

'We were born of the Tapajós River'
– Reclaiming Indigeneity in Alter do Chão, Brazil

Mariia Rauramo

Master's Thesis

Latin American Studies

Area and Cultural Studies

University of Helsinki

March 2020

Tiedekunta/Osasto – Fakultet/Sektion – Faculty Humanistinen tiedekunta		
Tekijä – Författare – Author Mariia Rauramo		
Työn nimi – Arbetets titel – Title “We were born of the Tapajós River” – Reclaiming Indigeneity in Alter do Chão, Brazil		
Oppiaine – Läroämne – Subject Alue- ja kulttuurintutkimus: Latalalaisen Amerikan linja		
Työn laji – Arbetets art – Level	Aika – Datum – Month and year Maaliskuu 2020	Sivumäärä– Sidoantal – Number of pages 68 + 13 sivua lähdeluetteloa
Pro gradu -tutkielma		
Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract		
<p>Tämä tutkielma käsittelee Brasilian Amazoniassa asuvaa yhteisöä, joka on julkisesti itseidentifioitunut borari-alkuperäiskansaksi 1990-luvulta lähtien. Koska Brasiliassa alkuperäiskansojen oikeuksiin kuuluvat maankäyttöoikeudet, ovat muut maankäytöstä kiinnostuneet tahot pyrkineet kyseenalaistamaan heidän tarkoituksensa. Tavoitteenani on selvittää, minkä vuoksi borarit identifioituivat alkuperäiskansaksi, ja millaisia keinoja he käyttävät argumentoidakseen identiteettinsä aitouden puolesta. Tutkin myös sitä, kuinka borarien alkuperäiskansaisuus muodostuu suhteessa niin ulkopuolisiin, turisteihin, alueen laajempaan alkuperäiskansaliikkeeseen kuin luonnonympäristöönkin. Keskiyön tutkielmassa erityisesti suositussa turistikohdeessa, Alter do Chãossa, asuvaan borari-yhteisöön.</p> <p>Borarit asuvat Amazon-joesta erkanevan Tapajós-joen alajuoksulla. Heidän itseidentifioitumisprosessinsa liittyy alueen laajempaan alkuperäiskansaliikkeeseen. Tapajós-joen alajuoksun alueella asuvat yhteisöt alkoivat itseidentifioitua alkuperäiskansoiksi vuodesta 1997 lähtien. Syyt olivat moninaiset; maankäyttöoikeuksien turvaaminen oli tärkeää yhteisöille, joiden kulttuuriperinne ja perinteiset elinkeinot riippuivat niistä. Lisäksi kyseessä oli voimaannuttava prosessi, jossa sukujuuriaan hävenneet alkuperäiskansojen ja valkoisten jälkeläiset alkoivat arvostaa perinteitään. Aineisto on kerätty Alter do Chãossa touko-kesäkuussa 2019 suorittamani etnografisen kenttätöiden aikana. Tutkimusmetodeinani toimivat haastattelut ja osallistuva havainnointi. Lisäksi aineistooni kuuluvat internetlähteet sekä aiempi tutkimuskirjallisuus. Analyysimenetelmänäni käytän teemaattista analyysyä.</p> <p>Alkuperäiskansaisuuden käsittelemisessä olen käyttänyt alkuperäiskansatutkimuksen teorioita, joissa alkuperäiskansaisuus nähdään prosessina, johon kuuluu yhteisön jatkuvasti tekemä uudelleen määrittäminen. Amazoniaan liittyvässä antropologisessa tutkimusperinteessä alkuperäiskansaisuus näyttäytyy myös identiteettinä, joka muodostetaan suhteessa sen vastakohtiin ja samankaltaisuuksiin. Nämä seikat tulevat ilmi myös borarien tapauksesta.</p> <p>Alkuperäiskansaisuuden erottaa muista vähemmistöidentiteeteistä vahva yhteys ympäristöön ja maahan. Tämän näkökulman käsittelemisessä olen käyttänyt teoriapohjana relationaalista ontologiaa, jonka avulla on mahdollista käsitellä borarien tapaa nähdä itsensä suhteessa ympäristöön ja muihin toimijoihin. Tutkimuksestani käy ilmi se, että borarit käsittävät Tapajós-joen olevan olennainen osa heidän alkuperäänsä. Tärkeän osan heidän identiteettiään ja ympäristösuhdettaan muodostavat myös ympäristön ”lumotut” olennot, joiden uskotaan hallitsevan tiettyjä luonnonvaroja ja -paikkoja. Tutkimukseni kannalta olennainen huomio on myös se, että yhteisöjen shamaanit saattavat kuoltuaan muuttua tällaisiksi lumotuiksi olennoiksi, ja jäädä ympäristöön asumaan. Näin olen osa borarien menneisyyttä ja historiaa on jatkuvasti läsnä heidän ympäristössään.</p> <p>Tavat määrittellä ja tuoda ilmi alkuperäiskansaisuutta on muuttunut borarien keskuudessa ajan myötä. Yhteisössä on nuoria jäseniä, jotka ovat poliittisesti aktiivisia ja luoneet oman tapansa käsittää alkuperäiskansaisuutensa. Itseidentifioitumisprosessinsa aikana borarit ovat myös tuoneet esiin kulttuuriperintöään. Tutkielmassani lähestyn heidän kulttuuriperintöään käyttäen aineettomaan kulttuuriperintöön liittyviä teorioita, joiden kautta kulttuuriperintö nähdään nykyisyydessä muodostettavina ja tuotettavina käsityksinä menneisyydestä. Tämä näkyy erityisesti borarien järjestämissä festivaaleissa, joissa he käsittelevät myös omaa menneisyyttään alueen kulttuuriperinnön ja taiteen valossa. Näihin festivaaleihin liittyy myös käsite alkuperäiskansaisuuden performatiivisuudesta. Borarit esittelevät alkuperäänsä ja identiteettiään turisteille ja muille osallistujille erilaisten esitysten, mutta myös työpajojen ja keskustelujen avulla. Alter do Chãossa borarien haasteena on turismin liittyvien elinkeinojen sekä perinteisen elämäntavan välillä tasapainottelu. Festivaalit ovat yksi keinoista luoda mielikuvaa borareista ja heidän alkuperäiskansaisuudestaan ulkopuolisille.</p> <p>Tämä tutkimus osoittaa, että borarien tavat käsitellä ja tuoda ilmi alkuperäiskansaisuuttaan ovat jatkuvassa muutoksessa. Muutosten taustalla ovat erityisesti nuoremman sukupolven erilaiset tavat nähdä alkuperäiskansaisuutensa, sekä uudet keinot joiden avulla sitä tuodaan esiin ulkopuolisille. Borarien erityinen suhde paikalliseen ympäristöön ja ennen kaikkea Tapajós-jokeen muodostaa pohjan heidän tarpeelleen puolustaa oikeuksiaan alkuperäiskansana.</p>		
Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords Alkuperäiskansat, itseidentifioituminen, Brasilian Amazon, kulttuuriperinne, relationaalinen ontologia		
Säilytyspaikka – Förvaringställe – Where deposited Helsingin Yliopiston kirjasto – Helda/E-thesis		
Muita tietoja – Övriga uppgifter – Additional information		

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	1
1.1 Previous research: Reconceptualization of Indigeneity in Brazil.....	3
1.2 Research objective and research questions.....	6
2. Research methods.....	6
2.1 The research process and methods	6
2.2 Research ethics	9
2.3 Sources	12
3. Theoretical framework and key concepts.....	14
3.1 Indigeneity.....	14
3.2 Relational ontology	17
3.3 Intangible cultural heritage.....	20
4. Indigeneity in the Lower Tapajós region – Legal definition and history	22
4.1 Legal framework for defining Indigeneity in Brazil	22
4.2 History of Indigenous peoples of The Lower Tapajós region.....	24
5. “We are facing the threat of loss” – reasons to reclaim Indigeneity in The Lower Tapajós region..	29
6. Indigeneity and relationality in The Lower Tapajós region	34
6.1 <i>Encantados</i> and <i>pajés</i>	35
6.2 Indigeneity in relation to <i>encantados</i> in Alter do Chão.....	37
7. Means for reclaiming Indigeneity in The Lower Tapajós region.....	43
7.1 New categories and visual representations: emphasizing alterity	43
7.2 Reclaiming Indigenous cultural heritage.....	47
7.2.1 “The historians did not study that part” – remembering differently.....	48
7.2.2 Oral histories	49
7.2.3 Nheengatu language	49
7.2.4 Art.....	51
7.2.5 Indigenous schools	54
7.3 Borari cultural heritage in Indigenous festivities	55
7.3.1 <i>Çairé</i>	57
7.3.2 <i>Festival Borari</i>	58
7.3.3 <i>Mutak – Mukameesawa tapajowara kitiwara</i>	61
Conclusion.....	63
Bibliography.....	69

1. Introduction

December 3, 2014, Brazilian newspaper *O Globo* reported that the Federal Court of Pará State had declared the Maró Indigenous territory as inexistent. The territory in question has a population of circa 500 persons and is situated in Western Pará State. According to *O Globo*, Federal Judge Airton Portela argued that the area was inhabited by "totally mixed or definitely acculturated" riverine populations, and not by Indigenous¹ people. Portela stated that "anthropologists and non-governmental organizations have persuaded some of the area's traditional populations to seek formal recognition that they belong to indigenous groups" (*O Globo* 2014). December 9, 2014, the ruling was followed with protests in Santarém by the leaders of Indigenous groups Borari and Arapium from Maró Indigenous territory, university students, and teachers. Federal Public Ministry of Brazil (MPF) filed a civil appeal against the decision of the Federal Court of Santarém. The MPF argued that the ruling against the Indigenous territory was initiated by community associations that were situated outside the demarcated territory. Furthermore, the verdict had been announced after an inspection carried out by MPF, National Indian Foundation (Funai), and Brazilian Environmental Institute, which prevented all logging permits in the territory. In February 2015, the sentence was suspended. In the process, several reports that prove the presence and interest of illegal loggers in Maró Indigenous territory were presented (*O Globo* 2016). It was considered that judge Portela was defending the interests of the loggers when announcing the sentence.

What is notable about the Indigenous people in question, Borari, and Arapium, is that they belong to a broader movement in the region along the Lower Tapajós and Arapiuns rivers, in which thirteen local communities have declared themselves Indigenous since 1998. Until then, these groups were identified as *caboclos* (descendants of Indigenous and various other people migrating to the area) or riverine populations (*ribeirinhos*). Since the 1970s, Brazil and other Latin American countries have seen the revival of Indigenous peoples with a mixed background, and their public self-declaration of Indigeneity. Indigenous rights in Brazil include rights to demarcate territory. It has raised contradictory voices among other agents who wish to exploit the lands. In the case of the recently self-declared Indigenous peoples, their motives and authenticity are frequently questioned. The defenders of Maró Indigenous territory were wearing visual elements that represented their Indigeneity, such as headdresses and body

¹ In this thesis, I have decided to write the word Indigenous with capital I. I explain my choice in chapter 3.1.

paintings. Body paintings are lines, and geometric forms made of natural ink (for instance, the juice of jenipapo fruit) and carry many specific meanings for Indigenous peoples, such as those of family or ethnicity as well as other things related to the identity of a person (*O Globo*, 2015). Additionally, the protestors were carrying signs with texts such as "yes, we are Indigenous" ("*somos indígenas sim*"), and "I exist" ("*eu existo*") on them (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Indigenous leaders and allies protesting in Santarém 9.12.2014.
<https://www.oestadonet.com.br/noticia/6134/insultos-ao-juz-queima-de-sentenca-e-ocupacao-do-predio-marcam-protesto-a-decisao-que-nega-terra-indigena-em-santarem>

This thesis addresses the question how the Indigenous populations in Lower Tapajós reclaim their Indigeneity, with a particular focus on the Borari Indigenous people. I engage in various discussions related to the issue. Firstly, I participate in conversations on expressions of Indigeneity among recently self-identified Indigenous groups, addressed before especially in the fields of cultural studies, anthropology, and Indigenous studies. Secondly, discussion on Indigenous peoples' relations with the environment is connected to my thesis, through anthropological theories on relational ontologies, Indigenous perceptions on the relations between humans and nature also provided by Indigenous studies, and finally through the concept of master spirits, nonhuman owners of the land. A concept that ties these two topics together is that of intangible cultural heritage. I address the question of how the Boraris' cultural

heritage in presented in the context of the Indigenous movement. The Boraris inhabit the Maró Indigenous territory, but also a popular tourist site in the crossing of Tapajós and Amazon rivers; a village called Alter do Chão. Living in a tourist site surrounded by considerable environmental resources and extractive projects, the Boraris of Alter do Chão are in a particularly interesting position to reclaim their Indigeneity.

1.1 Previous research: Reconceptualization of Indigeneity in Brazil

Since the end of the Second World War, Indigeneity has emerged as a global identity fueled by the discussions on human rights and environmental protection (Minde 2008). Latin America has seen an uprising and growth of its Indigenous populations, a phenomenon that cultural anthropologists have called "ethnogenesis" due to the reappearance of "extinct" Indigenous groups. Many descendants of Indigenous peoples with a culturally "mixed" background had been considered to have lost their indigenous heritage, language, and cultures, and become *mestizos*, or *caboclos*², acculturated descendants of Indigenous, white and black people. It was the result of the states' assimilationist policies that favored the integration of Indigenous cultures into the dominant ones, to create unified nation-states. However, with the "ethnogenesis," the Indigenous population in Brazil has grown by 178% between the years 1991 and 2010, from a total of approximately 294 000 persons to 818 000, according to Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics – IBGE.

Before the ethnogenesis, research conducted with the traditional riverine populations such as those in the Lower Tapajós region has considered them as *caboclos*. As Brazilian anthropologist Deborah de Magalhães Lima describes, the term *caboclo* has different meanings in conversational and academic speech. It is still widely used in the Brazilian Amazon as a category for social classification. In the academic world, it is used to refer to Amazonian peasants who make their living by practicing small scale agriculture and fishing, and who have their ancestral roots in the region (differentiating them from the later arrived peasants brought by the construction of Trans-Amazonian Highway). It is commonly contrasted with the category of white, urban, and "modern." As Lima states, both terms *caboclo* and Indian are categories made by the white, the outsiders, to refer to groups who do not have shared the same

² The term *caboclo* is believed to derive from the Tupi language. According to Costa Pereira (1975), it originates from words *caa-boc*, signifying "that which comes from the forest." Another theory, proposed by Aurélio Buarque Holanda da Ferreira (1971), suggests other interpretations, from Tupi words *kari'boka*, meaning "son of a white man" (both cited in Kawa 2016).

collective identity. Only later has Indigenous become a political category useful for these different groups to identify themselves with. Negative connotations of the term *caboclo* are discussed by British anthropologist Stephen Nugent among others. Citing various historical research, Nugent describes the way *caboclos* have usually been depicted (as lazy, suspicious, tricky) in his book on Amazonian peasantries and their invisibility in anthropological research (Nugent 1993, 14). As noted by Lima, the *caboclos* are seen to have inherited these negative attributes from their Indigenous ancestors (Lima 1999, 14). Their societies have been described as stagnant and incapable of developing economically. According to Nugent, the *caboclos* have been blamed for the failure of rubber industry in the Amazonia. The foundation for this negative stereotyping may lay in the nationalistic project that took place in Brazil. Brazilian intellectuals in the late eighteenth, early nineteenth century desired to overcome miscegenation by implementing massive European immigration. As described by Nugent, "within nationalist ideology, they (*caboclos*) were regarded as unworthy intrusions." (Nugent 1993, 46). The image of the *caboclo* as someone "in between" identities, not white but not Indigenous either, is persistent. As Nugent describes, dichotomic thinking places "the pristine, naturalized Amerindian" on the other end of a scale and "the modern frontier entrepreneur" on the other. He states that "in relation to the Amazonians at either edge, such peasantries are anomalies: they are neither 'natural' in the way Amerindians are represented, nor are they a visibly desirable part of the modernization apparatus" (Nugent 1993, 5).

Until the mid-1990s, research on Brazilian Indigenous population was heavily influenced by theories such as those by the Brazilian social scientist and indigenist Darcy Ribeiro. Indigenous cultures were treated as something that would be lost with the process of modernization. Ribeiro was concerned with the state of Indigenous cultures and assumed that they were facing inevitable extinction (Ribeiro 1970). His notions were based on evolutionist ideas of culture, which considered them from the point of view of "progress". Ribeiro divided the Brazilian Indigenous population in four categories, based on their level of integration to the dominant society (Ribeiro 1970, 432–434). Since then, research has considered the Brazilian Indigenous population to be, in fact, increasing since the mid-1950s. Anthropologist Mércio Gomes argued that previous research had ignored the power of the resistance of the Indigenous population (Gomes 2000). With the development of Indigenous movement in Brazil during the 1970s and 1980s, many Indigenous groups of "mixed" descent called for state recognition of their Indigenous status, striving for land demarcation (Oliveira 1999; Warren 2001; Ioris 2005; Bolaños 2011). Research on these groups increased in the 1990s, with the term ethnogenesis

used by cultural anthropologists (see e.g. Hill 1996). Other terms used to describe the phenomenon in Brazil are "emergence" (Arruti 1998), "resurgence" (Warren 2001), and "re-Indianization" (French 2004).

Alcida Rita Ramos has written on the Indigenist movement and on the contradictory notions that Brazil has of itself as a homogenous nation of mixed population, and as a proud multiethnic nation at the same time (Ramos 1998). The homogeneity of the Brazilian people is based on an idea that the population is a mixture of three ethnicities; white, black and Indigenous (Ribeiro 2000). In his book about the formation of Brazilian society, anthropologist Gilberto Freyre famously described Brazilians as one mixed race (Freyre [1933] 1998). This common idea is also often used to deny the existence of racism in the country. Jonathan W. Warren has conducted research in Eastern Brazil among "resurgent" Indigenous groups, from the point of view of ethnicity and racism. Warren sees the historical processes of "whitening" and assimilation as the main causes behind the non-existence of Indigenous populations in the areas where they have "resurged". Deep-rooted racism in Brazilian society has resulted in Indigeneity gaining negative connotations, with shame and fear of discrimination connected to the lack of people claiming the identity. In his book *Racial Revolutions*, Warren describes the resurgent Indigenous groups as "survivors of the flood" and introduces a term for these groups, "posttraditional Indians". "Posttraditional Indians live in the rubble of tradition" (Warren 2001, 19). The characterization is questionable, in that it has been imposed by Warren, and not discussed with his collaborators, whom he has decided to call by this term. Warren's reasoning behind the name emphasizes the point of view of these Indigenous groups having just "rubbles" of tradition, not taking into account the re-inventing and reconceptualization of traditions. As Warren mentions, however, these groups have suffered brutal colonialism and racism for centuries. Warren states that "posttraditional Indians "look into tradition, or what is left of it, as a central point of reference" (ibid., 21). João Pacheco de Oliveira has written on the resurgence process in the Brazilian Northeast. He has noted that groups who have long since lost many parts of their traditions tend to emphasize their relationship with the enchanted beings of the environment and old cultural traditions to reclaim their Indigeneity (1999, 29).

More recent work on the public performance of Indigeneity by groups whose claims for the status have been questioned includes has been published by Laura R. Graham and H. Glenn Penny. As Graham and Penny write, Indigenous groups have different motives for stating their difference from the dominant society, and it often comes with a cost, as they then enter in a

field of power dynamics, and constant negotiations with the state and other social groups. Graham and Penny emphasize the importance of performance in claiming Indigeneity, due to "ambiguities and contradictions inherent in indigenous identity" (2014, 8). I consider the idea of performativity a useful tool for addressing the topic of this thesis and look further into the matter in chapter three, where I present my theoretical framework.

1.2 Research objective and research questions

My research objective is to look into the ways the Indigenous peoples in the Lower Tapajós region reconstitute and reclaim their Indigeneity, with a special focus on the Borari Indigenous people. My research questions are, 1) why have these groups self-identified as Indigenous. As relations with the environment are an important aspect for Indigeneity and rights, I also seek to find out 2) is the Indigeneity of the Boraris of Alter do Chão connected to their environment, and in what ways. I am especially interested in 3) what are the means used in order to reclaim these Indigeneities, and 4) how is cultural heritage presented in them. I look at Boraris of Alter do Chão in more detail, in the context of the wider Indigenous movement in Lower Tapajós, but also in relation to the tourist site that is their home place. Lastly, I look into 5) the ways in which Indigeneity, relation to the environment and cultural heritage is presented in Indigenous festivities in Alter do Chão.

2. Research methods

In this chapter, I present my research my research process and my research methods, ethnographic fieldwork and thematic analysis. In particular, I focus on research ethics, because they are an essential part of ethnographic fieldwork, and especially research with Indigenous peoples. Finally, I address the sources I have used to obtain my research data.

