

CONCEPTS OF HEALTH, ILLNESS, CURING AND DEATH  
IN RELATION TO MEDICINAL PLANTS AND APPEARANCE OF  
THE MESSIANIC KING OF THE ISLAND OF LENÇÓIS,  
MARANHÃO, BRAZIL

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"All medicines come from the forest;  
thus in the forest we must work"

José Ferreira de Sousa,  
Resident of the Island of Lencois

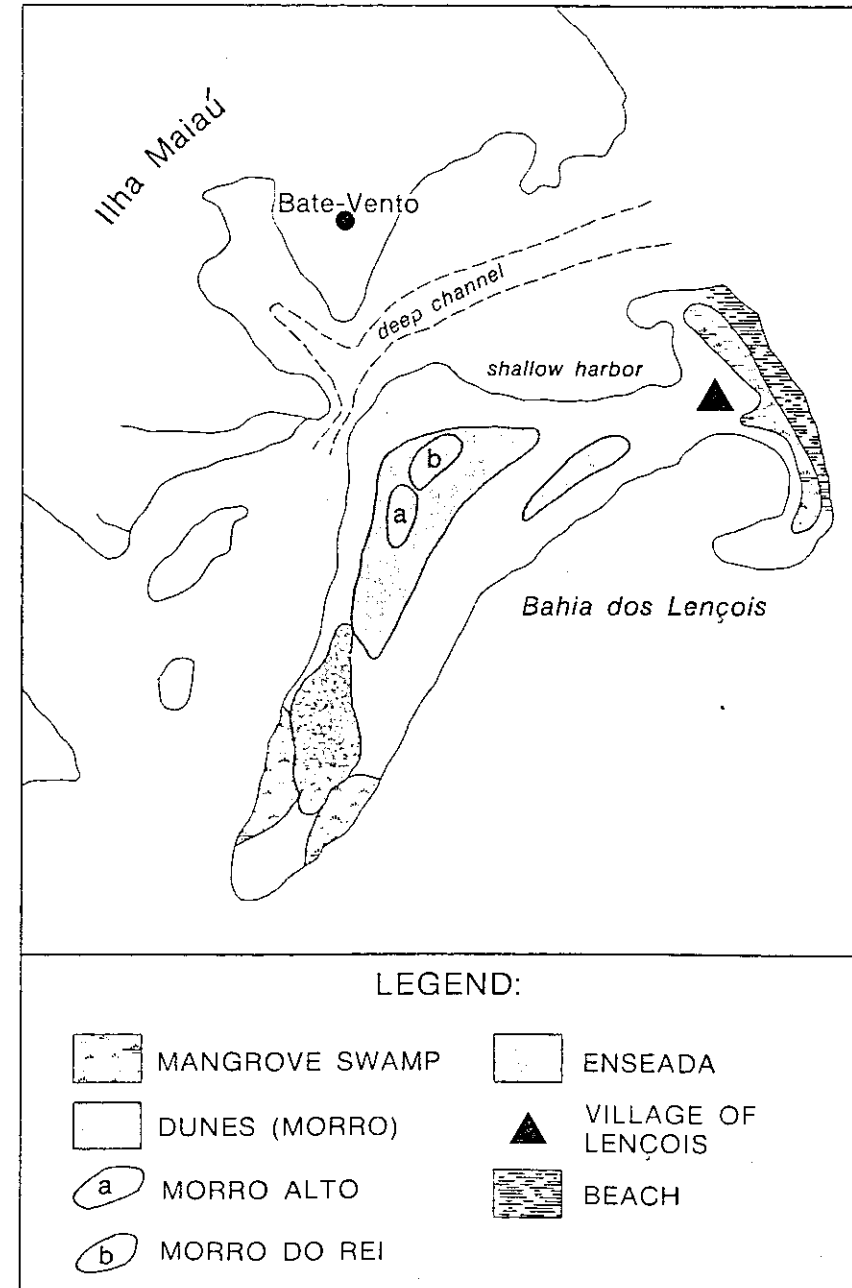
INTRODUCTION

The Island of Lençóis (Ilha de Lençóis) is located off the coast of the Brazilian State of Maranhão (01 22'S; 44 54'W) approximately 160 kilometers north of the capital São Luís. Lençóis is part of an archipelago called Maiaú, which includes the islands of Maiaú, Mirinzal, Guauá, Urumara, Aracajá and Porto do Maio. The islands are all within the administrative unit (município) of Cururupú. The Ilha de Lençóis is composed of approximately 1,000 hectares (approximately 2,500 acres), with one village (povoado) of 60 houses and 378 residents. Islanders are considered caboclos: descendants of Portuguese colonists, African slaves, and indigenous peoples. The economy of the village is almost entirely linked with fishing, the principal markets being in São Luís (Maranhão) and Belém (Para). The only commercial establishments are four small shops (quitandas) on the island, all selling a very limited inventory of nearly the same basic food and household items, including some medicines.

Access to Lençóis remains difficult, the only transport being via very rustic fishing or sail boats. The trip from São Luís requires between 16 and 24 hours of travel, depending on tides, under very uncomfortable conditions.

The village itself lies on the northern end of the island in a protected bay directly across from the village of Bate-Vento, on the island of Maiaú. The bay has a deep channel that offers shelter to fishing boats even during the strongest of storms. Village fishing boats are anchored in shallow waters that leave boats on sand beaches during low tides. The village is surrounded to the north by mangrove swamps, backed by low undulating dunes that lead to the coast; a windward beach curves to the south and extends the length of the island (Fig. 1). The south end of the island is swampy, with an approximately 40 ha. basin area of sandy ridges and swamps that flood during the rainy season (December-May). This area, called "enseada," is rich in bird life; some fresh-water fishing occurs in the lake. The lake and basin area are bordered by high dunes covered with a variety of plant species. Nearby is a saltwater mangrove swamp that offers a source of turu (Neoteredo regnei) and charcoal, as well as a variety of marine birds. Between the village and the basin are found the famed dunes for which

Figure 1



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Lençois is named ("lençois" are linens). The highest dune, named "Morro de Alto," rises over 50 meters up from the sea. The undulating dunes offer many optical illusions due to the endless, intricate patterns of sand formations and subtle variations in whites and greys that reflect off the powdery, fine, pure-white sand. Between the dunes lie nearly hidden blue-green pools of fresh water that serve for bathing and clothes washing. These lakes, which reach 5-8 meters in depth when filled during the wet season, are utilized by the islanders for their domesticated cattle, goats and ducks. Wildlife, particularly bird life, is also attracted to the lakes. Drinking water is drawn from shallow pits (1 meter deep, 1 meter in diameter) dug in sand close to residents' houses. Most useful plant species are concentrated on the ridges, dunes and lake edges near the village or in the Enseada lake basin area.

