

Curandeiria and Cure: The Therapeutic World Environment of the Eastern Brazilian Amazon

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ABSTRACT: This work aims to analyze the concept of territory and environment from the perspective of the practice of *Curandeiria*, a religious system belonging to the island regions of Abaetetuba in the State of Pará, a city located in the northeast region of that State. *Curandeiria* works to heal physical diseases related to the body - headache, pressure, hepatitis, etc.) and those of the spirit (linked to the spiritual, with panic, fat eye, evil eye, arrows, and so on, diseases which Heraldo Maues (1990) called natural and non-natural. Those who practice are called healers, by themselves and by people from different communities who, do or don't, make use of the *Curandeiria* practice; in order that the healers can carry out their practices, they go through various initiation and training processes. Starting from their mediators – enchanted/magical or the guides - it is possible to understand different ways of experiencing and living the environment/world system, one of these perceptions is the concept of environment, which also refers to the reality of the place and local area. In view of this, this work makes use of the quotes of territory and place proposed by Arturo Escobar (2010), by Paul Little (2004), and Diegues (1994: 83) who affirm that “territory is viewed not only under the optic of the exploited physical manner, but also of their existing social relations” and these can even be related to religious aspects and people's beliefs about place and territory. Thus, this work aims to reflect on these analytical categories in understanding how *Curandeiria* is placed in an environment of its own, unique but at the same time very similar to other places and spaces.

KEY WORDS: *Curandeiria*, Place, Territory and Environment

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I. INTRODUCTION

Curandeiria is a religious practice found in communities located on some islands that are part of the municipality of Abaetetuba-PA. According to those who practice it, caboclos, magical and spiritual guides, they help healers to carry out different types of treatments aimed at curing diseases of somatic or spiritual nature, after being subjected to various experiences that "prepare" for the healing to occur. Among these experiences, I highlight the experience of the healers whilst still apprentices, to the reality of the riverbed, as well as being taken to certain areas of the forests by the locals who live in this environment, called magical, and finally as future healers they are subjected to the ritual called “shroud”.

In this region, healers perform various practices of very different types of cures, be they diseases of the body or of the soul, which Maués (1990) called diseases of "natural" and "non-natural". These types of cures are seen by the people as ways of achieving a certain well-being, where the person takes part in various processes performed by the healer. Healing takes place in stages and is intended to restore physical or spiritual health or to solve a particular "problem".

So how does someone become a healer? (Dumont, 1989)¹ Well we can highlight some steps. The first is there must be a sign that the individual has a gift for healing. This sign can be manifested in the form of the child crying while still in the mother's womb. However, it can happen that both the family and the individual concerned refuse to accept the existence of this gift and to develop it. The refusal brings much suffering for both, who will experience many difficulties, until there is an acceptance of this gift (Mauss, 2002) by the family and the individual. The process that leads to the acceptance of the gift requires that the healer accepts “taking care of himself/herself”; this implies that they seek help from the experts who will assist them in this process that will make them become healers. This implies participating in various rituals, one of which is “shrouding”, which is a

¹ For Dumont (1985) through individualism it is possible if we think about modernity, because it is through it that the idea of equality is born, where individuals are seen as people of value. Given this, equality becomes an attribute of the formation of these individuals of social value, who have power over the structure that governs them. Accordingly, according to Dumont (1985 to; 1985 b), there are several ways that an “individual” becomes a “person” and, with that, seize many privileges that society may confer on him.

ritual that aims to bring about a spiritual death through the practice of several rituals, in which the magical , guides and caboclos – take part who will accompany the healer for life. Some beginners may also go through other processes of being taken to other planes of the cosmos, such as the underworld or the forest, referred to as the enchantment ² by those with magical powers.

The future healers³ will spend a few days in these places, living with super-human beings, in order to become even stronger healers, that is, with great powers to cure. The enchantment is part of a local religious system⁴ with a very strong syncretism, due to the fact that we can see the presence of elements of shamanism practiced by the rural population of certain regions of the Amazon (WAGLEY, 1957; GALVÃO, 1955; MAUÉS, 1990) and it also presents elements that are part of the practices linked to religions of African origin, in addition to the presence of rites that contain elements of popular Catholicism (CARMO, 2013). However, many of the healing practices and rituals are from different contributing religions from all of which allow the enchantment to be classified as inserted in a religious system with its own particularities and refer to a specific characteristics of this region of the Brazilian Amazon.

