

**UNCONSCIOUSNESS AND THE AB-REACTION PROCESS OF YORUBA
MAGICAL THOUGHT**

***INCONSCIENTE E O PROCESSO DE AB-REAÇÃO DO PENSAMENTO MÁGICO
IORUBA***

***LA INCONSCIENCIA Y EL PROCESO DE AB-REACCIÓN DEL PENSAMIENTO
MÁGICO YORUBA***



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ABSTRACT: Yoruba magical thought's rituals are derived from primordial myths and the actions and reactions of fulfilling or not fulfilling proposed dogmas. The Orishas' mythologies structure the unconscious of the adept, generating evils of different orders when they fail to follow precepts. However, at the same time, this mythology can provide a qualitative improvement in the lives of neophytes. Thus, our study proposes reviewing the concept of the unconscious from the perspective of Claude Lévi-Strauss. To this end, we revisit the writings on the construction of structural anthropology to understand what we refer to as the unconscious and its applicability to Yoruba thought. We then discuss the symbolization and objective outcomes of rituals. Our hypothesis is that by bringing certain quizilas to consciousness, the conflict can unfold on a level that leads to its outcome.

KEYWORDS: Claude Lévi-Strauss. System. Symbolic effectiveness. Exchange system. Orishas.

RESUMO: *Toda a ritualística propiciada pelo pensamento mágico Ioruba advém de mitos primordiais, bem como a ação e a reação no cumprimento ou não dos dogmas propostos. Dessa forma, as mitologias dos Orixás estruturam o inconsciente do adepto, de modo que ao incorrer no descumprimento de um preceito, gera-se males de diversas ordens. Entretanto, ao mesmo tempo, essa mitologia pode propiciar uma melhora qualitativa na vida dos neófitos. Assim, o estudo propõe uma revisão acerca do conceito de inconsciente na perspectiva de Claude Lévi-Strauss. Para tanto, serão revisitados os escritos a respeito da construção da antropologia estrutural para compreender o que é chamado de inconsciente e a aplicabilidade deste conceito junto ao pensamento Ioruba para, então, discorrer sobre a simbolização e os resultados objetivos dos rituais. A hipótese é que, ao trazer à consciência determinadas quizilas, possibilita-se que o conflito se desenrole num plano tal que conduz para seu desenlace.*

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Claude Lévi-Strauss. Sistema. Eficácia simbólica. Sistema de trocas. Orixás.

RESUMEN: *Todos los rituales que brinda el pensamiento mágico yoruba provienen de mitos primordiales, así como la acción y reacción en el cumplimiento o no de los dogmas propuestos. De esta manera, las mitologías de los Orixás estructuran el inconsciente del adepto de tal manera que el incumplimiento de un precepto genera males de distinto orden. Sin embargo, al mismo tiempo, esta mitología puede proporcionar una mejora cualitativa en la vida de los neófitos. Así, nuestro estudio propone una revisión del concepto de inconsciente desde la perspectiva de Claude Lévi-Strauss. Para ello, revisamos los escritos sobre la construcción de la antropología estructural para comprender lo que llamamos inconsciente y la aplicabilidad de este concepto al pensamiento yoruba para luego discutir la simbolización y los resultados objetivos de los rituales. Nuestra hipótesis es que, al traer ciertas quizilas a la conciencia, es posible que el conflicto se desarrolle en un nivel que conduzca a su resultado.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: Claude Lévi-Strauss. Sistema. Efectividad simbólica. Sistema de intercambio. Orishas.

Introduction

According to *Iyalorixá*³, mother Stella of Ochosi (SANTOS, 2020), to understand the religion of the Orishas, one must design a symbolism of the dogmas that manifest themselves in the myths, which in turn justify the rituals practiced. The initiation of a neophyte into the Yoruba religion, according to the *Iyalorixá*, aims at “cutting the raw stone”, guiding and teaching so that they are recognized and acknowledged as a symbol of the Orisha. *Iyalorixá* explains all the mystical processes that involve the *Candomblé*'s⁴ ritualistic and their influence on the followers of the religion precede a mythical explanation.