2.1 The research process and methods

For this thesis, I have conducted qualitative research. In qualitative inquiry, truth is regarded as not absolute, but contextual and multiple. Knowledge building in qualitative research is process-oriented and conducted through a theoretical and methodological viewpoint. The research data is considered to constitute examples of the same phenomenon, which can be

organized and analyzed (Leavy 2014, Alasuutari 1999). Instead of striving for objectivity, qualitative research acknowledges the importance of subjectivity. Indeed, researchers “acknowledge how their personal, professional, and political commitments influence all aspects of their research” (Leavy 2014, 3). Contextualization is essential when conducting qualitative research, and its relation to the wider global context is to be discussed. In this thesis, I operate with various contexts, connecting the Boraris of Alter do Chão in a broader Indigenous movement in The Lower Tapajós region, to the Brazilian national context, as well as to discussions on Indigeneity as an international identity.

To approach Indigeneity in the context of Alter do Chão, I conducted a short ethnographic fieldwork in the village. Antonius Robben and Jeffrey Sluka describe ethnographic fieldwork as a search for patterns that “proceeds from the careful observations of lived behavior and from detailed interviews with people in the community under study” (2012, 5). I collected my data by making interviews and fieldwork notes. My interview questions considered the Borari Indigenous movement and the Indigenous festivities organized in the village. I also formulated research questions considering a topic that emerged from theories on the Indigenous peoples’ relations with the environment (I present these in more detail in chapter 3.2). My interviewing technique was conversational, and my questions were open-ended. As Cree and Saulteaux scholar Margaret Kovach has noted on Indigenous research methods, “an open-structured conversational method shows respect for the participant’s story and allows research participants greater control over what they wish to share concerning the research question” (Kovach 2009, 124, see also Chilisa 2012). Listening and giving space for the conversation to flow in its way, only guiding it a little bit but also being open for new topics and views to arise, made my research flexible and a great learning experience.

My methods included participant observation. I was accommodated in a hostel that belongs to a local Indigenous family and is attached to their house. The inhabitants were an older couple, one of their daughters, and her baby. The family participates actively in the Indigenous movement, and the house is an important place where community members meet and organize small events. During my stay, I accompanied the family members as they participated in some local festivities. A carimbó music and dance event that is organized weekly in the center of the village is an important element of the villagers’ lives and it also showcases the local cultural heritage. The family also kindly took me into small festivities organized in other communities nearby Alter do Chão. These events were essential for understanding the social construction of

the community. In general, I focused on the role that the Tapajós river and the *encantados* played in the lives of the family and their visitors.

Before my fieldwork, I looked for sources in the Internet that are related to the Indigenous movement in Lower Tapajós, or the Boraris. The materials were scarce and included newspaper articles and some blog entries considering the case of Maró Indigenous territory, and documentary videos on YouTube. I soon realized that the Boraris organize various Indigenous festivities in Alter do Chão, and that there are documentary videos and newspaper articles available on these events. I regarded them as an interesting topic for analysis. I decided to include the video and newspaper materials describing the festive events.

I have transcribed my fieldwork interviews as well as the documentary videos for analysis. The transcribed material from the documentary videos includes interviews and, in the case of the festival documentary, narration by the festival presenter. Transcription, as noted by previous theorizations, is never an objective act. Transcripts thus testify to the circumstances of their creation and intended use. As Mary Bucholtz notes, on the politics of transcription, the transcriber always includes her own preferences and biases (2000). Fieldwork notes are, naturally, also subjective. My other sources include academic research, newspaper articles and other textual material.

For this thesis, I conducted a descriptive analysis. I started by looking for patterns in the data. As anthropologist Michael Angrosino states, “public statements and actions are more likely to reflect the ideal behavior of the group than are those expressed in private” (Angrosino 2007, 68). In this thesis, I am consciously concentrating on the public statements of the groups in question. Next, I have identified thematic categories that could be detected in the materials. It is “a process of taking apart the narrative description and identifying categories or themes” (ibid., 70). This can be done by emphasizing either the emic (community-based) or etic (broader discussion-based) perspectives. I decided to base the categories in the data, and analyze it later through etic perspectives, theories on cultural heritage and Indigeneity. Three thematic categories emerged from my research material, and I organized my findings under them. Chapter five is dedicated to the motives for reclaiming Indigeneity in the Lower Tapajós region. Chapter six considers, how the Indigeneity of the Boraris is connected to the environment and nonhuman beings. Chapter seven is organized into subtitles named after means that the Boraris use for reclaiming Indigeneity: stressing alterity through visual and linguistic means, cultural

heritage and Indigenous festivities. These categories overlap each other. The role of regional cultural heritage in the Indigenous movement has not been discussed before. It has been mentioned as part of the heritage of the local peoples, but I found it interesting that it is also used in different ways in the Indigenous movement. The *Mutak* festival has also not been addressed in previous research. I analyze the research material through previous research and theory. The other categories appear as important points of view in my analysis on the Indigenous festivities, and I seek to find out how they are presented.

2.2 Research ethics

I have conducted my research following the guidelines of responsible conduct of research Finland (the RCR guidelines), stated by Finnish National Board on Research Integrity – TENK (2012, 30–31). My research follows the principles of "integrity, meticulousness, and accuracy in conducting research, and in recording, presenting, and evaluating the research results" (Ibid., 31). In my research, I have also followed the ethical principles of research with human participants, published by TENK in 2019. I have conducted my research respecting the dignity and autonomy of human research participants, their material, and immaterial cultural heritage and biodiversity. I have avoided causing risks, damage, or harm to research participants, communities, or other subjects of research (TENK 2019, 50) (on this, I elaborate further later on this chapter).

Furthermore, I have familiarized myself with the community, its culture and history in advance following the ethical principles. Core part of these principles is that the researcher avoids causing unnecessary harm to research participants. (TENK 2019, 51). I have asked my collaborators for their consent to participate and made it clear that research participation is voluntary, that they have the right to withdraw their consent to participation at any time. I have informed them about the research process and discussed it with them openly. Possible effects of the research have also been discussed. Harms and risks have also been taken into consideration. As the situation regarding land conflicts and social dynamics in the Lower Tapajós area is very heated, I decided to focus on the Indigenous groups and their articulation without discussing further conflicts or differing opinions. My research considers mostly the Indigenous groups' public cultural demonstrations and previously published academic and electronic materials. It was also a conscious decision to avoid causing harm, myself being a young researcher with no previous fieldwork experience.

I have decided to anonymize my research participants because in some cases, it was not possible to come back to them to ask about it. The members of Indigenous women's group Suraras do Tapajós, were informed that I would like to interview as members of that group and were speaking from that position. The rest of the people I interviewed were community elders, who are also active participants in politics and aware of what kind of research could be beneficial for them. I have selected an Indigenous group that were consciously creating their public image, and whose communities included academically trained individuals. They were, therefore, familiar with a research process in general. This choice made it easier for a young researcher like myself to discuss with my collaborators about what they considered essential to study. These notions were particularly interesting considering that the community is already growing its own researchers. One of the members recently finished her Doctoral studies in law, and many of the young women study at the local University in Santarém. It was clear to me that my collaborators saw it helpful to gain more attention to the topics we discussed. Therefore, I do not consider it a risk that my collaborators' identity can probably be traced by those familiar with the community. My research data does not include personal or sensitive information.

A large part of academic research considering Indigenous populations has, for a long time, been conducted by somewhat questionable means. One of the many problematic elements in ethnographic fieldwork, for example, has been a top-down approach, in which the researcher treats the Indigenous participants as objects of study. It is one of many consequences of a colonial logic, which has considered Indigenous peoples as "backward" or "underdeveloped" compared to Western societies (Battiste 2008). Their knowledge has not been valued, and often presented by the researcher as their "finding". New ethical principles considering ethnographic fieldwork has sought to change this situation by emphasizing the responsibility of the researcher and equal relations between the researcher and the participants. To execute my fieldwork, I sought for ethical principles in Indigenous Studies. Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith has argued, "Those engaging in indigenous research reflect on who owns, designs, interprets, reports, and ultimately benefits from the research process and products" (Smith, 1999). In my research, I seek to emphasize the Indigenous groups' point of view, using their terms and lifting their voice to be the central point of this thesis.

The Indigenous groups of Lower Tapajós organize events and appear in public discussions calling attention for their Indigeneity. Therefore, they are a group that can benefit from a thesis

written on the same topic. According to Sámi scholar Jelena Porsanger, an essential goal for research is "self-determination of indigenous peoples, within the research process and their everyday communities, with the protection of indigenous knowledge as a key consideration in indigenous methodology" (Porsanger, 2004). My intention is not to discuss sensitive or private topics or address the communities' sacred knowledge. My thesis considers more the public presentations of Indigeneity in Lower Tapajós, and the discussions related to it. I find respect for the Indigeneity of the groups of high importance and do not seek to question it.

Walters and Simoni argue that the researcher should engage in active reflection. Active reflection "involves gaining awareness of how individuals involved in the research process are influenced by their culture, other cultures, and power dynamics that shape the relationship of the two" (Walters and Simoni 2009). An essential part of conducting ethical research is to articulate one's position in the research context. The reader should take into consideration that this thesis is written by a young, white, Finnish woman, who has never visited the Amazon region before. I have studied the context and Amazonian traditional knowledge from literature. I speak fluent Portuguese, although in a very informal way, and the interviews and conversations for this thesis were conducted in that language, which is also the mother tongue of the Indigenous persons I encountered. I might not have understood some of the regional terms and slang, as the vocabulary differs to some extent from the Southeastern dialects that are more familiar to me. I had familiarized myself with the central concepts used by the Indigenous movements from materials obtained from the Internet, as well as cultural materials and a radio program produced by members of the Indigenous movement. I wish to remind the reader that this thesis is written from my point of view, even though I strive to keep the Indigenous voices at the center, it is my version and my edition of the things I have read, heard and experienced. One should remember that I stayed in the field only for three weeks, and the people who spoke to me have been very conscious of what they want me to know about them and tell for the people outside of their community. When introducing the historical background of the Indigenous movement in my research area, I have primarily used research done by Indigenous peoples living in the area, or in collaboration with them.

According to Walters and Simoni, the researcher should also be aware of the possible influence the presence of the researcher has to the community. I was accommodated in a hostel kept by some of the Indigenous Borari communities' central figures, and therefore my position was easily discussed by the community members. I also tried not to intrude in their social lives and

sought for appropriate intervals and calm moments where they felt comfortable to talk with me. I also made clear which parts I wished to include in the thesis.

Relationship building, as emphasized by Shawn Wilson, is a critical part of Indigenous research (Wilson 2008, 40). Ranjan Datta has elaborated on the decolonization of the researcher and the research, criticizing the traditional academic way of striving for a "neutral" approach while doing fieldwork. Datta describes the difficulty of remaining neutral while doing fieldwork in a community, and the importance of relationship-forming in Indigenous research (Datta 2018). Therefore, I saw my relations with my collaborators as an essential part of the fieldwork. Being able to call some of them my friends is a privilege, and as I engaged in their daily lives and showed them also who I am as a person, not only as a researcher, I felt that our relationship was more reciprocal, something that we shared together. I consider myself mostly a learner and strived to share my process with my collaborators. As Wilson writes, "the knowledge that the researcher interprets must be respectful of and help to build the relationships that have been established through the process of finding out information" (Wilson 2008, 77).

2.3 Sources

I have used mixed data from different sources. These include material from the ethnographic fieldwork, such as fieldwork notes and transcribed recordings. Additionally, I have complemented my analysis with material from previous academic research, relevant information obtained from newspaper articles and websites, as well as documentary videos found on YouTube.

Criteria for choosing my data included materials that considered the articulation of Indigeneity in Lower Tapajós Indigenous movement, and more specifically, the Boraris. I especially looked for materials that included the Indigenous groups' relation to the environment and the nonhuman actors. Considering Lower Tapajós Indigenous movement, I analyze and compare results from previous research with my own. My principal academic source is a Doctoral Thesis by Florêncio A. Vaz Filho: *A emergência étnica de Povos Indígenas no Baixo Rio Tapajós, Amazônia* (Vaz 2010b). Vaz is a local Munduruku person who has participated in the Indigenous movement from the start and influenced it. Therefore, his research is a valuable source to understand the movement. I also use a thirty-minute long video documentary about the movement, *A Terra dos Encantados* (2016), directed by Clodoaldo Correa and available on

YouTube. The documentary is made from the point of view that is sympathetic to the Indigenous movement. As I am interested in the groups' means to present their Indigeneity, this documentary provides relevant material for analysis.

Considering the Borari Indigenous people, my sources include a report for the demarcation of Alter do Chão Indigenous territory (made for FUNAI by Ricardo Neves Romcy Pereira 2009). The report provides information on the Boraris' history, political movement, livelihoods, environment, cosmology, and culture. I have also used a short video documentary available on YouTube, *Chama Surara* 2014, by Bob Barbosa, 09:50 min. It includes interviews of the protestors in defense of the Maró Indigenous Territory. It provides some insight into how the Boraris argue for their Indigeneity in a situation where it is questioned. I have also used the Boraris' manifesto published on the site *Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil – APIB* (<http://apib.info>). The manifesto was connected to the previously mentioned protests. To elaborate further on the meanings the Tapajós River has for the Boraris I have used a video directed by organizers of an event called *Festival das Águas*. The video, *Conversa de Suraras* (06:59 min), was made to promote the event, and it consists of the young Borari women's views on the importance of the river.

Regarding my analysis of the Indigenous festivities organized in Alter do Chão, I have used seven videos on *Festival Borari* available on YouTube, published by Marcos Oliveira. The official festival program from 2018 can be seen in its totality in these videos. I have principally analyzed the narration by the festival organizers audible in the videos because they provide explanations on what the Boraris want to say with each part of the show. No video material on the *Mutak*-festival was available, and thus I have used four articles by Alter do Chão's community newspaper *O Boto* (<http://o-boto.com>). As it is written on their website, "reporters, photographers, and columnists are residents. The employees themselves choose the subjects". Therefore, *O Boto* provides an insider's report on the event and describes it in a quite concise manner. Additionally, I conducted short fieldwork of three weeks in Alter do Chão in May–June 2019. I interviewed seven members of the Borari Indigenous movement in total, all of these active members of the Borari movement. One of them is an organizer of the *Mutak* festival, three of them are community elders, and four of them are members of the Borari Indigenous women's group *Suraras do Tapajós*.

All the photos, except Figure 1 that is from a newspaper article, are taken by me during my fieldwork. The photos do not include people and are taken only of public places. I have included two maps taken from the Internet (figures 2 and 3), and figure 6 to demonstrate Indigenous graphic designs from the *Suraras do Tapajós* Facebook page. All the visual material sources are referenced in their descriptions.

3. Theoretical framework and key concepts

In this chapter, I address theoretical framework. Indigeneity is approached through theories that stress its performative and emergent nature, criticizing the discussion on the need of “authenticity” often connected with Indigenous identities. Essential for understanding Indigeneity in Amazonia are also theories on relationality. These theories help me understand, how the Boraris connect their Indigeneity with their environment. Finally, I approach theories on intangible cultural heritage to get a better understanding of how cultural heritage can be addressed in a situation like that of the Boraris, who have recently self-identified as Indigenous. In their case, the relation with their past is particularly interesting.

3.1 Indigeneity

Regarding the Indigenous ethnogenesis, it can seem for an outside viewer that the populations have “changed” their identities solely to gain land rights and other benefits. It is undoubtedly the point of view which Brazilian Indigenous people often face, as the majority population and even the press tends to depict them, still in racist and essentialist ways (see e.g., Ramalho 2017). Among conservative Southeastern Brazilians, with whom I have lived during my previous studies, it is quite common to consider Indigenous and Afro-Brazilian populations as abusers of government benefits. Racist comments about people using modern clothes as “fake Indians”, or comments about Indian cultures being backward and simple, were common when addressing the topic. Behind their logic is, as Warren has discussed in his research, a racist ideology which sees the transition between Indigeneity and “whiteness” as a one-way street; all populations can (and should) try to become more “white”. Whiteness is associated with modernity and development. Indigeneity, on the other hand, is an essentialist status that is connected to the past and cannot change. A person of Indigenous descent using any “modern” clothing or a cell phone, for instance, is thus seen to have “become white”. According to this logic, no-one can

“become Indigenous”, because it is something considered to be of a backward and undesirable nature. As Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes, “at the heart of such a view of authenticity is a belief that indigenous cultures cannot change, cannot recreate themselves and still claim to be indigenous. Only the West has that privilege” (Smith 1999, 74). According to postcolonial theories, Western societies have also created their image in contrast to other cultures, which are exoticized and considered inferior to highlight the superiority of the West (Said 1979). Alcida Ramos has also compared policies and ideas considering Indigenous peoples in Brazil with Orientalism: “Indigenism³ is to Brazil is what Orientalism is to the West...just as the Orient is *Orientalized*, so is the Indian *Indianized*” (Ramos 1998, 6).

Whiteness and Indigeneity as concepts have both been constituted in contradiction to what they are not. As Marisol de la Cadena and Orin Starn note: “indigeneity emerges only within larger social fields of difference and sameness” (Cadena & Starn 2007, 4). Declaring oneself Indigenous is a clear statement of difference. As the Indigenous populations of the Lower Tapajós region were not considerably different from their neighbor riverine communities, these differences had to be constructed and highlighted, as I show in my analysis. This need, however, does not make their Indigeneity “fake” in any way. As Stuart Hall writes, identities are “formative and constitutive”. They are not stagnant and unchanging, but instead fluid and “constantly recreated in the process of change and transformation... Identities are therefore constituted from within, not outside representation” (Hall 1996, 4). Harris, Carlson, and Poata-Smith emphasize the fluidity of Indigenous identities:

“Rather than constituting a unified, fixed and unchanging construct, Indigenous identities are, therefore, always in flux; they are a response to shifting and diverse social and cultural categories and identifications that are rarely stable. In this sense, Indigenous identities are emergent; a process of becoming rather than being.” (Harris, Carlson and Poata-Smith 2013, 5).

Harris, Carlson, and Poata-Smith connect the word “emergent” with all Indigenous identities, not just the ones considered “emergent” in previous research on Indigenous groups that have

³ For Ramos, Indigenism is the political field of relations between Brazilians and Indians. It includes official policies and ideas about incorporation of Indigenous peoples into the nation-state, as well as “popular and learned imagery” among the national population considering the Indigenous peoples (Ramos 1998, 6-7).

self-identified as Indigenous during the last decades. All Indigenous, like all other kinds of identities, are recreated continuously in different situations and relations to other groups.

Anthropological research on the Amazonian Indigenous identities stresses the importance of alterity and centrality of the body in the production of one's personhood. Based on the work by Claude Lévi-Strauss, alterity in the Amazonian context is understood as "openness to the Other", and "assimilating one's enemy as a mode of reproduction" (Carneiro da Cunha 2007, xii). Appropriating elements from other cultures, from the "white," for example, can thus be seen as a means of gaining new forms of power. This point of view is quite contrary to the claims of "inauthenticity" or "acculturation". The fluidity of identities is stressed, and, indeed, a "perfect identity is considered unattainable and undesirable (Fausto and Heckenberger 2007). Amazonian Indigenous identities can, therefore, be considered especially fluid and flexible. One's identity is formed in relation to the Other, and it is deemed to be essential to learn different skills and perspectives. However, this openness to the other can also be dangerous if one loses one's identity in the process. I discuss this idea in further detail in the next section, where I present relational ontologies and their centrality to the Amazonian identity construction.

Because Indigeneity is a status dependent also on the legislation and validation, primarily by governmental institutions, they also must be repeatedly performed. The idea of identities as performances was famously developed by Judith Butler, who was interested in the construction of gender. Butler has argued that gender is not an essentialist feature of a person, but instead constituted and constantly recreated in performance, which includes how one behaves, talks, and moves in space (Butler 1990). Harris states that performativity is also a relevant concept regarding re-emerging Indigenous groups. Importantly, Harris reminds us that "performing identity highlights agency - the ability to act deliberately and purposefully" (Harris 2013, 22). It is also connected to the importance of self-identification of Indigenous peoples in international legislation. Harris notes that included in the demand for the authenticity of an identity is also the idea that "if an identity is real, then others will know it... In other words, it will be distinguishable, and if it is either unrecognizable or misrecognized, then it cannot be true" (Harris 2013, 12). Therefore, the way the Indigenous groups perform their Indigeneity to outsiders is essential. Anthropologist Laura Graham and historian Glenn Penny have elaborated on the performative nature of Indigeneity. According to them, "the concepts of performance and performativity are fundamental to understanding the emergent, processual, and contextual fashion of Indigeneity" (Graham and Penny, 2014, 11). Considering for whom this performance

is made, Graham and Penny write, “‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders,’ performers and audiences, publics and individual subjects continually interact to shape emergent Indigenous identities in public arenas and intimate spaces” (ibid., 12).

As Harris argues, all identities are discursive and motivated by benefits and reactions. Motives for performing this differentiating identity, however, vary greatly. As Graham and Penny note, however, conscious performing of Indigeneity adds weight to claims, for example, for land and other rights. Regarding the topic of this thesis, Graham and Penny write “for peoples who, at first glance, may not fit with common stereotypes of the ‘Indigenous’—agriculturalists, pastoralists, or ‘urban Indians’—performance may assume even greater importance as a means of asserting claims based on difference” (ibid., 16). In contexts where Indigenous peoples are fighting for space and existence based on the recognition of their Indigeneity, the power of performance becomes especially interesting. Performance and repetition can also work to establish a feeling of unity among the group members themselves.