Considering this context of the research where lands are saturated daily by river water, influenced by the seas' tides the splendour of the forest, rich in its famed biodiversity, we can perceive that the actions of the people who inhabit them are influenced by greatly by such natural phenomena. For example, it is possible to explain what causes certain diseases with elements linked to this biodiversity. Likewise, the search for a cure for such diseases can be acquired through the use and manipulation of forest's elements and, within them, a cure may well be found.

This religious system can only be understood by taking into account the manner in which the people who live there see / live / think about the place, the territory and the environment, and their meanings. So our starting point is to think about such concepts from the various theories proposed, but mainly, from the position of those who practice *curandeiria*, thereby identifying this way of being and existing in the world that which forms part of the local epistemology. This perspective is relevant, as it makes us reflect on local ways of thinking and living.

II. CURANDEIRIA: A “WORLD ENVIRONMENT”

In the world of *Curandeiria* we see no polarization between Culture and Nature, as in modern science. For this reason, Descola (2006) already recalled the legacy of Radcliffe Brown, in which a British anthropologist affirmed that “the natural order enters and becomes part of the social order”, with this the author opens the possibility that culture is not as far from nature as was believed. This consideration, later, became very important, as it revealed other ways of understanding the world, especially of analyzing how the Amazon Indians, in the case of Descola, did not separate their social relationships from their relationship with nature.

Following this line of thought, the anthropologist Lévi-Strauss, contributed greatly to this analysis, as he affirms that science is not something recent, on the contrary, so called “primitive cultures” had what he called the “science of concrete”, because of their ability to interact with the natural environment where they lived, and having a knowledge of harmful plants and animals, they could avoid them. Therefore, the author presents some research that confirms this assertion, which showed that, among the Asian peoples in the 19th century, there was already knowledge about agricultural techniques and about complex irrigation systems resulting in a green revolution that greatly favored a better and greater food supply in the region.

[...] to develop the techniques, often prolonged and complex, that allow cultivating on land or without water, transforming toxic grains or roots into food, or even using this toxicity for hunting, ritual or battles , we have no doubt that a truly scientific mental attitude was required, a constant and perpetually alert curiosity, a taste for knowledge for the pleasure of knowing, since only a fraction of the observations and experiences could give practical and immediate results (Levi-Strauss 1964: 32).

In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, Thomas (1933) stated that although theologians sought to separate humanity from nature, the population of England at this time, did not make this separation so strictly. At that time, in much of Europe the norm would be to separate animals, not considered domestic, from humans, as this would offend the status of humanity. However, even in the face of scientific advances, and in addition to the efforts of governments, which tried to humanize man and woman, in the sense of separating them from nature, even so many people continued to live connected with this nature, considered forbidden, in a very narrow relationship.

This research is rooted among evolutionary anthropologists like James Frazer (1986), who studied the religions of the so-called “primitive cultures”, and, among his aims, he sought to show that the white man was

² Space populated by super-human beings, such as guides, caboclos, enchanted/magical

³ The riverbed or in the forest.

⁴ A complex set of several elements that merge into one, being the healer itself. In it is interconnected elements of the environment, human, cultural and religious elements (formed by beliefs and faith), in a way so amalgamated that we cannot separate, that is why I claim to be a complex religious system.

superior, modern, civilized and cultured. Whereas the other cultures (Africans, Indians, Asians, Jews, etc.) were barbaric people, uncivilized, because they were limited by the natural environment in which they lived. For this reason, their cults were polytheistic, with a tendency to worship elements coming from nature. It is interesting to remember that not only were primitive cultures regarded as “savages and barbarians” but classed as equal to those of the natural world and women too, regardless of their social position, were almost regarded as pertaining to the natural world due to the fact that they menstruated and gave birth. (Rodrigues, 1986).

Returning to the analysis of Descolar (2011), but in another work, he affirms the importance of having a structure, as well as of Lévi-Strauss's works in order that his research in this field would have a scientific dimension. For the author, “this means that the tension between nature and culture is not just at the heart of structural anthropology, but is what defines, according to its founder, the field studied by ethnology, which gives claim to a certain autonomy among other human sciences” (Descolar 2011: 35).