Thus, Lévi-Strauss (1975) understands that every trauma – which will be called *quizila* in this work for explanatory purposes – comes from facts capable of crystallizing in the model of a pre-existing structure, as in the case of the system of myths. For the author, these structures form the unconscious. Thus, the hypothesis was taken that the Yoruba religion, by symbolizing everyday events through myths, crystallizes in its adherents a system of signs, a structure of signified and signifier of its own, which constitute the unconscious of these agents in such a way that the resolution or explanation of certain events only occurs through magical rituals.

In this sense, the present study proposes a review of the concept of unconscious from the perspective of Claude Lévi-Strauss at the beginning of structuralist thought, seeking not only to understand how the author conceptualizes the object of study in question but also the theoretical implications and methodologies that permeate the theme.

Thus, understanding the unconscious from the perspective of structural anthropology makes it possible to delineate the manifestations of the catharsis process that occurs in Yoruba magical thinking. This is because, through an ab-reactor process, the individual, when faced with internal conflicts that are objectified by magical rituals, can remove the quantum of adverse effect from a specific and subjective event, making it pathogenic, thus carrying out the cure.

Mental, social, and cultural structures, operating as in language, are not visible to the naked eye. In this sense, evoking the religious and ritualistic experience of the Yoruba allows us to rehearse a study of their acts and effects for a possibility of approaching psychodramatic therapy, in which the patient/follower has their problems objectified in entities, foods, magical

³ *Iyalorixá*: macumba priestess. Source: <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/pt/dictionary/portuguese-english/ialorixa>.

⁴ “Candomblé is Brazil's most influential Afro-Brazilian religion. Practised mainly in Bahia, it mixes catholicism with Yoruba traditions. [...]”. Source: <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/pt/dictionary/portuguese-english/candomble>.

instruments and that after a ritual battle or a simple exchange with the sacred world, the cathartic effect leads to an exorcization of internal evils (ALMEIDA, 2010).

The integration of the individual into the religious community, as well as the production of mental structures in the unconscious that dictate the actions and reactions that allow proper communication between mothers/fathers of saints and followers, are essential for verifying the effectiveness of the effect of Yoruba magical thinking. According to Almeida (2010), in this therapist relationship, the shaman, the saint's mother in this case, and the patient, the saint's son, the neophyte, is the essential integration from which, once bonds of trust are established, the leader will be able to guide directed towards a cathartic or ab-reactive process and will allow the patient to expiate accumulated traumatic affects.

In addition to the psychotherapeutic effect, the structure of Yoruba magical thinking works with the manipulation of *axé*, the magical forces of all nature and the cosmos, guiding them to support spiritual, psychic, and physiological healing. In this way, the concept of unconscious⁵, proposed by structuralist anthropology, applied to the thinking of African-based religions, *Candomblé* in this case, which are structured by the liturgy of the Yoruba people and with the support of Pierre Verger's studies, the medicinal advantages of Yoruba performance were also evaluated, focusing on the manipulation and knowledge of the herbs that will be used during the rituals.

Finally, in the part of the text intended for this, a discussion was raised to deepen the psycho, physio, and pharmacological effectiveness of Yoruba thought. In this sense, in addition to the search for transcendence, it is argued that Yoruba religions benefit in a psycho, physio, pharmacological, and socio-anthropological way from the ritual effects originating from knowledge passed on orally.

To this end, it is essential to revisit the writings on the construction of structural anthropology to understand, to some extent, what is called the unconscious and the applicability of this concept to the thoughts of the religions of the Yoruba peoples and then to discuss the symbolization and the objective results of the rituals.

⁵ This concept will be discussed further in the section on it in this article.

Lévi-Strauss's structuralist anthropology

To understand Claude Lévi Strauss' Structural Anthropology, it is necessary to a brief recap of the French School of Anthropology, headed by Marcel Mauss, responsible for introducing the idea of systematized thinking in structures, to understand the categories of thought.