I should also explain here my choice of using the term Indigenous instead of Indian. “Indian” is frequently used by researchers focusing on Brazilian Indigenous populations and is not considered a pejorative term in the Brazilian context. As Alcida Ramos explains “the Indigenous movement of the 1970s and 1980s reappropriated the term” and associated it with a political agency (Ramos 1998, 6–7). It is also used by the Indigenous peoples in The Lower Tapajós region. However, there has been some discussion on the pejorative connotations of the word. Therefore, I prefer to operate with the term Indigenous in this thesis. The term Indian appears in quotations from previous research and other sources. I should also explain my choice to write the term Indigenous with a capital I. Here, I follow Shawn Wilson, who writes that the term indigenous with small i is a term given by the outsiders to define Indigenous people. The Indigenous peoples reclaim the word Indigenous with a capital I, and so to underline the political implications carried by the term, I prefer to use the term with a capital I in this thesis (Wilson 2008, 15).

3.2 Relational ontology

Performativity and constituting differences, however, does not give us a holistic picture of why and how certain groups reclaim Indigeneity, and how it is constructed. Reasons for different Indigenous groups vary greatly, and I do not wish to imply that what is true in the context of

the Boraris of Brazilian Amazonia would be so for other Indigenous groups. In the case of the Boraris, land rights gain special attention due to disputes over the Indigenous territory. As stated in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), land rights are one of the crucial elements for the survival of Indigenous cultures (2007). Land rights are also the core of disputes in the Lower Tapajós area, in which the Indigenous groups territories are constantly under threat by illegal miners, loggers and land grabbing. It is therefore relevant to look into theories regarding relations between humans and the environment, especially in the Amazonian context, to understand why the land and environment are so crucial for the survival of Indigenous cultures.

In Western science, it has been a common tendency to make a clear separation between nature and culture. This point of view is based on naturalistic theories, according to which all beings are physically similar, and their inner world to be what differentiates them from each other. Landscape studies have emerged, especially since the 1990s, to find approaches for not considering culture and nature as something isolated from each other. Taking on anthropologist Gregory Bateson's theory on the ecology of the mind, which questioned the dichotomy between mind and the environment, one of the most influential landscape theorists, Tim Ingold, has sought not to treat culture as something separated from other human practices. To overcome the opposition between "the naturalistic view of the landscape as neutral, external backdrop to human activities, and the culturalist view of that every landscape is a particular cognitive or symbolic ordering of space", Ingold uses the dwelling perspective (e.g., Ingold 2000). Ingold argues that the landscape is constituted as an enduring record of "the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it" (Ingold 2000, 189). In this way, for Ingold, the landscape is always under construction and historical (Ingold 2000, 20). For Ingold, the term "landscape" consists of the human's cultural interpretation of it, and the landscape bears meanings and possibilities for the human's actions. Thus, the two constitute each other.

Cree scholar Shawn Wilson has argued that Indigenous ontologies consider a relationship with something as "more important than the thing itself." (Wilson 2008, 73). Wilson explains that Indigenous identities are based on relations that include people, nonhumans, the environment, the cosmos, and the ancestors alike. As Wilson has emphasized in his article on Indigenous identities:

"Identity for Indigenous people is grounded in their relationships with the land, with their ancestors who have returned to the land and with future generations who will come into being on the land....We are the relationships that we hold and are part of" (Wilson 2001, 80).

In anthropology, studies in relational ontology approach the differences in ways of being in the world as constructed in relations, and not as substances. Most influential theories developed by researchers focusing on Amazonian Indigenous peoples and their relations with the environment include perspectivism developed by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, as well as a new interpretation of animism constructed by Philippe Descola. Both theories draw from French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss' structuralist theory of the human mind as equally "natural" and "animal" as that of the nonhuman beings, and culture as something not fundamentally differentiated from nature, but instead produced by natural beings. Viveiros de Castro interpreted this theory and his own experiences in the field, arriving into the conclusion that Amazonian people consider nonhuman beings to possess humanity equal to that of the humans. He called this theory "perspectivism", as he argued that from each animal's perspective, they were humans, and all other species were animals. Therefore, whereas Lévi-Strauss's theory saw culture as part of nature, Viveiros de Castro argued that there is one single culture, and multiple natures (Viveiros de Castro 1998, 478), and beings have similar interiorities but dissimilar physicality (ibid.). Perspectivism is an important concept for understanding the centrality of the body in Amazonia. In many Amazonian Indigenous cultures, body is considered equivalent to a being's personality and identity. Differences between entities are thus due to their different bodies, which give them different perspectives. I have decided to leave the question of the body out of my analysis, as I am already addressing many other points of view. Viveiros de Castro's theory of perspectivism has later been criticized for its anthropocentric view of the human as the archetype for all beings (Turner 2009).

Philippe Descola's new interpretation of the much-criticized concept of animism equally noted that Amazonian peoples consider all beings to possess similar interiorities and different physicalities. In his influential work *Beyond nature and culture* (Descola 2013), Descola generalizes all Lowland South American cultures under his argument "the identities of human beings, both living and dead, and plants, animals, and spirits are altogether relational" (ibid., 11). For Descola, differences in interiority were the source of differences in physicality. This notion, as well as that of perspectivism, however, ignores some critical aspects of Amazonian

cultures, such as body modification as a means for shaping one's identity and relations. An essential and useful notion included in these two theories, however, is that many Amazonian people consider nonhuman beings to possess interiority and agency. As Sylvie Poirier writes, "relational ontologies consider that the volition and agency of nonhuman others are facts of life ... and that sociality and historicity are indisputably inclusive of nonhuman others" (Poirier 2013, 54).

One important aspect regarding the Boraris' relations with the environment and the dynamic between the community members and outsiders is the concept of ownership, and especially the nonhuman "owners" or masters of places or game typical of Amazonian Indigenous ontologies. The game masters typically control the species they are masters of, and the relations humans have with the game species or places in question. Humans' relations with these owners or master spirits should thus be respectful and reciprocal to get access to the game or place that they protect (Fausto 2008). As Álvaro Fernández-Llamazares and Pirjo Kristiina Virtanen write on their paper considering game masters and Amazonian views on sustainability, "the existence of master spirits in Amazonian life-worlds can be understood as a materialization of mastery relations. The forest is therefore seen as an extended web of social relations, which entails the recognition that nature is endowed with agency and power" (Fernández-Llamazares and Virtanen 2020). Places are owned not only by humans but also by these nonhuman entities. As Fernández-Llamazares and Virtanen write, these relationships include specific rules and guidelines that have to be followed. Elemental values for Amazonian cultures are "reciprocity, care, and conviviality, which guide the moral acts of humans, as well as those of other lifeforms, most of which are considered to be sentient beings" (ibid.). Unbalanced relations can lead to consequences such as illnesses or deaths or the scarcity of game. In the Lower Tapajós region, these owners are commonly referred to as *encantados* or mothers.

3.3 Intangible cultural heritage

The temporal aspect is undoubtedly interesting when considering re-emergent Indigenous populations. A group's understanding of their past and identity is expressed in their cultural heritage and the meanings associated with it. The modern concept of cultural heritage was developed together with nations and nation-states. Created from a Eurocentric point of view, it largely considered monuments and other tangible heritage. Since the early 2000s, the concept has changed content and intangible cultural heritage, vital or the survival of Indigenous peoples,

has been created. According to the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage intangible heritage includes “oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; performing arts; social practices, rituals, and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe, and traditional craftsmanship” (UNESCO 2003).

Regarding cultural heritage and Indigenous peoples, The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP 2007) includes cultural heritage, and the World Intellectual Property Organization also addresses the misuse of Indigenous cultural heritage. Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples has defined in its study of cultural heritage:

“Indigenous peoples’ cultural heritage includes tangible and intangible manifestations of their ways of life, world views, achievements and creativity, and should be *considered an expression of their self-determination and their spiritual and physical relationships with their lands, territories and resources*. While the notion of heritage encompasses traditional practices in a broad sense, including language, art, music, dance, song, stories, sports and traditional games, sacred sites, and ancestral human remains, *for indigenous peoples the preservation of heritage is deeply embedded and linked to the protection of traditional territories*. Indigenous cultural heritage is a holistic and inter-generational concept based on common material and spiritual values influenced by the environment” (EMRIP 2003, my emphasis).

Here self-determination and relation to the territory is emphasized. Hence, my research questions on the means and motives for self-identification of the Indigenous peoples and their relation to the environment are closely linked to the question of cultural heritage.

Jérémie Gilbert continues that protecting Indigenous cultural heritage has to “allow contemporary expressions of cultural practices recognized as such” (Gilbert 2017, 36). It cannot be fixed in the past. Indeed, current research on cultural heritage stresses its discursive nature stating that the meaning of heritage is always constituted in the present. Heritage is regarded as something produced by humans, and therefore it is a process (Smith 2006). Laurajane Smith has written on cultural heritage as negotiation and means for expressing and understanding identity through remembering. According to her:

“heritage may also be a resource that is used to challenge and redefine received values and identities by a range of subaltern groups. Heritage is not necessarily about the stasis of cultural values and meanings, but may equally be about *cultural change*. It may, for instance, be about *reworking the meanings of the past as the cultural, social and political needs* of the present change and develop, or it may be about *challenging the ways in which groups and communities are perceived and classified by others*” (Smith 2006, 4. My emphasis.).

Heritage can be used as a tool to rearticulate Indigeneity. What is important to note here is that history is usually written by the powerful few, and the concept of memory works as a tool to address the past of subaltern or minority groups.

4. Indigeneity in the Lower Tapajós region – Legal definition and history

In this chapter, I focus on the international and national legal definitions of Indigeneity in Brazil. I also present the history of Indigenous peoples in Brazil, with a special focus on the Indigenous people of the Lower Tapajós region.

4.1 Legal framework for defining Indigeneity in Brazil

Using the term ‘Indigenous’ when referring to people became more common only in the 1970s, for instance by the International Labour Organization (ILO), announcing that Indigenous rights were “based upon the principles of original occupation of land and the pursuit of traditional ways of life” (Niezen 2005, 588). In 1986, the special rapporteur to the UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities, José Martínez Cobo, published his Study of the Problem of Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations, in which he emphasized the Indigenous peoples’ self-identification (UNCHR 1982). The International Labour Organisation’s Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (1989) states in Article 1 (1b):

1. This Convention applies to:

(a) tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations;

(b) peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonisation or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions.

2. Self-identification as indigenous or tribal shall be regarded as a fundamental criterion for determining the groups to which the provisions of this Convention apply.

It is important to note that the term was imposed by outsiders, usually the colonizers, as a generalization to refer to different people (Pratt 2007). The term has been later adopted by the descendants of Indigenous peoples themselves for political use in Indigenous movements. It should also be noted here that Indigeneity is not a homogenous concept but includes a variety of mostly differing cultures. As noted in United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous peoples have argued against the adoption of a formal definition of the term, stressing the right of each Indigenous peoples to define themselves and the need for flexibility considering the matter (UNDRIP 2007). Indeed, Erica Daes, the Chairperson of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations during the years 1984–2001, has noted that “indigenous peoples have suffered from definitions imposed on them by others” (Daes 2008).

Brazil's National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) is the official indigenist organ of the Brazilian State. Created by Law No. 5,371, dated December 5, 1967, and linked to the Ministry of Justice, it is the coordinator and primary executor of the federal government's indigenist policy. Its institutional purpose is to protect and promote the rights of indigenous peoples in Brazil⁴. Funai declares on its website that "identity and ethnicity are not static concepts, but dynamic processes of individual and social construction. Thus, it is not up to the state to recognize who is or is not indigenous, but to ensure that individual and social processes of ethnic identity construction and formation are respected. The criteria adopted by FUNAI are based on ILO Convention 169

⁴ <http://www.funai.gov.br/>.

on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, fully promulgated in Brazil by Decree No. 5,051 / 2004, and the Indian Statute." Brazil's Indian Statute (Law 6,001 / 73) defines, in its article 3, Indigenous people as "... any individual of pre-Columbian origin and descent who identifies himself and is identified as belonging to an ethnic group whose cultural characteristics distinguish him from national society."

The definition of Indigenous peoples is highly flexible. Self-identification is stressed, which is particularly important in cases resembling that of the Tapajós region, in which the colonization process has continued for a long time and been intense and persistent. Thus, the situation calls for strong political movement and self-identification to be able to defend Indigenous livelihoods and rights in the area.

4.2 History of Indigenous peoples of The Lower Tapajós region

First European colonists to travel along the Amazon river described it as densely populated (Carvajal, [1542] 1941; Heriarte, [1662] 1959;). Archaeological evidence from the area is still largely uncovered, although one of the oldest findings of the Amazon has been discovered in this region. Denise Schaan describes the historical records: "these stratified societies were reportedly ruled by regional chiefs whose symbolic and political power at times extended for many kilometers, as was the case with the Tapajó province, whose main center was located in today's city of Santarém" (Schaan 2011, 19). First historical reference from this area was made in 1542 by Jesuit friar Gaspar de Carvajal, who was the chronicler of Spanish conquistador Francesco Orellana's expedition. Carvajal was impressed by the quantity of native inhabitants in the river margins (Carvajal, [1542] 1941). The first Portuguese arrived in the Tapajós River area in the second half of 17th century. At the time, the dominant Indigenous groups in the area were Tapajó and Tupinambá (Menéndez 1981). Pereira even refers to a "large nation" that all the Indigenous groups in the area would have been connected to (Pereira 2009, 19). As cited by Pereira, sources from the 17th century mention the place where the village of Alter do Chão is situated today as being inhabited by different ethnic groups, that were part of the large nation. In these times, the Portuguese called it "Village of the Boraris", as they were the majority in the village. As cited by Pereira, chroniclers during the first European contact (1650s) mention that the people in Lower Tapajós area spoke *língua geral* (common language) in addition to their distinctive languages. According to Pereira, this adds to the argument that the Indigenous

groups in the region were not isolated, distinctive groups, but formed an interdependent network.

The colonists strove to use the Indigenous peoples as the labor force to exploit the riches of their environment. In 1661, on the place where the city of Santarém is situated today, Jesuit João Felipe Bettendorf founded the mission of Nossa Senhora da Conceição (Bettendorf [1698] 1990, cited in Vaz 2010b). Different Indigenous groups in the area were brought into the mission to be evangelized and "civilized", to change their cultural traditions to Christian ones. Various other missions were established along the Tapajós River as well. One of these was called Nossa Senhora de Purificação, established in the village of the Boraris, today known as Alter do Chão (Leite 1943). This process of capturing was later intensified, causing a decline in the population in the principal Indigenous settlements (Pereira 2009, 29). Apparently, inhabitation of the area was organized around the missions even after the Jesuits were driven away between the years 1757-1760 (Pereira 2009). As anthropologist Omaira Bolaños concludes "in general, in the official history the missionary enterprise has been considered a successful project of assimilation of colonial domination" (Bolaños 2008, 78).

The Jesuits were expelled from the area by the Portuguese colonizers, who wanted to exploit the Indigenous labor force without their interference. Between 1757–1798 Portugal's powerful Secretary of state, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, the Marquis of Pombal, established his Directory of the Indians (*Diretório dos Índios*). It was a policy for the indigenous peoples to be transformed into "free men and citizens," but at the same time "vassals of the Portuguese sovereignty." In other words, its purpose was to turn the indigenous peoples into effective labor force and integrate them into the Portuguese society (Moreira Neto, 1988, cited in Vaz 2010b, 64). This assimilation process included encouragement of marriage with white people, prohibition of Indigenous languages and nudity as well as obligatory use of "decent" clothes and the Portuguese language. In 1758, Borari mission was officially made into a vila⁵, and named Alter do Chão (Pereira 2009). The 42 years of the Directory were destructive to the local Indigenous societies and cultures. This period is also referred to and remembered by the Boraris of Alter do Chão today as a challenging time for the local Indigenous population, many leaving Alter do Chão to escape into the surrounding forests. After the end of Pombal's Directory, Portugal prohibited the enslavement of the Indigenous peoples, but "violent indians" were

⁵ In Brazil, vila refers to a population smaller than that of a city, but bigger than that of a village.

considered an exception to the rule. Many of the escaped Indigenous populations preferred returning to the economic centers voluntarily, avoiding the violent captures. The Indigenous peoples were seen as workforce, brought into the commercial center of the region to be redistributed. In the case of Tapajós area, the center was Santarém (Moreira Neto 1988, cited in Vaz 2010b, 67). The economic system based on the power of local "directors", had profoundly changed the traditional Indigenous economy and social organization Ioris 2005.

Independency of Brazil 1822 included the "Indian question", of how indigenous peoples related to or could be included in the new sovereign nation. Some considered it the nation's responsibility to "preserve Indians" as a national historical patrimony, while others saw the Indigenous peoples as possible "neocitizens" who could contribute to nation-building (Guzman 2013, 36). In 1831, the Indigenous peoples' rights were included in the legislation. At this stage, the law considered the Indigenous population incapable of governing themselves, and therefore in need of protection from the state. Additionally, it aimed for the assimilation of the Indigenous people into the dominant Brazilian society (Rodrigues, 2002).

In the The Lower Tapajós region, in the year 1835, the unsatisfied *caboclo* population, along with other poor, rebelled, and a war, *Guerra de Cabanagem*, started. These separatists fought against the state to separate the Amazon region from Brazil. The rebels resisted for a long time in the Tapajós region as well but were eventually defeated, and the war ended in 1840. Local anthropologist and Munduruku scholar Florêncio Vaz explains that the memory of Cabanagem is still essential for today's people claiming Indigenous identities in the area. The local people consider the war as one of the examples of the continuous resistance against the dominant powers⁶. After the war, stronger oppression was imposed on the rebels. Various communities escaped to the interior region, and thus many of the contemporary villages (*aldeias*) of the area were formed (Ioris 2005).

Henri Bates, an English naturalist and explorer who visited Alter do Chão and Santarém in 1852 described an annual festival in Santarém. Indigenous peoples from various parts of the city performed dances for the rulers of the city. Bates assumed that the Indigenous groups arranged such shows merely to entertain the citizens (Bates 1875). Pereira argues, however, that “such

⁶ It should be mentioned as an exception that the Indigenous Munduruku people, who had been historically a dominant group in the nearby areas, and moved closer to Tapajós recently, united with the Brazilian State to fight the Cabanos, to gain material goods as a reward.

explicit manifestation of Indianness to whites was a way for the Indians to show that, although invisible, they still existed, with their peculiar customs and beliefs” (Pereira 2009). This notion is interesting, as it shows a possible historical continuation of the Indigenous population in Alter do Chão entertaining the majority to seek attention for their existence and Indigeneity. After the war and until the 1880s, the Tapajós Valley was the central rubber extraction zone, and Santarém was the center of commerce for this exploitation. According to Ioris (2005), “the rubber economy more intensively incorporated the Munduruku, as well as the remainder of the indigenous groups of the The Lower Tapajós region, into the labor force, thereby intensifying their relationship with the market economy” (Ioris 2005, 62). According to Pereira, many Boraris of Alter do Chão also worked in rubber extraction, mainly in the nearby city of Belterra. Pereira also mentions that after returning home, they began planting rubber trees in their colonies as a way of earning income independently (Pereira 2009). The Indigenous population worked for the local landowners. The local landowners also sold essential tools and other necessary things for the workers for a very high price, so they would always be in debt for the landowners and paying for their debt by working (Oliveira, 1983, cited in Ioris 2005). Many of the landowners mistreated their workers in cruel ways. However, there was nowhere for the workers to escape, because the landowners lived in every river bend (Vaz 2010b).

In 1910, Indigenous policy became the states’ responsibility with the establishment of Indian Protection Service (SPI), a government agency in charge of Indigenous matters. It aimed to secure indigenous peoples’ rights to their lands and traditions and organized various expeditions to Indigenous lands to obtain information about the peoples and cultures. However, in the 1960s, the agency faced accusations of corruption and inefficiency. It was substituted by the current governmental agency, National Indian Foundation Funai in 1967. The new agency was installed while Brazil was under a military dictatorship (1964–1984), and its policies changed little from SPI. In Brazil in 1973, Indian Statute was installed, increasing the tutelage and control of the state over the Indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples’ autonomy was still considered a threat to the Brazilian nation, and Indigeneity was considered a “temporary attribute” (Rodrigues 2002, 490). Furthermore, lands occupied by Indigenous peoples stood in the way of one of the military regime’s primary goals; economic development, including road construction, mining, and agricultural projects. “Indian posts” were installed in Indigenous communities, forcing permanent interaction with the agency, affecting their social structures (Warren 2001). At the same time, the Indigenous movement was gradually emerging in the country. Alcida Ramos has argued, that the Catholic Church had a significant role in this, with

the founding of CIMI (Indigenous Missionary Council) in 1972, which brought people from different communities together (Ramos, 1998).

