior understanding he was looking for, becoming a son of Jurema, as a sacred and master plant. Based on his interest in the plant, Pedro Luz taught the basic formula of preparing the jurema, made on the home stove and then, in his absence, he improved his assessment over the 15 years with guidance from Jurema himself, which he has been using as shamanic form of work to this day.

During this time of immersion in the jurema as a sacred plant, he created study groups that were physically structured in 2012 at the Sacred House located in Barra dos Coqueiros in the State of Sergipe, in addition to the groups that help in the discovery of the sacred power of Jurema, object of this research, currently maintaining shamanic works described as 'juremeira' family, in a more refined way as to the formula presented by itself as being sacred and its effects.

The second interviewee was the indigenous Nilma, master in Human Ecology, biologist, born in the Paraense Amazon. His shamanic trajectory started in the Master's Degree at the State University of Bahia in the subjectivity and contemporaneity discipline from the knowledge of the Jurema plant, of which until then she did not know its properties, as he had not experienced any power plant. In the extra-class activity, he tried jurema for the first time, and from that he received a call to work with this plant, and started to seek to better understand and experience in work with Garrone in Barra dos Coqueiros and in the Umbanda Itassussé Center in Aracaju, both located in the State of Sergipe.

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Currently living in Paulo Afonso, in the face of the ancestral calling and his search for self-knowledge and openness to the spiritual world with the help of Jurema, she created the shamanic group Luz da Floresta where she lives doing works with songs that she received in the strength of the sacrament, in addition to meditations and

mantras. The group created three years ago is composed of 15 members who consecrate Jurema with the leader.

The study also reveals the evolution of the ritual itself from the experiences of each one. This evolution at the same time adapts their practices to the living environment of both as well as including their own personal history.

II. OF THE JUREMEIRA RAINBOW FAMILY

Questioned about the origin of the formula of the Jurema they use, Garrone clarifies:

So! It comes from a research that was done in the 60's by scientists from Brazil, the Netherlands and other countries. They wanted to find a formula made with safe plants, that is, plants that have been used by men for millennia with stable alkaloids. There are various ways of preparing the tea of Black Jurema with the Syrian Rue, which is the *Peganum Harmala*. However, the traditional indigenous communities of Brazil have never used this formula, it exists only from the 60s, and was created by scientists who were inspired by the biochemical combination for the preparation of Ayahuasca. The formula, as it was passed on to us, stems from a similar biochemical study, made by scientists. These scientists were half shamans (laughs). It is a formula that prepares the apparatus, i.e. the body in the best way to be able to access the state of consciousness.

We have noticed that the neoxamanic Jurema centers that have been organized in the Northeast and in different parts of Brazil, have incorporated this new way of preparing the Sacred Jurema tea that was born in the alchemy of the laboratories of different Brazilian universities.

Garrone, still talking about the construction of this formula, highlights the importance of researcher Pedro Luz, one of his great references, stating that he taught Yatra, and that he was part of the group of researchers who developed the formula that combines the Syrian Rue and Black Jurema. About his relationship with Yatra, he reports:

The first time I took jurema was with her, in Holland. She served a first Daime service and then pure Jurema. After that I met Pedro Luz, a person who transmitted to me a significant part of the knowledge about the Jurema tea that I use in our Neoxamanic group.

Yatra da Silveira Barbosa, to whom he refers, is quoted by Grünwald (2018) who comments on her daimist origin. Yatra had difficulties in obtaining permission from the Santo Daime church headquarters in

Acre for the non-religious use of Ayahuasca in the Netherlands. This use was related to the treatment of alcohol and heavy drug addiction in that country. Then, it was developed the substitutive use of jurema, with the help of Dutch researchers, who potentiated its effect from an alternative inhibitor, the *Perganum Harmala*.

The same author talks about the uses of Jurema in the 1930s, when the ethnicity of the indigenous people was praised as fundamental in its cosmology. The author also reports that in the same decade there was a diffusion of the Toré's practices among the Indians of the Northeast and that it remains until today.

From a biochemical point of view, as with Ayahuasca tea, rich in DMT (dimethyltryptamine) and MAO inhibitors, Jurema tea is also abundant in DMT, and to achieve the inhibitory effect on the human organism of these molecules, the indigenous people have developed combinations with different species, such as wild passionfruit. The differential of this new formula is the use of potent inhibitors (betacarbolins) contained in the Syrian Rue inserted from the work done by European researchers as the best alternative to the use of Jagube and as an MAO inhibitor in Ayahuasca.

As a researcher and experimenter of these different ways of preparing Black Jurema tea, I can state that this new neoxamanic formula, developed by the aforementioned researchers, has an amazingly greater potency than that obtained in traditional formulations.

I asked Garrone about this, who realized that the active principle of the Pergamum is equivalent to that of the Jagube and that it worked as an MAO inhibitor in the preparation of Ayahuasca. He answered that this study was conducted in Brazil by Pedro Luz, an important botanical doctor, who learned how to make this form of Jurema from his studies. He also pointed out that he had never met an anthropologist who had already experience with sacred plants. However, Pedro Luz not only knew about them but made constant use of them, and invited him to make use of the Sacred Jurema tea in his home in the city of João Pessoa in the state of Paraíba.

As observed in Garrone's narrative, his encounter with Jurema is interpreted as a "calling", from what he calls "Mama Jurema", to him a sacred spiritual being. About this "calling", he describes that:

I'm not sure how to explain it. I don't quite understand. When I started to feel it, I got a chill and realized it was something for me. I was at the conference and I went after him, but I didn't find him by chance of fate. I tried the tea, which was used by the Indians for millennia. But I didn't belong to that culture. Although I came from an

outside tradition, I was very curious. Nowadays, I recognize the courage I had to get into this story and I feel blessed.

As is common in the accounts of subjects who consecrate plants of power, the manifestations of spirituality in the case of the Sacred Jurema acts in the subject's existence in a profound way, changing senses, strengthening certain beliefs that, in many cases, flow into a strong anchoring process. This was Garrone's experience, who despite the Italian nationality and the wide experience in traveling through different parts of the world, chose to live in Brazil and taking as his mission the cause of the Sacred Jurema. As we observed in one of his accounts:

I was so happy using the plant. I heard something inside me, an ancient wisdom that I needed to know and serve those who are entitled to it. Those who come close, those who want to consecrate and have the willingness to face this world within, should feel a trade with this plant to serve, because it is pure love and servitude. This awakened many things inside me and I went through many difficulties, but Jurema and the "juremeiros" helped me.

One of the variables that we can point out for Garrone to have changed his life and still structured a nucleus of the Sacred Jurema in the municipality of Barra dos Coqueiros/Sergipe, was this calling and the benefit that this plant, this Sacred being, brought to his life. As his speech below proves, he feels responsible for making it possible for others to find the sacred power of this ancient tea:

I realize that the vast majority of the people who come to me, from their accounts, enter one way and leave another, much better than they were before. We don't ask about their beliefs, but we realize that, in a certain way, the Jurema it contributes to the encounter with their soul so that they become better people. This already worths, even if the person achieves her objective, most times this person will look for us and will continue to take the Jurema. Some never come back, as my godson who became evangelic. It is far from my knowledge, but I know that Jurema helped him to know his path.

The speeches are specific. Foucault (2007) speaks that the operation of the speeches are not defined in our reading, but each one has its own peculiarity, being analyzed by theories, and even so, they do not attend to all idiosyncrasies, since they can transit under several other speeches in their external side, changing their constitution and ordination. Therefore, we highlight that what we could

capture in our analysis was one among infinite meanings of Garrone's speech about the Sacred Jurema.

Speaking a bit more about his experience with the shamanism and the Jurema, Garrone said:

I follow my heart, it feels these spiritual things, that don't need to be measured by rationality. It is a sensibility connected to the Earth and nature because I remember when I was a child and I didn't like a visit, I would go to the backyard, refuting with the nature to be in peace.

It is clear the power of this spiritual dimension in the transformations that Garrone lived, in which the Jurema plays a fundamental role. He highlights that even his own spirituality was built through his connection with the Earth, with nature. These are factors he can remember clearly and to expose in his speech. It is about a constitutive relation of a subject with the exterior world around him, even in childhood, that has a great significance to him.

The construction of the individual is a well-spoken theme in society. However, what about his deconstruction? Is it possible to construct while deconstructing yourself? Derrida (2001) affirms that it is and understands deconstruction as theoretical thinking which intends to eliminate hierarchical frameworks that sustain many occidental mindsets. This philosopher reflects about these relations punctuating the need for inverting hierarchies of meaning. Garrone's meeting with the Jurema was a watershed experience that produced a new meaning to his existence.

Nowadays, according to his report, Garrone calls himself a Jurema "planter". He says that Jurema is a luminous plant and that it should be planted within people's souls. He defines his mission in these terms. And he completes:

I feel I'm a planter, so when I realize that someone is prepared and wants to study seriously, if there is a possibility to expand in the group, I go there and plant this seed. But this rarely happens, it's not that simple and not everyone can just start to drink the tea, not everyone adapts to that. We know that it's not like that, that it's necessary a certain dedication and to be willing to take care of others, and also to be organized to this financially speaking. Besides, it is necessary to make room to this seed.

III. OF THE FOREST LIGHT VILLAGE

The second interviewed was Nilma. Among other issues, she approached her self-knowledge within the neoxamnanic groups. She's also a native leadership from the amazonic Anambé ethnicity. She was born on the

riverbank of Tocantins River, in the city of Mocajuba, in the state of Pará. Though she has indigenous origin, she didn't accept herself as one due to the stigma related to her culture, but she started to understand her path from the experiences with Jurema. When questioned about her objective entering this "works" with the Sacred Jurema, she answered:

I believe no one have achieved one's objective of life yet, right? I think this is an ongoing walking here, since we learn something everyday, and everyday we're seeking for something... So, I believe everybody is just like me, we're seeking a meaning and that's why I'll keep consecrating the Jurema, I believe so, forever. Because She helps us along the way. It is about healing, you know? And I must reinforce that our main purpose is here, on the way with Jurema, on the light of the Forest. It is about self-knowledge, really, it's about surrendering and understanding a this ecosystem as part of a whole, as a whole cosmos.

Studying the role of religion, Mora, Trad and Boas (2012) debate the hymn of Padrinho Sebastião Mota's Hymnal which says: "the more you push from me, the more I must give you". Just like Nilma points out, in our relation with plants of power, particularly with the Sacred Jurema, the more we seek knowledge the more we receive from this "Force". It means that we are talking about a guide in life, a master, a teacher.

On this bias, the feeling of fragility before life, the human finitude and other episodes of our existence are worries brought by our urbanized species, but there are better integrated with the use of entheogens. Nilma spoke about self-knowledge, love and respect to each other and to the ecosystem. She pointed out that we can elevate our own lives by living this relation with the sacred. Thus we can highlight the role that these shamanic experiences, religion, spirituality, play in various processes in the life of the human being.

It is known, Religion implicates indoctrination, but, as observed in Nilma's speech, the Jurema would not be an indoctrination itself, but a discipline called by her, "the discipline of love". According to Nilma, mother nature teaches humans how to use the "medicines" of the Earth. So, to her, the Jurema is a learning to liberation rather than an indoctrination.

Highlighting the healing power of this plant, she clarifies:

The use of this drink in urban centers is like light in the desert of the souls... It's living water for those who are thirsty of life. It opens doors, it liberates us from the illusion of separation. Jurema's altar is the

heart of whom consecrates it. In the village, Jurema is beyond a beverage. She's a Mother that plays a relevant and fundamental role to the balance of life in the ecosystem. And as a Mother, she's honored and consecrated. Conceived as the Mother Earth that feeds and sustains us, the caboclos consider her as a guide who conducts them. This state of surrounding itself already provides a connection with the forces of nature, which makes possible to experience deep interactive trances with the sacred, being auxiliated by the songs, the power of "toré" and a great Faith. The way we exist is immersed in nature. We have a logic of living and perceiving life in a different way of the urban centers. It means no doubt the connection with nature is already a connection with the divine... And Jurema (the drink made only from the root of the plant) is suficiente to your connection with the Sacred. For this relationship with nature keeps us connected daily, we are naturally nature .

An Amazonian Indian, Nilma reports that she had her first encounter with Jurema outside of her place of origin.

My meeting with Jurema was a meeting with myself, an indigenous person, because until then I did not evaluate myself as an indigenous person nor did I recognize myself as an indigenous person because of the terrible process, which as in the Northeast happened with the indigenous people in relation to the culture, suffering until today a lot of prejudice. It was at the Masters in Human Ecology that I had contact with this Sacred Force.

Nilma attended the Masters in Human Ecology and Socio-Environmental Management at the University of the State of Bahia (UNEB). In this course, Dr. Juracy Marques, Professor of the Program, besides developing research on the traditional uses of power plants, created opportunities outside the academic space, so that interested students could have contact with spaces where this tea was consecrated: in indigenous villages, or therapeutic spaces.

It was on one of these occasions that Nilma had contact with the Sacred Jurema, in a lecture and experience given by the head of the Eclectic Center of Umbanda Itassussé de Aracaju-SE, in the city of Paulo Afonso/Bahia. As she describes, this experience changed his life forever.

About her interaction with Jurema, Nilma reported that the plant opened its way into a world previously unknown to her. From this recognition, she began to transform into someone who wanted to help her neighbour.

She reports that he heard a call from her ancestry, began to receive some hymns that reminded him of her childhood memories, including dreams and personal

conflicts. Asked about her own self-assessment of being able to help others, she answered that by helping herself and transforming herself, help arrives for others in a very subjective and profound way.

Objectively, however, Nilma reported that she noticed a change in the behaviour of the people she helps. She informed that people come to her lost, sad, and that, by the evaluation of their behaviour during the use of the plant, they begin to find themselves again.

But she stresses that, first of all, people need to want this change. Nilma points out that nowadays people are very sad, with an empty soul, living in superficiality, and that from the moment they come into contact with the divine essence and the sacred, they start to improve. Talking about the power of the Sacred Jurema, she affirms:

I believe that indigenous people, people of terreiros, quilombolas, fishermen and all those who establish a relationship of integration with nature and with the whole, practising faith, love and respect with the sacred and its ancestry, are already in the strength of Jurema, which has been teaching and rescuing souls, both in the villages and in large urban centres. I also believe that this more concentrated Jurema, consecrated in urban centres, can become a powerful healing tool for the villages, helping to treat the deepest wound of the Indians' souls: the disconnection with nature, which has been generating pain, sadness and hopelessness. This sacred medicine can be a tool to help to heal these pains, which come from the capitalist logic of relating with nature. This form of relationship has harsh consequences for the balance of life, causing diseases such as alcoholism (very common in villages), depression, anxiety and other illnesses, which also manifests itself with high rates in indigenous villages.

We can see in Nilma's speech that the people who seek her in search of a dialogue with her spirituality, most of the time, are also in a process of pain and sadness. These characteristics are also present in religions, as Mota, Trad and Boas (2012) state. The authors point out that the experience with the sacred aims at a transformation in the individual, being the corporified dimension of the religious experience something of great value.

On how to reconcile the context of the power plant with family members, Nilma said the following:

The power plant gives us change. In the beginning, it caused me many conflicts, separation from my partner until then... Nowadays I walk along with my brothers and I learn more and more, singing the hymns and receiving all the guidance I need.

In the songs that I receive, come many teachings. I myself already had a great interaction with nature, but now I have much more, although it may sound crazy, I can hear the birds, find myself as a human being and develop my works. It was all very natural and I never pressured myself about anything. I continue for the resistance in this group we have here: "United of the Forest", which has been a path of a lot of perseverance that made me question a few times about having entered this situation, but right after, the answer would come to me. Nowadays I am being worked on, together with my brothers, learning with them, being someone who walks on this earth, seeking alignment with my spirit and my matter.

Through Nilma's words, one can see that she is always stressing the importance of Jurema in her life. About this truth, whose power is present in her speech, comes the movement for her to become the leader of this neoxamanic group in the city of Paulo Afonso, who works with the formula of the Jurema tea associated with the Syrian Rue produced by Garrone. About the nature of this drink, she explains:

The Syrian Rue acts as a potentiator of DMT present in the Jurema. Its biochemical composition inhibits enzymes responsible for the breakdown of active DMT in Jurema. This formula transforms the beverage into a faster and more powerful vehicle to access the sacred, helping to break our rationality, thus enabling the connection with the invisible and access to divine consciousness. With the detachment from the higher self, humanity began to live in a constant exterior search, following a logic that emphasizes materiality over Spirit. This Sacred Wine integrates the magic of opposing complementary forces. The mystery of Jurema merges with the mystery of Syrian Rue, bringing in itself the energy of the Mother Creator Moon (intuition) and Father Sun (the force of the universe), Jurema and Syrian Rue respectively. Added to the water and taken to the fire, this divine drink becomes a powerful wine of the soul, integrating in this way these divine forces. This wine appears as a tool in urban centers. It rescues souls trapped in a daily life of individualism, consumerism, of the illusory compensation of an accelerated and competitive rhythm of life, far from nature. Which fills us with emptiness, giving space to diseases that corrode the soul and the mind like depression or anxiety.

When asked where her position on the teachings to guide her Jurema fellowship came from, she says that she simply feels, "I feel it and she's shown it to me, so she's a teaching plant and she's been talking and calling everyone for a long time, all I talk about is really feeling it". We know and, as she brings, there are many layers that compose Nilma's speech about her relationship with Sacred Jurema.

Foucault (1995) states that, initially, the subject will delineate himself in a certain field of enunciation, with status and place, presented to him, and that he will refer to possible relations with his past, opening to him a usual future. That is, there is no enunciate that is free, neutral and independent, so that each and every enunciate plays its role in front of other enunciates, participating actively in the construction of a subject. In Nilma's case, she defends a speech based on contexts that she has acquired with her experience with Jurema and, concomitantly, with what she is as a subject since her childhood.

Nilma said that in her work in the Fellowship, she only uses Jurema. She said at first she was opening for snuff, but it didn't work out. She also said that the Syrian rue leads to the awakening of DMT present in Jurema and that this integration relationship is perfect, even in thought integration. About the hymns she received in the rituals with Jurema, she replied that she conducted a very extensive study on them, describing them as sources of healing, praise and gratitude.

In explaining details of what healing would be, Nilma responded that healing occurs from the moment there is an understanding about enlightenment, that it is nothing more than the knowledge that comes and demands a change. This change would be healing, emphasizing that this knowledge is divine and comes from God. The healing would be that of the soul, which according to the interviewee is to free yourself from sorrows and burdens of the past.

Nilma carries out the works in the backyard of her residence, a wooded place with a bonfire in the center. She explains that this space belongs to the caboclos and, as she described, it has the strength of the forest and the waters, for being close to the São Francisco River. She also said that forces manifest in and through her in order to empty all misfortunes, exercising the practice of forgiveness and always moving forward in a positive way. Regarding the participants in her shamanic space, Nilma reported that they are very sincere and that there has never been a disintegration in the work carried out.

The hymnbook "Light of the Forest" which is worked by Nilma, is composed of praises to nature, thanks to God "father", God "mother" and all beings who accompany life.

For Nilma, Jurema brought a strong integration with nature, besides a significant improvement in the life of each member. She does not see her group as religious, but as a path without indoctrination, even though there is a relationship with the divine.

She affirms that her journey with Jurema took place before the sacred. She says that she also knows about the chemical reactions that exist in her body and her thoughts. Regarding the disintegrating and integrating process in each individual, she elucidated that the human being, by harmonizing internally, also awakens his exterior, feeling peace and well being. About the disintegration, Nilma states that:

When I speak of disintegration I am speaking of separation, since we are systemic, we are all united in wires, all interconnected. Once a little thread goes out of place, there is a separation, a disintegration. More violent reactions arise in some way or thoughts without connection, I don't know, there is a conflict. With that, there is a loss of this integrity.

Nilma reported that after the works with Jurema, still on the effect of the plant, she received messages and hymns, some even with lyrics and melody. She confirmed that she does not compose the songs, but she hears them sung by beings who do not identify themselves. They bring the songs to her mind, making her feel a very strong vibration. She affirms that, firstly, she goes through a process of deep cleaning of her matter to receive the hymns.

He also stated that he has received messages from Ayahuasca, and that he is also a member of the church of Santo Daime "Céu de São Francisco", in Paulo Afonso-BA. However, Nilma said that in her house she only consecrates the Jurema, being the Daime consecrated only in the church. Although she feels the need to consecrate the Ayahuasca and believes that she could also develop her work with it, she affirms that her preference is to work in her house with the Jurema.

I believe that Jurema is like a being, like a plant or a spirit that moves nature, that it is here calling its children and everyone to transformation. The need came here, I think, from every soul and being who sought Jurema, do you understand? The need is not mine. Jurema does not have that dimension of doctrine or religion. One of the things I have observed in some brothers and sisters who come here is that: they think because Santo Daime has a whole doctrine, all well defined, the ritual of Jurema would be the same. It even has, but as it does not have the uniform, people end up thinking

that Jurema is "all free". It is free, but within a discipline that is different from the Daime. That's our way of living shamanism.

Finally, Nilma continues to talk about her conception of what Jurema is to her and what makes people look for her work more and more each day:

I see it as an energy, a vibration of nature. I wanted to explain to you in what way I feel this spirit, this vibration of love that takes care of our work, our hearts, of everyone. She is in front of our works. I think I could say that I have great faith in Jurema. I really believe that everyone who comes to do our work is brought by her, comes by her.

The study also reveals the evolution of the ritual itself from the experiences of each one of the interviewees. This evolution at the same time adapts its practices to each one's living environment and also includes the personal history of both.

Garrone was guided by his autonomy through the improvement and mastery of a technique and formula proper to the preparation of the sacrament, being motivated, among others, by the influence of European academic developments and his formation as a shaman acquired in several countries. This search directed a profound change in his life culminating in a messianic attitude of humanitarian aid, which brought him to live in the northeast of Brazil, identified with his sacrament, "Mamma Jurema".

Nilma accepts the praxis received from Garrone and develops a work more linked to the liturgy of Santo Daime. Her indigenous ancestry also brings the caboclo riverine form characterized by the reception of the hymns, thus demonstrating to take a different path of her own, despite having experienced her first works of Jurema with Garrone.

IV. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the face of the interviews, one perceives a parallel as to what Jurema represents for both, that is, a vehicle of self-knowledge, a means of connection with health, with the healing of the soul, the body and the spirit; with a greater consciousness of oneself, where the question of integral health is worked out, encompassing a planetary consciousness, as well as its connection with the sacred, be it the sacred life itself, or the divinity itself.

The plasticity of neoxamanism brings the possibility of cure to urban beings through the use of traditional peoples medicines, such as Jurema. In the bulge of this adapted ritualistic practice fits the enchantment, the renewal obtained by the deep respect inspired by the gift of a

divine being intimately present in a new conception of social existence.

The strength of an ancestry as a plant, divinity and identity, immersed in a collective unconscious, is updated, reinvented, penetrating urban environments. Manifesting itself to new subjects, Jurema gives birth to a circuit of a neoxamanic network in Brazil and in the world.

For having been used for millennia exclusively by people from traditional communities in the northeast of Brazil as a sacrament of openness and communication with this magical world present in our collective unconscious, there has always been the belief on the part of these peoples that the mysteries of the Jurema plant would not present itself to people of another culture. We noticed from the speeches of those interviewed that the plant responds to a mixed identity.

It is also clear that this new way of living spirituality, devoided of the precepts of its rituals, common to traditional religions, is an opportunity to address urban health and existential issues through a reconnection with the natural and the sacred.

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