VALERIE DEMARINIS

With Dance and Drum

A Psychocultural Investigation of the Ritual Meaning-Making System of an Afro-Brazilian, Macumba Community in Salvador, Brazil[1]

(Note: Afro-Brazilian terms used in the text are found in the Glossary at the end of the paper)

The western-trained researcher who is approaching the world of Macumba would do well to keep in mind the academic caution expressed by Roger Bastide, one of the most influential sociological researchers on Afro-Brazilian religion, "with a way of thinking ... shaped by three centuries of Cartesianism ... an ethnocentric mode of thought, ... I (realized that I) would have to 'convert' myself to a new way of thinking if I ever hoped to understand it." ... "the sociologist who studies Brazil no longer knows what set of concepts to use. The ideas he has learned in Europe or North America are no longer valid", Cartesian distinctions between past and present, sacred and profane, the living and the dead, no longer hold (Bastide 1978: viii). This caution holds true for the researcher in psychology as well. And so it was with an awareness of the need to proceed with caution and a critical suspicion of the limits and often limitations of my research tools that I began, in the summer of 1984, an on-going psychosocial, field research study of a Macumba community in Salvador, Brazil.[2] As a psy-

[2] My interest in Macumba began several years earlier in my psychotherapeutic work with a young woman from Salvador, Brazil who was able to use her tradition's rituals and resources to assist with the therapeutic process. An account of this clinical case is found in DeMarinis (forthc.).

chologist of religion my interests have been directed primarily to an investigation of phenomenological and functional dimensions of individual and community existence and the role of religious experience in that existence.

This research paper focuses on the Macumba community's way of making meaning in its Afro-Brazilian cultural context.[3] The community's meaning-making system is analyzed through five central points relating psychosocial function to religious ritual experience. First, an overview is presented of the use of religious ritual and its psychosocial function for the Macumba community within the larger context of Afro-Brazilian culture. Second, attention is given to the nature and role of ritual in developmental and life-cycle perspective, including attention to gender issues and to the involvement of children in the community's ritual process. Third, an analysis is given of ritual process as a community-wide process of empowerment and energy-containment. Fourth, the use of ritual trance and communication with the Yoruban gods and spirits in the development of preventive and interventive strategies for addressing the particular needs and problems of community members is explored. And fifth, attention is focused on the larger social impact of such Macumba communities through their grass-roots projects for social change; and through the use of Macumba religious rituals and symbols by Afro-Brazilian practitioners in the healing arts of medicine and psychotherapy in Salvador, Brazil. Before proceeding to these points, a brief community profile is given.

Profile of Macumba Community

This paper is based upon the findings of my field research in Salvador, Brazil with a Macumba community of men, women and children, composed of families and single individuals numbering approximately fifty persons. Females and males are equally represented in the membership. Though the members live separately, it is a community-based model of existence and development which predominates. Afro-Brazilian communities such as this can be found throughout Salvador and Brazil.

Macumba is best understood as both a cultural and a religious system whose roots are in the African, Yoruban tradition. In this particular com-

---

[3] See references to the work of Strum (1977) for resources on the Afro-Brazilian context and Sullivan (1988) to the South American context of religion in general. See Myskofski's (1988) work for a historical source analysis of women's initiation rites in Afro-Brazilian religions. See Verger's (1981) volume (also available in English) on the nature of the African gods (orixás) in the Brazilian context.

munity the interweaving of Yoruban, Christian and Amer-Indian symbols
is prevalent. Ritual dancing and drumming in community religious services
are essential dimensions of communication and energy-containment for the
community. It is the community's task, in coordination with the work of
the priestess, priest and trance elders, to provide preventive as well as in-
terventive psychosocial care for each of its members.

