The Ladies Of The Water: Iemanjá, Oxum, Oiá And A Living Faith

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Rio Vermelho neighborhood, city of Salvador, Bahia, Brazil, February 2nd, 2005: I was there for the first time in my life on the last day of my holiday. My holidays were carefully planned to finish there, on one of the biggest events of Salvador’s religious calendar: the celebrations to Iemanjá, the Queen of the sea, the Goddess of salt water, the Mother of the orishas. I went there with a friend, and we arrived at the seashore around 10 am. From the bus stop and through the streets which led to the sea, hundreds of people were selling religious articles, bijouteries, perfumes, and flowers: thousands and thousands of flowers, especially roses, mainly white ones.

1 “The one who is godless/ And saw miracles as I did/Knows that gods without God/Constantly arise /Don’t get tired of waiting/And the heart/ Who is sovereign and who is master/ Doesn’t fit in slavery/Doesn’t fit in your no/Is overjoyed with so many yes/It’s pure dance and sex and glory/And floats beyond history...” (Miracles of the People).

2 The names of the goddesses are African and can be written differently according the phonetics of different languages. I adhere to the overall Brazilian Portuguese spelling.

3 Generic name given to the Nago-Yoruba divinities.
The name Iemanjá comes from the yoruba expression Yèyè omo ejá - "mother whose kids are fishes". This deity was brought to Brazil by African slaves (c. 1530—1888). Iemanjá is the best known deity of African-origin religion, at least in Brazil, whose fundamental representations, the so-called “orishas”, are those related to the vital forces of existence. This religion survived in Brazil both in its more African forms - as in the Candomblé - and in syncretized forms with religious elements of European and indigenous cultures – as in Umbanda. Iemanjá is known all along the Brazilian coastline in addition to Rio Vermelho’s festival, She can also be seen and honored in many festivals at New Year’s Eve celebrations where she is offered with flowers and gifts thrown into the sea by people in thanksgiving and by those asking Her some special blessing. And as pointed out in Armando Vallado (2002, p. 226), Iemanjá is part of a socio-religious phenomenon that is present not only in the cult centers in Candomblé and Umbanda, but also in the large popular festivals on Brazilian beaches⁴, in people’s conversations, and in many cultural expressions. She therefore is known by everyone in Brazil – even by followers of other religions. For the Brazilian people, both with a higher and a lower degree of education, or different ways of understanding Iemanjá, both in sacred and in profane ways, She is the Queen of the Sea, and Her festivities are shown in magazines, newspapers and tv networks. For that alone, “Iemanjá is Brazilian and African. She’s the great African mother of Brazil” (VALLADO, 2002).

On the seashore, I visited a house built by local fishermen, where they store their crafts and do their business. This building has two sections : the so-called “Casa do Peso” (“House of the Weight”) , for the use of the fishermen, and the “Casa de Iemanjá” (“House of Iemanjá”), a kind of temple to the sea Goddess, and this is the place where gifts are delivered to be taken to the orisha on the day of celebration. The house is located just beside a Catholic church, the Church of Santana. Between the two buildings in another structure especially prepared for the occasion is a long line of people, bringing gifts and flowers, to be taken by boat some kilometers away into the sea, to be offered to

⁴ Vallado describes in his book a February 2nd celebration in the Rio Vermelho neighborhood in Salvador, Bahia, in 1999, as well as a December 8th celebration at Praia Grande, São Paulo- the day dedicated to Our Lady of Conception – and a December 31st celebration in Santos, São Paulo, the latter typically occurring all along the Brazilian Coastline on the last day of each year (2002, p. 168-195).
Iemanjá at the end of the day. On this Wednesday the line of people was itself several kilometers long. Many people were dressed in white, the traditional color of the Afro-Brazilian faiths, many others in their daily working gear, probably because they would have to go to work after their act of faith. Moreover - as is very common in the Brazilian religious universe – on line were also people of other faiths distinct from the Afro-Brazilian ones who, nevertheless, went to praise the Queen of the Sea, and all that She represents. One of the reasons for this wide-spread worship is that Iemanjá is widely syncretized in Brazil and in other places in the Americas, with some epiphanies of Mary, “Our Lady,” the mother of Jesus. So, many people who learned to praise Mary, in the Christian tradition, see something of Her in the very motherly face of Iemanjá. The soul – and the faith - of a people is conceived beyond theologies. Both are images of the archetypal 5 Great Goddess: the Great Mother, the source of life 6.