The military government strived to bring the Amazon region into the national economy. In this process, the Trans-Amazonian and Santarém-Cuiabá highways had fundamental strategic importance. Consequently, the federal government established most of the colonization projects there. In 1976 the federal highway BR-163 was opened, linking the city of Cuiabá to Santarém. The opening of the highway led to a sudden demographic change in the city of Santarém, with a migrant population coming mainly from the Northeast (Almeida, 1974, cited in Pereira 2009). According to Pereira, in 1969, the Boraris of Alter do Chão began to defend the community interests through the Alter do Chão Community Council (Pereira 2009). In the early eighties, the village of Alter do Chão was increasingly affected by the emerging national and international tourism. With the opening of the state highway PA-457, which connects Santarém to Alter do Chão, tourism in Alter do Chão gained new momentum between the years 1983-1985. It triggered conflicts in the areas of traditional occupation of the Borari (Pereira 2009).

During the 1980s, Indigenous peoples became gradually more visible in Brazilian politics, cooperating with nongovernmental organizations to fight for their land rights and to gain public attention for their causes. Finally, the 1988 Constitution was established after the fall of the military regime and as a result of further democratization of the country. The Constitution was also a result of the strong influence and participation of the Indigenous people. The new Constitution included Indigenous peoples' rights to land, but also social and cultural autonomy. It also encouraged the establishment of Indigenous organizations. These organizations have an essential role in demanding the execution of Indigenous rights and the protection of their territories. Although these rights are included in the 1988 Constitution, their implementation in practice is often a different story, requiring active public discussion and call for illegal activities and intrusions on the Indigenous lands. The process of Indigenous land demarcation, organized by FUNAI, includes anthropological research and report on the group in question, demonstrating a 'traditional occupation' in the territory by the group in question. Traditional resource use in the territory and local histories and ancestry related to the territory are included in the report. In the case of the Boraris of Alter do Chão, such a report was produced in the year 2009.

According to Pereira, the 1990s in Alter do Chão were characterized by disorderly land occupation, illegal trade of public lands, as well as by the more significant intervention of the municipality of Santarém in the village of Alter do Chão. Many came from Santarém to settle in the town, which has become a beach resort with holiday homes. As Pereira states, “it was a period of intense changes in the socio-political structure of the local community” (Pereira 2009, 38). Some Borari sold their land due to the pressure from entrepreneurs, who aim to establish more hotels and other businesses in the village. As Pereira states, with the increasing settlement by outsiders, “the community of traditional residents of Alter do Chão began to lose social and political space” (ibid.). All kinds of construction projects began to take over the small village. As mentioned in an interview I had with a local Borari leader, all of this had a profound effect on Alter do Chão and its traditional population. The roads of the small village were paved with concrete. The Boraris claimed their Indigenous status in 1997, and in 2003 the Borari Association of Alter do Chão was founded. The disputes between the Boraris and tourist business, as well as projects that threaten their environment, have continued.

5. “We are facing the threat of loss” – reasons to reclaim Indigeneity in The Lower Tapajós region

According to previous research, the principal motivator for the self-declaration of Indigenous peoples in Lower Tapajós was the establishment of National Forest of Tapajós (*Floresta Nacional de Tapajós*, “Flona”) in 1974 (see e.g., Vaz 2010b, Ioris 2005, Bolaños 2011). In Brazil, National Forests (unlike from entirely reserved National Parks), are established for “the promotion of management of timber production, along with the protection of watersheds and rivers, and scientific research” (Ioris 2005, 14). It was the first government forest reserve in the Amazon region. The creation of the National Forest affected the local people’s access to natural resources, and their possibilities to practice their traditional livelihoods. The Brazilian government considered that these “riverine squatters” did not possess the capability of preserving their environment and should be removed from the area. Some of the communities started fighting for their land rights, and in the year 2000, the government changed their legal status to “local communities,” which gave them the right to remain in the National Forest. On the opposite bank of the Tapajós River, extensive mobilization of the local communities and non-governmental entities started in 1998. As a result, the Tapajós-Arapiuns Extractive Reserve (RESEX) was created between the Lower Tapajós and Arapiuns rivers (Figure 2).



Figure 2. National Forest of Tapajós on the Eastern bank of Tapajós River, RESEX on the Western bank. <http://gazetadesantarem.com.br/chamado-da-floresta-reunira-extrativistas-da-amazonia-no-rio-arapiuns>

An Extractivist Reserve, in Brazil, is designed for the protection of the livelihoods and culture of traditional populations, as explained on the site of the environmental NGO Memorial Chico Mendes (Chico Mendes Memorial). Three communities (Taquara, Bragança, and Marituba) residing in the RESEX area, refused to be called traditional communities and declared themselves Indigenous Munduruku. The inhabitants of the Taquara community made the Indigenous self-declaration in 1998, and the demarcation process of their community with FUNAI was initiated. The Bragança and Marituba communities followed the example in 2001. The movement spread to other communities along the Tapajós and Arapiuns rivers. As a result, the communities created the political organization, Indigenous Council of the Tapajós and

Arapiuns Rivers, CITA⁷. It communicates with the organization of Indigenous peoples of the Amazon, COIAB⁸. From the beginning, the creation of CITA was supported by Indigenous Consciousness Group, GCI⁹, led by Vaz and established in 1997 by a group of students and professors, mostly from the Federal University of Pará, originally from communities along the Tapajós and Arapiuns Rivers (Ioris 2005). Today, 40 local communities have claimed an Indigenous status. They are divided between 13 ethnicities: Arapium, Tapajó, Jaraqui, Munduruku, Arara-Vermelha, Apiaka, Tapuia, Tupinambá, Maitapú, Cara Preta, Camaruara, and Borari. But if rights to resource use were already secured by living in the RESEX area, why did these communities declare themselves Indigenous, nevertheless?

Local anthropologist and Munduruku person from Pinhéi community, Florêncio Vaz Filho, suggests that a local *pajé*'s (shaman) death was behind the uprising (Vaz 2010a, 115). The *pajé* in question was Taquara's regionally famous healer and leader called Laurelino. According to local people interviewed by Edviges Ioris, Laurelino identified himself as "Indian" (*índio*) and encouraged others to do the same (2005). The idea of declaring themselves Indigenous spread from Taquara, Marituba, and Bragança communities along Tapajós and Arapiuns rivers. Vaz explains how the global and mainly, Indigenous national movement also affected the communities in Lower Tapajós, who were accustomed to denying their Indigenous heritage in fear of discrimination and racism. Indigenous peoples started appearing on national television programs in the 1970s. An important influence for the Indigenous movement in the Tapajós area was a similar movement in the Brazilian Northeast, where Indigenous groups started reclaiming their identities and revitalizing their traditions in the 1970–1980's.

Ioris also emphasizes the importance of associating Indigeneity with pride. In her Doctoral thesis, she quotes various Mundurukus stating that they had been made ashamed of their roots for centuries, and reclaiming this identity with pride makes them feel free of oppression (2005). It is also written in the Borari Report, a document produced by the Boraris of Alter do Chão in collaboration with FUNAI, that "the Boraris always recognized themselves as such, taking pride in their collective identity, their customs, their ancestors and their history" (Pereira 2009, 46). The report also states that "the struggle for territory among the Borari has led to a process of resignification of indigenous identity, breaking pejorative meanings and attaching positive

⁷ Conselho Indígena dos Rios Tapajós e Arapiuns.

⁸ Coordenação das Organizações Indígenas da Amazonia Brasileira.

⁹ Grupo Consciência Indígena.

associations to the term” (Ibid.). Therefore, it is quite evident that the changing of the negative connotations to positive regarding the concept of being Indigenous was crucially important for the movement. In April 2000, eleven community leaders participated in a protest at Brazil’s 500th anniversary organized in Bahia. It was a defining moment for the Indigenous movement of Lower Tapajós, as the Indigenous protest, *Marcha Indígena*, left the leaders feeling empowered and confident after meeting and interacting with other Indigenous groups. *Marcha Indígena* also inspired the communities to initiate the demarcation processes in their lands with FUNAI. Additionally, the first Indigenous march on the streets of Santarém was organized, with participants using body paint, feathers, and other visual markers to demonstrate their Indigeneity (Vaz 2010b). It’s important to note here that university students participated in the event and the movement from the very beginning.

Some of the Indigenous groups live in the National Forest (Flona) of Tapajós, some in the Extractivist Reserve (RESEX), some in communities that are struggling with disputes with local loggers and farmers. The community members have emphasized that claiming their Indigenous rights was an essential motive for declaring Indigeneity: “indigenous identity emerges in the region along with the awareness of being a subject of law” Vaz 2010b, 254). Most of the communities have entered the process with FUNAI to demarcate their territories, but as their situation differs significantly, there are exceptions. For instance, Alto Mentai community has been recognized as Indigenous by FUNAI, but they have not wished to start the demarcation process. It is due to their uncertainty about possibly losing some benefits gained by living in an Extractivist Reserve. Reclaiming Indigeneity is a very conscious choice for these communities, whose identities include other categories as well, such as rural workers, traditional population, or *caboclos* (Vaz 2010b, 259).

In the case of the Boraris of Alter do Chão, participation in the Indigenous movement was motivated by “the lack of action by local public authorities to control the irregular occupation of their land of traditional occupation” (Pereira 2009, 64). A land conflict that took place in Jacundá, Alter do Chão in 1997, was particularly important. A non-Indigenous person called Rui Nelson illegally occupied an area, claiming his ownership to it and using violence to force the inhabitants to move. It was necessary to unite the community of Alter do Chão to defend the land from the intruder. This led to armed conflicts with Nelson and the people he had recruited to defend his occupation. The case unfolded in the Civil Court of Santarém in September 2003, with the judge rejecting Nelson’s claim for the land, due to irregular

documents on his land ownership. The Boraris see the case as the beginning of the ethnic consciousness and unification of their movement. To avoid similar incidents in the future, the Boraris needed the means to defend their traditional, communitarian livelihoods and lands. The Indigenous status could provide a legal instrument for this. The Borari Report was created to demarcate territories for the Boraris in Alter do Chão, in collaboration with FUNAI. As the report states, the Borari leaders were:

“calling attention to ‘illegal land grabbing and invasions’ in their spaces of traditional occupation. ‘We are facing the threat of loss, our lives are threatened, caused by major destruction in our areas...’ the Boraris state....The Boraris claim official recognition of their traditionally occupied land, which generally covers the shores of the lake Lago Verde, on the lower reaches of the Tapajós River, and the region of its forming streams” (Pereira 2009, 6).

The Indigenous Association of Boraris of Alter do Chão was created in 2003. Its purpose is to “defend the rights and interests of Boraris of the Indigenous community” (Pereira 2009, 63). The Association has monthly meetings where the community comes together. The Association also organizes the yearly event *Festival Borari*. What is noteworthy about the Indigenous movement in Alter do Chão is that the community elders initiated it, but it has gained force among the young members of the community. Many of these young people have a university education and connect their movement to national and even international Indigenous movements, traveling around Brazil, and also to Europe, to call attention to the threats the Boraris are facing. Therefore, the young Boraris I encountered were very conscious of the meanings of their Indigeneity and how they wished to constitute it.

There is also a Borari women’s collective, *Suraras do Tapajós*. The mission of the group is described on their Facebook page. It is “to combat violence and racism, to empower indigenous women in their self-esteem and in defense of their territories”. *Suraras* also have their own carimbó music group. Most of the members of the collective live in Alter do Chão. Most of them are Boraris, but there are also a few women who belong to other Indigenous groups of Lower Tapajós. The motto used in *Suraras do Tapajós* materials is “*somos guardiães*”, “we are protectors”. The group also organizes events and protests, and during my stay, they took a picture of a hotel that was being built on the area illegally and posted it in their social media account. The photo spread rapidly on the Internet and got to the news. The project was halted

due to the attention the post gained. The *Suraras do Tapajós* group is very active in social media, presenting their Indigeneity there also through videos and photos, and informing the public about environmental threats in the Alter do Chão region. They are also participating actively in a wider Indigenous movement in Brazil, also actively visiting other Indigenous communities in Lower Tapajós area, expanding a network of Indigenous women.

Local environmental organizations are essential allies for the Borari organizations. The Borari organizations, especially *Suraras do the Tapajós*, are closely connected to local environmental organizations and activists, other workers' movements, and non-governmental organizations. At the national level, they participate actively in protests and other events by Brazilian Indigenous peoples. The people I interviewed see their Indigeneity as part of the international phenomenon, arguing that Indigenous peoples are defenders of the environment on a global level, being the guardians of the forests and rivers against corporations and capitalist societies. Members of the Borari community also actively participate in local and regional politics to call attention to the illegal land use destroying the environment.

6. Indigeneity and relationality in The Lower Tapajós region

One of the principal reasons for the re-emergence of Indigenous peoples in The Lower Tapajós region was land rights. Indigeneity of these groups, their traditional livelihoods, and the existence of their cultures depend on land rights. As Laurajane Smith argues: “heritage is about a sense of place” (2006, 75). She continues:

“Heritage as place, or ‘heritage places’, may not only be conceived as representational of past human experiences, but also as creating an affect on current experiences and perceptions of the world. Thus, a heritage place may represent or stand in for a sense of identity and belonging for particular individuals or groups” (ibid., 77)

As mentioned before, these Indigenous cultures, humans are not the only entities that can own land and heritage related to it. In the Lower Tapajós region, masters of game and places, referred to as *mães* (mothers), or *encantados* (enchanted beings), have to be taken into consideration when moving and acting in the landscape. I now seek to find out what role these nonhuman entities have played in the revival of the local Indigenous cultures. I argue that

Indigeneity in The Lower Tapajós region is constituted through relational ontologies, in which nonhuman entities are considered owners and protectors of the land and heritage.

6.1 *Encantados* and *pajés*

Encantados are widely known among Amazonian Indigenous and riverine cultures. As Vaz writes in a collection of oral histories from the region, *Isso tudo é encantado* (2013), the *encantados* dwell in the rivers and forests, and one of the forms they can take is that of Mothers. Some are Mothers of certain animal species, such as Mother of tapirs, or Mother of inambu birds. Specific places also have their Mothers, and these Mothers are named after these specific places (Vaz Filho gives an example: Mother of Igarapé¹⁰ of Jurará). Certain tree species also have Mothers. These Mothers protect animals, trees, or places from the actions of humans.

Vaz describes the local cosmology as that of material and spiritual realities that are firmly connected and can be divided into four dimensions: deep parts (*o fundo*) of waters, such as rivers, igarapés, and lakes, in which the *encantados* live in their home, *encante*. Sometimes these places can be found under the ground, but they are always specific and located somewhere deep, below the dimension in which the humans live. This world is only made visible for humans if an *encantado* wishes to show themselves, or if one goes there in a dream, or is taken there by a *pajé*, shaman of the community. On top of this dimension lies that of the beasts, monstrous beings that can be found, for instance, in thick forests. They resemble the *encantados* but do not live in the “enchanted cities,” but instead isolated in their own houses (*casas*). The apparitions or ghosts (*visagens*) live at the same level. High above these levels is that of the Christian heaven and hell. Of these, the beings of the first and second worlds are strongly related to defending the environment, that is, the *encantados* and the beasts. On some occasions, the boundaries between these two worlds are crossed, and the most famous regional oral traditions tell of the pink dolphin who can turn itself into a human to seduce them and take them into the *encante*. In the case of the Lower Tapajós region, it is situated in the Tapajós River. However, the *encantados* and other magical beings manifest themselves on rare occasions only. The manifestation is most probable at certain hours of the day. The Mothers typically manifest themselves if someone is doing harm to the place or species they protect and making noise in the *encantes* should be avoided at certain hours, as it irritates them. Midnight is considered to

¹⁰ The word igarapé refers to a small body of water, generally a tributary river or a canal, only accessible with canoes or other small vessels.

be the most dangerous time, as it is more probable to encounter *encantados*, beasts, or apparitions at this hour. Typically, people entering these places in a disrespectful way or at a wrong time are attacked. The possible consequences include becoming haunted (*assombrado*), sick, or even facing death (Vaz and Carvalho 2013).

The *encantado* perhaps most commonly referred to in the Lower Tapajós-Arapiuns region is the Curupira. Curupira is a forest-dweller, from the beast -realm, and often described as a little boy with backward feet and red hair. He is a fierce protector of the forest, and hunters and others moving in the forest typically try to please him, leaving him cigarettes to smoke, as he can occasionally help the hunter if well pleased and respected. He can also punish humans that are causing harm to the forest, or, quite often, make them get lost or encounter dangers, just for his amusement. In the Tapajós area, Curupira is often regarded to be female and referred to as Mother. Cobra Grande (a giant snake) dwells in deep waters. It is often also related to as a Mother of waters and protects the water animals. Stories related to Cobra Grande often tell of dangerous situations, in which the giant snake has rocked or even turned over the fishermen's boat.

Pajés, the shamans of the communities, can communicate with the *encantados* and even visit their enchanted cities. For centuries since the beginning of colonialism, *pajés* in the area have had to operate in secret. One of the older Boraris in Alter do Chão told me that it was typical that people visited the *pajés* deep in the forest, where they hid to continue their practice. The only *pajés* the older Boraris remember from the Tapajós-Arapiuns region before the initiation of the Indigenous movement are the influential Laurelino from the Taquara community, and his teacher Merandolino Cobra Grande. However, with the Indigenous movement, at least one new *pajé* has emerged among the Boraris. Young Paulinho Borari from Maró Indigenous Territory appears on documentaries made about the Indigenous movement, where he explains how *pajés* maintain the Indigenous peoples' traditional knowledge and connection to the *encantados*. I was not able to meet Paulinho myself. However, I asked one of the Boraris, (an active participant in the movement, artist, and organizer of *Mutak* festival) who knows him, how Paulinho became a *pajé*. According to her, Paulinho Borari has done the work (*trabalho*) since he was eight years old. Interestingly, Paulinho also studies at the university, and thus is trained both in academic and traditional knowledge.

It is noteworthy that Merandolino and Laurelino did not disappear after they died. They both became a *sacacas*¹¹. *Sacacas* are big enchanted snakes that the most powerful *pajés* become when deceased. As mentioned by Galvão in earlier research (1952, cited in Ioris 2005), the local people consider that Merandolino dwells in an enchanted city in Arapiuns River's waters. During my fieldwork in Alter do Chão, I was also told by one of the Borari elders that Laurelino dwells in a lake situated in the Taquara community's land. As the elder described it, "Laurelino does not want to leave the people alone. He is there"¹², and still sees over the life of the community. The powerful ancestors of the Indigenous populations are thought to inhabit the landscape, and it is considered essential to approach these places in a respectful way. Anthropologist Ricardo Neves Romcy Pereira has stated in his recent research conducted in Alter do Chão with the Boraris, that ancestors that have turned into *encantados* such as *sacacas*, affect the inhabitants' behavior in the area. Sometimes the inhabitants have been forced to move away due to adverse effects resulting from disrespectful behavior towards the *encantados* (Pereira 2018).

Guarding the culturally important places, the *encantados* are also the protectors of the Indigenous heritage. Similar notions have previously been made on history and heritage in the Amazonian Indigenous context. One example is that of the Apurinã Indigenous people of Southwestern Amazonia. Pirjo Kristiina Virtanen describes in her article on the Apurinãs heritage, how for this Indigenous group, their ancestry and history are written in the landscape in the form of, for example, plantations or other modifications of the forest, a deceased *pajé* or relative who dwells in a specific place in the form of an animal, or oral histories considering certain places. As Virtanen notes, "the immaterial and material heritage cannot be separated from the ancestral land" (Virtanen 2019, 334).

6.2 Indigeneity in relation to *encantados* in Alter do Chão

Alter do Chão (Figure 3) is a particularly exciting site considering different ontologies related to the environment, as it is a popular tourist site. Situated in Pará state, Brazil, it is one of the administrative districts of the city of Santarém. It is located on the eastern bank of the Tapajós

¹¹ When searching for the origin of the word *sacaca*, I found out that there is also a plant of the same name (*Croton cajucara Benth*). It is commonly used in the Amazon region as a traditional medicine (Hiruma-Lima et al. 2002). It is possible that the shamans gain their name from this plant, or vice-versa. An Indigenous group called Sacaca is also known to have inhabited the Marajó island (Pará state) (IBGE 2020).

¹² "Laurelino não quer deixar o povo sozinho não. Ele tá lá."

River, a major tributary of the Amazon river. The estimated population of the village is 6 740 persons (Viagem 2019), from which 700 belong to Borari Indigenous people (Pereira 2009).

The village, known for its natural beauty, is becoming an increasingly popular travel destination. During the dry season, beautiful beaches of white sand appear on the margins of river Tapajós, inspiring travel guides to call it "beach paradise" (Stewart 2018), and an "exceptional place in Brazil due to its great scenic beauty" (The Brazilian Tourist Board 2020). The popularity of the site increased when The Guardian famously named Alter do Chão "the jungle's answer to the Caribbean" (McOwan 2009). Actors in local tourism have since used the comparison.



Figure 3. Location of Alter do Chão in Brazil.
https://www.vacationstogo.com/cruise_port/Alter_do_Chao__Brazil.cfm

Superficially, Alter do Chão seems like a regular tourist village, with lots of boat guides waiting on the beach to take tourists to popular nature sites (Figure 4), small shops, hotels, restaurants and bars. It is mostly visited by Brazilian tourists, who come from the city of Santarém. The "proximity to nature" is what makes Alter do Chão appealing to travelers from all over the world.