The community (terriero) is under the direction of a priest Ezechial
(babalorixá) (over age seventy-five) and a priestess Jupira (yalorixá) (in her
middle thirties).[4] The community has five trance mediums: three female
and two male. Both priest and priestess use the term Macumba because
this particular community represents a more syncretistic grouping of Afri-
can, Christian and Amer-Indian traditions. There are also certain rituals of
Macumba magic used in a limited number of ritual practices. This com-
munity sometimes uses the term Candomblé as well because of the focus
on the Yoruban gods (orixás). However, for our purposes Macumba will be
the term used as a more-or-less umbrella term for the variety of Afro-
Brazilian religious and cultural communities in the Bahia area of Brazil
with the understanding that differences do exist between communities and
each community needs to be studied as a special unit.

There is a saying in Brazil: "Afro-Brazilians are 98% Christian and 150%
Macumba." Whatever varieties of cultural and cross-cultural adaptation
and acculturation, Afro-Brazilians remain, from a functional standpoint,
within the Macumba worldview. As Bastide observes, "As long as accul-
turation has not penetrated the mentality, or as long as the compartmen-
talization principle confines the change of mentality to the domains of
politics and economics and excludes it from the domain of religion, reinter-
pretation always occurs in terms of the African values, norms, and ideals
(1978: 388)." As we proceed with our five points the nature and necessity
for both historical and contemporary adaptation yet foundational preser-
vation of the Afro-Brazilian traditions, values and religious rituals in com-
munity context will, it is hoped, become clear.

---

[4] This male and female team of priestly direction for a Macumba community is not a
very frequent pattern.

1. An overview of the use of religious ritual and its psychosocial function for the Macumba community within the larger context of Afro-Brazilian culture.

An overview of Macumba religious ritual, psychosocial function and Afro-Brazilian culture can be constructed with reference to the words of an Afro-Brazilian psychologist Roberto Derceao, "There are three words to keep in mind: slavery, survival and deep symbols."[5] In the 1500's African persons, from different areas on the western coast, were brought as slaves to the Portuguese plantations in Brazil. The objective of the plantation owners was, as Derceao explains, to "destroy the communication systems of the slaves at every level: familial, social, cultural and religious. But the white man and the black man communicate and live differently. And this helped to keep the traditions of Macumba alive despite the slaughter and dehumanizing treatment of African men, women and children. Our music and dance provided a way to communicate and to keep alive our hope and our traditions. We survived through our deep symbols of music and dance"

In psychosocial terms, slavery effected a breach between the superstructures and the infrastructures. The African social structures were shattered, the values preserved. "In brief, the superstructures had to secrete a society. The movement is not an upward one from the morphological base toward the world of symbols and collective representations but the opposite: a downward movement of those value and collective representations toward the institutions and groupings" (Bastide 1978: 56-57).

The values and core dimensions of the African worldview existed in the collective memory and through the religious and social rituals of Macumba. Communication of values took place through dance and drum. These functioned as the deep symbols for cultural and spiritual survival during slavery. Communication through African tribal music and dance took place without the knowledge of the Portuguese colonists. Mistaking Macumba music and dance for a means of surface entertainment, the colonists unwittingly allowed communication to continue and the Macumba traditions to be passed from generation to generation. Communication here needs to be understood at every level. As priestess Jupira notes, "Our music and dance and symbols are not split between soul and body. To dance this way will give a message about some need, something to be done, and will also

---

[5] From a personal interview , July 17, 1984, with R. Derceao, Afro-Brazilian psychologist in private practice in Salvador, Brazil. All quotes are taken from this interview text.

give us energy and a kind of food inside. There are always many layers of meaning."[6]

The historical methods of cultural and spiritual survival captured in Derceao's "slavery, survival, deep symbols," accurately describe as well the contemporary struggle for survival of Afro-Brazilian communities. As Jupira notes, "Slavery is still here, not in chains of iron but in poverty, political torture and pressure, and a lack of education for our children and ourselves. For a time I tried to find a way to fight all this and not use Macumba. This was not possible for me. Not only is that like trying to ride a bicycle without wheels but more Macumba is life and resource. We need to keep from going crazy here, with all this suffering and dying. Macumba lets us see without becoming blind and do without becoming dead inside."