Islanders are proud of the beauty of their island and attribute its elegance to special cosmic powers that emanate from the immense dunes. These powers are symbolized by Rei Sebastião, the legendary Portuguese king who still returns to the island to talk with his children, the "white" albinos who reside on the island (Santos, 1983). He is the protector of the island and its natural resources. Abuse of the dunes, fish, birds, or plants angers the King, who in his vengeance causes illness, madness or death. Fear of Rei Sebastião, therefore, serves as an ecological and social control mechanism in the preservation of Lençois and its natural environment. Belief in Rei Sebastião permeates village life: concepts of health, illness, and death are integrally linked to his messianic appearances that can also restore health and harmony to his beleaguered subjects. Thus medicinal plant use and spiritual curing are both viewed as a cosmic balance between body and soul: that balance is epitomized by Rei Sebastião, whose perfection is a path to a wholesome and happy life in this world as well as spiritual peace in the life after death.

Given the small size of the island's population, it was possible to meet and talk with all its residents. Entrance into the community was greatly facilitated by previous research contacts begun and cultivated by Santos since 1969. As professors in the State University of Maranhão we were especially well received, since education is highly valued and

the University is an important institutional link establishing confidence with residents.

Material for this paper is based upon data collected by Santos on the island during the past 15 years, and by Posey during the past three years in Maranhão.

The botanical collection of medicinal plants was completed during a 17-day visit in July-August, 1984. Results are presented in this paper in two parts: first, a discussion of concepts of health, illness, curing and death; and, second, a presentation of the symbolic and practical relationships between the community and the natural environment as symbolized by Rei Sebastião. An inventory of medicinal plants collected during the visit is included as well as a discussion of diseases described by residents of the island. Caboclo knowledge of medicinal plants is shown to still be significant and of potential importance to researchers of folk medicine and ethnobotany.

#### DIET AND HEALTH

The diet of residents of Lençois is composed principally of fish and other seafoods, including sururu, mexilhão, ostra, siri, caranguejo, aratu, maraquanim, and туру. Domesticated birds (chickens, ducks, and Guinea fowl) and mammals (goats and cattle) provide alternative protein sources. Marine birds are locally abundant and various species are semi-domesticated by residents for their meat and eggs. Meat is supplemented with farina d'agua (manioc flour), rice, and little else.

The islanders have no habit of raising vegetables and very little interest in planting fruit trees. The only fruit trees found in any noticeable quantity are murici, cajú and coconut. Trees outside home gardens (quintais) are considered communal property, except for the coconut trees which "have owners" ("tem donos").

Island children show signs of malnutrition and infestations of internal parasites. Illnesses are exacerbated by this poor nutritional state. When we arrived in Lençois, the entire population was suffering from an epidemic of measles. Not a single child escaped, many adults were extremely ill,

and the remaining islanders under stress to provide for the sick. A 1 1/2 year old boy died due to complications from the measles caused by his general poor state of nutrition and health.

Nonetheless, local residents insist that there is little sickness on Lençois. "Here we don't get very sick; only aches, pains, cuts, boils, and the flu," explained Zé Limão, a local curer. Cancer is said to be the major cause of death other than old age; four cases within the same family were reported in the last six years.

Institutionalized medical treatment is available only in the neighboring village of Bate-Vento, where a nurse is permanently stationed. She serves mainly as a dispenser of common, pre-packaged medicines and refers patients to the município doctor when necessary. The nearest doctor is in the administrative center, Cururupú, which is 12 hours by small boat. Periodically, but infrequently, the doctor visits Lençois and the neighboring islands.

The four tiny shops on the island stock a few medicinal items, mainly vitamins, worm treatments, and disinfectants. Pharmaceuticals are mostly used as a last resort when folk cures do not work. Even when drugs are sought, however, costs are frequently prohibitive. The dehydration medicines prescribed by a visiting doctor to alleviate complications from measles, for example, cost the equivalent of US \$2.00 per package and must be taken daily. In the home of Sr. SiSi, where we stayed during our visit, there were 6 children sick with the measles. In 15 days Sr. SiSi would have spent approximately one-half of his month's income on a drug that was nothing more than a manufactured replica of coconut milk.

Residents of Lençois harbor a distrust for medical doctors. This is partly an extension of their fears of pharmaceuticals, but also is due to some extremely traumatic experiences with a medical team who came to the island in 1972. The frequency of albinism on the island is unusually high and was the focus of a medical-genetic project to research the phenomenon. Twenty-five persons from Lençois were taken to the regional hospital in the state capital, São Luís. There, according to the "objects of scientific investigation," they were poorly fed, badly treated,

and never provided with the services and payments promised by members of the project. "They promised money and clothes and many things," said one of those who is still bitter from the experience, "but we never got anything except some fancy sunglasses that no one could wear." Sr. José Ferreira confirmed the accusation and added: "Several of our people came back from the city so weak they could not even carry their fishing nets to their boats. Imagine how serious that was for our families that depend on fishing."

This experience is still very vivid in the daily life of the community. Even now the so-called albinos of the island hide from outsiders for fear of again being subjected to such humiliation. We spent three days on Lençois before seeing the first albino: all remained hidden in their homes in fear that we were physicians. Eventually they began to appear and finally talk to us about their experiences.

All of these factors--fear and distrust of outside medicines and doctors, combined with limited availability and high prices of medical treatment--limit the influence of institutional medicine in the area. Easy access to medicinal plants and local healers (curadeiros) insures the primacy of folk medicine on Lençois.

To understand how the folk medicinal system functions, it is necessary to investigate the underlying concepts of sickness, healing and death. Furthermore, it is important to understand the relationship between curing and qualities of medicinal plants. The following sections of the paper attempt to explain these factors.

#### Concepts of Illness, Curing and Death

Concepts of illness, curing and death in Lençois are rooted in two ancient philosophies: that of the medieval Christian Church, and that of Afro-Brazilian religions, themselves syncretic products of African, indigenous, and European beliefs. Ideas of health and sickness are predicated upon fear of suffering and death. According to Sr. José Ferreira de Sousa, 58-year-old resident of Lençois and victim of Parkinson's Disease, "Death completes the suffering of this world. If you didn't have to die it would be better: everybody wants to be young, nobody wants to die." 4

The idea of life as a period of suffering and depravation that ends with the liberation of death has ancient medieval Christian roots: the practice of death was the basis of ancient Christianity (Delumeau, 1984). Fear of death, enforced by images of devils and the terror of abominable sufferings in the fires of hell, left a heavy legacy on the European world view. The idea that one lives in a transitory life that by its nature demands disease and suffering is still enforced by the *padres* who appear periodically on Lençóis.

This view of life and death seems also to have merged with the indigenous doctrine of the "Pai Criador" (Father Creator) as expressed by Sr. José Ferreira de Sousa: "When a person dies he becomes sand and dust. The Pai Criador, or *Chefe Geral* (General Chief), then determines if the spirit will go to the moon or to the *piqui* tree. If there is shame, the spirit cannot go to the moon. To go to the *piqui* tree is to return to this world again--and it's not worth leaving one forest for another." It is, therefore, worth life's effort to leave this world without shame so as to ascend to the moon of another world.