This therefore means that, the *curandeiria* in the Urubuéua Fátima Island and in the Paruru Island, in the municipality of Abaetetuba-PA, understands the world around them in a similar way, since they⁵ in their habitat and within the healing practice, understand that they are part of nature, in the same way that nature is part of them. We see very clearly that for the majority of the riverside population, there is no establishment of a separation between people, animals, plants and things, as they are all part of the same cosmology⁶.

On the islands of Abaetetuba, *Curandeiria* is a ritualistic practice typical of this island region where healing rituals are highly sought after by people who seek both physical and spiritual healing. The healer Dona Neca says: “the help I received from the forces that derive from nature is something so impressive that it makes the forest seem like a real person, because it provides so much strength, so much power ... All this splendor can only be possible because it (the forest) is a person, and it is a person due to the desires that the forest possesses.”⁷ Dona Neca also adds: “this place we live in, everyone has an important role, everyone has the dignity of a person due to their role where there is a mutual respect be it the forest, the animals, the river water, the stream and even between men and women”⁸.

Something similar was said by Mr. Orivaldo, who notes “we are nothing without nature, it determines everything, determines our work and our life”, before this certainty he goes on to affirm, “here everything I do has an influence on the environment in which I live, on the days when I have to work, the moon light, even the guides are energies that come from all that surrounds us, I think I am part of them (of nature), just as they are part of me”. For this reason, we realize that *curandeiria* establishes a relationship of profound connection between men and women working in healing, super-human beings and the natural environment where they live.

This thought has been common in anthropology, and, influenced both by Ingold's analyzes (1989) with the concept of socialization, as well as through the analysis of Viveiros de Castro (2015; 2002), in addition to the theory of the esteemed Bruno Latour (1994) on Reverse Anthropology, which contributes perfectly to help think about issues such as the one highlighted by the *Curandeiria* on the Island of Urubuéua Fátima. These questions of theoretical investigation makes it impossible see the “other” through the eyes of scientific empiricism of the 18th century, or by the ethnocentric vision of the early works of anthropology that write about the “other” as being: savage or barbaric that one day could become a civilized and cultured. Or even to place it under the sole authority of the anthropological researcher.

Therefore, this work aims to present a “treatment” carried out by *Curandeiria*, comprising the world they live in, which is the Amazon, where it is clear that the separation between culture and nature is a forced attempt by modernity, and not of the people belonging to the region (LÉVI-STRAUSS, 1989). These poles are seen and experienced in such a complex juxtaposition that in many cases one pole is a fine line of weak separation or the other pole is something very similar, almost in the same measure. In other words, Culture and Nature cannot be used to describe internal dimensions or domains of non-Western world views without first undergoing a rigorous ethnological criticism (VIVEIROS DE CASTRO, 2015). According to Viveiros de Castro (2015: 42), such criticism imposed a reshaping of these two paradigms of “Nature” and “Culture”: universal and particular, objective and subjective, physical and moral, fact and value, given and instituted, necessity and spontaneity, immanence and transcendence, body and spirit, animality and humanity. For this reason, we are

⁵ I refer to people residing in these spaces, as well as super-human beings.

⁶ For me while belonging to this space, it was difficult to identify these elements separately, because throughout my academic training I learned this way. But there was the shock when I came across the reality of my family residing in the Maúba River, where my aunts demonstrate how to heal, reduce the pain of childbirth using, for example, a lard made from a game animal called Mucura. According to her, “if the woman passes this lard, she will have a birth without much pain, the child will leave easily, because the woman will get this facility that belongs to the mucura”, she added “we have the same properties of these animals, they are like us and we are them” (Claudilene Lobato). In my day to day these stories were common, but it was difficult to identify them, it was only after preparing for the doctorate that I realized what my aunt was meaning as well as what was evident in the other stories of my interlocutors.

⁷ Speaks of Dona Neca, shaman of Rio Urubuéua Fátima.

⁸ Speaks of Dona Neca, shaman of Rio Urubuéua Fátima.

facing a kind of animism in the heart of the Brazilian Eastern Amazon.

III. OUR PLACE IS NOT JUST THAT HERE⁹: AN ANALYSIS OF TERRITORY AS VIEWED BY CURANDEIRIA

The concept of territory has been much debated in anthropology in recent years, according to Antônio C. Diegues (1994), it has undergone change, especially regarding the concept of traditional populations¹⁰. For Diegues, the territory is not related to the time that a people lives in a certain environment, but rather the place of belonging of a society, whose only connecting factor is that of traditional family solidarity and not the accumulation of goods and profits, preserving the natural resources on which they depend to survive”(DIEGUES, 1994: 82).