I intended to wait on line, but there, on a very sunny and especially hot day, the line seemed to me more of a penitence than a celebration. So, I went to the beach, took my shoes off, and climbing some rocks found myself face to face with the sea, in a place where the waves smashed beautifully spreading their white foam around. When I had just gotten there, a huge wave hurled a wall of water in front of me. I was virtually paralyzed, but instead of falling heavily over me, it flowed back and just touched me gently with its drops that fell upon my white dress (bought especially for the occasion) as softly as Summer rain. And suddenly I forgot the wishes and the thanks I had carefully thought to say to Her. And then I was just there, nothing more than being there in front of the sea, with six roses and a gift that I offered to the waves; nothing more than being part of that and of everything at the same time. And at the same time, the celebration was taking place behind me, with the long line of worshippers, and I suddenly understood both those ones who stood on line and the other ones who, like me, had decided not to: both the happy ones and the suffering ones who were there at the same time. Both experienced

5 When we use the term “archetype” and others derived from it we are taking them in the sense of the Carl Gustav Jung’s analytic psychology: as designating the contents of the collective unconscious, that constitute universal and archaic images that have been existing from remote times, and whose most incisive expressions can be found in the myth.
6 About the “Great Goddess Worship”, I would recommend STONE (1978), and her text on “Goddess” at ELIADE (1997).
the sense of penitence and the sense of grace, and a collective religious feeling. I learned
afterwards that around one hundred and fifty thousand people were in Rio Vermelho that
day 7. And they were there to celebrate an act of faith, and joy as well, both in sacred and
profane ways. This was an enormous celebration, centered upon the archetype of the
Great Mother, clothed in the myth of Iemanjá, that joined all those people together.

From the religious point of view, we could perceive what Rudolf Otto (1958, p.120) called “numinous” – the feeling, or experience, or intuition of the holy – and that, according to him, designates the deepest and most fundamental element in all powerful and sincerely felt religious emotion. According to him, such an emotion consists of people’s faith in salvation, trust, love – rational elements - but more than that, there also exists another element, a non-rational factor, a feeling that determines their faith. See Otto(1958, p. 12), …follow it up with every effort of sympathy and imaginative intuition wherever it is to be found, in the lives of those around us, in sudden, strong ebullitions of personal piety and the frames of mind such ebullitions evince, in the fixed and ordered solemnities of rites and liturgies, and again in the atmosphere that clings to the old religious monuments and buildings, to temples and to churches. If we do so we shall find we are dealing with something for which there is only one appropriate expression, mysterium tremendum.

Simultaneously with the festival, on February 2nd 2005, was also the eve of the official beginning of Salvador’s carnival. The city was full of tourists both from other parts of Brazil and from abroad. It is an enormous celebration, and, as noted in Vallado (2002), that’s when carnival really begins, after the “purification in the sea,” after Iemanjá’s celebration, whenever that particular year’s festival takes place. In the Rio Vermelho festival, and maybe especially this year, the religious rite of Iemanjá’s festivity and the profane rite of carnival happen almost at the same time. Eliade (ca.1970), shows us that time and space are fundamental categories which enable us to better understand the phenomenon of the holy. There is a qualitative difference between the nature of space and time in the holy sense, and its nature in the profane – or ordinary – sense. This qualitative difference determines the various different manifestations of the holy. The Iemanjá celebration at Rio Vermelho beach on February 2nd is a space/time phenomenon where both aspects converge, and the power of an archetype, the one of the Great Mother, expressed through a myth – the one of Iemanjá, and others that allow syncretic identifications – shows us its influence beyond the religious and the secular.