Another informant and *curadeiro*, Zé Limão, explained the following: "the spirit, when the body dies, goes to the sky to await judgment. But not all spirits are of persons in the company of God; these go to the Devil."

Death can be liberating from the sufferings of life. According to Sr. Zé Ferreira, "When you die begins a new life. The other life after death is better...so much better that human flesh created on earth and full of sin cannot be transferred to the new place."

Sr. Zé Limão explained that not all people die "at their time," but before the "appointed time," usually through accidents or illnesses. When this occurs, "the spirits do not accept death and begin to wander. I have seen this happen. Not all death kills." Thus, elaborated Sr. Zé, the people of Lençóis have as much fear of the dead as death. Return of a dispossessed spirit ("*assombração*") disturbs the living and can actually penetrate living bodies with "bad spirits or light," causing craziness." This can only be prevented or cured by dancing or participating in the *Terreiros de Minas*.

*Terreiros de Minas* are Afro-Brazilian religious centers linked to the ancient cults of Minas, Africa (see Pereira, 1979; Bastide, 1977). Each "terreiro" has an owner, "dono," who is the cult leader and principal spiritual instructor *Pai-de-Santo* (male) or *Mãe-de-Santo* (female). Cult leaders are able to "receive" the spirits of the ancient African entities called "orixas," now also identified with Catholic saints and Indian spirits. These leaders also teach apprentices to receive and communicate with spiritual entities. Spirits are said to "come down" (*baixa*) upon the "filhos" or "filhas" and possess them in trance states. Trance states are attained through rhythmic dances that accompany the beat (*batuque*) of the drums (*tambores*). The *tambores* have the power to "call" the spirits, who, when they appear, demand that the receiver dress in special clothing (vestments or "vestimentos") to indicate the identity of the "orixa." These spirits usually ask for certain offerings from participants in return for advice, diagnoses, or cures for problems of health and fortune. Participating in the *Terreiro*, sometimes called "dancing the *tambore*," is the principal way folk medical information is transmitted in Lençóis. Persons possessed by an evil spirit (*mal espirito*) or a disembodied soul (*assombração*) can only be cured with the help of the *Pai/Mãe de Santos* as intermediaries for the "orixas."

During our visit to Lençóis we witnessed the death of an infant due to measles. His body was laid upon a table in the entrance of the small house made of palm thatch. He was covered with an old mosquito net, a single candle set burning at his head. We were impressed by the lack of interest in the event by other residents, only a few of whom visited the family. He was buried in a small casket made of scraps of wood put together by a local carpenter. Early the next morning his two uncles took the casket to the cemetery for burial on the nearby island of Bate-Vento with no ceremony and little or no notice taken by anyone on either island. The local population seemed to accept with silent, stoic fatalism the death: after all, the mother had not sought help from the local curers, nor did anyone in the family dance in the *Terreiros*. Thus there was an underlying current of Divine justification, or "Castigo de Deus" (punishment by God). This case illustrates the remnants of an ancient division on the island between those who participate in the *Terreiros* and those who consider themselves to be "pure" Catholics. Most inhabitants see no

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such conflict and practice both religions. But the mother of the dead child maintained her singular faith as expressed in traditional Catholicism and refuses to dance to the "devils" of the Tambor.

The notion of "castigo de Deus" is the most common explanation for illness. Sr. José Ferreira de Sousa deals with his affliction of Parkinson's Disease by explaining: "Sickness is the discipline of God and is given in conformity with what each deserves."

According to Zé Limão, illness usually appears at times of "passage" between stages in spiritual growth: these moments present spiritual crises. For Sr. Zé, anything "spiritual" is a combination of physical and psychological states; a spiritual crisis, if not soon surmounted, leads to illness, craziness or death. This relationship between spiritual evolution and illness, the culmination of both being death, is syncretic with indigenous beliefs of the region (Santos, 1976:221; Posey, 1982).

Illness is conceived of as something from outside (fora) that penetrates the body; or something evil from within that incubates (incubados) to take over the body. Sr. Zé Limão explained this to us in the following manner: "There are some diseases that are born from the inside and move to the outside; other sicknesses that come from the outside inside." Thus illness can be that which "comes from within, incubates and has to come out." We heard many times expressions such as "We gave a medicine to let the measles come out," or "the tea from that plant liberates the fever guarded within the body."

Illness from outside occurs, according to Sr. José Ferreira, when a person sleeps. "During sleep the soul can leave the body and a bad spirit can possess the body and displace the soul." When this occurs, the person becomes enlouquecida (crazy).

The caboclo idea that the soul can leave the body during sleep and be replaced by an alien spirit during sleep coincides with current indigenous thought and undoubtedly has its roots in indigenous philosophies. Illness and death result from outside the body; curing, therefore, is the "restoration" of the spirit to a healthful state in its proper

body (Cunha, 1978:10; Posey, 1982). Enloquescimento can also occur through enchantment. We were told of one case of an islander who saw a snake that gave him fever. This was also seen as a type of "enloquescimento," as was a second case in which a man called a snake, as which time the snake reared its head to enchant ("encantar") the caller, who became crazy.

Craziness is recognized in a person who "speaks erratically" (fala veriedade), sometimes calling the names of persons that he had never seen. It may enter with the wind into the head via the ears, in which case a person hears a noise (zuada) in his head that sounds like a "batuque," the beat of the drums used in the Terreiro de Mina. Craziness can sometimes be cured through use of powerful medicinal teas, such as those of emburaitaia or jurema but usually must also be treated with participation in the Terreiro de Minas.

Illness other than "enloquescimento" can enter via the wind or even the sun. Cancer, for example, is thought to be an illness "from the outside" produced by rays of the sun that boils (fever) the blood.

Participation in the Terreiro is essential in the cure of most illnesses that come from the outside. The case of a young man called Jair illustrates this belief. Following the account of Sr. Zé Limão, the boy "felt an affliction in his heart....a pain. He went to Cururupú to be treated for a variety of things, including worms, heart attack, and gases. But I told him before he left, "you have a spirit in you." He received treatments and got better. But only a month after he returned to Lençóis the illness reappeared; he became completely debilitated ("pegou a cajibar mesmo"). He came to my house and said to me: "Zé Limão, if you call these spirits of light, you can confirm what is my real illness." I called the spirits and he became well. He "received" and danced the tambor with me. Today he is in the religion, but if he leaves, he will become ill again." The fear of leaving the religion is obviously a powerful mechanism for its perpetuation.

The power of the tambor is also attested to by Mariazinha, age 25, who felt severe pains and weakness in

her legs. She began to participate in the religion and her illness disappeared.

Pai-Pe-Santo Zé Limão explained the following: "People enjoy good health when they are working well and do not harm others. But when they do bad things or do not follow the instructions of the spirits of the Terreiro, then the spirits send sickness to castigate them." Instructions from the spirits come via the curadeiro or paje, who then sets out to prescribe the medicines necessary to effect the cure.