Like Structural Anthropology, French Anthropology has also sought to carry out collective representations based on empirical data and considering the totality to understand them. So, this goes beyond the sum of the parts, assessing individual and collective consciousness (due to *coerciveness*), and as a result, there is an abstraction of both the totality and the representative categories.

That said, it is possible to state that the French School of Anthropology sought the social origin of symbols in the case of a sociological theory of signs, as confirmed by Merleau Ponty (1991):

By conceiving the social as a symbol, he had achieved the means of respecting the reality of the individual, the social, and the variety of cultures without making them impermeable to each other. A broader reason should be able to penetrate even the irrational of magic and the gift: “First of all, he [Mauss] said, it is necessary to establish the largest possible catalog of categories; It is necessary to start from all those that can be known to have been used by men. We will then see that there are still many dead, or pale, or obscure moons in the firmament of reason [...]” (MERLEAU PONTY, 1991, p. 125, our translation).

However, based on Claude Lévi Strauss, although some considerations were maintained, such as the idea of the need to systematize structures and consider the parts to understand the totality, the formative construction of symbols was developed based on societal systematization, based on Saussure, the master of Linguistics, responsible for structuring the idea itself, which would later become a theoretical affiliation. From that moment on, Saussure's Structuralism was incorporated into Anthropology, covering some postulates of Social Anthropology, as already explained, considering that:

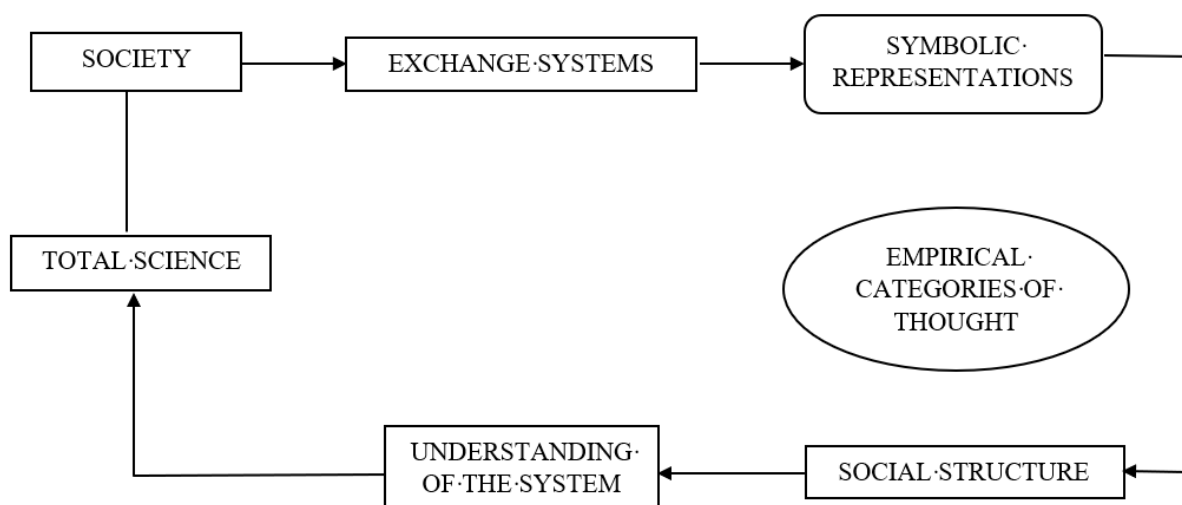
This conception will be called Structure how exchange is organized in a sector of society or the entire society. Social facts are neither things nor ideas: they are structures. The term, now excessively used, initially had a precise meaning. [...] In linguistics, too, Structure is a concrete, incarnated system. When it was said that the linguistic symbol is diacritical – that it operates only through its difference, through a certain deviation between it and other signs, and not initially by evoking a positive meaning – Saussure made sensitive the

unity of language beyond explicit meaning a systematization that occurs in it before its ideal principle is known. For social anthropology, society is made of systems of this kind: the system of kinship and filiation (with the convenient rules of marriage), the system of linguistic exchange, the system of economic exchange, art, myth, and ritual... Society itself is the totality of these interacting systems. By saying that these are structures, we distinguish them from the "crystallized ideas" of ancient social philosophy. Individuals living in a society do not necessarily know the principle of exchange that governs them, just as speaking individuals do not need to undergo linguistic analysis of their language to speak. They would rather practice the Structure as self-evident. If it can be said, she rather "own" them than they own them. If we compare it with language, let it be with the living use of the word or even with its poetic use, in which words seem to speak for themselves and become beings... (MERLEAU PONTY, 1991, p. 126, our translation).