Leaving the beach, I saw that the line of people was getting longer and many other things were happening on the boardwalk beside the seashore. From every corner, groups

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7 Source : the Internet site Bahia.com.br (http://www.bahiacom.br), that in a note on the link Salvador – Festas Religiosas – Festa de Iemanjá states that at 5:30 pm., February 2nd 2005 there were around 150.000 people in the Rio Vermelho neighborhood, when, amidst fireworks, 350 boats launched into the sea with the flowers and gifts to Iemanjá.
of religious people from the various terreiros of the city arrived in procession, singing songs in the yoruba language, carrying baskets full of gifts and flowers, and small statues of Iemanjá. At the same time, carnival “blocos” walked by celebrating. I suddenly understood something else: the sacred and the profane didn’t really exclude each other there. The sacred represents the mystery of the totality of life, and, in this sense, even what our limited nature calls “profane” can be considered “sacred”. At the Rio Vermelho celebration, on February 2nd, the conventional distinction was abolished. In any case, the myth endures. Myth, here, must be understood as a locus of sense. The myth of the Queen of the Sea, as do many myths in many cultures, expresses itself through religious categories, but it is also present in people’s imagery through other aspects of culture, from social life to the arts and music.

Suddenly, I saw many young girls dressed in white and blue, from a terreiro’s group. White and blue are the traditional colors of Iemanjá. In the very middle of them, was a little girl dressed in white and yellow, wearing golden ornaments, instead of blue. “A little Oxum”, I thought. Oxum is, the orisha of beauty and joy, the Mother of Gold, the Goddess of the fresh waters. She was also there, and in fact, from a different direction came along a group singing a very popular song to Her, composed by Gerônimo and Zezé Calazans for the TV series Tenda dos Milagres, based on the novel of the same name by Jorge Amado, the well-known Brazilian writer:

\[ \text{Nesta cidade todo mundo é d'Oxum,} \\
\text{Homem, menino, menina, mulher} \\
\text{Toda cidade irradia magia} \\
\text{Presente na água doce} \]

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8 Worship temples of Candomblé and Umbanda.
9 A “bloco de carnaval” is a kind of club or association made up of people who enjoy Carnival dancing; these people get together and form a kind of club which meets, during Carnival time, in order to dance along the streets. These “blocos de carnaval” can bring together as many as 5 or 6 thousand dancers, wildly and merrily dancing the samba along the streets in Salvador, Bahia, and in many other cities and towns across the nation. These “blocos de carnaval” will inevitably attract many tourists, wishing to join in the overall fun.
10 And never, as usually assumed by common-sense, as designating a “fable”, or a “lie”, or the “world vision of pre-rational mind.” The myth exists more in its sense than its narratives, and can be identified in the contemporary world under other forms different from the classical narratives we would identify immediately as “mythic”. The myth has its logos, and a logos that involves apparently contradictory aspects of a given reality, as well as emotional contents regarding the meanings of human life. On the subject, I would recommend the works of Mircea Eliade and Joseph Campbell.
Originally, in Africa, Iemanjá was identified with fresh waters – even the traditional “hail” to Her, “Odò Iyá,” used by people in Brazil to praise Her, is a salutation which means “Mother of the River.” In fact, in Africa, Iemanjá was the orisha of Egbá, a yoruba nation in the region between Ifá and Ibadan, related to the river Yemoja. Forced to migrate due to wars between Yoruba nations, the Egbá moved to the East, to Abeokutá, where the river Ogún became lemanjá’s new domain (VERGER, 1986). Brought to the Americas, and especially to Brazil, Her place of worship was transferred to the sea. Those spreading worship of Iemanjá worship in the Americas tended to consider Her as the Goddess of the Ocean, or the Queen of the Sea, source of fertility, love and sexuality, carrying the attributes of water. She is a guardian and a mother from whose breasts not only the sea but also the orishas were born, according to one of the myths about Her. If we take a look at all Her attributes in Africa and in the Americas, Iemanjá combines the qualities of strength and beauty, respect and joy, sexuality and motherhood. The latter is probably at the root of the strong syncretism with the Roman Catholic epiphanies of Our Lady. With emphasis on this identification, the sanctity of motherhood became the main quality associated with Iemanjá (She is the mother of the orishas, and the mother of people), and besides that, in Brazil, aspects like beauty, sexuality and joy were sooner associated with Oxum, and so were the powers over the fresh waters.