Most medicines are prepared from plants. Some remedies are also prepared from animals or animal parts. For example, a strong syrup for cough is made from mara-quanim, a small crab; fish eggs and liver are used to treat asthma; soup of the turu is used to stimulate sexual vigor. These animal-based medicines, however, are the exceptions. All plants are considered of potential medicinal value, thus the curador or paje above all else must be a folk botanist.

#### Relations between Plants and Illnesses

It is a general belief that all plants that are not poisonous have medicinal properties. Birds are the principal indicators of poisonous plants: if birds will not eat the fruits or seeds of a plant, it is considered venomous. In the collection of plants made on Lençóis, only one was considered deadly. In the total plant collection, 97 percent were described as having medicinal value, with specific names, uses and prescriptions. The remaining plants were considered of potential use, but lacking the persons who "know" their properties and dosages. These plants are said to be "não aproveitadas" (not taken advantage of), and consist mostly of grasses (CN PL 014, 015, 301, 306, 402). Islanders indicate that there was a person who "worked with grasses" on the neighboring island of Carrapato. Despite attempts by several persons from Lençóis to learn about grasses, no one had succeeded because of the reluctance of the specialist to share her knowledge. Her recent death apparently has now left even the neighboring island with no "knower" of grasses. No explanation was given for her refusal to pass on the medicinal knowledge, although most residents felt her reluctance was linked to a bitter separation from her husband.

Plants are not considered to have spirits, but do have mystical powers that can manipulate spiritual energies. Certain plans (CN PL 028, 203) are used to expel or "clean" (limpar) houses or gardens of bad energies (mal espírito). Most plant remedies, however, are non-spiritual--i.e., "treat" conditions that are not caused by invasion of foreign or alien energies or entities into the patient's body. Teas from certain unidentified and uncollected mushrooms and fungi are used to help receive visions (ajudar em receber visões), which aid in detecting, diagnosing and curing illnesses.

The most generalized plant grouping we found were plants from "terra fria" (cold earth). These are mostly sedges and grasses found around fresh-water lakes and ponds, or in the damp basins that fill only in the rainy season. "Terra fria" plants are thought to be useful in treating "corpo quente" (hot body) or "pele quente" (hot skin), both terms referring to localized surface swelling, redness and burning. Cold-water infusions of these plants are made to bathe the "hot" areas to "cool" or alleviate the unpleasant condition.

#### Manipulation of the Natural Environment

Residents of Lençóis conceive of plant communities as being divided into four major ecozones:<sup>2</sup>

1. Lake margins or dry, seasonal lake basins (os baixos)
2. Sides of sand ridges and dunes (as encostas)
3. Margins of the beach (os margens da praia)
4. Home gardens (os quintais)

None of these ecozones is truly "natural" since the small island shows extensive signs of human manipulation of the environment. Informant Zé Limão, for example, pointed out several of his medicinal plantations tucked away in a distant part of the "Enseada." Numerous residents pointed out caju and muruci trees, as well as medicinal herbs, that had been planted by the family on ridges and dunes distant from the

village. Young Jodelson, 16, explained how his father's domesticated goats helped spread muruci as they defecated along the numerous island trails.

Most noticeable human influence is evident in the home garden or quintal. Many exotic and ornamental plant species are found in these gardens, as well as indigenous plants transplanted from various parts of the island to concentrate medical resources near the social center. Trading of plants between islands, or even from other parts of the state or other states, seems to be common hobby. The plant inventory of Lençóis shows 83 percent of the plants to be commonly transplanted. Forty-eight percent of those collected were said to have been brought from other parts of the region. Thus the plant-species inventory on Lençóis, as well as plant ecological communities, are significantly modified by human influence.

Although there is no private ownership of land on the island, plantations of fruit trees and medicinal plants are said to have "owners." Usufruct is most highly defined with coconut palm trees, whose fruits are valued for their "milk." If trees that shade one's front door and drop their fruits on one's quintal were not planted by the owner of the house or quintal, then not even the home owner has the right to collect the fruits. Most tree owners do not allow green coconuts to be collected because of the general belief that removal of green fruits stunts the tree's growth. Usufruct is most loosely defined in areas farthest away from the village where useful plants are communal property. Exceptions to this are the medicinal plantations of the curadeiros.

#### Lençóis Plant Inventory

Plants in the inventory were collected on the Island of Lençóis between June 27 and July 15, 1984. Collections were made with the help of informants, who pointed out useful species in the field. All species in flower and/or fruit were collected, even if they were not immediately identified as being useful. Collections were made in the four ecozones recognized by islanders. Basic information was collected in situ, with additional ethnobotanical data gathered in the village. Pressed specimens were sent to Dr. Anthony Anderson, Departamento de Botânica, Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi, Belém, Pará (Brazil), who maintains

the collection. Identifications were made by Milton Concalves da Silva, also of the Museu Goeldi. Collection Numbers (CN) in the inventory are all in the "PL" series, indicating their origin at the Praia de Lençóis (another name for the island). Tables 1-4 list the Collection Number, Common and Scientific Names, Use, Observations, including whether or not the species is planted or transplanted.

#### Folk Medicinal Practices

Medicinal knowledge is generally distributed in Lençóis. We met no resident who could not quickly offer a list of at least 30 medicinal plants and their therapeutical use.

There are two folk medicinal specialists on the island, both called curadeiros and/or pajes. The two are brother-sister and both own separate "Terreiros de Minas." Sr. Zé Limão is noted for his work with non-spiritual plant cures. Sr. Zé easily pointed out, named, and gave detailed descriptions of 58 useful plant species. His sister, Sra. Maria Tereza, is best known for her curing of spirit-related illnesses.

Folk species for the people of Lençóis contrast drastically with industrial pharmaceuticals because local remedies do not have any harmful side-effects and there is no risk of overdose. "Nossos remédios não fazem mal a ninguém. Pode misturar um com outro--e toma quando precisar, tanto quizer" (Our medicines don't hurt anyone. They can be mixed together and taken as frequently as needed in any dosage.) explained Dona Zuca. Commercial drugs, however, are considered harsh, hard on the body and dangerous. All residents indicated a general reluctance, bordering on fear, to take such drugs. "Esses remédios que vêm de fora são fortes demais" (Drugs that come from other places are too strong) continued Dona Zuca; "As vezes criam mais problemas do que curam" (Sometimes they create more problems than they cure).

Dosages of folk remedies are vague, or at least difficult, for the specialists to explain. Strength of the formulas depends on intensity of color, density or viscosity of the liquid, and a variety of other factors that are simply gained through experience. Quantity and frequency of dosages are not as important as for manufactured drugs



because overdosage is believed by residents to be impossible with folk remedies. The following general instructions are given for the two major forms of treatment:

1. Baths/douches (lavagens): Bathe frequently with the hot or cold water infusion when the illness is strong; reduce the number of baths when the illness begins to "release;"
2. Teas, syrups, wines, etc.: drink the hot or cold teas frequently (every hour, one cup-full) for the first day and reduce the treatment as the sickness "weakens."

