

From "Mixed Indians" To "Indigenous Reminders": strategies of ethnocide and ethnogenesis in northeastern brazil

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The indigenous population of the Brazilian Northeast is hardly known outside the country and stigmatized in Brazil itself. Being one of the earliest regions of colonial penetration the Northeast traditionally serves as a reference for sociological reflection on the peasantry and "national folklore" viewed as "typically" syncretic and mesticized. In the following pages I will take the opposite path. I shall examine the phenomenon that has come to be known as "indigenous emergences" (*emergencias indígenas*) and take questions regarding processes of homogenization and heterogenization in relation to state interventions for a guideline in this exploration. The argument will therefore draw on both historical-sociological analysis, concerned with the social conditions of production, and an anthropological approach that privileges the native forms of interpretation and operationalization of these "emergences."

Other indians

In the introduction to the *Atlas das Terras Indígenas do Nordeste* Oliveira (1993) argues that the contents of that publication may surprise the Brazilian public. "Are there indians in the Northeast?" was the opening question of his text by which he recalled that, despite the answers given by anthropologists, the general public persists in this question, not so much out of ignorance which might be remedied but rather as an expression of dissatisfaction with the use of the term "indian" for a population that fails to exhibit the characteristics the term conjures up in the popular as well as the educated imaginary. An imaginary nourished by the archetype of the Amazonian indian or those of the Xingú, inhabitants of the rainforest, preferably nomadic and nude, possessing only an elementary technology and a religion and language of their own.

The indians of the Brazilian Northeast simply do not fit the dominant representation. They are other indians or "indian reminders" as they also have been called, although the generic legal status of "indians" also applies to them, they fall under the same "protective" legislation, and are subject to the actions of the same official indigenist agencies.

As a matter of fact, the more than sixty settlements and twenty-seven indigenous nations that were identified in the region during the 18th century (Dantas et al., 1992) were officially considered extinguished by the end of the 19th century. However, after one group was recognized, in 1926, the regional panorama underwent a radical change. During the following decade three more groups emerged and in the 1940s another eight surfaced. After that, as if a cycle had come to an end, the period from the 1950s to the mid-1970s saw no new "emergences." But when the phenomenon

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manifested itself again in the following decades, it did so with increasing impetus. Between 1977 and 1979 four new groups materialized, followed by fourteen in the 1980s and in the 1990s ten new groups demanded to be recognized as indigenous but this number is provisional in view of the fact that eight of these groups presented their demand this year (1998) so in the end this decade may even be more productive than the previous. Note that at this end of the century the picture is an inversion of what it was a century ago.

Nowadays we count forty indigenous groups in the Brazilian Northeast of which twenty-eight totalling 48,105 persons and distributed over forty-five areas -which only cover 247,889 hectares- already have been recognized by the official indigenist agency (see annex). Even the groups that live in the state of Pernambuco who constitute the largest population in both absolute and relative terms, only occupy 1% of the lands in the state. On the whole the numbers suggest that these groups occupy a little over 0.25% of the Brazilian land surface, though they constitute 17% of its indigenous population, which points to one of the principal specificities of the indigenous question in the Northeast. The conflicts they are involved in basically concern land and disputes with landowners and *grileiros*² over cultivable areas, whereas in the Amazon region, where the largest indigenous areas can be found, conflicts revolve around the control over forest and subsoil natural resources.³

If we look at the relative weight of the indigenous population within the region, another important feature emerges. The 19,131 indians in Pernambuco represent 26% of the total population of the state and the indigenous population of the six states that constitute the Northeast region accounts for 12% of the total population or 29% of the rural population. That is to say that even if their importance in terms of ecology, landholding or even ethnological originality may be quite limited, their social political and symbolic relevance is rising. Over the past years, and particularly last year, the expansion of these groups has received increasing media attention, both in the press and on tv, which in turn has feed-back effects that contribute to their self-esteem and fuel further expansion.

These groups are marked by the duplicity of simultaneously being "remainders" and "emergent," qualities that may be semantically contradictory but which are historically complementary. They are *remainders* because it was not possible to simply call them indians. They were groups of *caboclos* supposedly descending from settled indians but "not possessing anymore" as a functionary of the indigenist agency expressed it, "the exterior signs" as recognized by "ethnological science" (Arruti, 1996a). They are *emergent* since they represent the appearance of new ethnic identities that do not display any obvious continuity with historical indigenous peoples but rather are the outcome of processes of ethnogenesis through the recuperation and recreation of features that allow them to surface from the rich but indistinct and syncretic northeastern or *sertaneja*⁴ culture. The semantic contradiction *emergent/remaining* reflects the paradox, characteristic of the region but not confined

² *Grileiro*: an individual who seeks to appropriate lands through fraudulent titles.

³ The numbers were updated but they confirm the characterization by Oliveira (1993).

⁴ *Sertanejo*: inhabitant of the *sertao*, the arid interior of the Northeast, far from larger settlements and cultivated areas; the sparsely populated interior, far from the coast.

to it, that such situations present for indigenist ideology since it twists its train of thought and inverts the thrust of an ideology that was to provide the bases for a nation building project.⁵

Weber (1989) reminded us that the outcomes of political activity rarely correspond to the initial intention of the actor. If the reason for being of official indigenism was to transform indians into workers for the nation and to accelerate and control the "transition" of this population from the "fetishist stage" to the "positive stage," it was precisely its historical spin that allowed various groups of national workers to turn into indians. Here too, the relation between the intention and the outcome is paradoxical.

My interpretation of the current process of ethnic identification revolves around questions concerning the notion of "mixture" -biological, social and cultural- which is at the heart of the *remainder/emergent* double and which permits, motivates and is a product of a ceaseless interaction between culture and politics. As Oliveira (1998) notes, the expression "mixed indians," frequently used in discourse on these groups, has taken an important place in the formulations of State agents since the past century and should be the object of analysis that goes beyond the mere denunciation of its ethnocentric nature so that it can be used at a theoretical level to decipher the values, strategies and expectations of the variety of interacting actors in this field.

The notion of "mixture" actually deserves much more attention than the space of this article allows for. Depending on time, space and political positions the notion took different ambiguous and contradictory connotations. It can be found in the discussions on folklore, religious syncretisms and in the so-called "racial studies." In less elaborated but perhaps more effective forms it appears in the writings of regional and local politicians or ordinary interaction. At times a source of disgrace or conversely of identity and pride, its historical and contextual variations as well as its appropriation as a fundamental component of the national cosmology still await further exploration.⁶

In this article the ethnographic perspective is privileged to examine the place this question takes in the political and ritual dynamics among a significant cluster of indigenous groups that can be referred to as the "Pankararú trunk." In this venture the ancient missionary settlement (*aldeamiento*) of Brejo dos Padres will be the point of departure and at the end of our journey I will develop some further considerations on the paradoxes that the politics of tutelage imprint on the relations between the Brazilian State and the socio-political diversity which is recovered as indigenous.

Ethnocide

⁵ On another occasion I explored the implications of this ambiguity more extensively in relation to the black rural population in Brazil which of late, being officially recognized as "remainders of *quilombos*" (*palenques*, *marrones*) also counts with the possibility of having their property rights to land guaranteed (Arruti, 1997).

⁶ Elsewhere in a bibliographic study I examined the ways in which the theme presented itself in the work of an important Brazilian anthropologist (Arruti, 1996b).