Originally, in Africa Oxum was the Goddess of a river with the same name in the region of Ijexá and Ijebu, Niger. In Brazil, She is the lady of fresh waters such as rivers, lakes, springs and waterfalls. It is not a widespread belief, but She was already called

11 “In this town everybody belongs to Oxum/ Man, boy, girl, woman/The whole town irradiates magic/Present in fresh water/Present in salt water/ And the whole town shines/Be it a lieutenant or a fisherman’s child/ or an important chief judge/ If they bring the gifts/ It’s all one and the same thing / The strength that lives in the water/ Does not distinguish between skin colors/ And the whole town belongs to Oxum…” (It belongs to Oxum).
“the African Venus”, as registered by Murphy and Sanford (2001, p.1). Despite the cultural differences between the African Oxum and in Her diaspora to America, on the one hand, and the Roman Venus, as well as associated with the Greek Aphrodite, we can see the similarity between these representations at an archetypal level. Probably, the elements of European and African influences allowed a kind of identification beyond the symbol – Oxum or Venus - toward the archetypal character of some qualities, such as beauty and sensuality. As “the golden Aphrodite” of the Greeks, Oxum is said in Brazil to be “the Mother of Gold,” and so She is also associated with abundance and fortune. The fresh waters, the ones which our lives depend immediately upon - just consider our bodily needs - may be understood as our ultimate, our essential need, therefore, our essential fortune. From this perspective, She still carries the characteristics of motherhood – She is also said to be the protector of abandoned children – that allows, Her, like Iemanjá, some identification with the Roman Catholic Our Lady. We can thus say that both Iemanjá and Oxum, despite the peculiarity of their cult in the Brazilian social context, and despite some fragmentations due to the “christianization” present in the syncretic interpretation, carry together the most elementary characteristics of an archetypal female. This archetypal female is, in turn, strongly related to the archetypal field of aquatic symbolism.

All these forces of the water and of the feminine are recognized by their axé. This Yoruba word is a term which has various meanings, although it essentially expresses the supernatural force that guarantees existence and allows things to happen (Barros and Napoleão, 1999, p.505). In the case of Iemanjá and Oxum, their inherent power is related to the very source of life, to the waters, whose absence would mean the effective end of life. The archetypal strength of this idea – rather, of this feeling – can be seen at the Rio Vermelho festival and in other parts of the world where such kinds of world vision are still alive. In fact, being at the Rio Vermelho festival means relief and hope for people, wishing and expressing thanks, based on the belief in a force that has to do with this elementary need – literally and symbolically - of our life: Water.

We could try to understand - as I did - what happens at the Rio Vermelho religious festival through some categories related to the religious concepts of time and
space as proposed by Mircea Eliade in his *The Sacred and The Profane*. We could also understand my astonishment at some of these categories, especially the *tremendum* quoted above and which can be summarized as the astonishing feeling of being a small part of wholeness, as suggested by Rudolf Otto (1958). That day at the Rio Vermelho festival, I couldn’t avoid thinking about their books – a scholar’s addiction - and wished they could be there, as passionate scholars dealing with mythology, theology and comparative religion, to see that striking demonstration of faith, or the live presence of the myth in both the Sacred and the Profane. As a living - and palpable - faith, it is concerned with the phenomenon of life in all its apparently contradictory aspects. It is something that the “worship” of reason couldn’t possibly suppress, and that keeps alive a very similar world-vision of the ancient so-called paganism; a world vision that the Semitic patriarchal religions tried to suppress but we can still see, alive and active, in 2005, on a beach somewhere along the coastline of Brazil. Let us also keep in mind what all of us can read in the academic literature about the old faith of archaic cultures: a religion of nature, both of our nature as human beings and of nature as a whole, honored in its most elementary aspects, including the strong emotion involved in it. What is more, we can see there in Rio Vermelho how, in spite of the specific theologies of Catholicism and of Candomblé in their most traditional forms (both disapprove of syncretism), a people’s faith finds its own way of recognizing within a plurality of representations a unique meaning. By a “miracle of the people”, Iemanjá is Our Lady of Conception, as is Oxum in some instances. And, at the same time, in the collective unconscious a relation has been established between water and the feminine, due to their inherent association as sources of life.

It is always astonishing to comprehend intuitively, and not only to understand intellectually, how the cult to the Great Goddess is still alive despite all attempts through history to suppress its rites in the most diverse cultures. Now She is worshipped in different ways in other places where She still dances on the beaches, in the rivers, in the rain. And I can’t help thinking that the loss of perception of the holiness of water is at the root of the problems we will face in this millenium as they relate to water pollution, and even the threat of the scarcity of this resource which is so essential to life. And I use the
word “holy” here not only in the religious sense, but also in a sense of (w)hol(e)y understood through respect for nature as a whole; this has to do with something fundamental, elementary, that is our condition in a way that can be easily accepted even by any atheist: without water we would not exist. It is, put simply, a biological fact. And this fact is so imperative that it transcends factuality and becomes one of the richest complexes of symbolism produced by the human spirit.

Considering it within a religious context or not, water as an archetypal symbol is understood as a primal force of life, for our very subsistence is directly dependent on it. It is a condition *sine qua non* of existence considered as a basic aspect of life, as it is the condition for all animal and vegetable life. The waters are present, literally or analogically, as basic facts of human existence: the blood, the bag of waters (or amniotic fluid), the waters of sexual arousal. Ambiguous in itself, it is at the same time, on the one hand, vital for life, and, on the other hand, it assumes destructive forms – we still have fresh in our memories its overwhelming power as seen in the South Asia tsunamis in December, 2004. The water we need to drink in order to survive is the same that can drown us and lead us to death.

These strong “life and death” characters of water relate it symbolically to the totality of potentials, to the field of all virtualities. So, it is the matrix of all possibilities of existence, as pointed out by Eliade in his *Treatise of History of Religions*, in the chapter on aquatic symbolism (ELIADE, 1990). As he points out, the waters are the basis for all cosmic manifestation, the cradle of all germinations, where all forms arise from and where they will return, be it by regression or cataclysm. They are *fons et origo*. On the ritual side, the immersion in the waters is related to both dissolution and regeneration, as a rebirth (ELIADE, 1990, p.231-2). Water is, thus, a symbol of the essence of life itself. Eliade also points out that water is symbolically compared or connected to the moon: both rhythms are coordinated by the same cyclic destiny, making up an anthropocosmic cycle of fecundity – associated with femininity (ELIADE, 1990, p.232).12

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12 Aquatic symbolism – if we think about it as related to the idea of waters as an archetypal field of representation - is so important that it is present in all cultures and its symbols have variations including the gender ones – as the rain, for instance, is sometimes represented as “masculine”. We are dealing here only with its associations with women.
Chevalier and Gheerbrant (1997) consider that aquatic symbolism has three dominant aspects: as a source of life, purification and regeneration, and they also consider both the creative and the destructive aspects of water. They also regard water as a symbol of unconscious energies, thus related to the most emotional aspects of our beings. Iemanjá is said to be “a dona das cabeças” - the owner of the heads, although each individual can be said to be the son or daughter of one of the sixteen orishas most worshipped in Brazil. In this sense, a myth tells us that, even before the creation of mankind, Olodumaré 13 bestowed upon Iemanjá the power over all the human heads. According to Vallado (2002, p.59), the Yoruba people believe that each person, when born, chooses her/his own head (orí), in such a way that her/his destiny and personal characteristics as well as her/his faith will depend upon this choice. One’s head – the orí – has her/his own existence and must be fed and worshipped, so that one’s head can give happiness to her/his owner. So, as the owner of all heads, Iemanjá has to do with conscience, with our personality, with our emotional imbalance, with our individuality. As a person interviewed by the anthropologist Rita Segato and quoted by Vallado (2002, p. 63) says, we should put ourselves in Iemanjá’s hands, “so that we won’t go crazy over silly things”.

Iemanjá and Oxum may be seen as symbols of the survival of a world vision where nature and mankind are understood as expressions of the same totality, and not only as terms in a subject/object relationship, and where the divinity of the feminine is recognized as an essential vital force, the same as the waters are. Moreover, in the religious sense, their archetypal figures may point to a lost aspect of the relationship between humankind and nature, transformed by our techno-scientific world into a field of exploitation. Despite the pseudo-rationality claimed by our age, this exploitation has a very irrational aspect, as we are now threatened by its poor use, and this is true especially in relation to water, now an urgent issue. On the other hand, on the supposed irrational side of the myth, the sense of interdependence between human nature and its environment still exists, as well as a sense of respect generated by this sense of interdependence. At this dangerous time in our lives that is being shaped by the

13 Supreme Being of the Universe, according the Nago-Yoruba theology. He creates from His own forces the orishas, and entrusted them with the creation of our world.
continuous deterioration of our water resources, it would be vital to rescue this locus of sense that is given by the myth. This is directly related to our survival: if we do not preserve the sense of respect for water, our survival will truly be in danger. We do not need to be religious in order to realize that. We have only to pay attention to our most elementary needs, beyond the “rational” building of contemporary culture, constructed over complicated socio-economic considerations based on the dominant structures of power in the contemporary world.

That day, in Rio Vermelho, wandering around the seashore, I reached a small hill, at the opposite side of the one where the line of people stretched itself. At the foot of the hill there was a very small chapel, dedicated to Saint Barbara. Another lady of the waters in Brazilian syncretism, Saint Barbara is related to Oiá, also called Iansã, who as the song says “comanda os ventos e a força dos elementos na ponta de seu florim” 14. Oiá-Iansã, besides being the orisha responsible for the transport of the souls to the “other world” after death, is also considered to be the Lady of the Storms, the “senhora das nuvens de chuva”15. She is responsible for the fury of the elements, and She has the powerful characteristics of a warrior. As Oxum, she was also present at the Iemanjá celebration: many people went there, and got the blessing given by a Candomblé lady, who takes care of the chapel, through the use of an especially prepared moisture of water perfumed with herbs. There the cycle was complete: the sea, the fresh waters, the rain.

Maybe, in our present situation the warrior qualities of Oiá-Iansã, and the water qualities She represents, related to the fury we can see in the storms, indicate our impotence before its power. This may remind us of the need to pay careful attention to the loss of control when we intervene with nature, which might make nature’s counter-reaction a real threat to our survival. Maybe Oiá-Iansã’s quality of determination can be a call to our conscience in order to fight against this threat, created by ourselves out of our own stupidity. The mechanistic illusion that we can dominate nature has finally turned against ourselves. Oiá-Iansã reminds us that this domination is not possible without eventual dangerous consequences, or even more, that in fact we dominate nothing. The

14 From a Caetano Veloso song, (As Ayabás) : She “commands the winds and the power of elements at the tip of her sword”.
15 “the lady of the rain clouds”.

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world of nature, beyond our human world, in fact involves and demands respect for it. If we don’t restore this respect, nature will probably have no mercy on us. Maybe if we can see nature’s holiness again and if we are able to develop a cooperative way of dealing with it, we can have hope for survival as part of this totality; a totality to which we surely belong.

Leaving Rio Vermelho that day, I wished to be there again, to wake up very early in the morning – maybe lining up with the people – or maybe at the end of the day, to see the various boats leaving with gifts. The second option seems more reasonable: I knew due to Vallado (2002, p. 172), that the line of people usually begins to be formed on the eve of February 2\textsuperscript{nd}. But if the circumstances of life don’t allow it, it doesn’t matter. Brazil has eight thousand kilometers of coast, so much seashore. So anyway, anywhere, we can always remember that. As Caimmy’s song goes...

\textbf{Dia dois de fevereiro},

\begin{center}
\textit{Dia de festa no mar.}
\textit{Eu quero ser o primeiro}
\textit{A saudar Iemanjá.}
\textit{Escrevi um bilhete para ela}
\textit{Pedindo para ela me ajudar.}
\textit{Ela então me respondeu}
\textit{Que eu tivesse paciência de esperar}
\textit{O presente que eu dei p’ra ela}
\textit{De cravos e rosas vingou}
\textit{Chegou, chegou, chegou,}
\textit{Afinal que o dia Dela chegou...}
\end{center}

(“Dois de Fevereiro”, Dorival Caymmi)\textsuperscript{16}

\textbf{REFERENCES :}


\textsuperscript{16} “The second February/Celebration day at the sea-shore/ I want to be the first/ To greet Iemanjá /I wrote her a note/ Asking for her help/ She therefore answered me/ To be patient to wait/ The gift I gave Her/Of carnations and roses had blossomed/ It arrived, it arrived, it arrived/ Her day has arrived after all.”. Song by the well-known Brazilian music composer Dorival Caymmi, to praise Iemanjá.