Chronic illnesses must be treated with medical preparations combined with spiritual treatments to cleanse the body and expel bad energies. Illnesses are considered to be of a spiritual nature when simple remedies fail to work, although the pajes may immediately detect a spiritual defect or alien entity with the aid of communications with orixas that come down (baixar) to diagnose and help the afflicted person.

The following medical preparations were described to us in Lencois:

1. Teas (chás)
  - a. cold-water infusions prepared by leaving crushed nuts, stems, seeds, flowers, leaves and/or shaven tree bark in containers of water for several hours or days; and
  - b. hot brews that are made from crushed roots, leaves or whole flowers that are usually drunk sweetened.
2. Bath (banhos)
  - a. infusions of crushed leaves, shaven bark or roots are made of cold water (as in 1.a) and externally applied to the afflicted part of

the body, or, most usually, the whole body; and

- b. hot baths made and applied as in 2.a., but with hot water.
3. Douches (lavagens) - warm-water infusions used for internal "cleaning" (limpando) or bathing, both vaginal and anal.
4. Compresses (compressos) - leaves that are heated or crushed and tied around or stuck (with water) to the body, usually the head.
5. Syrups (xarôpes e lambeidores) - concentrated infusions produced through boiling down the medicinal mixture and sweetening with sugar or honey. There are two types;
  - a. Xarôpes - thinner watery syrups that are drunk as tonics, and
  - b. Lambeidores - thick, very sweet syrups taken by spoonfuls.
6. Juices, elixirs, and wine (sumos, elixires, vinhos) - "sumos" are the natural juices of plants; "vinhos" are "sumos" diluted with water; a highly diluted "vinho" is called an "elixir."
7. Fermentations (fermentações) - only one medicinal preparation (CN, PL 028) was reported to be prepared by allowing the infusion to ferment; it is then stored in a bottle.
8. "Garrafados" - non-fermented infusions that are "aged" in bottles.
9. "Defumadores" - incenses that are burned to treat "spiritual conditions." The smokes are inhaled or used to "bathe" the body.
10. "Leites" - these are the white saps or preparations with white saps (leites), usually administered topically.

11. "Cachaças" - the most common distilled beverage is the sugar-cane based "cachaça," into which are put various parts of plants (barks, leaves, roots, grasses, etc.) to produce an alcoholic infusion.
12. "Mingau" - thick cooked pastes, usually sweetened with sugar or honey.
13. "Raspagem" - shaved barks or woods that are administered directly onto infected areas, usually boils or cuts.
14. Cigars (charutos) - flower petals and/or leaves rolled for smoking.
15. Powder (pó) - leaves or barks dried and ground into powders to administer topically.
16. Massage (frição) - plant parts are "rubbed into" the skin in a massage.
17. Plasters (emplastos) - a pulp is made of the plant, which is then secured to the infected area with bandages.
18. Infusions (infusões, molhos) - crushed or shaven plant parts are allowed to stand in hot or cold water for a period of time (minutes to days or weeks) to "pegar" (take) the medicine from the plant.

#### Other Plant Uses

To broaden our conceptualization of plant use and management in Lençóis, all flowering and/or fruiting plants were collected during the ethnobotanical survey. In addition to medicinal uses, the following miscellaneous usages were reported:

1. Brooms (vassouras) - grasses that are tied together in bundles to produce a broom for sweeping sand from houses, as well as for cleaning yards or quintais.

2. Bird attractants - plants that produce fruits or seeds that are known to be favorite foods of birds and are planted to provide foods for desirable species. This insures a more abundant bird life. Birds are not only frequently eaten, but singing species sold for high prices in the city. CNs 304 and 313 are examples of plants planted to attract birds.
3. Incense - these "defumadores" are burned to improve the atmosphere of the house (melhor o ambiente).
4. Vitamins (vitaminas) - these are thought to be good for one's health and are used as dietary supplements.
5. Food coloring (colorante) - color of rice and meat is an important aspect of regional cuisine. Natural colorings are added to foods to provide the proper hues.
6. Coffee substitute - CN 411 is ground and toasted and drunk when coffee is not available, although some residents say they actually prefer the mixture to "café."
7. Fiber - cotton is not as important for fiber as previously when used to produce fish nets and cloth, but is still used to close bottles and to make yarn for tying.
8. Food - principal species are fruit trees, including goiaba, araticum, murici, caju, côco, ata, limão. As mentioned, however, islanders rarely plant fruit trees and Lençóis is relatively poor in edible species.

Some important food plants are also medicinal (see CNs 2, 7, 9, 10, 12 in plant inventory); for example, goiaba not only provides a delectable fruit, but also has bark and leaves highly valued for their medicinal properties. Other edible species that are also utilized for medicines are: lima, limão, laranja, caju, murici, côco, araticum, ata, and urucú.

Two of the most interesting medicinal plants observed were cotton (CN 9) and urucú (*Bixa orellana*), neither of which is generally considered medicinal. However, in Lençois cotton provides a leaf that is used to prepare a "vinho" for sore throat and hoarseness as well as general aches and pains. Its seeds are crushed and soaked in water, then strained to produce another type of strong "vinho" to lower fevers. The same mixture can be externally applied to treat skin infections.

Urucú is highly valued as a food-coloring agent throughout Brazil. Islanders consider it an important "vitamin." Its leaves are also crushed and the juice ("sumo") rubbed on strained muscles or used in plasters over broken bones to aid in the healing process. A thick syrup ("lambeidor") is made of its red seeds to treat gripe and aggravated coughing.

Medicinal plants that are most commonly known, widely distributed, and highly prized on the island are: mastrux, babatemão, lirio, pião, cidreira, pau d'Angola, vinagreira, angêlica, caneluda, maravilha, and amesca.

#### Lençois and King Sebastião

(Lençois tem um Rei, é a única que tem)

Understanding of concepts of health and illness, curing and death cannot be achieved without analyzing the role of Rei Sebastião in the belief system of the islanders. Belief in the King's spiritual presence on the island is the basis for their folk medicinal practices.

Lençois is famous in the region for its King; it is the only island with such a distinction according to islanders. The King is Rei Sebastião, the Portuguese monarch who disappeared in August of 1578 during the famous battle of Alcácer-Quibir, Morocco, against the Moors of Abd al-Malik.

With the disappearance of Rei Sebastião, Portugal and her colonies were annexed by Philip II of Spain. The Portuguese awaited with unrelenting faith for the return of their monarch to free Portugal from her Spanish overlords. Some descendants of those Portuguese, including those of Lençois, still await the messianic return of Rei Sebastião to

return the world to an idyllic, glorious state of liberation from oppression.