2. The nature and role of Macumba ritual in the developmental and lifecycle perspective, including attention to gender issues and to the involvement of children in the community's ritual process.

To begin to understand the nature and role of ritual in the lifecycle perspective for this Macumba community, we must first understand the nature and role of ritual. Recent developments in the umbrella field of Ritual Studies, especially the contribution of Bell's ritual features, provide a means of entry into ritual experience. These features include: "strategies of differentiation through formalization and periodicy, the centrality of the body, the orchestration of schemes by which the body defines an environment and is defined in turn by it, ritual mastery, and the negotiation of power to define and appropriate the hegemonic order" (Bell 1992: 220).

In the Macumba community established rituals and evolving ritualizing activities (see Driver 1991) both mark and shape psychosocial reality. This double-function of ritual process, marking and shaping, is evident in the four types of ritual or ritualizing activity within the community.

---

[6] Quotes used in the text are from recorded interviews with priestess Jupira during the summer of 1984 in Salvador, Brazil.

Typology of Macumba Rituals[7]

Type 1. Containment rituals for initiated and mediums — preparation of initiates at the highest level in the wisdom of the orixás, use of sacred herbs and powers. Inside the terreiro or at designated sacred places.

Type 2. African-based rituals of the gods (orixás) — community-wide participation, coordinated with Macumba calendar of holidays and feasts usually coordinated with Catholic feast days. Inside the terreiro, sometimes coordinated with special ceremonies at sacred places.

Type 3. Healing and renewing rituals — community-wide weekly participation, focusing on specific issues, problems drawing on the resources of the community's orixá Yemanjá, Yoruba goddess of the sea. Inside the terriero. Smaller gathering are sometimes coordinated between the weekly celebrations. Smaller gatherings can be at terriero or outdoors or in someone's home.

Type 4. Ritualizing containment for children — meetings organized by priestess with the community's children. Older children meet in the terriero. Younger children meet outside in nature and on occasion at sacred places.

Rituals of Type 1 and 2 can be considered as rituals which mark events, feasts, communal celebrations. These draw upon and engage the collective memory of the community. The collective memory includes both the intellectual and the motor memories. The intellectual memories contain the myths and sacred stories. The motor memories, stored in the body, contain the rituals, movements and actions. And as Bastide notes, "The more closely collective representations and myths are interwoven in the web of actions, the more resistant to change they will be (1978: 258)." And it is important to note that in Macumba, a primarily oral tradition in itself and as demanded through its beginnings in Brazil, the motor memory (rituals and movements), has had a more predominant role than the intellectual memory (myths and stories). "Myth's principal function is now to justify or explain rites or the forms and types of sacrifices, taboos, and ceremonial sequences" (Bastide 1978: 258). Memories inherited from the ancestral tradition(s) survive to the degree that "they can insinuate themselves into the existing framework of society" (Bastide 1978: 258).

---

[7] The typology is the author's categorization based on analysis of field data, in consultation with Afro-Brazilian, North American and European consultants.

Rituals of Type 3 and 4 actively shape the identification and use of community resources. Here the focus is on using the rituals as resources in themselves and as resources for shaping the outcome of a certain situation or problem. Type 4 rituals, with the community children, can best be understood as an expression of the community's preventive and anticipatory approach to development which is itself an expression of Macumba's logic as culture and religion. Here the concerns of individual community members are "acted upon" through the ritual use of shells, herbs, animal sacrifice, trance and other ritual components in community context. It is not uncommon for dimensions of these healing and renewal rituals to become over time a part of the collective memory. In this sense the different types of Macumba ritual serve in the preservation and evolution of collective memory as well.