I decided to do fieldwork for this thesis in Alter do Chão, as Indigeneity is a controversial topic there. The non-Indigenous tourist business is taking advantage of the village's "exotic" past. Perhaps the most telling example is a hotel called Hotel Borari. The locals told me that the owner of the hotel does not have anything to do with the Boraris. These are often the same people who would deny the existence of modern Boraris. There is also a beach ware shop and a restaurant named Borari in the center of the village. The owners are not connected to the Borari movement.



Figure 4. Tapajós River margin in Alter do Chão at the end of rain season.

With the tourism, the traditional inhabitants of the village were pressured to move away, with their houses being bought to give space for hotels and restaurants. Most of the village's economy resides in the tourist business. As one of the Borari elders described it in one of our conversations during my fieldwork, before the construction of the Federal Highway BR-163 (in 1976), the Boraris sustained themselves by fishing, hunting and rubber tapping. After the highway was built, however, financial interest from the outside increased in the village and its surroundings, leaving the Boraris' in risk of unemployment. The Boraris who stayed in the

village have resolved the situation by founding their own small business, such as travel agencies and accommodation. According to the leader, they wish to maintain the natural beauty of the environment, and one of the reasons is that their financial situation depends on it. They are against plans of building higher buildings in the village, because it would significantly ruin the appeal of the place. One of the Borari leaders has built a restaurant in the center of the village. He lives in the same building. The restaurant is decorated with paintings of Indigenous cultures, perhaps to emphasize the background of the owner.

I stayed with one of the oldest Borari families, who have started to use the excellent location of their home on the beach to their advantage by accommodating tourists and visitors in a small hostel attached to their house. Right next to their house, there is a big hotel, almost as if symbolizing how narrow the space that the Boraris occupy in the village is (Figure 5). On the other side of the house, there is a small abandoned space with thick vegetation. The family told me that it is only a matter of time until the owner of the land piece starts to build something on it. Despite the pressure from business owners to sell their home, the family still resists. Their kindness in helping me get more information for my thesis was unforgettable.



Figure 5. A Borari family's home (roof on the right) is situated next to a hotel (on the left) in the center of Alter do Chão. They face constant pressure from business owners to sell their home.

For the Boraris of Alter do Chão, their relationship with their environment is most evidently manifested through their traditional livelihoods, such as fishing, vegetal extraction, small-scale agriculture and, still to some extent, hunting. I witnessed how my host family would make decorations of dried palm leaves. According to Funai's Borari Report, the Boraris use, especially *curuá* (*Astrocaryum vulgare*) and *tucumã* (*Astrocaryum aculeatum*) palms (Romcy Pereira 2009). My hosts would use traditional medicines, had a lot of knowledge on the plants and other elements of the environment and prepared traditional dishes, such as *tacacá*, *vatapá*, and the local fish freshly caught from the Tapajós River. Many of these are of course also important in Amazonian or Pará region kitchen in general, but the Indigenous origins of these alimentary are emphasized by Lower Tapajós Indigenous populations. In Alter do Chão, river Tapajós has a strong presence, and it floods significantly during the rainy season, covering parts of the land. The river then has a vital role in the Borari's relations with the environment, and different seasons are connected with different activities, such as fishing or collecting palm leaves.

In one of the conversations I had with the young Borari women, they mentioned that they were born of the Tapajós River¹³. Therefore, the Tapajós River bears an even deeper meaning for the Boraris than being just a culturally and historically important element; it is their very origin and life-giver. In the conversation, similar examples of Mothers and other *encantados*, as Vaz mentions in his research, were referred to and present in the memories, meanings, and experiences connected to the river. I also witnessed how the first child ever to be named Borari at birth, was raised to have a strong connection to the river. She was regularly bathed there, and the importance of the river in the creation of the children was emphasized.

The river is a crucial cooling element in the heat and gives fish to people who respect its *encantados*. A connection is made between the pollution of the river and the disappearance of the fish. The scarcity of fish is considered to be the consequence of disrespect towards the river and its *encantados*. The local environment is strongly affected by the agribusiness, mining, and logging projects in the area, and the river Tapajós polluted by the ever-increasing motorboats. The need to defend the environment is also explained through *encantados* by *pajé* and academic Paulinho Borari in a video documentary of the Indigenous movement:

¹³ “*A gente nasceu do rio*”.

“We believe in *encantados*. And we have them as our brothers, as our partners, they are there helping during the days and the nights. It is my dream to see all of that free. It is difficult, the fight is hard, but we never give up dreaming, because to dream means to have faith, to believe. And we must continue to believe”¹⁴ (Correa 2016).

As mentioned before, frequent land disputes are common in the region. Environmental destruction affects the Indigenous and other riverine populations' traditional livelihoods. The number of fish, for instance, has decreased significantly according to the Boraris. Due to illegal mining, the fish are also contaminated with mercury (Console 2019). Illegal land use, as well as pressure from entrepreneurs to sell their houses, is pushing the Boraris to leave their homes. Alter do Chão has been under pressure from illegal miners (Tomazela 2019) and illegal land grabbing, lately by burning, which has had catastrophic consequences (Figueiredo and Moreno 2019). In 2017, City Council of Santarém planned a new law on land use and occupation that authorized the installation of a port at lake Maicá, currently an ecological sanctuary for various fish and bird species. The law, however, did not pass further in the legislative process due to the united opposition by the Indigenous peoples, *quilombolas* (Afro-Brazilian descendants of escaped slaves, who live in hinterland settlements, *quilombos*), environmentalists, and actors of the tourist segment (Pitombo 2019). The Indigenous peoples of the The Lower Tapajós region are not alone in their fight to protect their environment.

Clinton N. Westman, who has conducted research with the Cree of Northern Alberta, writes: “the Cree maintain their engagement with the land principally on two interrelated levels: by negotiating with the state and with corporations for jurisdiction and benefits, and through their hunting practices” (Westman 2017, 121). The Boraris Indigeneity is constituted through similar entangled relations: it depends on the state policy and Indigenous rights, as well as the land, use of which has to be constantly renegotiated. It is built through reciprocal and respectful relations with the nonhuman owners of places and ancestors, who still act and watch over the community's life. What the land means for the Boraris' existence has been affirmatively stated in their manifesto published in 2017: “our territory is protected by our *encantados*”, and “from the forest and from the rivers come our sustenance...for us, the Boraris, land is our identity”

¹⁴ “A gente acredita nos encantados. E a gente tem eles como irmãos, como parceiros que estão ali ajudando de dia, de noite. E o meu sonho é ver isso tudo livre. É difícil, a luta é dura e árdua, mas a gente nunca desiste de sonhar, porque isso, o sonho é a fé, é acreditar. E a gente não pode deixar, a gente tem que continuar acreditando”.

(Cacique Borari 2017). These two phrases contain the essence of this chapter: The Boraris' existence is tied to their land, and, furthermore, protected by their *encantados*.

7. Means for reclaiming Indigeneity in The Lower Tapajós region

Even though Indigeneity is a status that can help secure land rights, it is also constantly reclaimed and defended, as the example presented in the introduction of this thesis demonstrated. The CITA members' authenticity and motives for declaring Indigeneity are questioned from the outside. As anthropologist Jeffrey Sissons writes, “the very question of Indigenous authenticity has deep roots within colonial racism” (Sissons 2005, 43). Sissons argues that the demand for the “authenticity” of Indigenous peoples is a crucial element of cultural politics in settler nations. What then, are the means the Indigenous movement in Lower Tapajós, and especially the Boraris, use to reclaim and articulate their Indigeneity?

7.1 New categories and visual representations: emphasizing alterity

The Indigenous groups in The Lower Tapajós region use a particular verb to describe their self-identification process; “*assumir-se Indígena*”. It can be translated as “declare oneself indigenous”. The members of the movement use this verb to describe their process as well as to differentiate themselves from those communities who have not identified themselves as Indigenous. What is important to note here is that declaring oneself Indigenous is a conscious process. According to the people interviewed by Vaz, being Indigenous is not a question of becoming, because it is something that was inherently there before the declaration (Vaz 2010b, 229). As he points out, this reveals an assumption that all the community members are, in fact, Indigenous, whether they choose to declare it or not. The Indigeneity of the community members is seen as an issue of public *declaration*. During my fieldwork in Alter do Chão, one of the Borari leaders told me how he encourages others to declare their Indigeneity despite of the negative connotations associated with the term:

“I always say, you do not need to say that you are an Indian. You are a Borari. Do not forget it. I always say, it's here, in the blood. Do not deny your identity, your customs, your culture, your beliefs”¹⁵.

Part of the Indigenous movement in the Lower Tapajós region was the creation of new vocabulary. The leaders of the movement opted for the use of the term Indigenous because they were conscious of the pejorative connotations associated with the word Indian. However, according to Vaz, the Indigenous groups continued using the word *índio* to describe themselves and did not adapt *indígena* (indigenous) to their vocabulary (Vaz 2010b). Nevertheless, when analyzing the materials about Boraris of Alter do Chão, and during my fieldwork, I observed the term *indígena* being more frequently used. The use of the term might depend on the political activity of the people in question, as the Borari community members that appear in my material and whom I met participate actively in politics. At the beginning of the Indigenous movement in the Lower Tapajós, the leaders even strived to ban the use of the words *caboclo* or *ribeirinho* (riverine) in NGOs when referring to their communities (Vaz 2010b, 276). The word “*branco*”, white, also gained new meanings.

As Marisol de la Cadena and Orin Starn have stated, Indigeneities emerge in fields of difference and sameness and acquires its properties in contrast to what it is not (Cadena and Starn 2007). According to Vaz, the word “*branco*” was not used in a polarizing way before the Indigenous movement. However, now it has gained the meaning of “*enemy*”, referring to non-Indigenous people who come from outside the community. The term is used independently of the color of the skin of a person. In the communities where there are more disputes between those who have and have not declared themselves Indigenous, the self-declared Indigenous groups have even called the non-declared communities or community members “*white*”. Because of the disputes, they have started to represent the enemy in the eyes of the Indigenous groups (Vaz 2010b, 277). The motivation behind not declaring oneself Indigenous is often the fear of discrimination. Those Indigenous communities who have good relations with the “*non-declared*” neighbors, consider them to be Indigenous as well, calling them “*Índios não-assumidos*”, non-declared Indians. Other Indigenous peoples are referred to as “*parentes*”, relatives, which, according to

¹⁵ “*Eu sempre digo, você não precisa dizer que você é índio não. Você é Borari. Não pode esquecer disso. Sempre digo, que tá aqui, na sangue. Não negue a sua identidade, os seus costumes, a sua cultura, a sua crença*”.

Vaz, is also the result of the Indigenous movement. Therefore, the term white has gained weight as a marker of difference, with Indigenous or Indian being its counterpart.

In Alter do Chão, differentiation between the Boraris and the others are seemingly easy to make, because, according to one of the Borari elders, “all Boraris are related”. He informed me that the Borari kinship system allows women and men to have multiple partners, but they have also preferred other Boraris. Thus, the kinship relations inside Borari community of Alter do Chão are complicated, and many people are related to one another in multiple ways. However, according to this elder, it also makes it easier to identify who is part of the big family. On the other hand, in a conversation considering the Borari movement, one of the Borari leaders told me that certain Indigenous persons have “a white man's mind” (*cabeça de branco*). He explained that they are against some of the values that the main actors of the Borari movement consider essential, such as the differentiated Indigenous education at the Borari Indigenous school. Whiteness as a category seems to be used to exclude people from the core group in Alter do Chão as well. White people are associated with “development”, as the Borari leaders call it, referring to projects that seek to take advantage of the village and its surroundings financially, ignoring the effects it has on the environment and without consulting the community.

In the beginning of the Indigenous movement of The Lower Tapajós region, a difference between “pure Indians” (*índios puros*) and “civilized Indians” (*índios civilizados*) was made. The modern descendants with mixed heritage were regarded to be more “civilized”. This kind of thinking is in line with that of the dominant society, as explained previously concerning the research on *caboclo* identities. However, the Indigenous movement has changed this mindset. According to Vaz, Indigenous peoples of Lower Tapajós reclaim their Indigeneity by referring to their origins, often to their Indigenous blood (*sangue*). The Indigenous groups, according to Vaz, refer to their origins, typically using the words “our roots” (*nossas raízes*) and ancestry (*ancestralidade*). The groups see themselves as a continuation of ancient Indigenous cultures in the area. However, as much of the Indigenous heritage has been lost, the communities decided which Indigenous ethnicity they belonged to based on different criteria. In some cases, most of the group were descendants of certain Indigenous groups and decided they would all

identify themselves as belonging to that ethnic group. Others, however, based their ethnicity on an Indigenous group that had historically inhabited the place (Vaz 2010b)¹⁶.

Other terms that have gained new weight and signification are *aldeia* and *cacique*. In the beginning of the movement, Indigenous peoples of Lower Tapajós have stated that they prefer not to use the word community, because this word has been used in the region to refer to *caboclo* and riverine groups. *Aldeia*, signifying Indigenous village, differentiates their homeplaces from these other groups. It has also happened with *cacique*, which is now used to refer to the leader of an *aldeia*. According to Vaz, in a meeting in Alter do Chão, the importance of calling Sr. Maduro a *cacique* was emphasized (Vaz 2010b, 280). During my visit as well, everyone called him Cacique Maduro, except for some elders who used only his surname, Maduro. It should be mentioned that I heard the Boraris use more the term *vila*, which is the official definition of Alter do Chão. Indeed, Leila Borari, a young member and leader of the community, states in a video interview “to be Indigenous does not mean that I have to live in an *aldeia*”¹⁷ (*Festival das Águas de Alter do Chão* 2016). Terminology regarding the Indigenous movement thus seems to be under constant renegotiation. As Virtanen and Porsanger have stated, “Indigenous peoples themselves are actors of change...when making selective reflections regarding their past, present, and future” (Virtanen and Porsanger 2019, 295).

Interestingly, the Indigenous peoples of Lower Tapajós have also referred to their physical characteristics to argue for their Indigeneity, from black straight hair to facial features and body structure (Vaz 2010b, Pereira 2009). Nevertheless, the physical characteristics of an Indigenous person are allowed to vary and can also include Afro-Brazilian or white features. However, for the people in the Lower Tapajós Indigenous movement, it has been considered a valid argument, although mostly presented in personal discussions. This kind of argumentation might also have been a phenomenon at the beginning of the movement, as I have not encountered this kind of notion in the more recent materials from Alter do Chão. Indeed, in a video interview, Leila Borari from Alter do Chão states “To be Indigenous is what is inside of me, it is what runs through my veins, in my blood, it is not what is here on the outside”¹⁸ (*Festival das Águas de*

¹⁶ As an exception, one of the groups, Jaraqui, named themselves after a fish that is common in the region (Bolaños 2008).

¹⁷ *Ser indígena não quer dizer que eu tenho que viver numa aldeia*”.

¹⁸ “*Ser indígena é o que tá dentro de mim, é o que corre na minha véia, na minha sangue, não é o que tá aqui fora.*”

Alter do Chão, 2016). It seems that the younger generation in Alter do Chão constitutes their Indigeneity differently from the initiators of the movement.

Apart from the phenotype, other visual markers are also used to argue for Indigeneity. At the beginning of the movement, “Indian clothes” (*roupa do índio*), such as loincloths made of bark fiber, feather headdresses, and necklaces, were considered necessary (Vaz 2010b, 303). This appearance was used in Indigenous reunions and public presentations, in particular. The importance of clothing was evident in Brazilian media at the time. Indigenous speakers in events, who were not wearing “traditional clothing” were presented as *caboclos*, and those who were dressed as “Indians”, as such (Vaz 2010b, 304). In recent years, Indigenous traditional clothing has not been so frequently used in public events by the Indigenous groups of the Lower Tapajós region, necklaces, and other Indigenous decorations used together with t-shirts and other types of “modern” clothing instead. Beth A. Conklin has commented this need for approval of authenticity: “this shift responds not only to indigenous values and internal societal dynamics, but also to foreign ideas, aesthetics, and expectations about Indians. As some native South Americans have learned to speak the language of Western environmentalism... some also have learned to use Western visual codes to position themselves politically” (Conklin 1997).

7.2 Reclaiming Indigenous cultural heritage

Indigenous groups in the the Lower Tapajós region seem to connect themselves with the Indigenous history of the area, even though evidence on their direct descentance of the Indigenous groups that used to inhabit the area is questioned. Constructing historical continuity rises from necessity. In order to demarcate a territory, Indigenous groups in Brazil have to be “approved” by an anthropologist sent there to make a report of the community (Borari Report is one result of this). It creates the necessity to a single narrative that presents the history of a certain group. Anthropologists Carlos Fausto and Michael Heckenberger have commented this process, suggesting that it affects in some cases “the construction of an ethnic identity for oneself and for others”. And “as a result, the applied work of anthropologists in land claims, fundamental to the political and legal gains of indigenous peoples in Brazil...becomes an instrument of the logic of the state it ostensibly aims to counter” (Fausto and Heckenberger 2007, 7–8). Here, the concept of remembering as a means to address cultural heritage rises as an important point of view. In addition to what follows, I would like to mention that the Boraris’

traditional livelihoods are also a part of their living intangible cultural heritage. I have addressed some of my notions about it in chapter 6.2.

7.2.1 “The historians did not study that part” – remembering differently

During the protests for Maró Indigenous Territory, one of the protesters declared, “we have been here fighting for our rights for 514 years, and we will continue”¹⁹ (Barbosa 2014). As can be noted here, the speaker makes no disruption in this fight regarding the time when the populations did not self-identify as Indigenous. Instead, the current movement is discussed as a continuation of the fight against colonialism. Ioris emphasizes that the groups she has interviewed in The Lower Tapajós region are aware that their connection to the precolonial traditions and rituals is very distant, but the pride and freedom to rediscover and value them is what matters more than claims for “authenticity.” In an interview I had with an Indigenous leader in Alter do Chão he said:

“Today we are discriminated against because people think that the Indian has to walk naked and has to live in a house built of straw, to live like, in the woods ... Eating game... but people in the old days, they lived like that because they had no other option... Not today. We have civilization, asphalt, highways, telephones, televisions, computers and everything! We are urban Indians here, and we have our rights too.”²⁰

Here he argues against essentialist notions of Indigeneity as well as claims for authenticity by outsiders in stating that it is indeed possible to be Indigenous and modern at the same time. He was also criticizing the way that history of Indigenous people in Brazil has been written. According to him, Indigenous peoples seemed to have disappeared in many areas because “the historians did not study that part”²¹. Anthropologist Mary L. Kenny has conducted research with recently self-identified Afro-Brazilian groups. Kenny has stated that linking history with memory gives voice to those who have considered to be people without history (2009). The Boraris are reclaiming their past and heritage in the process of declaring their Indigeneity. What I also state later in this thesis is that like in many other Amazonian societies, in the Lower

¹⁹ “A gente está aqui há 514 anos lutando por nossos direitos e vamos continuar.”

²⁰ “Hoje o povo discrimina a gente porque eles acham que o índio tem que andar nú, e tem que estar na casa de palha, morar assim, no mato...né. Comendo caça...mas o povo antigamente, eles viviam assim porque não tinham outra opção...Hoje não. Tem civilização, tem asfalto, tem estrada, tem telefone, tem televisão, tem computador e tudo! Nós aqui somos índios urbanos, tem os nossos direitos também né.”

²¹ “Os historiadores não estudaram essa parte”.

Tapajós communities, history is considered to be present in the landscape in the form of living ancestors.

7.2.2 Oral histories

I have demonstrated in the previous chapter that histories related to the environment and nonhuman beings are an important part of the Indigenous peoples' traditions in the Lower Tapajós area. During my fieldwork, I asked the young Borari women if they could tell me anything related to the *encantados*. My questions were answered with a lively conversation, in which stories about Curupira were told. Family friends or relatives had gotten involved with Curupira in one way or the other. These women told me stories about their relatives getting lost in the forest, or accidentally taking a piece of wood from the Curupira's house and getting punished for it. Curupira is an agent that possesses powers greater than that of humans and can punish humans quite severely. Curupiras are one of the master spirits known throughout the Amazon. They expect humans to behave in a certain way in their presence and close to their homes. It is one manifestation of the need for respectful behavior towards the environment that the Boraris also emphasize.

Regarding the *encantados* connected to the Tapajós River, the young Borari women told me that there are certain places one should avoid. Midday and midnight are the most dangerous hours, because the *encantados* that dwell in that place, can get angry with the noise or general disrespect of going to that forbidden place at that certain hour. One of the women described a case from her childhood, when her brother had gone to play in the river at midnight even though this had been strictly prohibited by their mother. The mother punished the boy and told him to never do that again. Master or owner spirits of places are often associated with this kind of rules and restrictions (Fausto 2008). These notions are also similar to what Vaz has described about the *encantados* in the region (2013). Pereira has also collected the oral histories considering the community in the Borari Report (2009). They are thus an important part of the territory-claiming process.