The immense dunes of Lençois undoubtedly reminded the early Portuguese settlers of the African desert of their legendary monarch. It is little wonder to modern residents that Rei Sebastião would now choose to return to Lençois and her undulating, snowy "morros" of glistening sand. He is said to have appeared many times on the island. Vivid accounts are told of his appearance in armor of a young warrior-king, or in scarlet vestments indicating his royal birth. "My aunt Raimuda Amada received the King here," confirmed Mariazinha. "He was dressed as a warrior and appeared in plain view at high noon."

He is also famous for his appearance in the form of a great raging, enchanted bull, "um touro encantado," with a brilliant white star on his forehead. Fire emanates like "rays of the sun on the wind" from his powerful body, enchanting those with enough courage to gaze at the scintillating star. As one of the songs of the tambor proclaims:

Em cima daquele morro  
Eu ví raios de sol  
Em cima do mesmo morro....  
É o Rei dos Lençois. (Santos, 1983:19)

King Sebastião is the Lord of Lençois: the island is his and use of its land and resources comes by his grace. As Mariazinha explained: "the King is the owner of Lençois: it is he who determines what shall be done here."

Communication with Rei Sebastião generally occur when he "comes down" ("baixa") upon someone in trance during dances of the tambor de Mina. According to Mariazinha, "When the King comes down, he asks for vestments that only he can wear: crown, cape and sword." The person in trance who has received the monarch puts on the vestment and receives the communication from Rei Sebastião. Currently in Lençois only Mãe-de-Santos Maria Tereza receives the King in this manner.

As previously mentioned, Lençóis has an unusually high percentage of albinos. These "white children" are considered sons and daughters of Rei Sebastião ("filhos do Rei") and are treated with respect because of their special beauty and spiritual relationship with the King. One woman on the island claims to have been impregnated during a dream by the King and has one albino child out of nine to prove it. According to Dona Emelina Santos Silva, 38, there is another way of establishing or maintaining a relationship with Rei Sebastião: "Women who want to give birth to white children, take off their cloths and sit nude in the white sand atop the great dunes in the light of the full moon." In this way they can receive the King and have his children.

Thus Rei Sebastião is not only a symbol of father (pai), but also of virility and masculinity (macho). He is also protector, not only of his children, but of all who live on his island. Since he is owner of all things, there is no private ownership of land or resources on Lençóis; he, therefore, serves to preserve the notion of community and of communal ownership. He is also guardian of natural resources: anyone who abuses the environment stands to suffer from the anger of the King. He is both procreator and protector. This ancient poem about the monarch expresses these qualities:

....Este Rei tem tal nobreza  
Qual eu nunca ví em rei  
Este guarda bem a lei  
Da justica e da grandeza.

(Gonçalo Anes, quoted in Santos, 1983:13)

Part of the messianic promise of Rei Sebastião is his power to heal, both through direct communication in trances and through the power of plant remedies that he prescribes to cure. His mystical association with healing plants is represented symbolically by the amesca, emburataia, and jurema trees. He is said to always have appeared in ancient times under these trees. Today these trees, in addition to being principal medicinal species, are used in Terreiros de Mina to represent Rei Sebastião and his curative powers, as well as to facilitate his "coming down" in trances.

Thus Rei Sebastião epitomizes the very basal relationships of the forces that affect human beings. He symbolically embodies the ideals of community with the respect of nature, warrior manliness, and gentle concern for his children, and gives hope in this life and promise of the next. He mystifies life and death with the vigor of a raging enchanted bull, making his people and his island special above all others.

## CONCLUSION

A random inventory of all plants with flowers and/or fruits found during a 17-day research trip to the Island (Praia) de Lençóis, Maranhão (Brazil), provided a collection of 80 plants, of which 97 percent are considered by residents of the island as medicinal. Medicinal plants are generally known by islanders, although two people are considered as specialists (curadeiros or pajes). Fear of medical doctors from the cities and belief that manufactured drugs are overly strong and dangerous, as well as expensive, have served to reinforce traditional medicine.

Concepts of illness, curing and death are deeply rooted in a syncretism of indigenous, Afro-Brazilian and traditional European beliefs. Plants are fundamental to folk medicine and are thought to have special powers that can combat spiritual energies that disrupt good physical and mental health. These powers are embodied in the legendary Portuguese king, Rei Sebastião, who is symbolized by a raging bull that emanates cosmic energies and the medicinal amesca, emburataia, and jurema trees, under which the Monarch is still said to appear to guide, advise, orient and cure his "children" of the island. The messianic belief in Rei Sebastião offers the promise of improvement of health and quality of life in this world and reassurance of the existence of the next.

Rei Sebastião is also "protector" of the Island and abuse of its natural resources causes anger and vengeance from him in the form of illness, craziness or even death. Lençóis is believed by its residents to be the property of the King and, thus, all its resources are his: communal usufruct is guaranteed by the Monarch. Rei Sebastião, therefore, functions to preserve communal access to natural

resources, while serving as an ecological control to preserve and protect the natural environment.

Thus the folk medicinal system of Lençóis is the result of an intricate and complicated interaction between society and nature. This relationship is codified by a mystical King, shrouded in the mists of legend, who embodies and controls the energies of the supernatural: a Monarch who is the link between life and death, health and illness, and the future with the past, on an island sustained by messianic hope.

TABLE 1  
DUNE PLANTS

CN	Scientific Name/Common Name	Symptoms	Preparation	Observations
PL001	Guajiru (CHRYSOBALANACEAE: Cryobalanus icaco L.)	Stomach/head ache	Tea from fruit	Planted; eaten
PL002	Pertacu (NYCTAGINACEAE:)	Stomach ache, ear/head ache	Tea from root	Planted
PL003	Jurubeba (SOLANACEAE: Solanum juripeba Red.)	Blood purifier	"Elixir"	Planted
PL004	Miudinha: (MELASTOMACEAE: Comolia lytharioides (Stend.) Miguel	Laxative	Tea from stems	Planted
PL005	Arco de barril	Wounds	Tropical use	Planted
PL006	Capim-puca (GRAMINEAE: Panicum trichoides Sw.)	"Hot body"	Bath from crushed or shaven bark	Planted
PL007	Capim de palma ou capim marreca (XYRIDACEAE: Xyris caroloniana Walt.)	Skin problems	Bath	Planted
PL008	Roseta (RUBIACEAE: Mitrocarpus frigidus K. Schum.)	Aches	Tea from flowers and leaves	
PL009	Margarida do campo ou amansadeira (TURNERACEAE: Turnera sp.)	Aches, wounds	Tea from flowers and leaves (aches); cicatrizant (wounds)	
PL010	Murici (MALPIGHIACEAE: Byrsonima cf. crassifolia (L.) H.B.K.)	Disinfectant	Crushed/grated inner bark	Planted; fruit eaten
PL011	Maracazinho ou Olho (LEGUMINOSAE: Abrus precatorius L.)	Stomach ache	Tea from seeds	Planted
PL012	Açoita-cavalo (MYRTACEAE: Myrcia cuprea (Berg) Kiaerskau)	Liver, wounds	Tea from flowers (liver); powder from dried bark	Planted
PL013	Sete-sangria (BORAGINACEAE: Heliotropium polyphyllum Lehm.)	Laxative		

TABLE 1 - Cont'd.

PL014	Vassoura (GENTIANACEAE: Schultesia pohliana)	Irritated skin	Topical use of soap	Planted
PL015	Vassoura (MELASTOMACEAE: Comolia lythrioides (Stend.) Miguel)	"Hot skin"	Topical use of soap	
PL016	Arrudinha (LEGUMINOSAE: Cassia curvifolia Vog.)	"Hot skin/body"	Bath	
PL017	Manjerônia ou rosa (LEGUMINOSAE: Desmodium barbatum (L.) Benth.)	"Hot skin/body"	Bath	
PL018	Palminha-lagoa (LEGUMINOSAE: Zornia latifolia Sm.)	Bleeding/ hemorrhaging	Tea	See SN2; planted
PL019	Malva (MALVACEAE: Sida cf. cordifolia L.)	Refreshers, calmant, fortifier, "redness"	Bath	Planted
PL020	Caneluda (RUBIACEAE: Mitrocarpus hirtus DC.)	Scalp treatment weakness,	Tea of leaves (aches); bath (weakness)	Planted - see PL316.
PL021	Favinha (LEGUMINOSAE: Cassia hispida Vahl.)	"Lavagem"	Infusion of leaves; bath	
PL022	Mandacaru (CACTACEAE: Selenicereus sp.)	Cough and skin redness	Syrup (cough) Soap (redness)	Cactus fruit and leaves eaten and made into sweet "preserves;" planted
PL023	Angélica (RUBIACEAE: Guettarda angelica (Mart.)	General aches, liver, calmant, refreshers, fortifier	Tea of leaf (liver); tea of bark (general aches); bath of shaven bark (refreshers, calmant, fortifier)	Fruit eaten; planted
PL024	Curiri (MYRTACEAE: Eugenia sp.)	Boils	Bath of shaven bark	Fruit eaten; planted; attracts birds
PL025	Jarubeba Branca (COMPOSITAE: Wulffia baccata (L.) (Kutze)	Liver and fever	Tea from root	Planted

TABLE 1 - Cont'd.

PL026	Tracua' (ARACEAE: Montrichardia arborescens Schod)	Nerves and "redness"	Fruits and stems mashed ("redness")	Planted
PL027	Barbatimao (Styphnodendro barbatimao)	Wounds, ovaries	Oil extracted from fruit (wounds); tea for ovaries (vaginal bath)	Drink tea after vaginal bath; oil from seed used to perfume hair
PL028	Amesca (MYRTACEAE: Protium trifoliolatum)	Scare off evil spirits and attract good spirits	Resin fermented as perfume; incense	Planted; symbol of Rei Sebastiao
PL029	Capinzinho do campo (ALISMACEAE: Echinodorus enellus (Mart.) Buch.)	"Hot body"	Bath	Attracts birds
PL030	Capim colorido (unidentified)	"Hot body"	Bath	Ornamental

TABLE 2  
BEACH PLANTS

CN	Scientific Name/Common Name	Symptoms	Preparation	Observations
PL201	Cajueiro (ANACARDIUM: Anacardium occidentale)	Wounds, diarrhea, tooth ache	Tea from tree trunk bark (wounds, diarrhea)	Eaten; planted
PL202	Lírio (SOLANACEAE: Datura cf. suaveolens (H.E.B. ex Willd.) Presl.)	"Puxtamento" (asthma)	Smoke dried flower	Planted (ornamental)
PL203	Piãõ da Índia (TUPHORBIACEAE: Jatropha gossypifolia Linn.)	Head ache, "guarded"	Shampoo made of soap (head ache); seed crushed and eaten to "release" diseases	Planted. Three varieties are distinguished. Expells "evil eye" (harmful energies).
PL204	Capim-açu (CYPERACEAE: Cyperus luzulae Linn.)	Hot body/skin	Bath, "lavagem"	Stem used as paint brush
PL205	Vassoura de Batão (RUBIACEAE: Barreria vercilata L. Mey.)	Diarrhea	Infusion of root in water	Planted
PL206	Arapuru (APOCYNACEAE:)	Wounds, tooth ache	Topical use of soap	Planted
PL207	Melão de São Caetano (CUCURBITACEAE: Morodica charantia L.)	Itch, lesions, syphilis	Bath from leaves	Eat fruits; leaves and stems used to make soap; planted

TABLE 3  
LAKE PLANTS

CN	Scientific Name/Common Name	Symptoms	Preparation	Observations
PL301	Capim (ERIOCAULACEAE: Paepalanthus fasciculatus Koern.)	"Hot skin"	Bath	
PL302	Mato do campo (SCHOPHULARIACEAE: Tarenia Fl. Muell.)	"Hot skin"	Bath	
PL303	Nome desconhecido (LEGUMINOSAE: Centrasema venosus Mart. ex Benth.)			Decorative
PL304	Comer de rolinha (ERIOCAULACEAE: Philiodice haffmanseggi Mart.)			Planted; attract birds
PL305	Maracujá do mato (PASSIFLORACEAE: Passiflora sp.)	Heart trouble; venereal disease	"Garrafada" from root; tea from flower (heart trouble)	
PL306	Vassoura (RUBIACEAE: Mitrocarpus frigidus K. Schum.)	Intestines; liver; kidney	Tea	Tea called "cha de caboclo"; planted
PL307	Chumbinho (LEGUMINOSAE: Centrosema brasiliannum (L.) Benth.)	Kidneys	Tea from stems	Planted
PL308	Mururu (GENTRANACEAE: Limnanthemm nymphaeoides)	Boil	Topical use of crushed leaves	Planted
PL309	Chumbinho (LAURACEAE: Cassytha americana Nees)	"Hidden diseases" and scalp infec- tions	Bath (scalp); tea	Planted; see PL307
PL310	Espinho de croa (LILIACEAE: Smifax riedeliana A. DC.)	Inflammation; "corpo quente"	Bath, lavagem	
PL311	Açoita-cavalo (CANNARACEAE: Connarus favosus Planchon.)	Boils	Topical use of fruit and shaven root	
PL312	Gua-jiru (CHRYSOBALACEAE: Chrysobalanus icaco L.)	Wounds	Shaven root	

TABLE 3 - Cont'd

PL	Common Name	Family	Preparation	Uses
PL313	Comer de Japó, Angélica ou Pipoca (MYRTACEAE: Eugenia lambertiana DC.)		Tea from bark	Bird food; good smell
PL314	Comer de Japó (MYRTACEAE: Eugenia exaltata Berg.)		Tea from bark	Bird food; good smell
PL315	Malice (LEGUMINOSAE: Cassia flexuosa L.)		Tea	See PL313; planted
PL316	Caneluda (RUBIACEAE: Mitrocarpus hirtus DC.)			Planted
PL317	Jaçanãzinha (LEGUMINOSAE: Centrosema venosus Mart. ex. Benth.)		Tea; massage	See PL020
PL318	Sanguinho do campo (PARKERIACEAE: Ceratopteris pteridoides (H.B.) Hieron.)		"Lavagens"; tea	Planted

TABLE 4  
YARD PLANTS

CN	Scientific Name/Common Name	Symptoms	Preparation	Observations
PL401	Urucú (BIXACEAE: Bixa orellana Linn.)	Bruises; broken bones; cough	Crushed leaves used as tea and topical use (bruises, broken bones)	Seeds used to color foods; planted
PL402	Vassourinha da casa (SCROPHULARIACEAE: Scoparia dulcis Linn.)	Redness of skin	Juice of leaves	Planted
PL403	Maravilha (AMARANTACEAE: Celosia argentea L.)	Skin problems; heart trouble; weak blood	Tea of root and leaves	Planted
PL404	Piã Roxo (EUPHORBIACEAE: Jatropha gossypifolia (Linn.))	Wounds, head ache	Topical use of sap	Planted
PL405	Cabelo de Velho (POLYGALACEAE: Securidaca sp.)			Decorative; planted
PL406	Fedegoso (AMARANTHACEAE: Pfaffia glomerata (Spreng.) Penderon.)	"Lavagem"	Leaf infusion	Planted
PL407	Erva de Bicho ou Ave de Bicho (LEGUMINOSAE: Cassia occidentalis L.)	Fever; wounds; white skin	Grated leaves and roots for "lavagem"; bath of stems for fever; cachaca	Planted
PL408	Piã Branco (EUPHORBIACEAE: Jatropha gossypifolia Linn.)	Syphilis; blood purifier; wounds; head ache; flu	Leaves cooked for bath (head ache); tea from leaf (syphilis, blood purifier, colds and head ache); topical use of milk of the stem (head ache and wounds); also milk mixed with mother's milk for pains	Planted
PL409	Carrapatinho or unha de gato (LEGUMINOSAE: Caesalpinia borducella (L.) Rorb.)	Ear ache	Crushed seeds mixed with mother's milk	Planted; seed eaten
PL410	Camapo (unidentified)			Planted



TABLE 4 - Cont'd.

PL#	Plant Name	Indications	Preparation	Planting
PL411	Erva do Bicho (LEGUMINOSAE: Cassia occidentalis L.)	Constipation	Topical use; cachaca	Seed toasted as coffee sub-
PL412	Melindro (LILLIACEAE: Asparagus sp.)	Difficulty in urination ("privacao de urina"); fever	Tea (digestive); bath (disinfectant); cachaca	Planted
PL413	Pau de Angola (VERBENACEAE: RENACEAE: Vitex agnuscastus Linn.)	Digestive ("bom para arrotar"); disinfectant	Tea (digestive); bath (disinfectant); cachaca	Planted
PL414	Cidreira (BERBENACEAE: Lippia alba (Mel.) N.E.Br.)	Liver, Kidneys, "lavagem," calmant, fever	Tea; cachaca	Planted
PL415	Urubuzinho (ARISTOLOCHIACEAE: Aristolochia Linn.)	Stimulate mother's milk, fever and pain	Tea (ache, pains, fever); topical use for breasts	Planted
PL416	Quebra-Pedra (unidentified)	Kidney, fevers, abortive	"Lavagem"	Planted
PL417	Vassourinha (EUPHORBLACEAE: Phyllanthus)	Redness, syphilis, wounds and infections of the scalp	Tea (redness, syphilis); soap (scalp)	Planted
PL418	Mastruxo (CHENOPODIACEAE: Chenopodium ambrosioides L.)	Fortifier, cicatrizante; TB; vermifuge; aids in healing of broken bones	Tea/sap (vermifuge); milk and sap mixed for TB and fortifier; plaster of smashed leaves for broken bones	Planted
PL419	Capim-chulé (RAPATEACEAE: Cephalostemon gracilis (P.E.E.) Rob. Schomb.)	"Lavagem;" head ache; bad mood and general ache	Baths; cachaca	Planted
PL420	Pau de angola (VERBENACEAE: Vitex agnuscastus Linn.)			See PL413
PL421	Salsa (CONVOLVULACEAE: Ipomoea asarifolia Roem, et Schult.)	Syphilis	Mixture of leaves and water for bath	Planted
PL422	Bolsa (COMMELINACEAE: Commelina sp.)	Head ache	Leaf plaster from heated leaves	Planted

TABLE 5.  
GENERAL GARDEN/YARD PLANTS

SN#	Scientific Name/Common Name	Symptoms	Preparation	Observations
SN1	Araticum ( <u>Annona montana</u> )	Liver, stomach, head ache	Tea from leaves (liver); stomach and head ache	Eat fruit; planted
SN2	Coquinho	Bloody diarrhea; hemorrhages	Plaster of crushed leaves (head ache); tea from grated nut	Planted; make oil from seed
SN3	Ata ( <u>Annona squamosa</u> )	Liver, kidneys, vomiting	Tea of flowers	Planted, eaten
SN4	Enxuga	Syphilis, kidney, ovaries, breasts	Bath and "lavagem" (syphilis, ovaries, breasts)	Planted
SN5	Batemão (Barbatimao) <u>Styphnodendron barbatimao</u>	Wounds, hepatitis, and "women's pains"	Tea (liver, hepatitis), vaginal bath ("women's pains")	See PL418
SN7	Goaiba ( <u>Psidium guavava</u> )	Diarrhea, stomach ache	Green fruit used for infusion; tea from leaves	Planted, eat fruit
SN8	Vinagreira	General aches, heart trouble, high blood pressure	Bath and "lavagem" for aches; tea for heart and blood pressure	Planted; eat leaves
SN9	Algodão ( <u>Gossypium</u> sp.)	Fever, aches, infections, hoarseness, dysentery	"Vinho" of leaf or sap of leaf and seed for feave, aches, infections; "lambedor" for other conditions	Eaten; planted
SN10	Araruta (Marantaceae)	Strengthen body	Thick soup	Eaten; planted
SN11	Coramin	Heart/liver	Tea	Planted
SN12	Maçaranduba <u>Manilkara huberi</u>	Diarrhea and strengthener	"Milk" for diarrhea; "wine" of sweetened milk to strengthen the body	Planted
SN13	Orelha de Pau		Tea helps receive "visions"	Planted

\*Plants in "SN" series were not collected. Scientific names are based on identifications from Cavalcante's (1976) Frutas comestíveis da Amazonia, INPA (CNPq). Manaus, pp. 166.

NOTES

1. CN refers to Collection Numbers of the plants collected in the series "PL" (Praia dos Lençois).
2. "Ecozone" refers to ecological zones recognized from in folk classification system of the natural environment.

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