Partly disagreeing with Diegues' definition, Manuela Carneiro da Cunha and Mauro Almeida (2009) define traditional populations as being people who accept a commitment and assume a series of responsibilities that aim to preserve the environment in which they live. For the authors:

A conservationist public identity that includes some of the following characteristics: the use of low-impact technical environments, forms of social organization, presence of legal institutions to enforce laws, local leadership and, finally, cultural traits that are selectively reaffirmed and refined (CUNHA AND ALMEIDA, 2009: 300).

Within this theoretical aspect, the territory cannot be thought of as an environment or a part physical environment, since it carries with it traits of human actions, of social relations, and the evidence of these traits in certain spaces can be visible or even invisible (MALDONADO, 1993), which implies that in certain places humans have ownership over the territory and over the charge of super human beings. On this aspect Diegues (1994: 85), mentions that:

In this sense, it is important to analyze the system of representations, symbols and myths that these traditional populations build, as these affect the environment. It is also based on these representations and on the empirical knowledge they gather that develops their traditional management systems, which will be analyzed later. The popular imagination of the peoples of the forest, rivers and lakes in Brazil is full of magical beings that punish those who destroy the forests (caipora / curupira, Mãe da Mata, Boitatá); those who mistreat the animals of the forest (Anhangá); those who kill animals in the breeding season (Tapiora); those who fish more than necessary (Mãe d'Água). Thus, the residents of the Marituba floodplain (Alagoas) have several legends, such as that of "Mãe d'Água", which capsizes the fishermen's canoes who are greedily catch too many fish, unnecessarily, from the lake.

Concerning the territory, the visible signs, can be seen, in the *curandeiria* as spaces where the healers live, their family members , or better, “where people live, where the forest, the river and the air can be seen.”¹¹ (Orivaldo, healer of Paruru Island, 02/10/2017). For this healer, the place where he, his neighbors, his relatives, and other people known or not live, are the home which shows how a people live. When asked about the existence of the territory where he lives and where he practices his healing activities, he mentioned his home and everything around him, and also included the landscape (see image 01 below). In this sense, the idea of territory refers to the healer's living space/home, and where “social, symbolic and ritual bonds can be found” (LITTLE, 2003: 263).

⁹ He talks about Tupiaçú, at the Dona Neca healing house, on Urubuéua Island.

¹⁰ For this more detailed discussion see: CUNHA, Manuela C. and ALMEIDA, Mauro. Traditional populations and environmental conservation; BARRETO FILHO, Henyo. 2006. Traditional populations: introduction to the critique of the political ecology of a notion; STEIL, Carlos; CARVALHO, Isabel (orgs) Culture, Perception and Environment: dialogues with Tim Ingold. São Paulo: Third Name, 2012.

¹¹ This was a speech that resulted from a discussion we had about what it means to live spaces of the enchanted ones, since the healer always told me that the enchanted ones live close to him, but that in fact their addresses were in different spaces.



Figure 01: Curador Orivaldo's home

Source: Field research, author's collection

When Mr. Orivaldo showed his house, as an example of territory, he was not only talking about his living space itself, but as something broader, the place where he lives, and what it represents to him, something that Little (2003 : 263), claims to be “the notion of place is also expressed in the different values that a social group attributes to different aspects of their environments”. Therefore, the first aspect seen by Orivaldo refers to something that is visible, that can be identified. However, there are dominions in the same territory that are in another spheres, because,

What you need to understand is that each of the caboclos, the guides, they have their own homes. There are places where they own, where people need to be careful when they enter, especially those with powers as they have to be more careful. This is because if they have powers they are more likely to be touched by bad energies or to be enchanted. Therefore I need to ask permission when I go to the jetty to have a bath, when I go into the forest, when I go with my son-in-laws to hunt and even fish. I always advise my clients who fish during the fishing season, to ask for permission. (Orivaldo, healer of Ilha Paruru, 10/02/2017).

A similar belief was shown by another *curandeiria*, Dona Neca, who lives in a community on the Urubuéua River. Those who maintained the concepts of territory were - the caboclos - who assist her in the healing practice and I highlight the words of Caboclo Tupiaçu, from territory where the enchanted beings live.

The home of the people at the bottom is at the river bed, so they are not here all the time, they cannot always come, you want them to be here, but it is not like that, you have to know that there in the ocean, in the river or even in this large stretch of water/bay, there are a lot of people who need them. They are spiritual guides of great power in these homes, and even myself, a strong caboclo, am not allowed to go there, but one day I will, and I will tell you how it is there, I will give you proof. (Caboclo Tupiaçu, caboclo da healer Neca, 11/20/2016).

Once, a family in despair with their son who was experiencing ongoing crises of incorporation, asked one of Dona Neca's spiritual guides, called Dona Encruzilhada, why her son was going through such a situation, after she blessed the boy, she said:

You say that he doesn't do anything, is that not so? (...), that he is a calm boy he shows no sign of being calm, that he went out of hours into the forest to hunt, without asking permission. Your problem is that you do not want to understand that the land has an owner. Each place like air, river and land has an owner, you want to enter as if you were the owner, but you are not. We are the owners, do you understand? (Dona Encruzilhada, from the healer Neca, 11/15/2016).

This perception of spaces refers to what Arturo Escobar (2010) discusses about the concept of place, which for the author, the concept does not separate nature and culture, on the contrary, it brings them together: The concept of territory produced by various movements in the nineties is linked to a place-based framework that unites history, culture, environment and social life, demonstrating the development of an awareness of space among the activists within the movement and, in some sense, within de same river communities. This concept resonates with academic frameworks which maintain that nature and culture are interconnected in a network of

human and other superpowers and communities see themselves as multiple locations - they are simultaneously based on place and based on an interconnection between places. (ESCOBAR, 2010: 74).

It is worth noting that the issue of culture and nature is something that anthropology has been working on for a long time, here I highlight the concept of environment over culture and nature, inspired by Ingold (2012), Strathern (2014), Bruce Albert (1995), Escobar (2005), Descola (1998; 2016), who affirm that nature and culture actually contribute to affirm that there is a separation between them, Bruno Latour (1994) makes this statement more authoritative, as it clearly shows that the network of relationships are not just between humans, but they extend to non-humans, and to the so called super-humans, forming what Ingold (2000) calls mesh, where even technologies are gifts.

Even if Bruce Albert (1995: 20), states:

The concept of "environment" denotes an exteriority and presupposes, that the point of reference is subject to a defined central point: the global industrial market society. The idea of its "protection" also refers to the notion of a productive Nature in the process of collapse, whose rare "resources" are subject to clearly defined economic management. ("sustainable").

However, we believe that the environment is useful to us, since according to Velden and Baldie (2011), it is a concept that is able to encompass human, non-human, animals, plants, spirits and artifacts ontologies, creating a true network of relationships. With that, we can return to the concept of territory, as perceived by the *curandeirias* practitioners, where we realize that it encompasses a system of beliefs, spaces and places, be they of human or super-human realm, the latter explaining why an individual becomes ill, because they have not requested permission to enter.

And so we view territory as a space that is in the physical context, but goes far beyond that, encompassing the social, symbolic and even religious perspective; a place where "many may possess the land, but few possess the territory", as the territory is pregnant with symbol and prohibitive elements, with feelings of conservation and even preservation, since in the dwellings of the enchanted/magical ones, "if one fishes too much or hunts too much or one takes more wood, certainly the people will suffer the consequences, because the mother of the forest will not make it easy, they will reap what they deserve" (Cabocla Mariana, cabocla de Dona Neca, 11/10/2016).

IV. "IN THE SPACES THAT HAVE OWNERS, WE HAVE TO ASK FOR PERMISSION TO ENTER"

Anthropologist Simone Maldonado (1993), paints an interesting picture about the idea of territory from the perspective of the fishermen who work off the coast of Paraíba. The author mentions that one of the stages of fishing is marking, which concerns the knowledge that the fisherman has of the maritime space which allows him to identify the locations for fishing. The knowledge needed to make the markings comes from the masters, that is, those people chosen because they have certain attributes necessary for this activity, such as experience and mainly "the gift". In view of this, marking outlines the territory in which fishermen operate, what Maldonado calls a place that "is a resource or a space of substance, the territory also finds the notion of place" (MALDONADO, 1993: 105). However, even the master, the one who has knowledge about the markings, must protect himself before taking to the waters.

This question is interesting when we relate to the practice of *curandeiria*, as the healers, as well as these fishing masters, and the other fishermen spend months during the closed season¹² "preparing" for the fishing to be a success. This means that many of the fishermen go through several rituals including herbal baths, perfumes, smoke rituals, so that their bodies are prepared to go on the water. This is necessary in keeping them away from different physical dangers, but also from the related dangers of the super-human beings and from the places where they cannot go, because "there are places you can go with permission, but others even with permission, if you enter you will be punished, because everything under this land has an owner" (Seu Orivaldo, healer of Ilha Paruru, 20/02/2017).

For this reason, in Orivaldo's healing house these were the most frequent cases, many were fishermen who sought protection, in addition to trying to rid themselves of the condition called fat eyes or panic. The healer said:

Here I work a lot in the protection of the fisherman, but also against the forces of evil such as fat eye, envy, panic and so on ... that afflict the life of the fishermen. But, I also prepare him to be able to take to the river, because he goes with the objective of making a profit, you know (...). This is often bad, because he seeks to have more and more fish, anyway ... you know, right? This destroys the environment (...), but when he comes here, I feel sorry for him, and I have to do some work for him to be allowed to take to the river, because if not the mother of the water, will haunt this person, then (...), that will be a difficult thing to treat (...) (Mr Orivaldo, healer of the Island of Paruru, 02/20/2017).

¹² The period in which fishing in the Region is not allowed as the fish are in the process of reproducing.

This shows us that the healers also prepare the individual so that he can take to the rivers and continue with his activities, figure 02 below shows the healer treating a fisherman, who marks off the fishing areas in the river. This is a great responsibility, and for this reason, "I have to take care of myself, I'm afraid to begin fishing and not be ready for work so that's why I come here to take care of myself" (Mr. Botinho, fisherman on the Maúba River).



Figure 02: Treatment for fishermen
Source: Field research, author's collection

When working on the concept of environment, Velden and Baldie (2011) stated that this concept also includes artifacts. This is very useful, as it helps us to understand the reason why the healer Orivaldo, prepares not only his spoils, but also his little boat and his fishing equipment, figure 03 presents us with one of these artifacts. To prepare for his spoils "I insist on Ori, I prepare my things, making sure they are ready, the little boat, the net, the fishing lines and hooks to ensure that I will be happy in my fishing". For Orivaldo, "the preparation of the fishermen's equipment is important, because they have to be sharp to catch fish, if they are ready then nothing is safe (laughs)" (Mr. Orivaldo, healer of the island of Paruru, 20/02 / 2017).



Figure 03: Some fishing tools

Source: Field Research, author's collection

The nets are soaked for a few days in a substance with herbal water and seeds that have the purpose of freeing them from any panic or bad luck, and to bring them success in catching the fish. Botinho said, "look at my lines, Ori is more careful with them, I'm sure 2017 will be my year, it will be very abundant" (Mr. Botinho, fisherman from the Maúba River). Image 04 shows some of the fishing lines described by Botinho.



Figure 04: Fishing lines being prepared
Source: Field research, author's collection

And so, *curandeiria* as a religious system found on the islands of Abaetetuba, can show us how people perceive and interact with the environment, the world in which they find themselves, and where the idea of territory and environment is something that cannot be reduced to duality between culture and nature. They have a way of seeing their spaces and places occupied by humans, non-humans and super-humans, in such a strong interconnection that we are hardly able to separate them.

V. SOME CONSIDERATIONS

This work aimed to make a brief reflection on the concept of territories and of the environment from the perspective of the healer. Through it we can see that there are “new possibilities and categories that can be situated and can lead to emerging worlds” (ESCOBAR, 2000: 75). These new positions lead us to conclude that territory now includes a series of elements that fall outside the simple physical emergence of territories (DIEGUES, 1994), thereby reaching human and super-human spaces.

This brings together several elements, which make people recognize that there are places of residence for super-human and non-human beings that must be respected, and to which one must even ask for permission to enter. This reveals to us the need for preservation where super-human beings impose such a condition, at the risk of harming the life of the offending subject, until he recognizes that the different homes have an owner and that this needs to be respected by all.

This makes us reflect on the concept of the environment, which has a direct relationship with the territory, since in both the environment and the territory there is no separation between culture, nature or science. From the perspective of healing, this mesh (INGOLD, 2000), is strongly intertwined, where it is not possible to measure strengths, but rather the intensity of relationships.

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