The Conquest of Northeastern Brazil was characterized by an irregular and variable movement of always reversible experiments and moves that marked a never united nor homogeneous front of expansion. The mode of expansion is better represented by the image of an archipelago than by the idea of a progressive and definite archlike advance into open space. The efforts and violence of State and private incursions toward the interior of the *sertao* only succeeded in establishing small areas of civilization, islands of commerce, subsistence agriculture or cattle raising that lasted some months or years to dissolve again into the emptiness of the landscape or succumb under the "ferocity" of the Tapuia and the *quilombolas*.⁷

The spatial distribution of indigenous settlements in the northeastern states is the product of this irregular movement that large and by followed the course of the San Francisco River and its principal affluents. Once it had overcome indigenous resistance at the mouth of the river, in 1572, the colonial movement that initially occupied the coastal *zona de mata* followed these waterways into the *agreste* and from there attempted to penetrate the *sertao*. These ventures were interrupted in 1630 by the Dutch occupation of the left bank of the San Francisco and only were taken up again after the "Pernambucan Restoration" of 1654 when they began to be carried out in more systematic fashion, particularly after 1667 when the Portuguese government encouraged groups of *bandeirantes* from Sao Paulo en Bahia to search for gold and precious stones at the headwaters of the river.⁸ Since that time up to the 19th century the conquest of the *sertao*, which mostly was synonymous with the annihilation or control of its indigenous population, proceeded through a succession of strategies (Arruti, 1996a). Here I will only give a general outline of the latest of these strategies.

The strategy of mixing

The earliest strategy had been the *strategy of war* aimed at opening up lands and to enslave the indigenous population. It entailed high military costs and caused a dispersion of the resisting indigenous population. Next came the *strategy of conversion* which equally became functional to the liberation of lands through its policy of regrouping the indigenous population, dispersed as a result of the military incursions, into organized and productive missionary settlements (*aldeamentos*). The missionaries also managed to occupy vast areas that until then had not been cultivated, but this had the disadvantage that the population remained beyond the direct reach of large landowners and the government. The *strategy of mixing*, finally, combined the control over resources with a conciliation of divergent interests and, to all appearances, brought the process of conquest to a close.

⁷ Escaped slaves who established settlements (*quilombos*) in remote areas of the interior (Editor's note).

⁸ At the end of the 17th century the most powerful *latifundium* enterprise of the San Francisco *serto*, the Casa Torre, sent an army of 900 white men, 200 subdued indians, 100 *mamelucos* (half-breeds), 150 slaves and a couple of missionaries to explore the interior of the *sertoes* de Rodelas, Paraiba, Rio Grande do Norte, Ceara, Piaui and even Maranhao (Hornaert, 1992).

The first step in the strategy consisted in the policy of "reunions." After the elimination of the earthly powers of the missionaries in the settlements, the transformation of the settlements into boroughs (*villas*) and of missionaries into parish priests (1758), and following upon the official promotion of marriages between Portuguese and Indians (1775) (Hoornaert, 1992), part of the settlements now was dismantled on the argument that they only counted a few survivors. Their population was "reunited" in other villages which accelerated the loss of characteristic features among the population as well as the liberation of new lands.

Next, the relative "isolation" of the indigenous population that the villages still allowed for came under attack of the imperial administration that, besides transforming these already constituted and economically and politically structured settlements into cities under secular administration, encouraged the occupation of their lands by non-indigenous in order to create a homogeneous population. The final touch in this strategy was the 1850 Land Law which, among other things, ordered the incorporation into State property of the lands of Indians "who live dispersed and intermixed with the civilized population" (Cunha, 1992).

At the time, it is worth noting, the issue of land and the argument of smallness of groups to justify regrouping into villages already was superseded by arguments in which behavioral characteristics served to decide whether such populations still could be considered indigenous. The commissions that were sent out to the various states to determine which lands were to be incorporated into the public domain thus also were charged with the task of assessing to what point the populations of indigenous settlements had maintained their traditions and their autonomy in relation to regional society and then to register and measure their lands in view of their incorporation.

The demarcation of public lands ran parallel to the gradual abolishment of slavery, the encouragement of foreign immigration and the design of new forms of control over the rural poor such as the different types of "colonies" (agrarian, military and those for the indigent, orphans, etc.). It entailed an intense search for the exact balance between the tutelage over this population, as "order" demanded, and the liberation of men and land as required by "progress." Therefore, the extinction of the indigenous settlements of the Northeast can not simply be thought of as series of interventions that can be chronologically ordered as reflecting the deployment of an indigenist policy according to an internal logic of its own. One should take account of the broader context that influences the agenda of interventions and control of the rural poor at a moment of transformation of labor relations and transition towards capitalism.⁹

It is against this background that the Report of the Commission for Demarcation of lands in the province of Pernambuco included the final recommendation that "in the repartition of lands care should be taken that the indians who receive lands should not be allowed to alienate it for this is the

⁹ In 1808, when some of the reforms introduced by Pombal were reversed and "just wars" were reintroduced along with the right to enslave the indigenous, this enslavement nonetheless was envisioned as temporary and dressed up with pedagogic justifications that reflect the ideology concerning the evolution of these populations: those who took the responsibility for captured indians were to take care of their education in agriculture, crafts and religion.

only way to tie them to the land." When, for example, in 1877 a provincial decree extinguished the settlement of Brejo dos Padres its lands were distributed not only among some of the indigenous families of the settlement and among the political clientele of local landowners but also among slaves who were being freed and otherwise might disperse throughout the provincial territory. In one stroke the local oligarchy extinguished what may have been the last indigenous settlement of the *sertao*, dealt with the imminent abolition of slavery and created a local labor reserve while, to be sure, another important step was taken in concocting a "mixture" of indian, black and white.

The indigenist program

When at the beginning of this century official indigenism made its appearance one of the epithets given to its mentor (or should we say patron saint?) was that of "civilizer of the last frontier" (Coutinho, 1975), a formula that neatly condenses most of the putative significations of this ideology and State undertaking. Created in 1910 as dependency of the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Trade, the *Serviço de Proteção ao Índio e Localização de Trabalhadores Nacionais* (SPILTN) soon took the profile of a colonization agency. Its interventions were directed towards the areas of expansion of the agrarian frontier in the West and subsequently the North region. Its objectives were national incorporation of the interior, localization (in the sense of settlement) of the labor force, opening of new lands and reduction of the costs of the "frontier." And its lexicon included: isolated groups, attraction, pacification, phases of acculturation and non-traumatic assimilation.

Both protection and settlement were to be operationalized through control over access to property and training of the labor force, the former through the establishment of *postos indígenas* and the latter through agricultural centers with clear geopolitical intentions.¹⁰ The Service was created in the context of bureaucratic-administrative construction that characterized Brazil's First Republic and was marked by the transition from slavery to new forms of legally free labor and by an agrarian crisis that principally affected the weaker fractions of the landed class.

In 1918 the "LTN" part of the Service was dropped, but the programmatic intention to transform the indians into small rural producers capable to sustain themselves and to enter the national labor market remained. The legal instrument to sustain such efforts had been created in 1911 when the legal figure of State tutelage over indigenous populations was introduced in the Civil Code. They thus were brought into a category similar to the minor or the foreigner who for their ignorance or limited knowledge of the dominant code can not be held legally responsible and who, in this sense, constitute a danger to the public order (cf. Oliveira, 1988). These populations had to be attracted

¹⁰ In his critique of the official history of the SPI Lima (1992) takes issue with the concealment of this institutional link and the duplicity of tasks which in fact included an important economic and geopolitical dimension. He thus refutes the idea that the SPI was created as a result of a supposedly broad public debate that would have taken place between 1908 and 1910 over proposals to exterminate the indigenous population of the country and the reactions to such proposals. This myth still informs the latest versions of the official history of the agency (cf. Gagliardi, 1989).

and pacified to become workforce already "acclimated" to the labor of clearing lands for colonization. However, when in 1934 the agency became a dependency of the Ministry of War as part of the Special Frontier Inspectorate these populations were attributed new tasks that reinforced the geo-political function as "guardians of the frontier." Under such circumstances there would be little reason for the agency to extend its activities to the Northeast, a well integrated region of ancient colonization.

This also was the view of the first academics and others interested in the indigenous thematic of the region. Up to the 1930s these were basically foreigners whose interest went out to historical material such as reports by missionaries and travellers to find out about the ethnic groups that had disappeared, what their "contribution to the advance of civilization" had been, etc. By the turn of the decade, when the existence of "remaining groups" of the ancient nations had come to be known, local students started to visit them in search for folkloric and linguistic curiosities considered to be in the process of disappearing and, above all, to gain insight into the broader composition of the Northeastern population and folklore in order to achieve a better understanding of national culture.

Ethnogenesis

The deployment of indigenism in the Northeast

The first case of recognition of an indigenous group in the Northeast occurred through the intermediation of Padre Alfredo Pinto Dâmaso. In 1921, he undertook the voyage from the city of Aguas Bellas in the Pernambucan *sertao* to the federal capital Rio de Janeiro "as spokesman ...of the Carijós indians" (Dâmaso, 1931) to seek support from the SPI.¹¹ The outcome was that in 1924 the first *Posto Indígena* of the Northeast was set up on the lands of the extinguished settlement of Ipanema.¹² It was to act as a "genuine agricultural patronage" (Dâmaso, 1931). In Dâmaso's view the protection of the Northeastern indian was not only a humanitarian act. It also was politically sensible in protecting the rural poor from the political ebullition of the period, and it was economically rational since, in contrast to the elites of the Southeast (who promoted the "whitening" immigration of Europeans), the *padre* regarded this marginalized population as the "hands" so much needed as "an element of labor and economic prosperity..." (Dâmaso, 1931), convictions fully compatible with the logic of indigenist action of those times.

On the other hand, the former "Carnijó" and present Fulni-ô, are the group that exhibits the clearest

¹¹ The Carijó to which he referred nowadays are known under the name of Fulni-ô (see annex) and live in a settlement that was created in 1705. In 1861 it was extinguished by law and in 1877 it was effectively partitioned into private plots (PETI, 1993).

¹² Only after a dispute with the provincial government indigenous rights over these lands, including the city that had developed there, were recognized. The area came to be administrated by the SPI which was to tutor these "descendants of the Carijó" on their way to emancipation (Peti, 1993).

diacritical markers setting them off from the rest of the population in the region. They speak their own tongue (latê), maintain rituals strictly forbidden to outsiders and, like no other group in the region, restrict the entry of newcomers to their community. Given these "traits" it was not too difficult to persuade the SPI to recognize them as the last group to have resisted the onslaught of civilization in these lands. The event drew attention among contemporary ethnologists but also beyond the confines of these restricted circles as it resounded among a series of other communities with whom the Fulni-ô maintained traditional ties. The threads that eventually would be woven into a network of "emergences" began to be spun.¹³

When, in 1935, anthropologist Carlos Estevao visited the Fulni-ô he also entered into contact with the Pankararú somewhat further upstream the San Francisco. The Pankararú actually already had contacted Padre Dâmaso a few years earlier when they had learned about a State agency that offered protection to "indigenous remainders." They were involved in a conflict with local authorities and landowners over demarcation of indigenous lands.

In contrast to what historical documents may say, for the local population, whether indigenous or not, the extinction of the Mission at Brejo dos Padres did not occasion the extinction of the settlement but only the violent expulsion of some indigenous families and the imposition of new incomodating neighbors that caused an intensification of the "mixing" process. Ritual life in the village was transformed as a result of the change and dispersion, but instead of disappearing it persisted in more discrete and reduced forms at the domestic level. After the initial brutal disruption a gradual process of accommodation permitted the families that had been "intermixed" to reestablish contacts with those that had been dispersed to other areas, constructing autonomous political organizations or being absorbed by other groups. Such accommodation and the reestablishment of relations through a process that until recently would be viewed as *mestizaje* and irreversible acculturation, precisely made possible that sixty years later the Pankararú could recompose their indigenous identity, thanks to their ties with the Fulni-ô.

Through his visits to the Fulni-ô in the 1930s Carlos Estevao also entered into contact with the Xukuru-Kariri and initiated, this time through the intermediation of a regional politician, their recognition by the SPI.¹⁴ Next came the Kambiwá of the Serra Negra, an area of refuge for many a group that had fled the "just wars" and the settlements. The Kambiwá had come to know Padre Dâmaso through the Pankararú with whom they maintained regular contacts dating back a century, and by the end of the 1930s they too started the procedure for official recognition.¹⁵

¹³ Except where indicated otherwise, the information contained in the following paragraphs derives from the Atlas of Indigenous lands in the Northeast and fieldwork carried out among the Panjararú, Tuxá, Kantaruré, Geripancó and Kalancó in 1993, 1994 and 1998.

¹⁴ When in 1952 the SPI finally acquired lands for this group and installed a *posto indígena* nine more families, who had been dispersed to other nearby localities, joined the group whose lands only were regularized by the end of the 1970s.

¹⁵ After having obtained presidential authorization to occupy lands in the Serra Negra they also started to receive families that had been dispersed but during this mobilization their principal leader was tortured and killed by local landowners. The newly united group moved to a neighboring area where they remained until in 1954 their lands were
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It also was an outcome of intermediation by Padre Dâmaso when, in 1944, the SPI established a *Posto Indígena* in Porto Real do Colégio (Alagoas) which reunited the "remainders" who claimed the lands of a Cariri settlement extinguished in 1759. At that time the Xocó, with whom the Cariri maintained ritual and kinship ties, intensified their migration toward Porto Real.¹⁶ In this way the composite ethnic group of the Kariri-Xocó, as the SPI labeled them, came into existence. However, the fraction of the Xocó that remained on their original lands never refrained from claiming the lands of the old settlement of the Island of San Pedro, a little downstream the San Francisco River.

Extending their network, the Pankararú, this time dispensing with intermediation by a "white," interceded in the emergence of the "*indios rodelas*". Thanks to the intervention of the tribal authorities of the Pankararú, with whom longstanding ties of affinity, religiosity and periodic visits existed, the group gained support from the SPI in its lengthy struggle for restitution of its lands. The "*rodelas*" were recognized as indigenous under the ethnonym of Tuxá, a *Posto Indígena* was established, they retrieved their islands in the San Francisco and they themselves started to intermediate between other groups and the SPI.

This was what happened in the case of the Trucá who live some sixty kilometers upstream and whose settlement had been extinguished in the 1870s. The group remained on its lands until the 1920s when they were expropriated by the Church which alleged that the indians themselves had donated them to *Nossa Senhora*. Prodded by the Tuxá the Trucá started to reclaim their lands in the 1940s, a process that dragged on into the 1990s.

This chain of events allows us to affirm that it was the indigenist intervention in a situation considered *exceptional*, the Fulni-ô case, that between 1935 and 1944 triggered a flow of demands by communities that have their roots in the former indigenous *aldeamentos*. If initially Padre Dâmaso and anthropologist Carlos Estevao intermediated between these groups and the SPI, the recently recognized groups soon took to act themselves as intermediaries as intermediaries in new "emergences." The permanent mobility of groups in the region, a fundamental mechanism to cope with the periodic droughts, as well as the flights and resettlements of the 17th and 18th century and the later sailing of the San Francisco, when further ties on the basis of religion, leisure and kinship were established, gave rise to a network among populations and an awareness of the many historical, cultural and mystic affinities that bind them. This first cycle of "emergences" seems to have come to a close when the limits of a first circle in this network were reached. The rapid multiplication of "emergences" was produced through a political transmutation of existing ritual circuits among the "remainders" and it was precisely this conversion between culture and politics that made it possible to pass from the generic and pejorative status of *caboclos* to the equally generic but juridically differentiated status of *indios*.

demarcated.

¹⁶ Since the end of the 19th century seasonal migrations had constantly taken place, but the creation of the *posto indígena* among the Cariri and the increasing pressure of landowners on their lands led to definitive migration of the Xocó families.

The new ratio of indigenism

Now that we have followed the itinerary that led the "remainders" to the SPI it is time to turn the attention to the route and the motives that brought the SPI to these "other indians," that is to the conditions that allowed official indigenism to accept these "emergences." A new setting came into being with the Revolution of 1930. It brought a strong emphasis on "national integration," and struggle against the Communist threat which still lingered in the interior of the *sertao* in the aftermath of the Prestes Column's Long March. Furthermore, a policy of centralization aimed to undermine the hegemony of the agrarian elites, also at its foundations in the municipalities. And finally, an official policy of colonization was launched aiming for the establishment of "national agrarian colonies" and "agro-industrial colonial nuclei" in charge of the Ministry of Agriculture.