Macumba's logic, as its rituals embody, is compactly described by the words of Macumba priest Ezechial, "What happens after we die is unknown to us now. What has taken place before we are born is also unknown. What happens between birth and death is our concern. And this is hard enough!!! We use what we have, all that we have, the dance and drum, and the help of the powers to live between birth and death."[8]

Macumba rituals provide a microcosm of Macumba meaning-making. The microcosm as found in the community (terriero) of Ezechial and Jupira is organized to address false and destructive dualities and power asymmetries including: the mind over the body; male over female; light over darkness, intellect over instinct and virginity over sexuality. Through a functional and phenomenological analysis of the typology of rituals in Macumba as practised and experienced in this community the conclusion must be reached that ritual serves as one of the bases, if not THE foundational and developmental base upon which meaning-making throughout the lifecycle is grounded. From a psychology of religion perspective, which will be outlined in points 3 and 4, the nature and function of ritual in Macumba can be thought of as the primary resource for Macumba Psychosocial Ecology.[9]

---

[8] From interview material collected during the summer of 1984 in Salvador, Brazil.

[9] Macumba Psychsocial Ecology is a theoretical approach and model for understanding the psychsocial function and consequences of ritual participation. The approach and model were designed in consulation with members of the Macumba comunity as well as with a group of psychological and medical consultants in Bahia, Brazil.

3. The dynamics of Macumba Psychosocial Ecology: approaching ritual process as a community-wide process of empowerment and energy-containment.

The perspective of psychology of religion used both to coordinate the research process and analyze the data builds upon a clinical and theoretical framework begun by the late Dutch-American Paul Pruyser. Central to this framework is the understanding that human, multi-dimensional reality is concerned with three worlds: Autistic, Realistic and Illusionistic. An individual's psychological function is dependent upon how these worlds interact.

Pruyser's framework places religion and culture in the Illusionistic World. Religion and culture, when functioning in the service of psychological health, will serve as creative resources for the tutored imagination. The Illusionistic World can serve to balance the Autistic and Realistic Worlds.[10]

> The autistic (inner) world, dominated by primary process, is subjective, solipsistic and dominated by ineffable fantasy (Pruyser 1991: 174). This is the world of the infant and child, but this world does not disappear as the child develops psychosocially. Instead, the autistic world learns to live in interaction with the realistic (outer) world. The realistic world is dominated by secondary process activity, coordinated through sense perceptions, reality testing, logic, facts and external objects (Pruyser 1991: 177).
>
> Interaction between the autistic world and the realistic world comes through the function of the third world, the illusionistic world. In this world of tutored fantasy, orderly imagination, cultural needs, symbols, playing, creativeness, transcendent object and inspired connections (Pruyser 1991: 177) the negotiation process between the autistic and realistic world takes place. Ritual can be understood as one of the primary resources of the illusionistic world which serves to balance the processes of the autistic (inner) and the realistic (outer) worlds. Ritual activity takes place in the transitional space between persons, unlocking the creative imagination, restoring psychological energy and providing active engagement of person in the context of community.
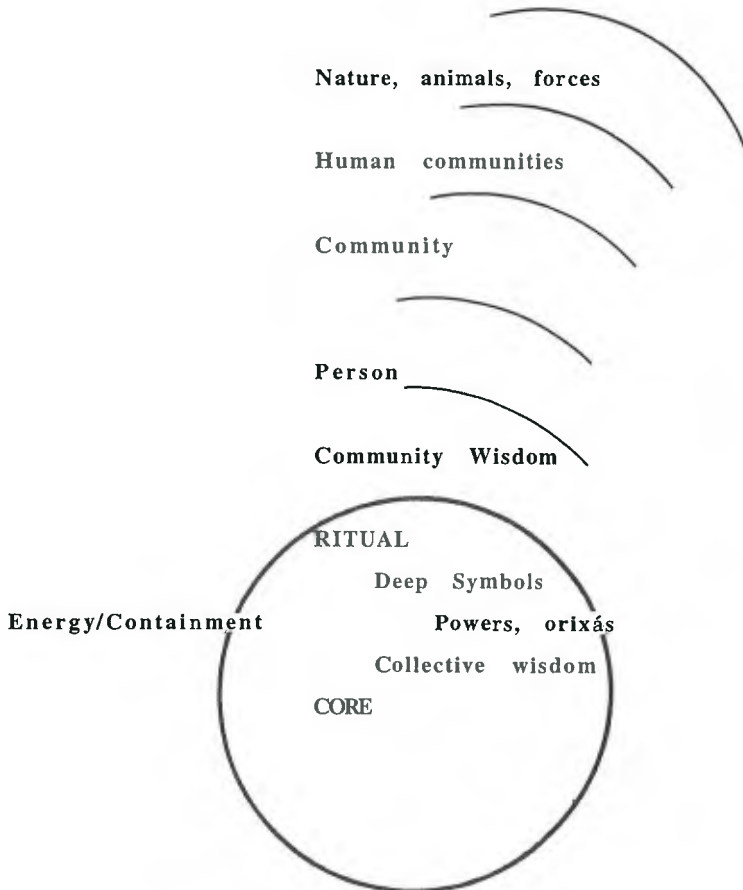>
> The illusionistic world is the shared, transitional world which has the symbols of religion and culture contained therein. Religious experience in general and religious ritual experience in particular are among the resources of the illusionistic world. Through religious ritual experience an individual joins his or her world as part of a community of meaning-making. The ritual experience together with its symbols and actions serve a transformative purpose for

---

[10] See DeMarinis 1994, DeMarinis 1996 and DeMarinis and Grzymala-Moszczynska 1995 for a theretical development of Pruyser's Illusionistic World in relation to the study of religious ritual eperience.

the community, a means by which multi-level communication and organizing take place. DeMarinis 1994: 12–13.

Pruyser's framework is appropriate for understanding the nature and function of ritual in Macumba because its phenomenological and functional means of assessment can be responsibly adapted to the Afro-Brazilian context. As both culture and religion Macumba can be understood as functioning in the Illusionistic World. In this adaptation we need to understand the Illusionistic World's functioning in a model which includes both intrapersonal, inter-personal, natural and cosmological dimensions. The model, see diagram below, is termed Macumba Psychosocial Ecology.

Model of **Macumba Psychosocial Ecology**

Nature, animals, forces

Human communities

Community

Person

Community Wisdom

RITUAL

Deep Symbols

Energy/Containment   Powers, orixás

Collective wisdom

CORE

At the core of the psychosocial model of both intra-personal development and of inter-personal development, lie the deep symbols, powers and collective wisdom of Macumba, the ritual core. To understand how a person can safely gain access to this core, an appreciation of three operative concepts is necessary. These concepts are: community, energy and containment. In the model diagrammed above, community is featured as two of the circles surrounding the individual person. Community wisdom is needed for access to the Macumba ritual core. Community also surrounds the individual as a means of approach to the larger circles of life and to the world of nature, animals and spirits. Though the individual person is certainly recognized, the psychosocial ecology of Macumba locates the individual within a community context for understanding both intra-personal and inter-personal development. And each individual in the community is functioning simultaneously in the three, different circles of the model of Macumba Psychosocial Ecology: within the circle of community; within the circle of person; and, within the circle of community wisdom.

The concept of energy together with the related concepts of movements and process, capture the heart of Macumba psychology. Whether we are discussing personal development, social development or understandings of psychological or physiological conditions of health and illness, the operative concept of energy is found. In the words of psychologist Derceao, "We think in terms of energy, that is as you say a metaphor for us as African-Brazilian persons, believers, Macumba practitioners and as psychological or medical professionals. Energy is a cultural metaphor for us. This has to do with the way we live and approach reality. It is not the static way of thinking sometimes found in North America. We live and work with movement, energy, dance and drum. Finding and diagnosing how energy is working, where and how things are in balance and out of balance is critical for prognosis and for treatment whether it be in the terriero or in my clinic."

Derceao's words signal the need for investigating energy's function as pivotal for approaching the provinces of psychological and/or spiritual diagnosis. And the emphasis in both provinces is on finding energy's proper balance. Why is the balancing of energy necessary? This leads us to the third operative concept, that of containment. Energy, in the Macumba psychological worldview, is the medium or force operative at all levels and dimensions of interaction. Energy in itself is not neutral, neither good nor evil. The human use of energy or the energies available determines how assessment will be made. In any case energy is in a pure and powerful form which requires, for human use, containment and safe passage. With-

out such containment, which is accomplished for the individual person through community wisdom and participation, access to energy may be lethal, this includes energy emerging from the Macumba ritual core. Community functions both literally and symbolically as the containing apparatus for ritual core energy as well as for other forms of energy entering from the outer levels represented in the model. The function of community containment of energy allows for the process of energy empowerment for community members. A parallel process of energy containment and empowering release takes place within each individual person as he or she, from childhood onward, learns how in the words of community member Maria, age twelve, "to pull the community inside us so that when we are in a bad situation or afraid or something we can use the community strength to stop this time and get energy in a safe way to decide what to do." As Maria's words indicate, Macumba psychology and its operative concepts of community, energy and containment allow for the Macumba Psychosocial Ecology model to operate whenever it is needed. An illustration of how this takes place is offered in the next point which focuses on the psychosocial function of trance in Macumba.

4. The use of ritual trance and communication with the Yoruban gods and spirits in the development of preventive and interventive strategies for addressing the particular needs and problems of community members.

Ritual trance, the mystical possession process (santidade)[11], provides an opportunity to illustrate the interworking of the three operative concepts of Macumba Psychosocial Ecology outlined above: community, energy and containment. Ritual, ecstatic trance within the context of Macumba involves a long process of training and initiation. The process continues throughout the medium's lifecycle. The community's priest and/or priestess, themselves mediums, work to nurture the gift and responsibility of becoming a medium. The individual person cannot be forced into this role, but must come to this role by choice. The community members are there to encourage those members with this gift, and to discourage members who may wish to be mediums but who are unable to function in this way. The mediums, several levels are represented in any given community, are the

---

[11] The contribution of Herskovits' appoach (1952) is assumed here, placing the study of trance in the Afro-Brazilian religious context in cultural context: "By treating trance as a ritual element, this new (Herskovits) viewpoint not only frees us... from interpretations of ecstacy based on the data of mental pathology; even more important, it initiates the unification of the psychological and the cultural aspects." Bastide 1978: 23.

responsibility of the community. It is a two-way process of responsibility as the mediums help to provide access to and translate the Macumba ritual core for the community members. Likewise, the community members need to care for the mediums to insure their safety during the trance state as well as to assist with providing for physical needs of food and shelter whenever possible and necessary.

Trance is involved as a part of the rituals in the entire Macumba typology, with a somewhat lesser frequency in the Type 4 rituals involving children although children as well can themselves be mediums in training after the age of seven. The mediums and initiates-in-training have their own rituals during which strategies of containment are learned as well as developed. Though the entire community is not present at these rituals, the "community wisdom" (see above diagram) is assumed to be present. This wisdom is necessary to strengthen the containment process as the energy of the gods and/or spirits (orixás) is very powerful and the medium needs to be ready to be "mounted" by the god. If unready or ill-prepared, containment may not be possible and both the medium and community members may be harmed.

Let us briefly examine the three-stage trance process which takes place during a Macumba Type 2 ritual (celebrating a feast of one of the orixás). It is worth noting that during the ritual there is a specific ordering of persons in the terriero. An outside circle at the edge of the room is comprised of community members considered very wise and experienced. The next circle in is of newer community members and younger members. Then comes the circle of the mediums together with the priest and priestess. Though there is a great deal of movement, dance and exchange during the course of the ritual, these three circles of persons remains. The three-circle assignment of space is significant for the containing process. When the ritual has advanced to the point that the mediums are beginning the trance process, the priest and priestess as well as the community members in the outer circle make a final decision together with each medium as to her or his readiness. In the rare case of conflict, the community's assessment is final. As the trance process begins, specified community members (yaba) assist the mediums physically by holding them by the waist or shoulders. Meanwhile the community elders and priest and priestess prepare the mediums to "be safely mounted" by the god or spirit. The next stage in the trance process is the giving of messages by the spirit in a variety of open, coded and/or physical forms. The mediums begin with messages to those in the outer circle working inwards. The priest and priestess are frequently the last to enter the trance process and appear to enter it in a somewhat different