7.2.3 Nheengatu language

The Indigenous peoples in Lower Tapajós region have lost knowledge on the local Indigenous languages due to assimilation processes. They have, however, found an alternative to

Portuguese from their own heritage. Nheengatu, also known as the "the common language of the Amazon" (*língua geral*), was implemented by the Portuguese to be the universal language in the Amazon area and also to, as researchers argue, homogenize the local Indigenous peoples. The language had been prohibited in the region during Pombal's Directory. Nevertheless, Nheengatu became the first language to some Amazonian Indigenous groups. It has gained importance in, for example, in the Upper and Middle Rio Negro region, where the Indigenous populations were also "mixed" as a result of colonization. Sarah Shulist has conducted research at São Gabriel da Cachoeira, where Nheengatu-speaking Barés live with several other Indigenous groups. The other groups speak their respective Indigenous languages, but the Barés only had knowledge of Nheengatu. Barros, Borges, and Meira have suggested that this choice gave Nheengatu political significance as a "reaffirmation of 'forgotten' indigeneity" (Barros, Borges, and Meira 1996, 211). According to Rodrigues, the use of the language by the CITA members was also an essential proof of the relatedness with Tupi Indigenous groups (2016). Vaz states that the idea for the language revival in the region was further motivated by the leaders' experience at Marcha Indígena in Bahia. In the protest, other Indigenous leaders spoke their respective languages, but the representatives of Lower Tapajós did not have an Indigenous language to speak. This made them feel ashamed (Vaz 2010b). As Shulist writes, "an Indigenous person who is monolingual in Portuguese is seldom seen as an authoritative representative of Indigenous interests in political matters" (Shulist 2015, 118).

Nheengatu seemed to be the natural choice for a local Indigenous language for the Baré of São Gabriel and Indigenous groups of the Lower Tapajós region alike because it was still spoken to some extent by the oldest members of the communities. As Vaz explains, it also carries connotations of resistance, as the populations of Indigenous and black origin used it to communicate amongst themselves in a situation where the populations were mixed or transferred by the colonizers. It was important during the previously mentioned Cabanagem war, which is highly valued as a moment of resistance among the Indigenous populations (Barros, Borges and Meira 1996). Since 1999 GCI and CITA have organized workshops in the communities, bringing teachers of the language from the Rio Negro region. Mark Harris mentions that these workshops aimed for the revaluation of the old customs and beliefs, such as shamanism, traditional medicine (Harris 2006, cited in Vaz 2010b).

Today, Nheengatu is taught in Indigenous communities in the Lower Tapajós region. Certain words in the Nheengatu language have gained new weight with the Indigenous movement. One

example of this is the word *surara*. It means "warrior" in Nheengatu language, and it is also repeated out loud "when the Borari and Arapium need strength to face situations of conflict", as explained by Rodrigues (2016). The use of this word is one of the means of empowerment for the Boraris and Arapiuns. It also appears in the name of the Borari women's collective, Suraras do Tapajós. Implementing Nheengatu connects the communities with their recent past and heritage. Indeed, Vaz has argued that saving Nheengatu meant for GCI activists the same as saving the communities' past (Vaz 2010b, 270).

7.2.4 Art

When talking about the revalorization of the local Borari and other Indigenous art in Alter do Chão, one of the local Borari artists commented that "art is the life of the people"²². It is an important means for reproducing cultural heritage and a process of remembering.

The Boraris of Alter do Chão have revitalized their traditional ceramics. According to one of the ceramic makers, most of it is based on the archaeological findings of Borari ceramics, because it is full of cultural meaning. The knowledge of pottery making has been passed on in the family line, though the reproduction of the old ceremonial ceramics is a recent phenomenon. The Boraris I encountered were familiar with the archaeological research conducted on these artifacts and considered them to be a part of their heritage. They were worried that many artifacts might be left unresearched and referenced some previous research to me. Interestingly, the Boraris have not referenced the archaeological evidence in their land demarcation report (Pereira 2009), but rather refer to the importance of certain vegetation in certain areas as important for the production for their livelihoods (such as areas to collect certain leaves of certain palm species) or, as Stoll notes regarding Indigenous communities in Lower Tapajós area, references to "cosmological agencies (constituting a chain of past or present human and spirit 'masters')" (Stoll and Virtanen [forthcoming], 14) are the basis for land demarcation claims. It is possible that the connection made between the Boraris and this archaeological evidence is a recent phenomenon for them. It seems that the Boraris' notions of their heritage are constantly reshaped and finding new forms during the revitalization process.

²² "Arte é a vida das pessoas".

Regarding Indigenous body paintings in the Alter do Chão community, the young Indigenous women have stated that the corporal paintings are a part of their resistance, and a means to show that Indigenous peoples exist in the area. The Borari women paint themselves also for their reunions. The corporal paintings are also a way to demonstrate ethnicity when the Boraris travel to other places, such as bigger cities. It is a symbol of resistance, and as the young Borari women state, there is now more need to paint one's skin than ever, referring to all the extractivist projects in the area (Festival das Águas de Alter do Chão 2016).

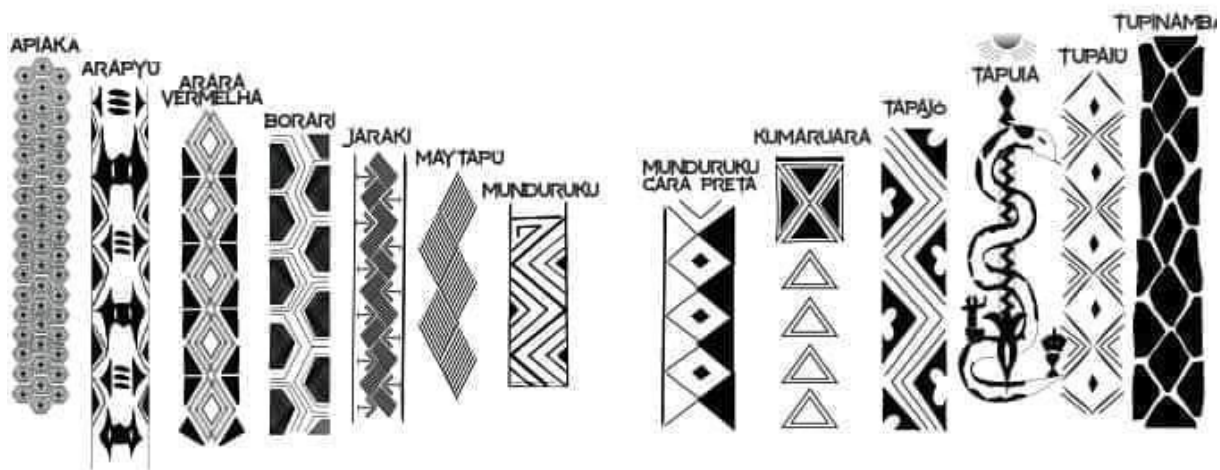


Figure 6. Graphic designs of the 13 Indigenous groups in Lower Tapajós.
<https://www.facebook.com/SurarasDoTapajos/photos/a.579851695728773/866581727055767/>

During my fieldwork, I was told by one of the Borari corporal painters that all the 13 different Indigenous groups in The Lower Tapajós region have their graphic design (Figure 6). According to Vaz, workshops were organized at the beginning of the movement to design these symbols for each group (Vaz 2010b). Most of the designs symbolize an animal. I was told that they give the power of that certain species to the person whom it is painted on. These designs are often presented together for non-Indigenous outsiders, which further emphasizes the close relations between the Indigenous groups. For Boraris, their symbol is a tortoise (*jabuti*). It is considered to symbolize the Boraris because it represents power and resilience. I asked where this knowledge came from and was responded with the notion that it has been “always known”. The knowledge was inherited from the older members and relatives of the community.

There are three different variations of the Borari design. These can also be painted for non-Indigenous persons, who approach the Borari culture with a positive attitude and wish to pay for the work. I wondered if the meanings associated with the body paint differed if it was done on a non-Borari person. I was informed that it is indeed different, but the non-Boraris have been known to feel empowered by the painting as well. This is not considered cultural appropriation by the Boraris, and is regarded more as a means to gain attention for their culture. During my stay, I witnessed the design being painted to visiting non-Indigenous artists and other people who have considerable social media following and who posted pictures of the Borari “tattoos” to their accounts, paying respects and calling attention for the Boraris. Here again, alterity is produced in a very concrete way. Meanings attached to the designs vary depending on the social context, who they are painted on and where they are presented.

Some of the CITA members’ cultural heritage is, naturally, shared with other communities in the area. What differentiates these practices is the new meaning associated with them. There are various regionally common traditions that have become a valuable part of the Indigenous heritage. For instance, the Indigenous origins of traditional handicrafts and decorations made of dried palm leaves is emphasized. *Tarubá*, a manioc-based drink, has become one of the symbols of the Indigeneity of the people and is used in Indigenous ceremonies in the region. This is also the case with *cuias*, small bowls made of dried calabash tree fruit shells (Figure 7). The CITA members use the bowls in their rituals and Indigenous cultural events, especially to drink *tarubá*²³.

Similarly, the *muiraquitã* amulet is an important symbol for the Boraris of Alter do Chão. *Muiraquitãs* are talismans, commonly made of jade, found throughout the Amazon region. There are various myths associated with the *muiraquitãs*, which often represent frogs (other animals, such as turtles and fish, have also been found). These amulets are considered to bring good luck to their bearer and can be bought in various tourist shops in the region. However, to the local population, they have a deeper meaning. They appear in one of the Borari's origin stories, in which a Borari warrior woman called Zineira dived into Lago Verde, a lake in Alter do Chão, and never returned. A big tree bearing green fruits appeared in the middle of the lake. According to a Borari elder, Neca Borari, interviewed by Pereira (2009), these green fruits were the *muiraquitãs*. Zineira is considered to still sleep in the bottom of the lake, giving the

²³ I will elaborate more on this in chapter 7.3, where I address the Indigenous festivities in Alter do Chão.

environment its natural beauty. Today, the *muiraquitã* is used as a symbol for the Borari Indigenous women's collective, *Suraras do the Tapajós*. By emphasizing this specific meaning, the widely known and used symbol gains a new, local weight.



Figure 7. Cuias are used for multiple purposes, also as decoration.

7.2.5 Indigenous schools

Vaz refers to the importance of an Indigenous school in a community, which, according to him, facilitates the claiming of Indigeneity. According to pedagogue Gilberto Cesar Lopes Rodrigues, "formal education currently offered to the 'Indigenous Land Maró' contributes to the strengthening of ethnic reaffirmation process of Borari and Arapium primarily through the activities involving the disciplines of Indigenous Knowledge (*Notório Saber*) and Nheengatu" (Rodrigues 2016, 9). These two disciplines were incorporated to the education program in the three schools in the community in 2010. The schools aim to be bilingual. Its teachers participate in Nheengatu courses at the Federal University of Pará in the city of Santarém.

The Indigenous school in Alter do Chão, Municipal elementary school Antônio de Sousa Pedroso, was made into an Indigenous school in 2003. As written in the Borari Report by

Pereira, Borari school (*Escola Borari*) is an "important space for the social organization and revaluation of Indigenous identity of the Boraris of Alter do Chão" (Pereira 2009). A teacher interviewed by Pereira also states that the school is also essential in "constructing new meanings of Indianness in Alter do Chão" (Pereira 2009, 60–61). In the school, subjects such as Nheengatu language and *Notório Saber* are taught. *Notório Saber*, I was told by the Boraris, is a subject that teaches traditional knowledge of the Boraris to the children. It includes days during which the boys go hunting, and the girls stay in the community, taking care of the housework and making food preparations. It also includes knowledge on the enchanted entities of the environment (*encantados*) and essential places in the nearby environment (*encantes*), similar to the Indigenous school in Maró Indigenous territory.

Vaz explains the importance of visual and spatial emphasis of Indigeneity (such as roofs made of palm leaves, traditional Indigenous handicrafts and alimentation as well as public school festivities highlighting Indigenous traditions) when explaining Indigeneity for the children's parents. The parents feel more involved when they can familiarize themselves with the concept through these cultural elements (Vaz 2010b, 265). I was also told that in events organized by the school, the students perform "traditional Indigenous" dances for their parents and other audience.

7.3 Borari cultural heritage in Indigenous festivities

"Indigenous rituals", as called by the members of the Lower Tapajós Indigenous movement, have gained new meaning since the self-identification process. The community members still associate these rituals with their Catholic faith. Now these events are realized with the participants wearing body paint and headdresses and connected to their Indigenous heritage. As Vaz describes, the rituals include "ritual smoking of a pipe, burning aromatic barks, talking about the respect that everyone owes to Mother Earth and the spirits of the dead, the *encantados* and the spirits of nature" (Vaz 2010b). A possibly new element, according to Vaz, is asking for resources from *encantados*, in a similar way to praying to Catholic saints (Vaz 2010b, 285). The rituals also include moments of sharing of experience of Indigeneity. Moments of discrimination are shared, and times when identifying oneself as Indigenous was shameful, are remembered (Vaz 2010b). As Virtanen and Porsanger write in their article considering Indigenous cultural heritage, "cultural heritage can also help to rebuild communities and to deal with experiences of trauma" (Virtanen and Porsanger 2019, 295).

In Alter do Chão, events and festivities are particularly important for the local population. It is part of the riverine communities' lifestyle to visit each other along the river, and the Boraris have always been a part of a larger network, visiting the other communities due to different festivities or events. It should also be noted that the distance between the center of Santarém and Alter do Chão is merely 40 kilometers. Therefore, one of the means for emphasizing the Indigeneity of the locals is cultural events, in which the Boraris present their cultures to tourists. These are also important events for performing and emphasizing the Indigeneity of the Boraris in very concrete ways. The most popular event organized in this little tourist village is *Çairé*, one of the oldest Indigenous traditional festivals in the country. Once a year, Alter do Chão also hosts *Festival Borari*, which celebrates the local Indigenous cultures. New festivals are also being organized, such as culinary and film festivals, as well as a new event to celebrate Borari Indigenous culture, *Mutak*. If one gets to know the little village better, lots of smaller events are soon revealed, many of which are organized by the local families to celebrate their traditions. Smaller scale local festivities that are gaining new meaning are *Festas de Santo* and carimbó events. *Festas de Santo* are traditional events organized in the communities near Alter do Chão. Similar to the rituals mentioned before, the *Festas de Santo* refer to Catholic elements, the Saints, but also contain Indigenous elements. In Alter do Chão region, these events are essential for the social relations between the communities.

The Indigenous elements were emphasized for me as I participated in one of the *Festas de Santo (Santíssima Trindade)*. These included the celebration of food abundance, and decorations made of dried palm leaves. Carimbó is a dance and music tradition of Indigenous origin, with Portuguese and Afro-Brazilian influences. In Alter do Chão, this musical tradition has been retaken by the Borari community as one of the means for expressing their Indigeneity. There is a Borari women's carimbó group, whose lyrics tell of Indigeneity and empowerment from the women's point of view. Every Thursday, an event called *Quinta do Mestre* is organized in Alter do Chão, and the Boraris emphasize the Indigenous origins of the music and dance traditions. Carimbó lyrics of the other local bands are predominantly about the Tapajós River, fishermen, and the enchanted pink dolphin, as well as other *encantados*.

Laurajane Smith writes that cultural performance “reinforces the idea that heritage is ... an active process engaged with the construction and negotiation of meaning through remembering” (2006, 66). I now analyze the biggest Indigenous festivities organized annually

in Alter do Chão in more detail. I use as my tools the concepts of Indigeneity, relationality and cultural heritage.

7.3.1 *Çairé*

Çairé is one of the oldest celebrations of Amazonia, existing for at least three hundred years (Carvalho 2016). A large amount of previous research on *Çairé* exists, and therefore, I analyze the festival through it, but also connecting it with my research findings. *Cairé* was also part of the cultural revival of the region, but it was not connected to the Indigeneity of the inhabitants or the movement (Vaz 2010b, 287). It includes references to the Boraris and their traditions, which makes it interesting for this thesis. The event has been originally organized in four different localities, but only the one in Alter do Chão still goes on. According to most studies, *Çairé* originally symbolized the arrival of the Portuguese colonizers. Catholic elements of the celebration came from the Jesuits, who used it to enforce their religion to the Indigenous population. According to historical records (cited in Dias 2019, 21), *Çairé* incorporates beliefs, ritual practices, and the spiritual force that come from nature. Since its birth, the celebration has gone through significant changes. The name also means the material symbol of the celebration. Pereira well describes it as “a ritual object of about one meter, made of half-moon-shaped wooden stalks, covered with cotton and wrapped in colored ribbons, containing a cross at the top and internally divided by rods that support a set of three crosses. The women traditionally carry the symbol at the front of the festival parade” (Pereira 2018, 148). The organization of the event ceased for three decades, as the Catholic Church prohibited it from 1943 to 1973. The date of the event was changed from January to June, July and finally to September in the 1990s. This date fitted best in the tourist calendar of Alter do Chão. At the same time, an entirely new part was added to the celebration: a spectacle presenting the “fight” between the pink and grey river dolphins. It added to the popularity of the festival. Therefore, the event was transferred to a bigger square from the traditional venue in the center of the village (Carvalho 2016).

The traditional part of the festival is organized in the same place as before near the river. The new venue even has some structures designed especially for the event. As Carvalho writes, the *Çairé* celebration today moves between cultural memory and innovation (Carvalho 2016, 25). Vaz writes that in the spectacle part, Indigenous peoples were referred to as romanticized people from the past, and their beliefs were presented as “folklore” (members of Borari indigenous movement and Vaz use this term). Alter do Chão as Indigenous *aldeia* is not mentioned.

However, the people I spoke to considered it a beneficial thing for the community that the Boraris were presented in a positive light in the festival. Vaz writes that for him, the festival seemed “contradictory”, in that it was presented as *caboclo* culture, while at the same time referring to and valorizing Indigenous elements in the show. For Vaz, the dolphin part of Festival *Çairé*, similar to other folkloric festivals in Amazonia, seems to ignore the Indigeneity of the locals and bringing famous artists from outside of the communities.

According to anthropologist Véronique Boyer, who has researched the sacredness and profanity of the festival, the locals differentiate between the two parts, the old and sacred and the new and profane, very affirmatively. She also writes that the community is somewhat divided into the defenders of the traditional part, and the promoters of the more recent spectacle part, the first being associated with "culture" and "tradition", and the latter with "development" and "tourism" (Boyer 2018). However, during the conversations and interviews I had with some the locals, I was told that the profane part is in its own way significant for the local culture, as it presents it to the outsiders. As one of the elders of the village said, in that show, all "the old ways", starting with pajé, who are present in the event as two traditional healers (*curandeiros*), are made visible. However, there are different opinions inside the community on how the festival should be presented to the public (Boyer 2018).

7.3.2 *Festival Borari*

Regarding previous research on *Festival Borari* (“Borari festival”), Florêncio Vaz has analyzed the event of the year 2008. The event is also described in the Borari Report (Pereira 2009). I analyze *Festival Borari* from the year 2018 and seek for similarities and differences that could have been developed during ten years’ time. According to Vaz, the organizers of *Festival Borari* wanted to create an event that would appreciate the Boraris of today. *Festival Borari*, organized every July since 1994, was created to "honor and celebrate the Borari's culture and traditions" (Oliveira 2018a). However, it also commemorates the history of other Indigenous groups that live or have lived in the area. However, according to one of the Borari elders that I interviewed for this thesis, the festival has started losing its original meaning in the recent years, becoming more commercialized. Apparently, the organizers have striven to make it more appealing to the masses. The event currently includes forró artists, representing the Brazilian majority culture and having nothing to do with Boraris' traditions. It is similar to what has happened with *Çairé* described previously. However, with *Festival Borari*, the program is not based on an ancient

traditional festivity, and so it can be varied and changed to a more significant extent. Examples of this process can be found when comparing the description of the event in Vaz's previous research (2010b) and the 2009 Borari Report (Ramcy Pereira 2009) with videos of the event of the year 2018 found in the internet (YouTube).

In the first part of the video material, the narrator explains that the festival will "present traditions and culture of Alter do Chão." The narrator continues, "the festival was organized to redeem our traditions, and also to promote the festive spirit of our peoples of our Tapajós." The festival begins with a "ritual". It consists of an older man and women going around the audience, waving a bunch of herbs at them, singing and playing maracas. The narrator explains that this is done "for that we could leave here full of spirit... that our ancestors would bless us via these scents of Amazonian roots" (Oliveira 2018a). It is similar to Vaz's description of Indigenous rituals in the Tapajós area, with the use of smoke and herbs, as well as references to the ancestry. It is also notable, that the performers are not wearing typical "markers" of Indigeneity, such as headdresses. Vaz also noted, when describing the 2008 event, that the leader of the village made his speech dressed in casual clothing.

The narrator then presents a dance performance as a "warrior women, *surara* women". He continues: "they represent the root of Borari people, bringing the scent of resistance, the sacred food that feeds the Borari people, people of Alter do Chão, people of resistance". This narration, differently from the narration in *Çairé*, refers to the Boraris not as Indigenous people from the past, but a people who continue their resistance in Alter do Chão. Next in the program, as presented by the narrator, "warrior women will dance to present to you the resistance of the Borari woman of Alter do Chão". The leader of the dancers adds that "dancing and body paintings remind us of the warriors with bows and arrows that do not exist anymore" (Oliveira 2018a). Vaz writes, that the purpose of the Festival in 2008 was "to seek for the origin of the Boraris" (Vaz 2010b, 288). This purpose seems to be maintained. The dancers are dressed in recognizable "Indigenous" clothing, with headdresses and bark fiber clothes. This could be interpreted as embodiment of the Indigenous heritage. Maori scholar Brendan Hokowithu has stated, that in order to avoid essentialist framing of Indigeneity, we should take into account its immediacy, and, as he states, "there is nothing more immediate than the body" (Hokowithu 2014, 294).