Ponty (1991), finalizing the definition, adds that Structure has two faces: the sense that organizes it according to an inner principle and the elements it possesses, the real and the model constructed from it, to serve as a support for the scientist to understand existing societies, but "it is not a question of replacing the real with the model. In principle, structure is not a platonic idea" (MERLEAU PONTY, 1991, p. 126-127, our translation).

From the above, Anthropological Structuralism seeks universality of analysis and understanding through the examination of the theory of kinship through the experience of symbolic representations inserted in each context, including observation in the process of knowledge construction. Showing that knowledge is complementary and not exclusive as it comes from different theoretical aspects. So much so that when researching "Structuralism," the Oxford Languages dictionary (2023) defines it as "associated movement esp. to Claude Lévi-Strauss 1908-, who proposes to analyze social relations in terms of abstract relational structures, often expressed in logical symbolism" (ESTRUTURALISMO, 2023, our translation). All the above can be summarized according to the systematization shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1 – Systematization of structuralist anthropological thought



Source: own authorship

Therefore, society occurs through exchange systems constituted by symbolic representations arising from empirical categories of thought. Together, they result in the social structure that allows the understanding of the system, resulting in the total science that returns to society, closing the structure.

Considering the intra-relational (between the same societal groups) and inter-relational (between different societal groups) forms, symbols identified and systematically developed by the researchers, which expressed hidden symbologies, were worked within their context of symbolic representations to find the definition of society based on the understanding of the construction of the data provided.

Given the above, it can also be stated that Claude Lévi Strauss considered that the categories of thought were the result of the sums of text (symbols) and context, which would enable a total science (universality), coming from the general unconscious to all individuals, but which is only achieved through systematization.

Therefore, it is a consensus that Claude Lévi Strauss initiated the debate between Psychology and Sociology about the categories of thought, as he considered the concept of total social⁶ fact – apprehended through the relationship between subjective unconscious – postulated by Mauss, as pervading all spheres social, such as Sociology, History, and

⁶ A social fact is any way of doing things, whether fixed or not, which can exert external coercion on the individual or which is general throughout a given society and at the same time has an existence of its own, independent of its manifestations," Durkheim in *The Rules of Sociological Method*, 1895.

Physiopsychology. All this is expressed in the excerpt in which Merleau Ponty (1991) addresses the implications of symbolic meaning:

[...] In this case, we are dealing precisely with forms of culture that made scientific knowledge and a cumulative and progressive social life possible. Culture, in its records, if not the most beautiful, at least the most effective, would rather be a transformation of nature, a series of mediations in which the structure never emerges suddenly as pure universal. What can we call, other than history, this environment in which a burdened form of contingency suddenly opens a cycle of the future and governs it with the authority of the established? It is certainly not the history that would intend to compose the entire human field of events located and dated in serial time and instantaneous decisions, but this history that knows well that myth, legendary time always pursue, in different forms, human endeavors, which seeks beyond or below the partial events, and which is precisely called structural history. It is an entire regime of thought established with this notion of structure, whose current fortune in all fields responds to a need of the spirit. For the philosopher, structure, present outside us in natural and social systems and within us as a symbolic function, indicates a path outside the subject-object correlation that dominates philosophy from Descartes to Hegel. It makes us understand how we find ourselves with the historical world in a kind of circuit, in which man is eccentric, and the social only finds its center in him (MERLEAU PONTY, 1991, p. 133, our translation).

Therefore, while French Anthropology sought the symbolic explanation relating to a given society, Claude Lévi Strauss postulated that the categories of thought, developed in a Structure, are the bases for symbolic understanding, that is, from then on, one could achieve the general knowledge of the symbols common to any society, bases for the postulated concepts.

Regarding the postulations made by Claude Lévi Strauss, he states that it is necessary to seek the symbolic origin of society, decomposing the social clothing of culture to identify the symbols that are the universal parameters, that is, the model must be detached from the phenomenon experienced, as characters vary between societies, but represent universal concepts that decomposing signs can discover.

To better understand the implication of these factors in communication, it is necessary to explain the difference between signs, symbols, and concepts before explaining the categories of thought. The sign is responsible for establishing the parameters of society, only existing where there is a difference, as it is an exchange relationship between the signifier and signified and the interlocutor and receiver. Once all symbolic parameters are considered relational to each other, one does not mean without the other; there is only a signifier when it means with and for the other, thus becoming a reality.

Therefore, while the sign is the contextual representative unit, the symbol is the representation through the union of these units, and the concept becomes the representation with universal meaning independent of the context.

Considering these endings and their relationships, Claude Lévi Strauss states that, consequently, objectivity ends up being relativized since the observer is an intrinsic part of the observation, concluding that the problem posed to Anthropology at that time was communication, as when the world became a symbol, it was not wholly understood, generating a continuous-discontinuous gap between communicators. It is based on this statement that Merleau Ponty (1991) concludes his text on the theoretical contributions of Lévi-Strauss:

[...] Claude Lévi-Strauss does not intend to assimilate complex systems deductively and dogmatically to simple systems. He thinks, on the contrary, that historical treatment is indispensable about them – through the Middle Ages, through Indo-European and Semitic institutions – and that historical analysis will impose the distinction between a culture that prohibits incest and the denial of simple direct or immediate nature, and another culture – that which is at the origin of contemporary kinship systems – that uses cunning with nature and sometimes circumvents the prohibition of incest. This second type of culture proved capable of engaging in a "melee with nature," creating science, man's technical domination, and cumulative history. [...] Therefore, from the point of view of modern kinship systems and historical societies, exchange as a direct or immediate negation in nature would emerge as the limiting case of a more general relationship of otherness. Only then will the ultimate meaning of Lévi-Strauss's first research be definitively established, the profound nature of exchange and symbolic function. Social anthropology moves towards an assessment of the human spirit and towards a vision of what it is and can be... Thus, Research feeds on facts that initially seemed foreign to it, acquires new dimensions as it progresses, and reinterprets its first results for the recent investigations it initiated. The extent of the open field and the precise intelligence of facts increase simultaneously. It is by these signs that a great intellectual attempt can be recognized (MERLEAU PONTY, 1991, p. 134-135, our translation).

The notion of the system

In *The Effectiveness of Symbols* (1975 Lévi-Strauss presents a set of structural laws called "symbolic function." Subsequently, the term "symbolic function" gave way to the ideas of symbolic thought, which shows the presence of symbolism in the author's work.

Further on, in *The elementary structures of kinship*, Lévi-Strauss (2012) begins using Saussure's linguistics to exemplify the field of the symbolic. For him, an element of culture should not be interpreted by itself but rather when placed in conjunction with one or several other aspects. Likewise, there is not a single interpretation but a set of variations, which Lévi-Strauss calls codes, in which symbolic oppositions are interpreted.

Furthermore, the symbolic is a condition that precedes society and not a consequence of it. Culture, in turn, is defined as a set of symbolic systems, the most important of which are language, art, science, religion, marriage, and economic relations.

Lévi-Strauss's structural anthropology could not be defined solely in cultural terms since, when language is aligned, the neophyte gains an essentially human designation. Humanity has a character that interacts not only with cultural phenomena but also with natural phenomena.

Thus, it is between nature and culture that we come across the object of this anthropology: *the symbolic*, human, and unconscious structures conferred from the structural analyses of cultural phenomena. Since the unconscious for the anthropologist is located between nature and culture, it becomes universal, enabling a unique perception of reality. Such perception results from the request of an unconscious singularity of social phenomena.

Again, in *The Effectiveness of Symbols* (1975), the logical model is evident, the structure that permeates social facts, the symbolic function as a law of the unconscious organization of human societies, and the unconscious as an organ whose role would be to impose structural laws. For the French anthropologist, the function of the unconscious is just this: to impose structural regulations on phenomena.

Symbolic thinking ranges from art to religion, all areas becoming the passage from the conscious to the unconscious, and there are two types of symbolism: one relating to the *collective* and one relating to the individual sphere. The unconscious corresponds to an impersonal conduct that examines the relationships between contents based on the notion of a system, as in structural linguistics, to elucidate the general laws that govern social institutions.

The logic of structuralist linguistics focuses on the underlying rules and conventions that enable language to operate the implicit and hidden logic behind our speech. To ensure a better understanding of the study of language, it is separated into *langue* (language, the formal system of language that governs speech events) and *parole* (word itself, speech, or speech events). For Lévi-Strauss, this science aims to study linguistic phenomena at an unconscious level and provide an analysis that rejects the study of terms as independent, since by relating the terms, the notion of the *system* is obtained.

The Effectiveness of Yoruba Magical Thought Introduction

For the Yoruba people who occupied part of Brazil as enslaved people, the mythology of early times recalls periods in which the *Orishas* inhabited the Earth and how everyone who lived here communed with them (PRANDI, 2001). These *itans* (legends) produce prototype events, in which it is possible to use them to interpret current situations for the benefit of the adept since the symbology of these events becomes a constant presence in their lives (SANTOS, 2020).

Being then the essence of the mythical and mystical narrative, they triggered an entire process of religious-behavioral construction that culminated in what is known today as *Candomblé*. Undergoing even more transformations caused by time (*Orisha Iroko, in Candomblé de Ketu*), Yoruba rites also allowed the emergence of Umbanda, Jurema, and several other forms of religious expression of this sacred transatlantic.

The word *Orixá* (Orisha), searching in the Yoruba language glossary, comes from the conjunction of two other words: "*Ori*," head; "*Xá*," which comes from "*Axé*," energy, strength (PRANDI, 2001). Therefore, the implicit and explicit idea of the *Orixás* is based on the conception of the individual's immanent force: a force that inhabits the mind and drives us.

By association, in a Freudian reading, it is possible to call this force libido. However, this would limit analytical capacity since the Yoruba cult demonstrates some degree of agency, and the idea of libido would be much more linked to psychobiology.

Therefore, we will continue within the Yoruba vocabulary so that this language can be objective and indicate possible interpretations. The mental energies, the Orishas structure and give meaning to the external world in such a way that even outside the reach of the saint's houses, the place of worship of the Orishas, the neophyte is subject to sanctions (*quizilas*) by them. This because:

As the religion of the *oriṣa* is experienced in each one of us, we begin to understand that the rites are symbolic expressions of man's interaction with divinity, in the same way that we understand the teaching that an *omo oriṣa* is a sanctuary in which the deity dwells.

In this way, the experience of the Yoruba cult, based on its myths, crystallizes facts that produce a structure of thought that forms the unconscious (LÉVI-STRAUSS, 1975) and has actions and reactions based on pre-existing situations.

This happens, as already stated and brilliantly explained by Lévi-Strauss, due to the collective unconscious that structures, that is, dictates laws and truths to be followed. In this

sense, the *modus operandi* of the Orishas exercises on the level of this unconscious, as suggested etymologically.

Thus, for the level of explanation, what is called the *agency effect of Candomblé* would be close to what Evans Pritchard (2005) described Witchcraft in *Azande* culture in *Witchcraft, oracles, and magic among the Azande* (2005). *Azande* Witchcraft and Brazilian Candomblé are part of a rational and coherent system of thought.

Through this system, it is possible to give meaning not only to objective events, as our Western consciousness does, but also to unforeseen events: this is the case of a saint's daughter who, by sewing her worship skirt in the wrong way, and in the wrong colors of the Orisha, the unforeseen events that precede are, involuntarily, against itself (*quizilas*) (BASSI, 2016).