manner. Likewise, they are often the last to "return" to the group. In this second stage of the trance process the community members use special rhythms, movements and drum-beating patterns to assist with the containing process as well as to in the words of the sacred drummer José "to help the god or spirit keep moving and not get too attached to the body of the medium."

The third stage of the trance process involves the community's help to assist the mediums to return to the group. This stage can have a great number of surprises as the god or spirit may temporarily refuse to "leave" the medium. In such cases the community members try a number of different strategies including special music, dance and offerings to negotiate with the god or spirit. When the mediums and priest and priestess have "returned" the work of the community has just begun. The community must together decipher and interpret the various coded message from the gods or spirits for each person in the community. This is done together with attention to both individual and community problems and concerns. After many hours of exchange which includes both verbal and non-verbal forms, the community members have decided just who will do what and how in both short-range and long-range planning. Analysis of this decoding and application process of the messages from the trance state result in two types of working assignments for community members. There are intervention assignments related to specific problems or situations needing immediate attention. And there are preventive assignments where community members direct efforts towards anticipating needs in the community or larger social context, especially directing efforts to the developmental concerns of children and young adults. Community members often work in coordinated small groups to address these interventive and preventive assignment. Macumba ritual, dance and drum are virtually always a part of the process helping members to contain, focus energy and be guided by community wisdom as they go about the work they need to do. Two of these assignments, representative in nature, are discussed in the following final section.

5. Fifth, the larger social impact of such Macumba communities through their grass-roots projects for social change; and through the use of Macumba religious rituals and symbols by Afro-Brazilian practitioners in the healing arts of medicine and psychotherapy in Salvador, Brazil.

Time and space permit us only a brief look at the larger social impact of this and other Macumba communities' grass-roots projects. Two will be

presented here. Project 1: This Macumba community has an on-going project for a group of former street children (ages ranging from three to thirteen) providing a place to live, study, learn simple agricultural skills and participate in the work of a small farm attached to the housing unit. Priest Ezechial together with various community members visits the children, provide clothing and food for them and coordinate the children's learning about the African and Afro-Brazilian culture. Children are also invited to participate in a specially designed program of Type 4 rituals (see above) to give them a sense of belonging to a Macumba community and for their own self-development. Coordinated with these rituals are special training for boys in the capoeira, and special training for girls in female rites of protection and care for the body.

Project 2: This Macumba community through the central efforts of Priestess Jupira and community members is involved in a region-wide effort to coordinate the healing work of visiting nurses and healers from the variety of Afro-Brazilian folk healing traditions. Several healing teams have been working successfully for the past five years in some of the most needy and desperate areas in Salvador. In keeping with Macumba philosophy, wherever possible the healing team tries to use interventive and preventive approaches in their visits.

Finally, the work of another group connected to Afro-Brazilian culture and religion needs to be mentioned. Through the coordinating efforts of psychologist Derceao mental health professionals of Afro-Brazilian heritage are bringing in and transforming the services of the mental health clinic through the attention to and responsible inclusion of dimensions of Macumba philosophy, psychology and ritual experience. Working in this way professionals are making a significant impact on addressing issues of intra-familial abuse, recovery after rape and abuse, psychosomatic illness and in the treatment of neurotic patterns. As Derceao notes, "In my training I had to place both feet in the Western way, this did not allow me to use the toöl of dance in my work. Now I try with one foot in the Western and one foot in my Afro-Brazilian way, I can begin to see and use dance and drum in my work with my people. In the future maybe we can create our own way bringing in the knowledge from the outside ways of diagnosing but healing through the wisdom of our culture and Macumba and Candomblé communities."