In this context the SPI was given a new place within the state bureaucracy. In view of its new objectives it was moved from the Frontier Inspectorate of the Army to the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Trade (which also had the *Museo Nacional* under its wings). With this change the very notion of what "indians" should be underwent a modification. The emphasis on "guardians of the frontier" made place for "farmers," whereby the SPI recuperated some of the functions it had lost when the "LTN" had been dropped. Financial difficulties led the SPI to reinforce its function of manager of the "indigenous patrimony" which became a main source of revenue and consequently, in older regions "in the process of assimilation," a strategy of settlement of national colonists within indigenous areas was adopted.¹⁷

This shift, which was rationalized as a way to accelerate the "pedagogical process" to which the *silvícolas* (forest dwellers) were subjected, while simultaneously providing the agency with revenues, accounts for the redirection of the agency's attention towards regions where its actions could be self-sustaining. Where the *Postos Indígenas* in the Northeast were concerned, the SPI found that in many cases the lands claimed by the "remainders" had already been occupied by *posseiros*¹⁸, state induced economic projects or complete cities. Instead of removing the non-indian population from the "reserved areas," as could be expected given its stated goal, the agency sought to transform them into tenants so that when a *Posto Indígena* was installed it could count with a ready-made productive base. While the appraisal of the situation of the indians of the Northeast remained basically unchanged¹⁹, they became more attractive for official indigenism and came to

¹⁷ "Indigenous patrimony" covered the lands, investments (*mejorías*), natural resources and the labor force of the indigenous. The stress on management according to business principles was related to a project for the "emancipation of the *Postos Indígenas*," which had little to do with their political or administrative emancipation, but all the more with economic objectives. In practice it meant that the Posts should become self-financing and where possible contribute to financing the SPI. In this way the Posts came to resemble the "agricultural nuclei" that were being promoted in colonization areas by the same Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Trade (Arruti, 1996a).

¹⁸ Smallholders without legal title (Editor's note).

¹⁹ Even in the more sociologically inclined studies (Amorim, 1970, Silva, n.d., Soares, 1977; Bandeira, 1972; Carvalho, 1977) these groups are characterized as "rural subsegments" in a *process of accelerated and irreversible loss* in: the challenge of diversity - indigenous peoples and reform of the state in latin america, 2000

occupy a relatively prominent place in its overall strategy.

Toré: the obligatory expression of indianity

Nonetheless, as the more pragmatic motives of the SPI underwent a change the ensuing incongruities with its broader ideology needed to be resolved. This ideology had been formulated with a view to the agencies role in relation to still not integrated, wild and bellicose indigenous groups that in "heroic" operations were to be trailed and then seduced by means of interpreters and presents. Such procedures were of little relevance for contacting the indians of the Northeast who instead of having to be sought, sought contact themselves, who did not need to be persuaded and who could do without intermediaries. Faced with such inversions and with the absence of obvious signs of difference, the solution of the agency in dealing with the requests it received was to reproduce its bureaucratic nature by establishing a fixed, directly observable, immediately and easily apprehensible criterion. The SPI regional inspector instituted the *Toré* as the basic criterion for recognition of *indigenous remainders* (taking a lead from the texts of Carlos Estevao de Oliveira, 1941) and thus transformed it into a norm for *being an indian* in the region.

The *Toré*, the "indian game" or "caboclo game" as the indians themselves call it, basically is a collective dance performed by an undetermined number of participants who decorate their body with simple motives in white paint while some of them (only men) dress themselves in *praiás*. The *praiá* consists of two pieces, a mask and a skirt made out of croá fiber (a plant of the bromelia family), which completely, and imperatively, conceal the identity of the dancer who thus represents, or *se torna* ("incorporation" by spirits of the dead is not admitted), an *encantado* (enchanted). These are the spirits of indians that did not die but who voluntarily left the world by "enchantment" to join the virtually indefinite pantheon of protector spirits of the group.

The dance is performed on a monotonous and strongly cadenced music, the *toante*, chanted by a single *cantador* or *cantadora* who is periodically responded with unisonous and rhythmic shouts from the group of dancers. In truth, what has come to be known as the *Toré* never had had a singularity of its own as an autonomous ritual unit and even now it does not present itself in identic form in the different groups. But it was the most readily identifiable characteristic at hand to serve as identifying marker, first for the purposes of indigenism and then also for the indigenous groups themselves. It thus was turned into a *symbol of indianity*.

of ethnic characteristics, be it through "proletarianization" or "acculturation". From this perspective, which derives from the theoretical positions of important Brazilian anthropologists like Darcey Ribeiro and Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, the Northeast represents "a limiting case in the process of integration, an extreme on a continuum the other pole of which is represented by the tribal populations recently contacted at the pioneer fronts" (Amorim, 1970:11). The condition of *part-society* of the Northeastern indigenous thus is regarded as "a stage in the lengthy process of integration into national society which as a result of situations of permanent interethnic friction takes diverse forms and features in the course of History" (Amorim, 1970:91). On this view, it could be foreseen that the fishermen and farmers of Potiguara eventually would "join the many other Brazilian indians that nowadays constitute the lowest stratum of the large national labor reserve" (Amorim, 1970:94).

For SPI functionaries the performance of the *Toré* became a sort of concise ritual for legitimating the presence of the agency and it was incorporated into the broader ritual performance that consecrated the opening of new spaces of SPI tutelage: dance the *Toré*, hoist the national flag and sing the national anthem. According to one inspector the *Toré* "...makes them conscious of being indians (...), they need to know these steps of the indian dance." And as a parameter for the evaluation of such *performances* the *Toré* as danced by the Fulni-ô came to be considered the "original (...) the true *Toré*."²⁰

Although the existence of the *groups* and of the ancient *shared tradition* of the *Toré* was thought of as an indisputable reality, at the same time there seems to have been a clear notion of the fact that a sort of *rite de passage* was being instituted which had nothing to do with *verification* of the legitimacy of the groups which were recognized as "remainders" rather than real "primitives." For the indigenist agency the *Toré* was not so much an authentic expression but more of an *obligatory expression* that acquired *educational* features. The agency itself thus instituted an authenticity in a manner analogous to the political practice that through a process of conscientization seeks to transform a "class in itself" into a "class for itself."

Recent expansion

From the mid 1970s onward a new wave of expansion gathered momentum. Between 1977 and 1979 five new groups demanded official recognition as indigenous remainders. Between 1980 and 1989 ten more groups followed (seven of which have been recognized) and between 1990 and 1998 nine new groups appeared (two of which have been recognized, one is at the initial stage of the procedure and the others have only been registered. See annex) and rumor has it that in the State of Ceará an undetermined number of groups has made demands.

This explosive surge, after nearly thirty years of absolute silence, still awaits adequate explanation. However, the expansion of the indigenist field in the course of the 1970s, with reverberations throughout the country, surely is a crucial element. While authoritarianism reigned and the FUNAI²¹ largely was composed of military and geared to geopolitical pursuits, the Barbados Declaration (1971) had an enormous impact on the Catholic Church which promoted the creation of a *Conselho Indigenista Misionero* (CIMI - Indigenist Mission Council) and various Indigenous Assemblies which undertook the formation of political leaders. At the same time new non-governmental and secular organizations emerged such as the *Associação de Apoio ao Índio* (ANAÍ - Association for Support to the Indian) and the *Comissão Pro-Índio* (CPI - Pro Indian Commission), in 1977 and 1978 respectively. These were national-level organizations with autonomous offices in various states. An increased sensibility for the issue on the part of civil society manifested itself in

²⁰ Testimony by regional SPI inspector Raimundo Dantas Carneiro, transcribed in Grunewald (1993).