However, if, on the one hand, there is harm to the agencies of the individual who adheres to Yoruba ritualism, its healing capacity, *psychophysiologicaly*, is also true. As demonstrated by Lévi-Strauss (1975), through the *Cunas* of Panama, *psychodramatic representation* has therapeutic effects.

In addition to the effectiveness suggested by psychodrama therapy, the writer Pierre Verger (1995) demonstrates, based on ethnographic and botanical research, that the potential of many of the plants used by the Yoruba is *supra axé*, that is, it has both spiritual/magical possibilities and pharmacological effects. It is up to the spiritual leader, mothers and fathers of saints or *Babalawos*, to make their indications of use, for good or for evil, because, as the legend of the arrival of the *Iyami* (Bird Women) on Earth says: the force of creation landed in seven trees, three were good and another three were terrible, while the seventh was neither good nor bad, giving human beings the freedom to use magical properties (VERGER, 1992).

In this way, Verger admits a need for ritualistic, magic words to be pronounced to awaken the *axé* of the plants for the benefit of the adept. Reacting both to the magical material used and to the rituals, words, gestures, etc., the patient is enabled to confront their problems psychically, biologically, and spiritually, healing the damage they caused.

Thus, it is conceivable to argue that the effectiveness of Yoruba rituals goes through processes of *ab-reaction*, in terms of psychoanalysis, and achieves pharmacological effects through the conscious manipulation of certain herbs in a ritualistic context, in addition to its spiritual objective of transcending the human and putting it in contact with ancestry.

This is because, according to Lévi-Strauss (1975), these ritualistic aims to bring to the conscious level situations or, in this case, prohibitions that remained in the unconscious sphere,

whether through repression or other psychological forms, which allow the resolution of certain *quizilas*. In the author's words:

Conflicts and resistances dissolve, not because the patient gradually becomes aware of them, real or supposed, but because this knowledge makes possible a specific experience in which conflicts take place in an order and on a plan that allows their free unfolding and leads to its outcome (*idem*, 1975, p. 214).

Accordingly, this essay proposal begins by arguing that due to Lévi-Strauss' idea of the unconscious, Yoruba magical thinking can be mobilized, which structures actions and reactions on the objective and subjective planes, to generate positive effects, both spiritually, psychically, and physiologically in the individuals.

Final considerations

Considering the aspects observed and presented here, it is clear that for the Yoruba, the *Orishas* represent symbolism, an energy that resides in the mind of the being and drives it but that also structures the objective world, explaining situations beneficial or harmful to an individual, whether through *quizilas* or energy extracted from plants. Similar beliefs have been in the *Azandes* in Central Africa, while magical practices with plants characteristic of the Yoruba have been observed in natives of Panama.

Through the study of the unconscious, a human characteristic par excellence and, therefore, present in all men, it is possible to relate different elements and obtain a notion of the system that structures cultural productions and human social relations, both in Africa and Panama. This notion of unconscious and symbolic structure constitutes a hallmark of structuralist anthropology, founded by the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss.

Furthermore, the author sought to find, through the understanding of linguistics, the unconscious infrastructure to the detriment of conscious phenomena. Through the idea of the system, linguistics also brings a method for structural anthropology, relating terms and establishing general laws.

In his method, Lévi-Strauss infers the construction of models, focusing on unconscious models. Just as occurs in language, the anthropologist understands that other social phenomena can undergo an analysis capable of totalizing objective realities constituted by systems of relationships, which result from the spirit's unconscious activity. Ultimately, Lévi-Strauss aims to reduce collective consciousness to just expressions of unconscious universal laws in the individual.

VERGER, P. F. **Esplendor e decadência do culto de Ìyàmi Òsòròngà “Minha mãe, a feiticeira” entre os Iorubas.** São Paulo: Corrupio, 1992.

VERGER, P. F. **Ewé, o uso das plantas na sociedade Ioruba.** São Paulo: Companhia das letras/Odebrecht, 1995.

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