Concluding Note

It is hoped that through this five-point presentation the reader has at least an initial understanding of the nature and importance of community within the Macumba religious and cultural system. In this Macumba community context ritual, through dance and drum, serves as the basic multi-dimensional vehicle for psychosocial and spiritual development. As a researcher permitted to conduct field research and continuing research projects with this particular Macumba community I need to express my gratitude and appreciation for the community members and for their decision to trust an outsider to be present and to be privy to the inner workings of Macumba religion and culture.

Glossary

babalorixá: Cult (sect) leader in northeastern Brazil, popular name, (pae de santo)

caboclo: An Indian god. Person of mixed Indian and white blood.

candomblé: Afro-Brazilian religion in Bahia region. The great ceremonies honoring the orixás. The sanctuary in which these ceremonies are held.

capoeira: African contest and special training, considered also as a dance form in certain regions, introduced by Angola blacks.

macumba: African sect primarly in Rio. The practice of magic.

orixás: Generic name for the Yoruban deities.

santidade: Mystic power that possesses a person in ecstatic trance. A seventeenth-century Indian religious movement.

terriero: Afro-Brazilian cult center (temple).

yaba: Cult member who attends those during trance

yalorixá: High priestess of a candomblé, popular name (mae de santo)

Yemanja: Yoruba goddess of the sea.

References Cited

Bastide. Roger.
1978   The African Religions of Brazil. Toward a Sociology of the Interpretation of Civilizations. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
Bell, Catherine
1992   Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice. New York: Oxford University Press.

DeMarinis, Valerie

1994 Psychological Function and Consequences of Religious Ritual Experience. In: Owe Wikström (ed.), Rit, symbol och verklighet. Sex studier om ritens funktion; pp. 11–20. Uppsala: Svenska kyrkans forskningsråd. (Tro och Tanke 1994, 6)

1996 The Nature and Use of Religious Ritual in Psychotherapy. In Valerie DeMarinis and M. Aune (eds.) The Function of Religious Ritual as the Medium for Memory and Meaning: an interdisciplinary investigation. New York: State University New York, SUNY.

forthc. Transitional Objects and Safe Space. The Interaction Between Psychology of Religion and Ritual Studies. Uppsala: Uppsala University Press.

DeMarinis, Valerie, and Halina Grzymala-Moszczynska

1995 The Nature and Role of Religion and Religious Experience in Psychological Cross-Cultural Adjustment: Ongoing Research in Clinical Psychology of Religion. *Social Compass* 42: 121–135.

Driver, Tom F.

1991 The Magic of Ritual. Our Need for Liberating Rites that Transform Our Lives and Our Communities. San Francisco: HarperSan Francisco.

Herskovits, Melville J.

1952 Some Psychological Implications of Afro-American Studies. In: Proceedings and Selected Papers of the Twenty-ninth International Congress of Americanists (1948). Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Myscofski, C.

1988 Women's Initiation Rites in Afro-Brazilian Religions. *Journal of Ritual Studies* 2: 101–118.

Pruyser, Paul W.

1991 Forms and Functions of the Imagination in Religion. In H. Newton Malony and Bernard Spilka (eds.), Religion in Psychodynamic Perspective. The Contributions of Paul W. Pruyser. New York: Oxford University Press.

Strum, F.

1977 Afro-Brazilian Cults. In: Newell Booth (ed), African Religions. A Symposium. New York: NOK Publishers.

Sullivan, Lawrence E.

1988 Icanchu's Drum. An Orientation to Meaning in South American Religions. New York: Macmillan.

Verger, Pierre Fatumbi

1981 Orixás. Deuses Iorubás na África e No Novo Munde. Salvador: Editora Corrupio Comercio.