Second part of the festival is dedicated to the Kumaruara people of Aldeia Solimões. The narrator of this part is a Kumaruara woman. She describes all the symbols of the ritual in a detailed manner. She describes them as means of fortification of culture are the body paintings, headdresses, dance, maracas, and Nheengatu-language. A Kumaruara group dances and the woman sings in Nheengatu about the Kumaruara people. She then explains that Tupã, the principal God of the Tupi Indigenous peoples, "is among us, is in the rivers, lakes, and forests, and that the Kumaruaras were born of the river". This is similar to what the Boraris have said about their ancestry, that is connected to the river. The leading woman explains that the Kumaruara people get their name from a tree species. The tree is presented to the audience in a pot that goes around. The woman adds that "land is my body, water my blood," varying the Christian tradition of the body and blood of Jesus Christ. She then asks the other Indigenous peoples to join her in a dance to defend their lands and forests (Oliveira 2018b).

The third part of the festival references the story of the *muiraquitãs*. The version of the story acted out in the Borari Festival defers greatly from the *muiraquitã* origin story described previously in chapter 7.2.4. In this version, the *muiraquitã* was an amulet worn by the Amazons, a tribe of Indigenous warrior women that did not permit men in their village (Oliveira 2018c). This story seems to be presented to please a wider audience, as the story of the *muiraquitãs* is often related to the famous story of the Amazons in Brazilian popular culture.

Overall, Vaz describes the Festival from 2008 as presenting the Boraris as descendants of the Boraris who lived in the area already before colonization. Indigeneity is presented in the dances and shows using headdresses and other visually appealing elements, but also in a more casual and realistic way. It is mentioned in the Borari Report that the festival "presents elements of Borari culture, among them the celebration of food abundance". Food abundance is indeed a recurring theme in traditional Borari festivities, such as *Çairé* and *Santíssima Trindade*. Vaz also mentions the ritual in his description of the 2008 *Festival Borari*. However, in the videos of *Festival Borari* from 2018, no such ritual of food abundance can be found. Another element of Borari culture that seems to have disappeared from the festival is the ritual of the giant snake that threatens the Borari community. Instead, the videos from 2018 seem to contain a lot of big carimbó dance shows and visually appealing elements that resemble the famous and popular spectacles from Northeastern Brazil, such as *Bumba-meu-boi* (Oliveira 2018c–g). The dances highlight the importance of carimbó in the local culture.

Ancestry and historical continuation of Indigenous cultures in Alter do Chão is emphasized throughout the show in *Festival Borari*. Means for cultural revival are clearly expressed by the narrator (the body paintings, headdresses, dance, maracas, and Nheengatu language). Historical continuation seems to have an important role in the public presentation of the Boraris' cultural revival, in connection to other Indigenous groups of the region, such as the Kumaruaras referenced above. What is quite contradictory, however, are the references to caboclos in parts four and seven of the festival. In the fourth section of the show, men in canoes appear, and the narrator tells the audience: *Caboclo* is culture, it is art, it is heritage" and "love of being *caboclo*, to have *cabocloness* (*caboclitude*) in one's soul", "we are what? *Caboclos!*" (Oliveira 2018d). It seems that the Boraris do not deny their caboclo heritage, and can present themselves Indigenous at the same time, at least in the *Festival Borari*. It is especially interesting to see this, considering that Vaz criticizes the presentation of the local people as *caboclos* when describing *Çairé*. This *caboclo* part of the festival is not described in his thesis, and it is possible that it is a new element in the program. It can be noted, then, that the organizers of *Festival Borari* have looked into different ways of presenting Indigeneity during the years. Some elements have stayed the same, such as the presentation of Indigenous "ancestors".

7.3.3 *Mutak – Mukameesawa tapajowara kitiwara*

Mutak – Mukameesawa tapajowara kitiwara is a more recent event organized yearly in Alter do Chão, since 2016. The name, in Nheengatu language, means "Exhibition of Indigenous Art of Lower Tapajós". According to one of the founding members, *Mutak* was established to highlight the traditional arts and handicrafts of the 13 local Indigenous groups. An important aspect of the event is also the gathering of local ethnicities. It connects with the history of the Lower Tapajós region as a place where various communities have interacted, cooperated, and organized celebrations together (Bates 1875). In the year 2018, the event was organized by 30 exhibitors from different ethnicities, presenting handicrafts, painting, cooking, ethnobotany, audiovisual photography. In 2019, the event was organized on July 27–28. The program contained art-related elements: *cuia* workshop, carimbó music, and dance workshops, the weaving of *curuá* palm trees to make crafts, and a *tarubá* ritual. In addition to arts and crafts, local *pajés* and *curandeiros* (community healers), were also included in the program in 2019. Because I was unable to attend the event myself, I analyze it based on the interviews and conversations I had during my fieldwork in Alter do Chão, where I met some of the organizers. I also analyze the content in a local community newspaper *O Boto*.

O Boto provides descriptions of the workshops, among them a workshop of carving designs on *cuias*. As written by the reporters of *O Boto*, the leader of the workshop, Neila Borari, emphasized the importance of reflecting on the meanings of graphic designs on the *cuias*, but also on body paintings and Indigenous craftwork. According to her, all of the designs are "symbols of resistance and permanence of the Indigenous peoples". (*O Boto* 2019a). The workshop of palm leaf decorations is described by reporters of *O Boto* as also "demonstrating the resistance of Indigenous culture, transmitted from generation to generation" (*O Boto* 2019b). Such tradition, like that of the *cuias*, is also typically practiced by women.

Regarding visual representations of Indigeneity, *Mutak* 2019 program included a "forest fashion show" (*desfile de moda da floresta*). The models are described to be wearing "traditional makeup" and "painting of warriors." As described by reporters of *O Boto*, many of the models had clay or woven necklace "inspired by Tapajonic ceramic designs." Many of them carried "a design based on a tortoise, which represents power, resistance, and longevity" (Sarmiento and Aguilar 2019). Most of the models were described to have the Borari tortoise pattern painted on their bodies and faces. Some other ethnicities, such as Kumaruara and Arapiun, were also represented in the corporal designs and with jewelry. Some models were wearing a ceramic or woven *muiraquitã* necklaces and earrings. As reporter Sarmiento and Aguilar describes, "*muiraquitã* is an amulet of protection, luck, progress, and fertility." (ibid.) Many natural materials from the locally relevant plant and animal species were also worn, such as a necklace and earrings made of pirarucu fish scales, dyed with ink made of *crajiru* (*Fridericia chica*) leaves, or a necklace made of *tucumã* palm, dyed with leaves (ibid.). The fashion show emphasizes the Boraris connection to the land by highlighting the local natural products, many of which also have cultural significance.

The opening ceremony on the first night of the events saw the Borari and other Indigenous groups reaffirming their Indigeneity and connection to the The Lower Tapajós region. All participants were invited to sing together a carimbó song about the Borari people. As cited in *O Boto*, Neila Borari stated: "We are writing and rewriting our culture, for it always to continue present." This notion speaks to previous notions on the recreation of the culture previously mentioned throughout this thesis. *O Boto* provides a video of Poró Borari from Indigenous land Maró giving a speech on the ancestry of the Indigenous land in the event, emphasizing the need to take care of the lands. He stated for the audience:

“It is very easy to kill matter, the body, but our spirit continues alive in our territory. Our living territory means standing forest, rivers free of pollution, our living ancestry, our culinary, the language, the art...respect to the differences of our peoples....We are the force for the fight to maintain the forest standing, to liberate air that all breath, regardless of race, color, or religion” (O Boto 2019c).

Poró invited all to sing for more positive energy for their great spiritual ancestors, Laurelino and Merandolino, and all the other powerful deceased *pajés*, the *sacacas* of the 19 (Indigenous) territories of the Lower Tapajós-Arapiuns region.

Mutak, as an event, seems to constitute the Indigenesness of the Boraris as connected to the Indigeneity of the other Indigenous populations of the region. However, it is strongly emphasized that their traditions are different from the traditions of the majority by highlighting their Indigenous origin. It is an interesting notion, as many of the traditions are also practiced by the riverine populations, as mentioned before. The newspaper highlights the Indigeneity of these traditions, but it is possible that they have been discussed from multiple points of view in the event itself. It is interesting, that *O Boto* takes such a strong standpoint on the matter. In the explanations provided by the organizers about the cultural activities, it can be noted that resistance and resilience are often repeated. It further speaks to the Indigeneity in The Lower Tapajós region as a counter-position to non-Indigeneity, and as a statement in itself. It can also be noted that in the event, the Boraris do not deny their mixed heritage, but connect it with new meaning.

Conclusion

My first research question was, why some communities in the The Lower Tapajós region groups self-identified as Indigenous. As this thesis and previous research shows, the reasons were multiple. Land rights were the very first motive, as the communities needed the right to use the resources and protect their territory. However, this could have been achieved by identifying as traditional communities. Proudly reclaiming Indigeneity and associating it with empowerment and valorization, the traditional cultures were largely affected by the death of a *pajé* from the Taquara community, Laurelino, who had declared himself Indigenous. The movement spread from Taquara to other communities along the rivers. For the Boraris of Alter do Chão, the

motivation for declaring Indigeneity was connected to illegal land grabbing and the need to secure land rights.

My second research question was, if the Indigeneity of the Boraris of Alter do Chão connected to their environment, and in what ways. *Encantados* and other nonhuman owners of places and game are considered to be essential constituters of Indigeneity and their heritage. Powerful *pajés* Merandolino and Laurelino becoming *encantados* (*sacaca*) after their death and dwelling in the landscape is an example of how these Indigenous groups' history and ancestry are written in the landscape. The nonhuman entities are a part of the Boraris' history. The Boraris have mentioned that the river Tapajós is their origin, and the *encantados* are their brothers. During the Borari Festival, a Kumaruara performer even mentioned that "land is my body, water my blood". The environment is embodied by the Indigenous people in these words and considered to be an essential part of their existence. Theories regarding relational ontologies have been useful in understanding this, especially the notion that nonhuman beings have agency. Especially crucial for understanding the role of the *encantados* is the concept of nonhuman masters, or owners of places (Fernández-Llamazares and Virtanen 2020). Relations with these agents are reciprocal and must be respectful. From this point of view, the *encantados* are also landowners and actors in the area, which non-indigenous humans often do not take into consideration in their actions. The Boraris stand to defend their *encantados*, who likewise protect the Boraris and their lands.

The revival of *pajés* in the area has also seen their appearance in the public context. The Boraris and other Indigenous groups in The Lower Tapajós region regularly face significant challenges to defend their environment from destruction. Fish are reported to contain mercury, and the pollution caused by tourism and extractivist projects seriously threatens the survival of the enchanting beauty of the nature surrounding Alter do Chão. New means for taking control of the space include Borari-owned tourist business, such as travel companies, accommodation, and restaurants.

My third research question considered the means used by the Boraris in order to reclaim Indigeneity. Anthropologist Florêncio Vaz Filho, who also belongs to one of these communities, had a significant role in the articulation for the Indigeneity of these groups. Local Indigenous association CITA united the 13 Indigenous ethnicities in the area, spreading information on the benefits that Indigenous status could bring for protecting the land rights, as

well as seeing the local traditions as something valuable, gained new force. Workshops were organized, and the leaders visited indigenous protests and events. Initiations for land demarcation process with FUNAI were initiated.

As Vaz has explained, the Indigeneity of the community members is seen as a question of the public declaration, and they argue that all riverine communities in the area are Indigenous, but they can choose if they declare themselves as Indigenous or not. As discussed in Indigenous studies' theories, Indigeneity is constituted around sameness and difference. In Amazonia, alterity is considered an especially important concept in understanding how these differences are created (Fausto and Heckenberger 2007). The relations between the communities that are now declaring themselves Indigenous and the others have been rearranged and reconstituted in the process. New concepts are being created, and certain words are gaining new meaning. "White" as a term has gained new weight, and it is often used to refer to "enemies," and those are not allies of the Indigenous people. Other self-declared Indigenous groups are referred to as "*parentes*", relatives, and thus sameness is constituted between them.

Indigeneity itself has been discussed and reshaped in the process. In my theoretical framework, I have included theories on Indigeneity that explain this phenomenon. Especially Harris, Carlson, and Poata-Smith's notion on Indigenous identities as emergent is relevant to understand the case of the Boraris and other Indigenous groups in the Lower Tapajós region. The ideas have changed from those enforced by conservative ideas about "pure" or "civilized Indians" to a more flexible identity. Using modern clothing and technology does not mean that one has lost his Indigeneity, and the more recent discussions by the Lower Tapajós Indigenous groups show this change. Forms of visual representation of Indigeneity have also changed since the beginning of the movement. Initially, full "traditional Indigenous clothing" was considered important when performing Indigeneity to outsiders. As time has passed and the Indigenous groups have gained force, wearing some elements, such as headdresses, body painting, jewelry, or just one of these, has been considered to be a statement sufficiently strong. However, as the young Borari women of Alter do Chão have mentioned, Indigeneity is something that is inside of a person. Showing ones Indigeneity in a visual way is nevertheless considered necessary in public appearances, and a means of empowerment and resistance. Reclaiming Indigeneity in this context asks for affirmative agency and self-declaration. One of the means for realizing this is performance, and the concept of performativity is essential to understand Indigeneity in a context where it is constantly questioned.

My fourth research question was, how the Boraris present their cultural heritage in the process of reclaiming Indigeneity. Nheengatu language and Indigenous schools are an essential means for reclaiming Indigeneity in The Lower Tapajós region. Nheengatu appears as a definite resistance to Portuguese used by the dominant society. Indigenous schools reinforce the cultural revival of the communities and are important places for uniting families. In the future, it would be an interesting research topic to dwell more in-depth into the role that Nheengatu and new concepts created through it, has in the Lower Tapajós Indigenous communities. As my and other research in the area points out, the traditions in the area have not ceased to exist during the years in which the population did not identify themselves as Indigenous. The traditions and histories are merely being rearticulated and reinterpreted as Indigenous and connected with positive meaning and pride. The Boraris argue that they have resisted colonialist processes since the Portuguese arrived. They see themselves as heirs of the original inhabitants of the area.

My fifth research question considered the ways in which Indigeneity, in relation to the environment and cultural heritage is presented in Indigenous festivities in Alter do Chão. Ritual performances, visual markers of Indigeneity, and Indigenous festivities are all means for Indigeneity to be reclaimed in a very immediate and concrete way. I argue that performativity is significant for the Boraris of Alter do Chão when reclaiming their Indigeneity. As a concept, it highlights the agency of the Indigenous people. They make conscious choices about what they consider to be of importance to their identity, and what is essential to perform to the outside. Performing Indigeneity to confirm it to the outsiders and powerholders is a means to reassure the survival of the cultures and traditional livelihoods that sustain them.

Tourists participating in Indigenous festivities in the village have an opportunity to learn about the Borari Indigenous cultures' existence and spread the word about their situation. Historical continuation and connection with the landscape and visual representation are made in the indigenous festivities, especially in *Festival Borari*, in the form of dances and narration, that emphasize the connection between the ancient Boraris and the current inhabitants of the village, referring to warrior (*surara*) women. Means for cultural revival and heritage, such as body paintings, headdresses, dance, and Nheengatu language, are explained to the audience by the festival narrator, emphasizing the meaning the elements of the show have for the Indigenous people. As has happened with Cairé, *Festival Borari* has, however, seen the effects of tourist business and is gaining more and more spectacle-like elements. Mutak cultural festival was

created to showcase the Boraris' traditional handicrafts, art, shamanic, and healing practices, as well as a visual representation of Indigeneity in a comprehensive manner. What is notable in these events, is that the landscape and its nonhuman owners, such as Mother of Waters of Mother Earth are referred to frequently. In this way, the Boraris' Indigeneity is performed in the form of art and cultural heritage, but also through their connection to the landscape. This connection is one of the arguments for Indigeneity and the right to demarcate the culturally significant areas. According to one of the community members, the Boraris' relationships with their environment, and the *encantados* is the basis of all the cultural events organized by the Boraris in Alter do Chão.

Living in a space largely marked by tourism and non-Indigenous entrepreneurs as well as in an environment threatened by often illegal extractivist projects, the Boraris' means for defending the environment have been active political participation. Defending their culture in this context has meant to take the presentation of Borari Indigenous people in their own hands. Balancing between the importance of highlighting local traditions and financial gains is a challenge. It is constituted through reciprocal relations with nonhuman entities, and it emerges from the environment, or to be more specific, the river. However, many other agents are also important in constituting the Boraris' Indigeneity, such as non-Indigenous allies, nongovernmental and state organizations, Indigenous "relatives", that are both examples (especially in Indigenous leaders that appear in the media) and collaborators (especially in events and political movements), and mirrors of Indigeneity. In the Tapajós River region, it is common to visit other communities along the river. This network also constitutes Indigeneity in relation to communities that have declared themselves Indigenous and also to those who have not. As Shawn Wilson has stated, in Indigenous theories, identity constitutes of relationships that we hold and are part of (Wilson 2001). The Indigenous festivities are one means for bringing the like-minded communities together.

Florêncio Vaz has stated that the Indigenous groups of Lower Tapajós did not invent traditions to showcase for the public but used pre-existing elements to their advantage (Vaz 2010b, 306). The case of the Boraris of Alter do Chão seems to add to this notion. In order to understand Indigeneity today, we cannot deny that it stands as a category differentiated from the dominant culture, and this difference must be continuously recreated and performed for it to have an effect. The emergent nature of Indigeneity in the context of The Lower Tapajós region means continuously finding new ways to perform Indigeneity and to inform other people about their

existence. As Neila Borari stated in one of the Indigenous festivities, the Boraris are “writing and rewriting” their culture (O Boto 2019a). Here I would like to return to the notion made by Virtanen and Porsanger (2019, 295) that Indigenous peoples make “selective reflections regarding the changes they have and continue facing”. It can be seen in the process of referencing phenotype and emphasizing Indigenous clothing at the beginning of the movement to the active participation in social media platforms and distribution of information at the university by the young students, and members of *Suraras do Tapajós* collective. The collective has also taken their Indigeneity to a specific direction, emphasizing the role of Indigenous women in the movement and making connections between different Indigenous groups during their travels to other communities.

A recurrent theme in the Boraris’ self-representation is that of resistance. Borari women as warriors are referenced in the Mutak Borari Festival programs, and the Boraris’ body paints connect them to the resistant, strong, and resilient tortoise. Repeating these symbols, speaking in Nheengatu in the public festivals and community events, are all means for reclaiming and reshaping Indigeneity. The Indigenous festivities are crucial moments for coming together to remember the other defenders of the environment, their influential relatives, the *encantados*, who, together with the Boraris’ deceased ancestors, carry their memory on in the landscape. In this way, the Boraris’ past and heritage are always present. In this thesis, I have emphasized that Indigeneity and cultural heritage are both constructed through processes of self-identification. The Boraris’ Indigeneity and heritage are thus constantly recreated and grounded in their relations to the environment and home places. By defending their territory, they are also defending their existence.

Bibliography

Alasuutari, Pertti. 1999. *Laadullinen Tutkimus*. 3rd ed. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Almeida, Alfredo Wagner Berno de. 1974. Movimentos Migratórios nos Vales do Tapajós e do Xingu. *Programa de Pós-Graduação em Antropologia Social*. Rio de Janeiro: Museu Nacional.

Angrosino, Michael V. 2007. *Doing Ethnographic and Observational Research*. London: SAGE.

Arruti, Jose M. A. 1998. From "Mixed Indians" to "Indigenous Reminders": Strategies of Ethnocide and Ethnogenesis in Northeastern Brazil. In *The Challenge of Diversity: Indigenous Peoples and Reform of the State in Latin America*, edited by Willem Assies, Gemma van der Haar, and André Hoekema, 97–121. Amsterdam: Thela Thesis.

Barbosa, Bob. 2014. *Chama Surara*. Uploaded on December 28, 2014. YouTube video, 09:50 min. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2x1pYKi3p6Q>

Barros, Maria Cândida D. M., Luiz C. Borges, and Márcio Meira 1996. A Língua Geral como Identidade Construída. *Revista de Antropologia* 39 (1): 191–219.

Bates, Henri Walter. 1875. *Um naturalista no rio amazonas*. Ed. Nacional. <http://bdor.sibi.ufrj.br/handle/doc/323>

Battiste, Marie. 2008. Research ethics for protecting indigenous knowledge and heritage: institutional and researcher responsibilities. In *Handbook of critical and indigenous methodologies*, edited by Norman K. Denzin, Yvonna S. Lincoln, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 497–510. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Bettendorf, João F. [1698] 1990. *Crônica dos Padres da Companhia de Jesus no Estado do Maranhão*. Belém: SECULT.

Bolaños Cárdenas, Omaira. 2008. *Constructing indigenous ethnicities and claiming land rights in the lower Tapajos and Arapiuns region, Brazilian Amazon*. University of Florida.