²¹ The new indigenist agency that substituted the SPI after it had been dissolved in 1967 following a series accusations of corruption.

the attention given by research institutes, museums, politicians, the press, etc. Under these circumstances anthropological literature also underwent a modification of its posture towards the indigenous. The 1990s finally saw the first publications that, inverting the earlier approach, started to approach the situation of the indians in the region in terms of the perspective of *invented traditions* (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1984) and the concept of *ethnicity* (Barth, 1976).²²

Instead of further examining this new context or the new literature I will sketch a profile of the groups that emerged during this second period from the mid 1970s to the late 1990s (or to be more precise, up to September 1998). A profile quite distinct from that of the groups of the 1930s and 1940s. In the latter case demands had been based in memorial and territorial continuity with groups of the missionary settlements that lent itself to historical recuperation, or were associated with regions that could be historically identified as areas of wandering or refuge before the advance of large landowners, as for example the Serra Negra. For the more recent groups this is not anymore the case. Of the thirteen most recent groups on which we have information only two presented themselves as "remainders" of former *aldeamentos*, whereas the others can be divided according to four types of situations which, in turn, form two larger clusters according to the source of legitimation of their demands (see annex).

The first cluster consists of groups whose origins do not really correspond to the notion of *emergencias étnicas* used to characterize the earlier cases. One situation in this cluster is that of the Tuxá whose lands were inundated in the 1940s by the hydro-electric central of Itaparica and whose territorial needs were only partly taken into consideration. As a result of errors in the agreements negotiated by the FUNAI, the areas for resettlement demarcated in 1976 were insufficient which forced a split-off of two groups. While the three groups that thus came into existence continue to recognize each other as belonging to the same ethnic group, their fragmentation entails consequences for their political and ritual life as authority structures based on the internal partitions of the original group were fragmented while variations in traditional life resulted from this fragmentation and the new territorial conditions that even impede the maintenance of regular contacts given the enormous distance between the areas.

A second situation within this first cluster is that of at least three of these new groups which emerged through grave factional ruptures within already established groups resulting in the expulsion or voluntary migration of some of the families involved. Such rifts, two of which were caused by the installation of newcomers by the FUNAI itself, result in the constitution of new social-political units with new territorial demands, new leaders recognized by the agency and the establishment of a new *Posto Indígena* to which specific resources are allocated. It is important to note that in these cases the critical point of factional rupture is set by limitations to internal negotiation that result from the very form of colonial confinement. The territorial framing of indigenous areas, in accordance with the political-administrative exigencies of the bureaucratic

²² Among them monographs that stressed the issue of cultural innovation such as Valle (1993), Batista (1992), Barreto Filho (1992), Souza (1992) and Martins (1994), more general interpretations such as those by Carvalho (1984), Dantas et al. (1992) or Oliveira Filho (1993), and works that propose regional interpretations on the basis of the analysis of specific cases such as Peres (1992) and Arruti (1996).

apparatus of the tutelary agency (which in most cases still is the main channel of access to external resources), has the consequence that familiar or ritual rifts assume new dimensions that can not be understood without taking account of this context. It also should be noted that in some cases the FUNAI constructs new units by bringing together various migrant groups so that ethnic cleavages provide the framework for factional strife within the new units.

The second cluster consists of groups that, like the early cases, can be recognized as *ethnic emergences*, though under new forms. In the legitimation of their territorial demands some groups do not have recourse anymore to memories of ancient missionary settlements or continuity with groups that wandered the region or found a refuge, but simply invoke the traditional appropriation of a certain territory and the sharing of a series of substantive features that serve, so to say, as *indices of indianity*, notably the *Toré*.

And finally, we have the groups whose emergence is not based in a claim to originality or distinctiveness rooted in territorial links with historical groups but in the defense of genealogical continuity with an already existent and fully legitimated group. In these cases an identity and ethnonym of their own is vindicated but these groups view themselves as autonomized parts of the larger unit from which they split off in the search for water and land, common to the historical indigenous populations of the *sertao*. This is the situation of at least five of the twenty-eight groups, all of them related to the Pankararú.

Since the Pankararú present a rather sophisticated "style" in the production of emergences, their case is particularly "good for thinking," not only for the direct contact with the cluster of cases just mentioned but also because other groups, that do not pretend to be Pankararú-splits, through a process of retraditionalizing borrowing have adopted this framework for thinking themselves. That is to say that the Pankararú possess, in a systematized form, elements present in most other cases, and the metaphors through which emergence is translated and realized.

From the foregoing it should be clear that the ethnography of *Pankararú emergences* can not be presented as a summary or synthesis of the diversity of historical, political, pragmatic and cosmological situations in which the various groups are entangled. It can, however, serve a qualitative transformation of our perspective on the phenomenon as it enables the passage from mechanical description to a poetics of the emergences. In other words, it helps us to find the categories that simultaneously allow an understanding of the unity and the variation of different emergences by taking the underlying discourse rather than the aggregate of classifiable emergences as the object of analysis. Turning our view to the discourse of ethnicity as a precept that engenders the signifiers which compose a system of metaphors of emergence can shed light on the dynamics of cultural invention.²³

²³ This methodological approach is inspired by the work of Todorov (1970:79-92) and Ducrot and Todorov (1974:105-110).

Ethnopolitics

The quality of *remainders*, attributed to and assumed by these groups, implies that tradition and memory are fundamental elements in the representation of their identity and therefore assigns the oldest groups the role of *source* of a limited stock of cultural and religious features. This relation is expressed in the metaphor of "the old trunk" and "the sprouting branches" which for these groups represents the distance between themselves and their ancestors -the "pure indians"-, or between the older and newer groups, in terms of degrees of symbological expropriation (the "weakening of tradition") through the loss of more obvious physical and social diacritical markers (the "mixture").²⁴

The "trunk/shoots" pair sheds light on a series of issues in the cultural construction of politics and the social construction of memory which, in turn, affect fundamental notions such as that of the family and the various senses in which it is used by the natives. The notion may circumscribe groups formed by relations of parentage but equally may represent the unity of a settlement or even denote the supra-tribal identity of indigenoussness in the most generic sense. This expansive use has the principal function of securing the possibility for "discovery" of parentage between distinct groups if not simply to create a new unity by which "indian" ceases to be a residual and stigmatizing category and becomes positive and inclusionary.

Virtually throughout all such concentric circles encompassed by the notion of family, the opposition, continuity and complementarity of the "trunks" and the "shoots" transpires and marks the relations between families within the Pankararú settlements as well as between the Pankararú and other groups or, for example, between the groups of the Northeast and those of the North.²⁵ The metaphor of the tree in this case is a mode of thinking time and its effects as they marked ancestry through the movements of reunion and dispersion provoked by the colonial incursion. Let us now look at the ways this worked in the case under discussion.

The trunks and the shoots

According to Hohental (1960) the earliest mention of the ethnomyn Pankararú (Pancararús or Pancarús) goes back to 1702 and can be found in the records of one of the Missions on the islands of the San Francisco River which also alludes to three other groups: the Kararuzes (or Cararús), the Tacaruba and the Porús. At a later stage the Pankararú and the Porús were signalled in the records of two other missionary settlements and, finally, when the settlement of Brejo dos Padres was

²⁴ In a very suggestive text, entitled "The Tree of Memory," Woortman (1994) describes the same symbological phenomenon among the Teuto-Brazilian colonists in South Brazil. By way of an analysis of their kinship categories the author reveals that rules of marriage and inheritance are organized according to the distribution of persons by, or in relation to, the roots, the trunks (stronger or weaker ones), branches, flowers and fruits (or seeds), in a scheme much more complex than the one described here. As the author notes, Goody has traced this imagery of "the tree" in kinship ideology back to medieval Christian thought.

²⁵ The North region, as an administrative division, largely corresponds to the Amazon-region (Editor's note).

created around 1802 (Hohental, 1960) by bringing together Pankararú, Uman, Vouve and Jeritacó (Barbalho, 1985), their present location was defined.

Further broadening the range of ethnonyms associated with the Pankararú their own oral tradition has it that they are related to the Pankararé (who live on the other side of the San Francisco) from which they split off long before being assembled in settlements. They also would have links with the families of the Serra Negra (the present Kambiawá and Kapinawá) some of whom, after various failed attempts by the State and missionaries, were incorporated in the settlement of Brejo dos Padres. In this manner the settlement became a territory for ethnic congregation and combination shared by groups of different origin, including former slaves that arrived there to stay by the end of the 1870s.

Although similar processes occurred in other settlements the particularity of the Pankararú is that they contrived an original and singular means of rejecting the "reduction" through imposed "mixture" by maintaining, in disregard of their official designation, another composed name which was generally known, even though it only served memorial purposes: *Pancarú Geritacó Cacalancó Uma* ****TILDE**** *Tatuxi de Fulô*, their "true name." Each of these "names," in their view, refers to one of the important ethnic groups that historically made up the group and each group conserves the memory of ethnic diversity which only is partially enwrapped in homogenizing designations such as the earlier *caboclo* and the present Pankararú.

Holding on to these names made it possible to constitute a social and political unity without irremediably condemning the "seeds" of difference and to preserve the possibility of future dispersion under a proper name. The Pankararú call such dispersions "swarmings" (*enjambres*), a metaphor that complements the "trunk/shoots" pair and the "names" and provides for mobility. Referring to the animal world this new metaphor gravitates around notions of expansion and fractioning by which new units are constituted and in this manner encodes the territorial aspect of the emergence phenomenon.

The *names* make it possible that a *swarm* leaves the group to constitute a new *shoot* (*punto de rama*). If in the past different groups could be assembled in one territory as a survival strategy, why then would it nowadays not be possible, also as a survival strategy, that one group engenders others and thus multiplies the indigenous territories? At least five groups with links to the Pankararú champion this tale of origin: the Geripancó, the Kantaruré, the Kalancó, the Pankarú and even the Pankararú who inhabit the *favela* Real Parque in central Sao Paulo, one of the largest Latin American cities.

The Pariconha nucleus, as the Geripancó were called up to the mid- 1980s, had its origin in the relocation of Pankararú families when the settlement was extinguished and some families migrated without ever losing contact with the original settlement so that parentage relations endured.²⁶ The

²⁶ When in the early 1940s the *Posto Indígena* was installed at Brejo dos Padres it also provided some services to this community, basically in the area of health care, until by 1985 the *Chefe de Posto* of the Pankararú area judged the "Pariconha nucleus" large enough to become autonomous. At the moment of choosing an official name for the area it was in: the challenge of diversity - indigenous peoples and reform of the state in latin america, 2000

Kantararú, in turn, affirm that their origins go back to a young Pankararú who undertook a pilgrimage to the image of *Nossa Senhora da Saúde* during the great droughts that hit the region at the end of the 19th century. He married and raised a family at the foot of the Serra da Batida and thus the group of "*caboclos da Batida*" came into being.²⁷ The pattern was reproduced in the history of the recently identified Kalancó who claim their roots to go back to the migration, also by the end of the past century, of one of the sons of an old Pankararú *pajé*. In this case the proximity and intermediation of the Geripancó were key in reestablishing relations with Brejo dos Padres.

The two latest *shoots* of the *Pankararú trunk*, which have not yet been related, differ from the others for the controversy they generated, in one case concerning the authenticity of their claimed descent and in the other the legitimacy of becoming a new *swarm*. The first group, the Pankarú, was identified and recognized by FUNAI in the 1970s and it claims its origins in the wanderings of its patriarch (who still is alive) in the 1920s. While wandering the *sertão* the group had grown and finally it had settled in the 1950s on the lands it now claimed. In the 1970s the group had recourse to the FUNAI to defend itself from the actions of *grileiros*, but the Pankararú do not recognize them as legitimate descendants and have required that the FUNAI corrects this error.

The second case concerns the Pankararú who nowadays live in the center of Sao Paulo city. The intensification of labor migration from the Northeast towards the big cities of the South from the 1940s onward also affected the Pankararú who were recruited in the settlement itself for work in the factories or in civil construction. When in the 1950s one of the Pankarú became a labor recruiter this set off a constant flow between the settlement and the city which soon became an important point of reference for the whole group as a place for temporary work through which the family budget could be equilibrated in hard times (such as caused by the droughts) to return as soon as the most immediate needs were met or when a good winter was in the air. However, with the passing of time the cluster of more stable residences in the Morumbí *favela* reached a certain demographic weight (sometimes a number of around 1,500 Pankararú is mentioned) and the most general features of their ritual and political organization started to be reproduced. In this manner, the grouping in Sao Paulo ceased to be a mere aggregate of deterritorialized families and turned into a formal group that effectively operated a reterritorialization process and nowadays demands official recognition by the FUNAI.²⁸

agreed with the parent group of Brejo dos Padres that one of the names of the larger group should be adopted and the settlement was named Geripancó.

²⁷ In 1987, a woman from this community was approached by some Tuxá indians at the market of the City of Gloria. From her physical appearance and some questioning about her origins the Tuxá concluded that she was an indian and recommended her to contact the FUNAI and seek her "rights." Subsequently, the community of "*caboclos da Batida*" entered into contact with the Pankararé, the Xukuru-Kariri and the Pankararú and in 1989 they got the FUNAI to send an anthropologist for a first recognition. Formal recognition followed only nine years later.

²⁸ The idea was not well received by the leaders in Pernambuco nor by the FUNAI, who after a joint meeting in early 1995 decided not to accept the proposal for a new indigenous area nor the granting of the *libretas de índio* which had been confectioned by the regional FUNAI offices in the Northeast some years earlier to facilitate and control access by the indians to the services the agency provides in the region as well as to general benefits deriving from this differentiated legal status. Part of the Sao Paulo group, however, persists in its demand and the situation has not yet been resolved.

Toré: the mystical expression of ethnicity

To complete our syntax of emergences and to reintroduce its dynamic and essentially political aspect a further component should enter the account. It is not so much another element in the classificatory arrangement but rather an active element that interrelates the components and sets the construct in motion. In historical practice the complementation of the "trunk/shoots" cultural vocabulary with the solution of "names" and even the further imagery of "swarms," made possible by the earlier invention, proved to be deficient. Aside from coherence it also was necessary to introduce the real action of concrete agents which allows to represent the commitment of groups to assist each other in emergencies independent from direct relations of parentage, and beyond that in the broader, abstract and political sense of "family." Some individuals had to assume the task of "raising" (*levantar*) settlements, in a way analogous (and this is another religious metaphor) to the labor of *levantar Praiá*, basic to the *régimen dos Encantados*. Pankararú *pajé* Joao Tomás became an prominent person in the history of the groups in the region as he helped "raising" at least four more settlements such as those of Pankararé, Kambiwá, Kapinawá and Trucá.

In the 1970s, Pankararé leaders sought the assistance of the *pajé* against repression of their collective rituals by the mayor (*prefeito*) and the police intendent (*delegado*) of the city of Gloria (BA). The *pajé* travelled to the city to ask the intendent for permission and upon his return to the village organized a big *Toré*. When the "entertainment" was in full swing, however, the intendent showed up accompanied by soldiers and suspended the party. He promised that he would discuss the matter with the FUNAI. Some days later various gardens in the village were destroyed and the intendent sent Joao Tomás a death threat. Tomás then sought the support of the FUNAI commissioner in Paulo Afonso (BA) and with his help obtained protection by a local army unit so that the *Toré* could be realized. Word about this rebuff of the local authorities rapidly spread and soon two other communities sought Joao Tomás with similar complaints. In both cases the direct intervention by the Pankararú *pajé* seems to have been fundamental to a recognition of the indigenous identity of the groups by local authorities. And, at least in the cases of the Kambiwá and the Trucá, he not only supported the organization of the *Toré*, but actually taught them how to perform it.

This also allows us to reconstruct the relationship between "swarming" and "raising settlements," thought of as complementary movements that effectuate the connection in the polarity of "old trunks" and "shoots." If the "swarming" can be construed as a forced movement that occurs in a time between the historical and the mythical, the foundation of settlements is a voluntary movement of cultural and political nature in the present time. It goes from the shoots to the old trunk in the form of calls for support and, while comprising calls for a return, it goes from the trunk to the shoots in the form of support, legitimation and teaching the *Toré*.

Like a prayer, the *Toré* "addresses divinity"²⁹ and exerts influence through material movements from which results are expected (...) (and) in the final instance it always is an instrument of action. But it acts by expressing ideas and sentiments translated and substantiated to the outside through words" (in our case the performance).³⁰ While the indigenous themselves view the *Toré*, in its aspect of having been learnt in reciprocal interaction with the indigenist bureaucracy, as the best way to obtain recognition, and therefore in a pragmatic fashion, the *Toré* is more than that. When the Pankararú *pajé* was invited to teach the *Toré* in other villages his work was not simply that of giving choreography classes. Teaching the *Toré* means "giving the seed" of the village, to "show the way to the *encantados*" that has been forgotten as a result of "mixturing" and the prohibitions on their "entertainments." The groups of the old trunk distinguish themselves from the shoots precisely by their relation to the supernatural, a relation of knowledge and consolidation of ancestral forms of access that constitute the sources of their "force" as "village." Teaching the *Toré* is not a direct transfusion of this force but a transmission of the "seed" from which a new trunk may grow to replace the one that has been cut at its base.

The performance of the *Toré* and the chanting of the *Toantes*, which at first sight seem to be identical in all groups, in reality display discreet but innumerable variations constructed according to the "secrets" of each of the "villages." The "secret" consists as much in the avenue to *encantamento* transmitted by the old indians as, and in relation to this, in the means the present indians have to discover to establish communication with them. So when one group transmits the "seed" it transmits the ritual means and part of the knowledge needed by the new group to discover its own "secret." Beyond the apparent standardization implied in the expansion of the *Toré*, it also is a means through which the key to new differentiations is transmitted. It permits each group to leave behind the undifferentiated (legal) status of *caboclo* or *indio* and particularize itself by becoming Aticum, Massacará, Xucurú, etc.

Teaching *Toré* and "raising" settlements simultaneously are collective political acts of cultural invention and projection into the future and mystical and particularizing acts of recuperation of the past. They are the avenue to the *encantados* as much as the path that leads to "rights"; access to the supernatural in synchrony with access to the "government."

Final considerations

²⁹ It is important to understand the place the idea of government occupies in Pankaruré imagery. A distant, unincorporated, instance which manifests itself through envoys, an eternal protector to which all demands should be directed and the only power capable of opposing the predations and violence by the locals. "Government" thus assumes a sacred aspect expressed in the oft repeated phrase: "Below God, the government." On similar representations in a very different context, see Oliveira (1988).

³⁰ In analogy with Mauss's description of the prayer we can affirm that the *Toré* is no indivisible unit, distinct from the facts through which it is manifested, but only a system. A point of convergence of innumerable religious and political phenomena, the *Toré* takes the form of a *rite* - an attitude taken and an act realized in relation to the sacred - and expresses religious ideas and sentiments (Mauss, 1979). And, we should add, *political*, since it is a performative act whereby a group that pursues and negotiates practical and strategic objectives is represented and enacted.

So when finally access to the "government" is achieved, what happens? The demands of these groups are not in the first place for political or territorial autonomy. They rather concern the rights they have as subordinated groups "protected" by the State and in most cases they come down to the simple demand for citizenship. The demands are for lands always occupied, the right to perform their rituals without being harassed by local powers, the right to health and education. And here dualities and paradoxes proliferate: groups that invoke the "new rights" to have "ancestral rights" recognized, groups that, to have their difference recognized, must submit to the official model of what they should be, and who only can begin to see liberty by accepting the *tutela*.³¹

The notion of "indianity" can be conceived of as associated to this tension between an "emerging" socio-cultural diversity and the frame for conceptualizing "remainders." Referring to a very different situation Oliveira (1988) proposed the term *indianidad* to account for the phenomenon of identities produced through the tutelary relationship between the State and indigenous groups in Brazil. In this sense, *indianidad* refers to a certain form of being and conceiving oneself as "indian" in the most generic sense of the term, after a specific image of what an "indian" *should be like*. A representation and a type of behavior are generated through the interaction between indigenous peoples and State apparatuses with their standardized procedures which impose a *model* on the great diversity of cultures and organizations and in the end is assimilated by these peoples themselves (cf. Oliveira, 1988).

My analysis in the preceding pages shows that we also should consider that if "indianity" is the fruit of tension and not the representation of a pure and simple movement of homogenization, it is itself subject to reappropriation and diversification. Above all, it presents itself as a specific process, the

³¹ While it does not affect the argument presented but rather suggests lines for further enquiry it is important to highlight one of the significant changes of the past years in the *tutelage relation* regarding the groups discussed here. By the end of the 1980s, after an internal reform that followed the shift to neoliberal policies, the FUNAI lost large part of its functions which were redistributed to state agencies with specific competencies. The indigenous question ceased to be isolated in a special niche to become a concern of various sectors of public administration. This drastically reduces the capacity of the agency's functionaries to construct and maintain loyalties based in political clientelism. On the other hand, a new regulamentation permits the indigenous groups to constitute their own forms of legal representation to obtain resources outside the agency's channels. This gave rise to the "indigenous associations," a form rapidly adopted by all groups in the region. Regional development agencies and projects opened special budget lines destined to these associations and FUNAI, which initially only was to serve as an advisor, also asumed a role of participant in the projects presented, thus finding a new source of funding. This development had strong repercussions for tribal politics as well as for the relations between the groups and the official agency. Soon each group counted not with one but various "associations" (up to eleven in one case) which became vehicles of intra-goup factionalism. A new political field emerged which functions on the basis and in fact tends to consolidate tribal factionalisms that until now operated according to ephemorous non-formal modes of temporary opposition, always were reversible through tacit agreements. On the other hand, the *Postos Indigenas* that in some situations already were no more than extensions of one faction benefiting from its exclusive hold over the channel for distribution of government resources now face the competition of associations that may multiply the points of contact with government and non-governmental agencies and may access resources of different kinds and origins. This has prompted a discussion over extinction of the *Postos Indigenas*, the former symbols of tutelage. In the long run one could imagine a new development in the relation between indians and the State in the Northeast in which the advance of *indianidad* conduces to extinction of the *tutela*. It would be another paradox for official indigenism in the region, but it might well augere a much broader tendency.

process of bureaucratic, administrative, scientific but also ethnic *identification* to which these groups are submitted or submit themselves with variations according to political, regional, historical as well as conjunctural (in the case of improvised solutions that eventually become permanent) conditions. Such conditions make for a reaffirmation or recreation of difference at new levels. Here I would like to draw attention to three such levels.

A first variation I sought to show operates through the institution of a distinctive indigenist -and ethnological- field, differentiated in relation to the rest of the country. In this case "mixing" and its production of uprooted populations, which can be regarded as a local and "cordial" version of *ethnic purification* -"whitening"- in reality resulted in a dissociation between *indianidad* and physical or even cultural features (in the sense in which culturalism understands the concept) to become associated with political struggles, territoriality and memory in which the colonial fact, more than any *structure or primitive feature*, is the central and distinctive element. From this point of view, despite attempts at state-imposed standardization through *obligatory forms of expression* regionalization, which differentiates from other forms of indianity and which had largely to be negotiated with the local groups, was inescapable.

Secondly, we saw that standardization was subject to modulations, in a certain way internal to it. Under the apparent homogenization implied in the imposition of the *Toré* a rich process of heterogenization worked itself out through an open ritual system capable of effectuating an impressing conversion of what looked like fragmentation in expansion. In this system the *ancestral* is not opposed to the *new* but, quite to the contrary, generates it. The *process of identification* operates through the search for authenticity but in this search the relation between *indianidad* and *cultural authenticity* is no matter of origins but of a project. It consists of a new attempted purification which now, in the midst of cultural mixture and religious syncretism, implies a reinvention of difference through the reappropriation of a mythical and traditional logic.

A third level in this play of standardization and variation requires attention but was not discussed here since it oversteps the theme of indigenism, although it reproduces the fundamental features of the phenomenon we called indianity. Recently, another group that earlier was classified as *remainder* has started to *emerge* on the Brazilian social-political scene, the *quilombos*.³² The groups that emerge as remainders of the *quilombos* are expected to reproduce some organizational features, modelled as much by academics as by movement militants, that have entered the common sense of what a *quilombo* should be like. It would not be an exaggeration to affirm that as a result of such expectations the will to archaize brings about an approximation, in substantive terms, between the remainders of *quilombos* and the indigenous remainders, as if a new brand of *panindianity* is arising.

³² One of the achievements of the social movements during the 1988 Constituent Assembly was the introduction of the article that accords the "remainders of the *quilombo* communities who occupy their lands" the "definitive property" of these lands and stipulates that "the State shall issue the corresponding titles" (Article 68 of the ADCTs). After approval and with increasing public awareness of this article, the number of such communities, initially estimated to number less than ten, multiplied rapidly and now largely surpasses the five-hundred, according to unofficial sources.

Finally, to stress an in my view fundamental point, the relation between these groups and power structures at the national level is neither one of passivity nor can it be simply classified as absolute resistance. By the same token, in this complex game, identity and culture are not given or concrete things nor the pure illusions of anthropologists, but rather instruments in the struggle for rights. They are subject to dispute and must be laboriously reconquered, just like their territories. Therefore, in reflecting on the relation between these groups and the State we neither should run into the often politically cruel trap of theoretical ingenuousness and stringent culturalism that craves "authenticity," nor cede to a simple deconstructivism which becomes an intellectual pass-time instead of being a social activity that engages peoples, sentiments and values.

Notes for a lecture of the chart "Profile of the emergent groups of the Northeast: 1926-1998"

A. The column "year" refers to the date of the first report on demands by the group for recognition as indigenous.

B. The columns "pop." and "area" respectively present the approximate number of inhabitants and the legally reserved area (in hectares) according to information by the FUNAI regarding the situation in 1996 and 1997, with the exception of the data on the Pankararú, Kalancó, Pitaguary and Jenipapo-Kanindé areas, which were updated for 1998.

C. The sixth column provides a rudimentary insight into the grounds invoked by groups to sustain their demand or had its rights to certain lands recognized. Besides the demands which are relatively obvious, such as those referring to (a) *aldeamento*, which relates to the memory and documentation of a missionary settlement, and (b) *transferência*, which relates to relocation on the initiative of the FUNAI as a form of controlling internal conflicts, we also have (c) *reg. de refug.*, which relates to memory and historical indications of territoriality which are based on wandering through a region historically known to be a refuge area, rather than to a territoriality that involves a fixed space; (d) *migr. histór.* and *migr. recente* refer to those who do not legitimate their demand by invoking ancestral dominion over land but by their genealogical continuity with an already recognized group from which they have split off, whether recently or in the past; and finally (e) *posse tradic.* those who can only legitimate their territorial demand by invoking a particular tradition of occupation associated with certain *índices de indianidad*.

D. Some observations:

1. Cases in which the population declined in relation to earlier censuses. Fulni-ô: 2,790 (1991), Atikum: 3,582 (1989), Kirirí: 1,780 (1986) and Tuxá de Inajá: "15 families" (1988).

2. In the case of the second Xucurú-Karirí nucleus, created in the State of Bahia through relocation of families by the FUNAI in the wake of internal struggles that caused various death, subsequent growth was well above average which is probably due to migration by families from the original nucleus in Alagoas. According to data from the *Associação de Apoio ao Índio* (no FUNAI data are

available) in 1992 the nucleus only counted 94 persons.

3. Families that were relocated from their original nucleus (AL) after internal conflicts that caused some death.

4. A mixed group constituted by families relocated from their original groupings, Atikum and Kirirí, also for reasons of internal factional strife.

5. A mixed group made up of Kirirí and Kaimbé families, located halfway between the two original nuclei. Apparently they suspended all demands for official recognition as indigenous in a rejection of FUNAI tutelage.

Anexo 1: Diagrama do "Tronco Pankararú"

[inserir objeto gráfico <<diagesp.eps>> e <<diagring.eps>>]

Anexo 2: Perfil dos grupos emergentes do Nordeste (1926-1998)

Ano	Grupo	UF	Pop.	Área	Origem	caracterização da terra
1926	Fulni-ô	PE	2.170	11.506	aldeamento	Dividida em 427 lotes familiares
1930	Potiguara	PB	7.132	26.270	aldeamento	2 áreas contínuas
1937	Pankararú	PE	4.146	14.900	aldeamento	2 áreas contínuas (incluindo cidade)
193?	Xucurú-Karirí	AL	1.345	13.138	aldeamento	2 áreas contínuas
1940	Kambiawá	PE	1.378	27.100	reg. de refúg.	
1940	Trucá	PE	1.333	1.592	aldeamento	Total reivindicado: 7.600 ha (ilha)
194?	Kaimbé	BA	1.200	8.020	aldeamento	-
1942	Tuxá	BA	1.200	4.136	aldeamento	2 áreas descontínuas: reassentamento (1976)
1943	Atikum	PE	2.744	16.290	reg. de refúg.	-
1944	Karirí-Xocó	AL	1.500	699,3	aldeamento	
1944	Xucurú	PE	6.363	27.555	aldeamento	-
194	Kirirí	BA	1.726	12.300	aldeamento	-

9		A				
50's						
60's						
1977	Pankararé	B A	2.193	47.297	migr. histór.	2 áreas contínuas
1978	Pankarú	B A	87	981	migr. recente	-
1979	Xocó	SE	230	4.316,8	aldeamento	2 áreas descontínuas (uma ilha)
1979	Wassu	A L	1.222	2.758	posse tradic.	
1980	Tingui-Botó	A L	209	122	posse tradic.	3 áreas contínuas
1980	Kapinawá	PE	956	12.260	posse tradic.	-
1983	Karapotó	A L	1.050	1.810	posse tradic.	
1984	Tremembé	C E	5.962	4.900	aldeamento	População de 2 e área a 1 núcleo.
1985	Geripancó	A L	584	1.110	migr. histór.	3 áreas contínuas
1985	Tabeba	C E	1.350	4.658	posse tradic.	-
1985	Tuxá (Inajá)	PE	41	140	transferênc ia	3º reassentamento da UHE
1986	Xucurú-Karirí	B A	1.002	277	transferênc ia	
1986	Atikum-Kirirí	B A	32	37,6	transferênc ia	-
1987	Karirí	C E				Sem providências oficiais
1989	Kantaruré	B A	260	1.695	migr. histór.	-
1989	Tabajara	C E				Sem providências oficiais
1989	Paiaku	C E				Sem providências oficiais
1989	Tocas	B A				Sem providências oficiais
199	Tuxá	B	456	2.020		4º reassentamento da UHE

1	(Ibotirama)	A				
1993	Pitaguary	CE	854	1.735		Relatório oficial em elaboração
1998	Jenipapo-Kanindé	CE	?	1.087		Relatório oficial em elaboração
1998	Kalancó	AL	236			Por identificar
1998	Calabaça	CE				Sem providências oficiais
1998	Karirí	CE				Sem providências oficiais
1998	Kanindé	CE				Sem providências oficiais
1998	Potiguara	CE				Sem providências oficiais
1998	Tupinambá	CE				Sem providências oficiais
1998	Kambixuru	PE				Sem providências oficiais
Total	40 grupos	5	~ 48.105	~ 247.888,7		

Anexo3: Mapa de la Rede de relaciones de los grupos indigenas del Nordeste brasileño

[inserir objeto gráfico <<mapaesp.eps>> ou <<mapaing.eps>>]

Tradução: Román E. Goldenzweig

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