———. 2011. Redefining identities, redefining landscapes: indigenous identity and land rights struggles in the Brazilian Amazon. *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 28(1): 45–72.

Boyer, Veronique. 2018. *Çairé 'religioso' ou Çairé 'profano'. Uma patrimonialização em tensão*. Accessed February 19. <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01415907>.

The Brazilian Tourist Board. 2020. *According to the British newspaper The Guardian, Alter do Chão houses the best beach in Brazil*. Accessed January 27. <https://www.visitbrasil.com/attractions/alter-do-chao.html>

Bucholtz, Mary. 2000. The politics of transcription. *Journal of Pragmatics* 32, 1439–1465

Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Cacique Borari. 2017. Manifesto Borari. *Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil – APIB*. October 5. <http://apib.info/2017/10/05/manifesto-borari/>

Cadena, Marisol de la and Orin Starn. 2007. Introduction. In *Indigenous experience today*, edited by Marisol de la Cadena and Orin Starn, 1–30. Oxford; New York: Berg.

Campos, Israel. 2019. III MUTAK: A maior mostra de arte indígena do Baixo Tapajós. *O Boto*, July 5. <http://www.o-boto.com/2019/07/iii-mutak-a-maior-mostra-de-arte-indigena-do-baixo-tapajos>.

Carneiro da Cunha, Manuela. 2007. Foreword. Whose history and history for whom? In *Time and Memory in Indigenous Amazonia: Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by Carlos Fausto and Michael Heckenberger. University Press of Florida.

Carvajal, Gaspar de. [1542]1941. Relação do Novo Descobrimento do Famoso Rio Grande que Descobriu por Grande Ventura o Capitão Francisco de Orellana. In *Descobrimientos do Rio das Amazonas*, edited by Gaspar de Carvajal, Alonso de Rojas, and Cristobal Acuña, 11-79. São Paulo: Cia. Ed. Nacional. <http://bdor.sibi.ufrj.br/handle/doc/287>

Carvalho, Luciana Gonçalves de, ed. 2016. *Festa do Çairé de Alter do Chão*. Santarém: Ufopa.

Carvalho, Luciana Gonçalves and Florêncio A. Vaz Filho, eds. 2013. *Isso tudo é encantado*. Santarém: Ufopa.

Chilisa, Bagele. 2012. *Indigenous research methodologies*. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Conklin, Beth A. 1997. Body paint, feathers, and vcrs: Aesthetics and authenticity in Amazonian activism. *American Ethnologist*, 24(4), 711–737.

Console, Luciana. 2019. “Tapajós tóxico: garimpo aumenta níveis de mercúrio no rio e população adoecer”. *Brasil de Fato*, March 16.

<https://www.brasildefato.com.br/2019/03/16/tapajos-toxico-garimpo-aumenta-niveis-de-mercurio-no-rio-e-populacao-adoece/>

Correa, Clodoaldo. 2016. *A Terra dos Encantados*. Uploaded on December 23. YouTube video, 32:45 min.

Costa Pereira, José V. d. 1975. Caboclo Amazônico. In: *Tipos e Aspectos do Brasil*, edited by IBGE, 12–5. Rio de Janeiro: IBGE.

Daes, Erica-Irene A. 2008. An overview of the history of indigenous peoples: self-determination and the United Nations. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 21(1): 7–26.

Datta, Ranjan. 2018. Decolonizing both researcher and research and its effectiveness in Indigenous research. *Research Ethics*, 14(2), 1–24.

Descola, Philippe. 2013. *Beyond nature and culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dias, João A. P. 2019. *A festa do Çairé e a resistência indígena: uma experiência ancestral dos Borari em Alter do Chão, Santarém, Pará*. Manaus: Federal University of Amazonas.

Fausto, Carlos. 2008. Too many owners: Mastery and ownership in Amazonia. *Mana*, 14, 329–366.

Fausto, Carlos and Michael Heckenberger. 2007. Introduction. Indigenous History and the History of the “Indians”. In *Time and Memory in Indigenous Amazonia: Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by Carlos Fausto and Michael Heckenberger. University Press of Florida.

Fernández-Llamazares Onrubia, Álvaro and Pirjo K. Virtanen. 2020. Game masters and Amazonian Indigenous views on sustainability. *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability*, 43, 21-27.

Ferreira Reis, Arthur Cezar. 1931. *História do Amazonas*. Manaus: Instituto Geográfico e Histórico do Amazonas.

Festival das Águas de Alter do Chão. 2016. *Conversa de Suraras*. Uploaded on October 13. YouTube video, 6:59 min. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IcKIqW-YSKw>.

Figueiredo, Patrícia and Ana Carolina Moreno. 2019. “Entenda por que Alter do Chão está no centro de duas investigações diferentes sobre as queimadas”. *O Globo*, November 29. <http://www.esquerdadiario.com.br/Alter-do-Chao-PA-e-o-novo-local-de-queimadas>

Finnish National Board on Research Integrity guidelines. 2012. *Responsible conduct of research and procedures for handling allegations of misconduct in Finland. Guidelines of the Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity 2012*.

———. 2019. The ethical principles of research with human participants and ethical review in the human sciences in Finland. *Publications of the Finnish National Board on Research Integrity*. TENK 3/2019.

French, Jan Hoffman. 2004. Mestizaje and Law Making in Indigenous Identity Formation in Northeastern Brazil: "After the Conflict Came the History". *American Anthropologist* 106, No. 4 (December), 663–674.

Freyre, Gilberto. [1933] 1998. *Casa-grande & Senzala: Formação Da Família Brasileira Sob O Regime Da Economia Patriarcal*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora record.

FUNAI - Fundação Nacional do Índio. 2020. Accessed February 19. <http://www.funai.gov.br/>.

Galvão, Eduardo. 1952. *The Religion of an Amazon Community*. Columbia University.

Gilbert, Jérémie. 2017. Indigenous Peoples, Human Rights, and Cultural Heritage: Towards a Right to Cultural Integrity. In *Indigenous Peoples' Cultural Heritage: Rights, Debates, Challenges*, edited by Leena Heinämäki, Pia Nuorgam, Sanna Valkonen, Alexandra Xanthaki, and Mattias Åhren, 20-39. Leiden: Brill.

Gomes, Mercio P. and John W. Moon. 2000. *The Indians and Brazil*. Gainesville: University of Florida.

Graham, Laura R., and H. Glenn Penny. 2014. Performing Indigeneity. Emergent Identity, Self-Determination, and Sovereignty. In *Performing indigeneity: Global histories and contemporary experiences*, edited by Laura R. Graham and H. Glenn Penny, 11–30. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Hall, Stuart. 1996. Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'? In *Questions of cultural identity*, edited by Paul Du Gay and Stuart Hall, 1–18. London: Sage.

Guzman, Tracy. 2013. *Native and National in Brazil: Indigeneity After Independence*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Harris, Mark. 2006. Presente Ambivalente: Uma Maneira Amazônica de estar no Tempo. In *Sociedades Caboclas Amazônicas: Modernidade e Invisibilidade*, edited by Cristina Adams, Rui Murrieta, and Walter Neves, 81–108. São Paulo: Annablume.

Harris, Michelle. 2013. Emergent Indigenous Identities: Rejecting the Need for Purity. In *The Politics of Identity: Emerging Indigeneity*, edited by Michelle Harris, Martin Nakata, and Bronwyn Carlson, 10–26. Sydney: University of Technology Sydney E-Press.

Harris, Michelle, Bronwyn Carlson, and Evan Te Ahu Poata-Smith. 2013. Indigenous identities and the politics of authenticity. In *The Politics of Identity: Emerging Indigeneity*, edited by Michelle Harris, Martin Nakata and Bronwyn Carlson, 1–9. Sydney: University of Technology Sydney E-Press.

Harrison, Rodney. 2015. Beyond “Natural” and “Cultural” Heritage: Toward an Ontological Politics of Heritage in the Age of Anthropocene. *Heritage and Society*, Vol. 8 No. 1, 24-42;

Heriarte, Maurício de. [1662]1874. *Descriçam do Estado do Maranham, Para, Corupa, Rio das Amazonas*. Viena: Carlos Gerold.

Hill, Jonathan D., ed. 1996. *History, Power, and Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1492–1992*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press

Hiruma-Lima, Clélia A., J. Gracioso, Eliete J. B. Bighetti, Dora Maria Grassi-Kassisse, Domingos Sávio Nunes, and A. R. M. Souza Brito. 2002. “Effect of essential oil obtained from *Croton cajucara* Benth. on gastric ulcer healing and protective factors of the gastric mucosa.” *Phytomedicine*, 9(6): 523–529.

Hokowithu, Brendan. 2014. Haka. Colonized Physicality, Body-Logic, and Embodied Sovereignty. In *Performing Indigeneity: Global Histories and Contemporary Experiences*, edited by Laura R. Graham and H. Glenn Penny, 207–229. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

IBGE. 2010. *Censo 2010: Características Gerais dos Indígenas. Resultados do Universo*. Rio de Janeiro.

———. 2020. “Salvaterra”. Accessed February 19.
<https://cidades.ibge.gov.br/brasil/pa/salvaterra/historico>

ILO. 1989. ILO Convention 169: Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention. *International Labour Organisation*. Accessed February 19. <http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/english/convdisp1.htm>

Ingold, Tim. 2000. *The perception of the environment: Essays in livelihood, dwelling and skill*. London: Routledge.

Ioris, Edviges M. 2005. *A Forest of Disputes: Struggles over Spaces, Resources and Social Identities in Amazonia*. University of Florida.

Kawa, Nicholas. 2016. *Amazonia in the Anthropocene: People, Soils, Plants, Forests*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Kenny, Mary L. 2009. Deeply rooted in the present: Making heritage in Brazilian quilombos. In *Intangible Heritage*, edited by Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa. London: Routledge.

Kovach, Margaret. 2009. *Indigenous Methodologies. Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*. University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division.

Leavy, Patricia. 2014. Introduction. In *The Oxford handbook of qualitative research*, edited by Patricia Leavy, 1–14. New York: Oxford University Press.

Leite, Serafim. 1943. *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil. Norte. Fundações e Entradas Séculos XVII-XVIII*. Rio de Janeiro and Lisboa: Instituto Nacional do Livro.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1966. *The savage mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lima, Deborah de Magalhaes. 1999. A Construção Histórica do termo Caboclo. Sobre Estruturas e representações Sociais no meio Rural. *Novos Cadernos NAEA*, 2(2): 5–32.

McOwan, Gavin. 2009. “Top 10 beaches in Brazil”. *The Guardian*, April 15.
<https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2009/apr/15/beach-brazil-top-10>.

Memorial Chico Mendes. 2020. Accessed February 19. <http://www.memorialchicomendes.org>

Menéndez, Miguel. 1981. Uma Contribuição para a Etno-História da Área Tapajós-Madeira. *Revista do Museu Paulista - USP*, São Paulo, Vol. XXVIII, 289-388.

Minde, Henry. 2008. *Indigenous peoples: Self-determination, knowledge, indigeneity*. Delft, Netherlands: Eburon Academic Publishers.

Moreira Neto, Carlos A. 1988. *Índios da Amazônia: de Maioria a Minoria (1750–1850)*. Petrópolis: Vozes.

Niezen, Ronald. 2005. The Indigenous Claim for Recognition in the International Public Sphere. *Florida Journal of International Law*, 15(3): 583–601.

Nugent, Stephen. 1993. *Amazonian Caboclo Society. An Essay on Invisibility and Peasant Economy*. Berg Publishers: Providence/Oxford.

O Boto. 2019a. “III MUTAK – Oficina de Grafismo em cuias”. July 27.
<http://www.o-boto.com/2019/07/iii-mutak-oficina-de-grafismo-em-cuias/>

———. 2019b. “III MUTAK - Oficina de Teçume em Palha”. July 27.
<https://o-boto.com/blog/iii-mutak-oficina-de-tecume-em-palha>

———. 2019c. “III MUTAK – Cerimônia de abertura da mostra na primeira noite do evento”. July 28. <https://o-boto.com/blog/iii-mutak-cerimonia-de-abertura>

Globo. 2014. “Justiça Federal declara inexistente Terra Indígena Maró em Santarém”. December 3. <http://g1.globo.com/pa/santarem-regiao/noticia/2014/12/justica-federal-declara-inexistente-terra-indigena-maró-em-santarem.html>

———. 2015. “Pinturas indígenas apresentam a identidade de cada etnia nos JMPI”. October 29. <http://g1.globo.com/to/tocantins/noticia/2015/10/pinturas-indigenas-apresentam-identidade-de-cada-etnia-nos-jmpi.html>

———. 2016. “TRF anula sentença que declarava inexistente terra indígena Maró”. January 1. <http://g1.globo.com/pa/santarem-regiao/noticia/2016/01/trf-anula-sentenca-que-declarava-inexistente-terra-indigena-maró.html>.

Oliveira, Adélia Ingrácia de. 1983. Ocupação Humana. In *Amazônia: Desenvolvimento, Integração, Ecologia*. edited by Eneas Salati, Herbert Otto Roger Shubart, Wolfgang Junk, and Adélia Ingrácia de Oliveira. São Paulo: Brasiliense.

Oliveira, João Pacheco de. 1999. *A viagem de volta. Etnicidade, Política e Reelaboração Cultural no Nordeste Indígena*. Rio de Janeiro: Contra Capa.

Oliveria, Marcos. 2018a. Festival Borari 2018 - PARTE 1 - Abertura (Alter do Chão). Uploaded on July 17. YouTube video, 21:50 min.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t3t3hMEA_CY

———. 2018b. Festival Borari 2018 - PARTE 2 - Aldeia Solimões (em Alter do Chão). Uploaded on July 17. YouTube video, 28:41 min.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=usGyZvjD2N8&t=201s>

———. 2018c. Festival Borari 2018 - PARTE 3 - Carimbó Muiraquitã (em Alter do Chão). Uploaded on July 17. YouTube video, 23:37 min.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ypYF0ik4UPs>

———. 2018d. Festival Borari 2018 - PARTE 4 - Carimbó Regional Tapajoara (em Alter do Chão). Uploaded on July 18. YouTube video, 24:37 min.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oCIDnYQGOJE&t>

———. 2018e. Festival Borari 2018 - PARTE 5 - Mistura De Carimbó (em Alter do Chão). Uploaded on July 18. YouTube video, 20:05 min.

———. 2018f. Festival Borari 2018 - PARTE 6 - Sedução de Carimbó (em Alter do Chão). Uploaded on July 18. YouTube video, 30:42 min.

———. 2018g. Festival Borari 2018 - PARTE 7 (FIM) - Carimbó do Pará (em Alter do Chão). Uploaded on July 18. YouTube video, 21:50 min.

Pereira, Ricardo Neves Romcy. 2009. *Relatório Circunstanciado de Identificação e Delimitação da Terra Indígena Borari de Alter do Chão*. Brasília: Portaria Funai.

———. 2018. *Os verdadeiros donos da terra: paisagem e transformação no baixo Tapajós*. Brasília: University of Brasília.

Pitombo, João Pedro. 2019. “Alter do Chão vive pressão imobiliária em áreas de proteção Ambiental”. *Folha de S. Paulo*, November 25.

<https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/ambiente/2019/11/alter-do-chao-vive-pressao-imobiliaria-em-areas-de-protECAo-ambiental.shtml>

Poirier, Sylvie. 2013. The Dynamic Reproduction of Hunter-Gatherers’ Ontologies and Values. In *A Companion to the Anthropology of Religion*, edited by Janice Boddy and Michael Lambek, 50–68. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

Porsanger, Jelena. 2004. An essay about indigenous methodology. *Nordlit*, 15: 105–120.

Pratt, Mary Louise. 2007. Afterword: Indigeneity Today. In *Indigenous experience today*, edited by Marisol de la Cadena and Orin Starn, 397–404. New York: Berg.

Ramalho, Elcio. 2017. “‘Racismo contra índio lateja na sociedade brasileira’, diz André Villas-Bôas”. *RFI*, March 15. <http://www.rfi.fr/br/brasil/20170315-campanha>.

Ramos, Alcida Rita. 1998. *Indigenism: Ethnic Politics in Brazil*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Ribeiro, Darcy. 1970. *Os índios e a civilização: A integração das populações indígenas no Brasil moderno*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira.

Ribeiro, Darcy and Gregory Rabassa. 2000. *The Brazilian People: The Formation and Meaning of Brazil*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Robben, Antonius C. G. M., and Jeffrey A. Sluka. 2012. *Ethnographic Fieldwork: An Anthropological Reader*. 2nd ed. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Rodrigues, Gilberto Cesar Lopes. 2016. *Surara Borari, Surara Arapium. A Educação Escolar no Processo de Reafirmação Étnica dos Borari e Arapium da Terra Indígena Maró*. Universidade de Campinas.

Rodrigues, Maria Guadalupe Moog. 2002. Indigenous Rights in Democratic Brazil. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 24, No. 2 (May, 2002): 487–512.

Said, Edward W. 1979. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.

Sarmiento, Fernanda and José Roberto Aguilar. 2019. “III MUTAK – Desfile de moda da Floresta”. *O Boto*, July 28.

<http://www.o-boto.com/2019/07/iii-mutak-fotocobertura-do-desfile/>

Schaan, Denise P. 2011. *Sacred Geographies of Ancient Amazonia: Historical Ecology of Social Complexity*. Walnut Creek.: Left Coast Press.

Shulist, Sarah. 2015. “Graduated authenticity”: Multilingualism, revitalization, and identity in the Northwest Amazon. *Language and Communication*, 47, pp. 112–123.

Sissons, Jeffrey. 2005. *First Peoples: Indigenous Cultures and Their Futures*. London: Reaktion Books.

Smith, Laurajane. 2006. *Uses of Heritage*. New York: Routledge.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. 1999. *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books.

Stewart, Harry. 2018. “The Ultimate Guide to Exploring Alter do Chão, Brazil”. *Culture Trip*. September 19.

<https://theculturetrip.com/south-america/brazil/articles/the-ultimate-guide-to-exploring-alter-do-chao-brazil/>

Stoll, Émilie and Pirjo Kristiina Virtanen. In press. Grounds for political claims: earthworks and anthropogenic soils as cultural heritage and sources of territorial legitimation in Brazilian

Amazonia. In *Living ruins: Practices and conceptions in contemporary Amerindian societies*, edited by Valentina Vapnarski. Colorado: University Press of Colorado.

Tomazela, José Maria. 2019. “Destino turístico, Alter do Chão sofre pressão de grileiros há anos”. *Estadão*. November 30.

<https://sustentabilidade.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,destino-turistico-alter-do-chao-sofre-pressao-de-grileiros-ha-anos,70003108262>

Turner, Terry S. 2009. The Crisis of Late Structuralism. Perspectivism and Animism: Rethinking Culture, Nature, Spirit, and Bodiliness. *Tipiti: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America*, 7(1): 3–40.

UN Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR). 1982. *Report of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities on its 34th session : study of the problem of discrimination against indigenous populations*. Accessed February 19, 2020. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00f07d8.html>.

UNDRIP–United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. 2007. Accessed February 19. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/471355a82.html> [accessed 20 January 2020].

UNESCO. 2003. Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>.

Vaz, Florêncio A. 2010a. Povos Indígenas e Etnogêneses na Amazônia. In *Olhares indígenas contemporâneos*, edited by Gersem José dos Santos Luciano, Jô Cardoso de Oliveira, and Maria Barroso Hoffmann, 104–159. Brasília: Centro Indígena de Estudos e Pesquisas.

———. 2010b. *A emergência étnica de Povos Indígenas no Baixo Rio Tapajós, Amazônia*. Salvador: Universidade Federal da Bahia.

Vaz, Florêncio A. and Luciana Gonçalves de Carvalho. 2013. *Isso tudo é encantado*. Santarém: Universidade Federal do Pará.

Viagem. 2019. “Alter do Chão: como chegar, hotéis, restaurantes, passeios e mais”. July. <https://viagemeturismo.abril.com.br/cidades/alter-do-chao-3>.

Virtanen, Pirjo K. 2019. Ancestors’ times and protection of Amazonian Indigenous biocultural heritage. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 15(4), 330–339.

Virtanen, Pirjo K. and Jelena Porsanger. 2019. Introduction – A Holistic Approach to Indigenous Peoples’ Rights to Cultural Heritage. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 15(4), 289–299.

Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo. 1998. Cosmological Deixis and Amerindian Perspectivism. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 4(3), 469–488.

Walters, Karina L. and Jane M. Simoni. 2009. Decolonizing strategies for mentoring American Indians and Alaska Natives in HIV and mental health research. *American Journal of Public Health*, 99(1), 71–S76.

Westman, Clinton N. 2017. Cultural Politics of Land and Animals in Treaty 8 Territory (Northern Alberta, Canada). In *Entangled Territorialities: Negotiating Indigenous Lands in Australia and Canada*, edited by Sylvie Poirier and Françoise Dussart, 117–139. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Warren, Jonathan W. 2001. *Racial revolutions: Antiracism and Indian resurgence in Brazil*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Wilson, Shawn. 2001. Self-as-relationship in Indigenous Research. *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 25(2): 91–92

Wilson, Shawn. 2008. *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*. Black Point; Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing.