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Counter/cartographing in/the Tropics:
politics of spatial imagination in/the Yanomami
Indigenous Land

Dissertação de Mestrado

Dissertation presented to the Programa de Pós-Graduação em Relações Internacionais of PUC-Rio in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Mestre em Relações Internacionais.

Advisor: Prof. James Casas Klausen

Rio de Janeiro
February 2024

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To Neide and Divino, for all the support,
To all those who share the hope of a new world to come,
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Abstract

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This dissertation aims to analyse the politics of spatial imagination in International Relations (IR). The discipline's ubiquitous division between *internal* and *external* defines the concept of the *international* as a space of *anarchy*, contrasting with the *national* as a space of *political order*, which attempts to establish a timeless, uniform, material, and neutral *space*. However, the constitution of *space* and its methods of classification, division, and control are deeply intertwined with the creation of spatial imaginaries and violent processes of racial, colonial, gendered, and class containment and expropriation. One example is the ongoing violent expropriation of Amerindian territories in the Americas. Consequently, this research addresses the following question: *How do the modern-Western and Yanomami cartographic imaginaries relate to each other in the constitution of the Yanomami Indigenous Land?* The central argument is that the *Yanomami Indigenous Land* is constructed and experienced from an alternative semantic field that conceives it concerning a set of cosmological coordinates that transcend the mere existence of a bordered space *within* Brazilian territory. Drawing on post-colonial engagements, the International Political Sociology (IPS) lineage of thought, and Yanomami cosmology – specifically, the work of Davi Kopenawa, a Yanomami shaman and spokesperson – the research examines alternative cartographical perspectives on *territory* and *space*. Utilising literary cartography-inspired methods, the study adopts a counter/cartographic style to examine: the constitution of the *space* of the Americas during the colonial period; the depiction of *violence* and *war* as *images* associated with Amerindian populations; the violent process of invasion of Yanomami territory resulting from the infrastructures of gold extraction; and a critique of the cartographies of *capitalism*, *war*, and *territory* through Kopenawa's thought.

Keywords

Resumo

Esta dissertação tem como objetivo analisar a política da imaginação espacial nas Relações Internacionais (RI). A divisão onipresente da disciplina entre *interno* e *externo* define o conceito de *internacional* como um espaço de *anarquia*, em contraste com o *nacional* como um espaço de *ordem política*, o que tenta estabelecer um *espaço* atemporal, uniforme, material e neutro. Entretanto, a constituição do *espaço* e seus métodos de classificação, divisão e controle estão profundamente entrelaçados com a criação de imaginários espaciais e processos violentos de contenção e expropriação racial, colonial, de gênero e de classe. Um exemplo é a expropriação violenta e contínua dos territórios Ameríndios nas Américas. Consequentemente, esta pesquisa aborda a seguinte questão: *Como os imaginários cartográficos moderno-ocidental e Yanomami se relacionam na constituição da Terra Indígena Yanomami?* O argumento central é que a Terra Indígena Yanomami é construída e vivenciada a partir de um campo semântico alternativo que a concebe como um conjunto de coordenadas cosmológicas que transcendem a mera existência de um espaço delimitado *no* território brasileiro. Com base em estudos pós-coloniais, na linhagem de pensamento da Sociologia Política Internacional (IPS) e na cosmologia Yanomami – especificamente, o trabalho de Davi Kopenawa, xamã e porta-voz Yanomami – a pesquisa examina perspectivas cartográficas alternativas sobre *território* e *espaço*. Utilizando métodos inspirados na cartografia literária, o estudo adota um estilo contra-cartográfico para examinar: a constituição do espaço das Américas durante o período colonial; a representação da *violência* e da *guerra* como *imagens* associadas às populações ameríndias; o violento processo de invasão do território Yanomami resultante das infraestruturas de extração de ouro; e uma crítica das cartografias do *capitalismo*, da *guerra* e do *território* através do pensamento de Kopenawa.

Palavras-Chave

Espaço; Yanomami; Relações Internacionais; Cartografia.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

...In that Empire, the Art of Cartography attained such Perfection that the map of a single Province occupied the entirety of a City, and the map of the Empire, the entirety of a Province. In time, those Unconscionable Maps no longer satisfied, and the Cartographers Guilds struck a Map of the Empire whose size was that of the Empire, and which coincided point for point with it. The following Generations, who were not so fond of the Study of Cartography as their Forebears had been, saw that that vast Map was Useless, and not without some Pitilessness was it, that they delivered it up to the Inclemencies of Sun and Winters. In the Deserts of the West, still today, there are Tattered Ruins of that Map, inhabited by Animals and Beggars; in all the Land there is no other Relic of the Disciplines of Geography.

— Suarez Miranda, Viajes de varones prudentes, Libro IV, Cap. XLV, Lerida, 1658

Jorge Luis Borges, *On Exactitude in Science*, Collected Fictions.

1
Introduction

"[...] *nestes Tempos de Fim de Mundo parindo Mundos Novos, no Corpo dos Indígenas, dos Negros, dxs Trans, em q a Multidão Insurrecional á sua maneira é a Fonte da Renovação na sua saída dos Buracos, á Luz do Sol*" (José Celso Martinez Corrêa, *in memoriam*).

"*To walk is to lack a place*" (Michel De Certeau, 1988, pp. 103).

Michel de Certeau once famously said that "narrative structures have the status of spatial syntaxes" (de Certeau, 1988, pp. 115), drawing attention to the centrality of *stories* in shaping *space* and the centrality of *space* in shaping *stories* (Smith, 2021, pp. 9). *Space* and *narratives* are also crucial issues to International Relations (IR), as a discipline and a set of practices[1]. R.B.J. Walker (1993, pp. 13) argued that IR theory "has been one of the most spatially oriented sites of modern social and political thought" (Walker, 1993, pp. 13), and Naeem Inayatullah (2011) enlightened how *reading* the *international* is intermingled with personal and collective stories, despite the successive attempts of *fictive distancing* oneself from the writing material, emphasising "a substantive look at life/lives in process" (Inayatullah, 2011, pp. 7).

When studying IR as an undergraduate, I was trained to see the *international* as far away, *beyond* the immediate field of vision. When it was to be seen closely, it was undoubtedly because of some exceptional event, if a war hatched, for instance. Bearing this, it is possible to see a connection between a form of spatiality and a form of temporality that would represent the *international*. On the one hand, the ubiquitous division between *inside* and *outside* delimits the *international* as a space of anarchy contrasted with the national as a space of political order (Walker, 1993), which in turn establishes the *international* as an independent level of reality,

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[1] Drawing on the understanding of Naeem Inayatullah and David L. Blaney (2015), I understand that theorising efforts are shaped by and shape the (*international*) social environment, i.e. disciplinary socialisation determines visions and focuses on the explanations made and these determine the ways in which we see our *field of study* and, therefore, the social realm it seeks to understand. As Didier Bigo argues, it is precisely the notion that the *international* configures an independent level of reality as opposed to the national level "that helps to constitute the discipline of international relations as the singular study of the international with specific concepts and methods, and the international as a specific object modelled by the discipline" (Bigo, 2017, pp. 28). I therefore use the term in this project as both *theory* and *practice*, trying to understand their entanglements. When dealing with the discipline in particular, I use the term with the initials spelt in capital letters.

giving the discipline both its object of analysis and its authority to study it (Bigo; Walker, 2007). This *internal/external* division also seeks to establish a *timeless*, *uniform*, *material* and *objective space* (the Earth, the globe, the State) (Rajaram; Grundy-Warr, 2007; Strandsbjerg, 2010). In this sense, as Jeppe Strandsbjerg (2010, pp. 23) argues, "[...] space is, more often than not, assumed rather than investigated" so that a particular notion of spatiality is crystallised and constituted as a device of *(geo)political imagination* (Shapiro, 1997) or a *territorial epistemology* (Kopper, 2012, pp. 280).

On the other hand, IR is connected to temporality based on periods of crisis (Guillaume; Huysmans, 2019). According to Xavier Guillaume and Jef Huysmans (2019, pp. 287), it is sustained and sustains "a history of 'great moments' or 'moments of crisis' […] in which the future course of history and what the international (system) will look like are at stake". As a result, according to several *classical* theoretical strands of the discipline, what matters are those events that disrupt the order of things and little attention is paid to which ordinary activities make those events possible and to places, practices, and actors deemed outside the register of the (*international*) high politics (Guillaume; Huysmans, 2019; Enloe, 1996; Summa, 2021).

Nevertheless, far from being a natural result of disciplinary historical trends, both spatiality and temporality registers of the *international* represent *disciplining* moves that aim to erasure and take out of sight other *subjects* and *objects* as related to the *international* (Beier, 2005), which commonly involves the erasure, or a "willful amnesia" (Krishna, 2001, pp 401), about racism and the imperial and colonial violence that constituted both the discipline and what it understands as *international* (Kumarakulasingam, 2019). In this sense, the constitution of the *space* of the *international* and its methods of classification, division and control are influenced by the creation of spatial imaginaries (Elden, 2007; Shapiro, 2004b; Ferguson; Gupta, 2005) and violent processes of racial, colonial, gender and class containment and expropriation (Shapiro, 1997). With this in mind, this dissertation explores different forms of seeing, reading, and enacting the *space in/of the international* through Amerindian cosmologies and political compositions.

The continuous expropriation of indigenous territories to enable (neo)colonial occupation in the Americas has led indigenous people to resist these processes on various fronts, in many cases claiming the right to political and

territorial autonomy*,* for example. However, despite their importance and recognition as political actors, IR has yet to engage with different forms of conception of *space* claimed by multiple indigenous people based on their *own* conceptual elaborations. With this in mind, I aim to analyse how different cartographic imaginaries constitute the *Yanomami Indigenous Land* and how these are *friction* through power relations.

If, on the one hand, as Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2018) points out, the state is the greatest enemy of indigenous peoples – either because it authorises and legitimises a series of violent acts or because it is the condition for the demarcation of indigenous land to be necessary in the first place. On the other hand, there is a systematic and justified demand for territorial demarcation from different indigenous peoples. Davi Kopenawa, Yanomami shaman and spokesperson, for example, when asked by the Chief Minister of the Military House of the José Sarney government, General Bayma Denys, if he "[...] would like information on how to cultivate the land", replied: "No. What I want is the demarcation of our territory" (Viveiros de Castro, 2015, pp. 35, my translation[2])[3]. There is a turning point here, perhaps explained, not only, by a relationship between *tactics* and *strategy* in the possibilities of instantiating *self-determination*, in which, for Viveiros de Castro, Kopenawa:

> [...] knows that the only language they [white people] understand is not that of the land, but that of the *territory*, the striated space, the limit, the boundary, the border, the landmark and the register. They [indigenous people] know that they have to secure the territory in order to be able to cultivate the land (Viveiros de Castro, 2015, pp. 36, my translation, emphasis in the original[4]).

In this sense, delineating different (im)possible horizons of political struggles occurs from an ambiguous relationship between *power* and *resistance*. This tension, in my view, allows us to see connections and tensions between the grammar and social forces in struggle.

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[2] gostaria de receber informações sobre como cultivar a terra [...] Não. O que eu desejo obter é a demarcação de nosso território

[3] The dialogue took place on 19 April 1989, then *Indian Day*. The date is now known as *Indigenous Peoples' Day* (Viveiros de Castro, 2015, pp. 35).

[4] sabe que a única linguagem que eles [brancos] entendem não é a da terra, mas a do *território*, do espaço estriado, do limite, da divisa, da fronteira, do marco e do registro. Sabe que é preciso garantir o território para poder cultivar a terra

Therefore, this project aims to analyse how *space* can be conceived, felt and imagined beyond white-colonial intelligibility, with its centralisation of the spatial imaginary in the state and the border as a dividing line between political entities. I depart from a political and epistemological commitment to seeing the complexities and reinvigorating political struggles/movements in a context of supposedly melancholy and hopelessness resulting from the absence or limitations of the political horizons (Sajed, 2023; Tible, 2022) and, with a focus on the spatial dimension, I seek to understand different possibilities of political composition within the capitalist colonial modernity. I thus hope to understand the ambiguities of the different political processes involved in the constitution of the prevailing (*international*) cartographic imaginary, both to expose and fracture the expected association between *map-territory* and to bring political recognition to the existence of multiple cartographic imaginaries that resist it.

With this in mind, I address the following research question: *How do the modern-Western and Yanomami cartographic imaginaries relate to each other in the constitution of the Yanomami Indigenous Land?* The preliminary argument is that: the modern-Western cartographic imaginary, which guides the Brazilian state's demarcation efforts, conceives the *Yanomami Indigenous Land* as a bordered space *within* the state. On the other hand, the Yanomami indigenous people map it as a *forest-land* that does not correspond to the cartographic demarcation on the map, tensioning the *internal/external* separation defined by the imposed borders. In this way, borders are not static structures, that is, merely materialisations that capture the sovereign power and control of the state but are in constant movement due to the interweaving of different lines of power relations.

This research is justified because of the relationship between the *international* (spatial) constitution and indigenous people, either through the constitution of Eurocentric *images* of them, or through the continuous expropriation of territories that enabled the emergence of the modern territorial state and, consequently, the so-called international system of states (Neocleous, 2003, pp. 409). Karena Shaw (2002, pp. 68) argues that "[t]he exclusion of indigenous peoples is not incidental to but constitutive of international relations". In this way, researching the violent processes of *invisibilisation* and *silencing* suffered by indigenous peoples is crucial to understanding how international relations was constituted as a discipline and set of practices and how the dominant spatial

organisation of what we call the international and narratives about it were delineated (Enloe, 1996). Then, researching the relationship between indigenous peoples and spatiality is justified by the connection between the two issues, so this project proposes that the cartographic imaginary that underpins the understanding of *international space* as a distinct level of reality can be criticised precisely through the conceptual elaborations of those who have been positioned as the *Other* from which international relations have been constituted in opposition. This does not mean conceiving that indigenous peoples[5] remain untouched by capitalist Western modernity (Oliveira, 1998) or even overvaluing certain aspects that would position them in a place of ethnic/cultural purity, as Lucas Bessire (2014) rightly criticises.

The case of the Yanomami Indigenous Land was chosen because it is an example of what is most central to what IR dominant perspectives delineate as the *problem of the international*: the border between *internal* and *external*. The population of approximately 33,000 indigenous people, who live in around 640 communities, is divided between the territory of Brazil and Venezuela (Kopenawa; Albert, 2015, pp. 44; Tible, 2019), so that the cartographic borders of the two states have imposed a spatial separation, dividing and inserting what was once their *land* into a small territorial parcel of each of these countries. Furthermore, the history of violent contacts between agents of the Brazilian state, military personnel, Christian missionaries, gold miners, among others, and the Yanomami populations, even after the demarcation of the indigenous land (Kopenawa; Albert, 2015, pp. 559-562), demonstrates constant practices of *borderisation*, which would allow us to understand more complex operations of border delimitation that are not restricted to the boundaries of the state. This would make it possible to analyse how

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[5] The definitions of *indigenous people* and *indigeneity* are complex and permeated with controversy. There are various disputes over what elements are necessary to be considered an indigenous person, as well as how their territorial demands for self-determination and their cultural, political and other rights should be articulated. The very category of indigenous peoples, internationalised and unified as if it represented a singular group of human groupings, is relational and depends on a sense of *priority* (Pratt, 2007) as a territorial occupation that would precede the *colonial encounter*, and is therefore the result of colonialism. However, it is contested by the very peoples it claims to encompass, as their forms of recognition and identification often go beyond this category (Tauli-Corpuz, 2008; Merlan, 2009). *Ethnogenesis*, the process of creating and categorising ethnic groups, is also complex and reflects colonial dynamics (Schwartz; Solomon, 1999) as well as more recent movements to reclaim indigenous identity by *mestizo* (Olveira, 1998). Despite important, engaging with this discussion goes beyond the scope of my research, and I take the category of indigenous people broadly in this research and in the further literature, encompassing works on peoples from the American continent, Asia, Africa and Oceania. Therefore, I accept one's self-claim over indigenous identity and, in the case of the literature review, the authors' own claim that their studies deal with indigenous people.

cartographic and political violence are interconnected and the different forms of resistance against them.

With this in mind, it is possible to identify that there is a growing set of literature in the discipline that engages, in different ways, with indigenous people (Shaw, 2002; Sampson, 2002; Beier, 2002; 2005; 2009; Shapiro, 2004b; Gonçalves, 2009; 2014; Picq, 2013; Urt, 2016; Kumarakulasingam; Ngcoya, 2016; Delgado, 2021; de Leon, 2022). The topic has, therefore, already been explored in IR and is not new to the field of study. However, this does not mean that it has received sufficient attention, nor even that there are no other possibilities for study, as research topics have been limited to specific issues.

At first, indigenous peoples were included in IR theoretical discussions as a way of drawing attention to: first, their systematic exclusion in International Relations; second, the violence committed against them by the sovereign state; and, third, the consequences for disciplinary debates by including indigenous comprehensions (Beier, 2009). Karena Shaw (2002), for example, a central author to the inclusion of indigenous studies in the field, discusses the (im)possibilities of inserting the struggles for the decolonisation of indigenous peoples into International Relations, how the centralisation of the concept of state sovereignty acted to marginalise and recolonise indigenous people, and how the disciplinary horizons, shaped by the central categories of the discipline, operate to limit the forms of engagement and dialogue with indigenous thought.

Beier (2002; 2005), in turn, analyses how IR constitutes and reproduces a "[...] hegemonic Western voice that, owing to its universalist pretensions, speaks its knowledges to the exclusion of all others" (Beier, 2005, pp. 2). In this way, he shows how the discipline's "[...] conceptual predispositions" (Beier, 2002, pp. 82) act to make indigenous peoples and indigenous nations invisible in international relations, which demonstrates the sometimes-veiled commitment that underpins the ontological assumptions of IR theories and delimits both its disciplinary horizons and its ontological, epistemological and methodological commitments. Based on Lakota cosmology, Beier (2002) seeks to analyse other understandings of *security* and *politics*, for example, which would strain our understanding of international relations. However, as Beier (2009) later points out, what connects these discussions is that "[...] it is still fundamentally about International Relations more so than about Indigenous peoples and global politics" (Beier, 2009, pp. 3). In this sense, other studies have been carried out to centralise indigenous thinking and

conceptual elaborations, to shift their position as forms of knowledge that could simply pluralise certain understandings predefined by disciplinary horizons.

The collection edited by Beier (2009) on *indigenous diplomacies* is one of the leading examples in this regard, as it sought to destabilise the "[...] hegemonic pronouncements upon whom or what counts as a legitimate actor in global politics and what may count as meaningful diplomatic practice" (Beier, 2009, pp. 6) by analysing the multiple forms of interaction and engagement of different indigenous peoples and/or social movements on a *global*, *national* and *local* scale, often questioning these scalar categories. Additionally, Ana Carolina Teixeira Delgado (2021), in her study of *Suma Qamaña* narratives and the (im)possibilities of decolonisation based on their insertion into political-institutional dynamics in Bolivia, is also an important example of research that engages with indigenous thought in terms of its *consequences*, taking seriously and recognising the implications of centralising indigenous cosmology in discussions about international politics.

The work of Michal J. Shapiro (2004b) is also relevant to this discussion. Shapiro (2004b) questions the possibility of stabilising "[...] a political vocabulary which, once achieved, can be adequate to a common political experience" (Shapiro, 2004b, pp. ix) and proposes a critique of state-centred approaches to the Social Sciences, more broadly, and IR, specifically, based on the indigenous cultures of the Pacific, especially Hawaii to:

> bring to recognition forms of political expression — alternative modes of intelligibility for things, people(s) and spaces that have existed on the margins of the nationhood practices of states and the complicit nation-building and nation-sustaining conceits of social science (Shapiro, 2004b, pp. ix).

Narendran Kumarakulasingam and Mvuselelo Ngcoya (2016), finally, analyse how different discourses of indigeneity friction and interpellate each other through the study of varying cultivation practices and human relations with plants in South Africa. Kumarakulasingam and Ngcova (2016) demonstrate both the limitations of indigeneity discourses outlined by international actors and legal instruments and the (im)possibilities of different local indigeneity discourses to confront colonial dynamics in post-Apartheid South Africa.

With this in mind, the book edited by Beier (2009) and Shapiro (2004b), as well as the article by Kumarakulasingam and Ncgova (2016), open the door to discussions that centre indigenous conceptual elaborations in international

relations, including their forms of *spatial imagination*. But most of the literature, with the notable exceptions of Kumarakulasingam and Ncgova (2016) and the chapter by Marcela Vecchione Gonçalves (2009) in Beier's book, does not dialogue with the Amerindian population who inhabit present-day South America and their cosmologies, focusing mainly on those who live in the geography now known as North America. In light of this, the research by João Nackle Urt (2016) and Manuela Lavinas Picq (2013) are two examples of works that propose dialogues with Amerindian populations and their forms of knowledge, with a particular focus on the spatial dimension of international relations.

In this sense, Urt (2016) argues that the sovereignty of the Guarani and Kaiowá indigenous people suffers a process of *occlusion*, understood as *silencing* and *impediment*, by the colonial policies of (re)production of the *sovereignty* of the Brazilian state, "to the point where it presents the appearance of a non-sovereignty" (Urt, 2016, pp. 866). For Urt, the recognition of indigenous sovereignties aims to carry out three operations: "[...] to unsettle the meanings and legitimacies of Westphalian politics; to remember the authorities of Indigenous polities and their leaderships, despite the occlusion thereof; and, above all, to affirm their freedom, as collectivities, to take their own paths for the future" (Stanley; Urt; Braz, 2019, pp. 457). The resistance of the Guarani and Kaiowá, for Urt (2016), involves not only claiming access to the *land* but also *another sovereignty*, which also delimits a distinct vision of spatiality.

Picq (2013), in turn, argues that the struggles of Kichwa women in what is now Ecuador displace and enact *sovereignty* and the *international* in other ways by using international human rights law and Ecuador's national jurisdiction to claim rights. According to Picq (2013, pp. 128), "Indigenous groups then (and now) were kept outside the state, and their contestation produced sophisticated legalities to defy the self-assigned sovereign authority of the state", which according to her, has historically materialised in the articulation of their claims and struggles through the instrumental use of distinct legal systems: elements of indigenous justice, colonial, post-colonisation state and international law. In this way, they actively influenced the construction of the *international*, albeit unevenly, through the colonial violence exercised against them. The Kichwa women, by using international human rights law and Ecuador's national jurisdiction as a way of claiming rights, question, for Picq (2013), the spatiality and cartographic imaginary that mould our representation of the global by tensing the separations between *local*/*national*/*global*.

With this in mind, we can identify two tendencies in these approaches: to criticise how the understanding of *sovereignty* continues to reproduce (colonial) violence against indigenous peoples and/or to understand ways of pluralising understandings of *sovereignty* in view of indigenous cosmologies (Urt, 2016; 2019); and to engage with indigeneity and indigenous thought to analyse *international* politics, seeking to understand how both would tense pre-existing disciplinary *images* and *categories* (Picq, 2013). In other words, they take the *problem of the international* as given, i.e. they do not make what is the *international* and the defined borders of sovereign space the problems in question (Bigo; Walker, 2007).

Furthermore, I believe that by taking the issue of *sovereignty* as a horizon of possibility for indigenous autonomy, these propositions fall into what Jimmy Casas Klausen (2021), in criticism of James C. Scott, identified as a *centripetal movemen*t that instantiates in the state the locus of the *power* and *resistance*. This analytical move, for example, "[...]ignores how other logics, techniques or practices of power operate to produce a dispersed political space" (Klausen, 2021, pp. 483). In this way, "[...] other forms of political communities became unthinkable with the *spectre of the state* haunting the political" (Kopper, 2012, pp. 280, emphasis in the original), which, to paraphrase Viveiros de Castro (2018, pp. 235, my translation[6]), could result in the limitation of "their [indigenous peoples'] virtual capacity to define the course of their own history". Thus, despite recognising the academic and political importance of the pioneering work of Urt (2016) and Picq (2013), I seek to analyse different ways of *imagining* and *practising* indigenous self-determination based on Kopenawa's thinking so that the discussion of the multiple forms of *indigenous sovereignty* is not placed at the centre of the research arguments.

This issue is analysed by Gonçalves (2014), who researched how the Ashaninka peoples in present-day Acre and the Macuxi and Wapichana peoples in the *Raposa Serra do Sol Indigenous Land* in present-day Roraima construct *landscapes* through their actions – and constitution – as political subjects by (re)articulating the defence of their *lifeways*. Thus, according to her, these indigenous people, in different ways, take the *borders* (of the *indigenous land*, of Brazil, among others) not as the limits of political action but as their starting point. In this sense, Gonçalves (2014) aims to contribute to "[...] the emergence of places for politics within, across and, mainly, at the borders by questioning exclusion as

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[6] sua [...] capacidade virtual de definir os rumos da própria história

the predicament of politics in these areas" (Gonçalves, 2014, pp. 1). This is the theoretical and methodological movement that I intend to carry out in this project based on Yanomami's spatial elaborations.

That being stated, in the rest of this introduction, I will explain the main theoretical and methodological categories of this research and, lastly, outline the main arguments of each chapter. Regarding the first, three categories are central to my dissertation's theoretical and methodological approach: *space*, *cartography* and *images*. Regarding *space*, I understand that as a concept, it dissociates but is inherently dependent on social practices and relations for its instantiation; however, these are not identical to the *space* and extrapolate it. In this sense, *space* is for Michel de Certeau, unlike the *place*:

> [...] an instantaneous configuration of positions [...] composed of intersections of mobile elements [...] Space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities [...] In short, *space is a practiced place* (de Certeau, 1988, pp. 117, emphasis in the original)[7].

Space is thus always constituted by different sets of practices (mapping, *itineraries*, demarcation/determination of borders, connections, among others) so that while places are *identified*, *space* is continuously *updated* (de Certeau, 1988). *Space*, therefore, is constituted from dynamic social relations – and, thus, *power* relations –, which implies both "[...] the existence in the lived world of a simultaneous multiplicity of spaces: cross-cutting, intersecting aligning with another [...]" (Massey, 2001, pp. 3) and its intimate relationship with *time*[8], and not its absence – *space* as a sphere of timelessness (Massey, 2001).

Given this, like Doreen Massey (2008), I understand *space* from three propositions: first, "[...] space as the product of interrelations; as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny"; second, as "[...] the sphere of the possibility of the existence of multiplicity in the sense of contemporary plurality"; third, "[...] always under construction" (Massey, 2008, pp.

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[7] This understanding of *space* differs from that of Ingold (2011), for which *space*, as an abstract category and understood as territorial containment, "[...] turns the pathways along which life is lived into boundaries within which it is enclosed" (Ingold, 2011, pp. 145). This leads him to propose the understanding of *landscape* to account for the constant movement of the *lines*, which delimit *meshworks* from the different tracks of life of the organisms that inhabit the world. Although relevant, I do not intend to carry out such a discussion in the present research.

[8] And, in the argument of Doreen Massey (2001), also has intimate relations gender.

9). This does not mean that the understanding of *space* cannot be stabilised from specific cartographic imaginaries but that such stabilisations do not cease the multiplicity of understandings and practices that constitute different spatial compositions. An example of such stabilisations is the operations that James C. Scott (1998) called *seeing like a State*: the simplification and abstraction of the multiplicity of life around elements that enable its *measurement* and *calculation*, that is, the reduction of something or a context to a referent that enables the construction of a singular perspective; and try to build, create, the *reality* that was conceived, although this always remains on the plane of *immanence*, to enable both the improvement of the exercise of control and government and specific aesthetic patterns associated with order and disorder. An example cited by the author is the *simplification* of forests in Europe between the 17th and 18th centuries around a utilitarian view of how much logging could be extracted in a given period, leaving it out of sight, for example:

> […] the vast, complex, and negotiated social uses of the forest for hunting and gathering, pasturage, fishing, charcoal making, trapping, and collecting food and valuable minerals as well as the forest's significance for magic, worship, refuge, and so on (Scott, 1998, pp. 13).

Such *cartographic commitments*, to use Michael J. Shapiro's (1997) expression and to move to the second central category of this research, express a specific *field of vision*, which denotes the erasure of certain *events* in relation to others, reproducing the prevailing territorial understandings and resulting in specific political and moral understandings, for example. However, as Walker (2016) argues, "[...] the boundaries of any modern state are always more complicated than the clean lines of most cartographic representations" (Walker, 2016, pp. 66). Thus, the understanding of *space* outlined above allows us to understand that "[...] people are everywhere conceptualizing and acting on different spatialities" (Massey, 2001, pp. 4) and that *legible space* is continuously appropriated in multiple ways by those who constitute it from their practices (De Certeau, 1988). I acknowledge, nevertheless, that I should have done more in-depth research on the different conceptions of *space*, *landscape*, *territory,* and *land*, among others, which often appear to overlap in the analysis. However, I see it as

productive to visualise how this vagueness can highlight the tensions and extensions between these different concepts.

Regarding the second category, cartography emerged and was sustained by the discourses and practices of *power*, first associated with European absolute monarchies and then with the sovereign state (Neocleous, 2003). However, if we go beyond an understanding of *cartography as a science* that would neutrally represent a *given material space*, we could understand cartography broadly "[…] the drawing of lines and the bounding of objects" (Pickles, 2004, pp. 4), which would allow us to see different practices as cartographic. In this research, I analyse how verbal/discursive practices could construct, in different ways, the *space* which they sought to depict. On the one hand, see the *map* as a power technology (Harley, 2001; Neocleous, 2003), which means they are not a neutral representation of a given space but "[...] refracted images contributing to dialogue in a socially constructed world" (Harley, 2001, pp. 53). In this sense, *maps* are socio-politically situated tools of spatial coding and legitimation of the control and government of populations, expressing and reproducing power relations through what is – and how it is – *shown* and *silenced*, purposefully or not (Harley, 2001). As Neocleous (2003, pp. 422) argued, "[a]s a consequence, the map helps mask the violence that brings the state into being and the interests that sustain the ideological preponderance of the state system", which, in de Certeau's interpretation, is an operation of containment of the *multiplicity* by deleting the *itineraries* which made it possible and which are its condition of possibility (De Certeau, 1988, pp. 121). Then, "[b]orders may be drawn in blood, but the blood never appears on the page" (Neocleous, 2003, pp. 422), claims Neocleous.

On the other hand, I propose to engage with what Smith (2021) calls *literary cartography*. This approach draws on a broader tradition of *geocriticism* (Tally Jr., 2011, pp. 1), which aims to analyse how "a writer maps the social spaces of his or her world […] [in which] a geocritic would read these maps, drawing particular attention to the spatial practices involved in literature" (Tally Jr. 2011, pp. 1). In this sense, analysing how certain *narratives* and *stories* depict the *space* is a way to understand how "images from these stories may mediate […] understandings of the *place*" (Smith, 2021, pp. 705). Drawing on this tradition, I analyse the way different narratives are embedded in spatial constructions and how, in turn, they shape different *spatial imaginaries*. However, I go beyond the focus of literary studies on

novels, taking into account, following Mary Louise Pratt (2008), *verbal constructions* (tales, stories, myths, among others), as *verbal painting* acts. By entangling imperial/colonial stories about indigenous people, imagery and cartographical depictions of the Americas, and indigenous *counter-verbal paintings* of the *space* ethnocentrically depicted, I aim to analyse how the multiple *images* of indigenous peoples, the American continent and the *Yanomami Indigenous Land* are tensioned.

However, as a way of breaking the particular understanding that cartography is an instrument of mainly state power – or as Harley (2001, pp. 80) argues that "[m]aps are preeminently a language of power, not of protest" (Harley, 2001, pp. 79). I propose to engage with the concept of *counter/cartography*. I define *counter/cartography* in a manner correlated to what Leila M. Harris and Helen D. Hazen (2006, pp. 115) call counter-mapping, "[…] any effort that fundamentally questions the assumptions or biases of cartographic conventions, that challenges predominant power effects of mapping, or that engages in mapping in ways that upset power relations". However, I choose the concept of *counter/cartography*, rather than counter-mapping, to shift from understanding the elimination of itineraries through the *map*, as argued by de Certeau (1988), to focusing on *movements*, *appropriations* and *displacements*. In this sense, I take *counter/cartography* as a set of resistance practices that operate through spatial constructions, explicitly or not.

The last category is *image*. The understanding of *image* in this dissertation is similar to what Donna Haraway (2018) calls *figuration*: "performative images that can be inhabited. Verbal or visual, figurations can be condensed maps of contestable worlds" (Haraway, 2018, pp. 11). According to Cynthia Weber (2016), "figurations emerge out of discursive and material semiotic assemblages that condense diffuse imaginaries about the world into specific forms or images that bring specific worlds into being" (Weber, 2016, pp. 28), which means that they are not merely representations of an external *reality* – if such a thing exists – but they are performative of wor(l)ds through the interconnection between "semiotic tropes that combine knowledges, practices, and power to shape how we map our worlds" (Weber, 2016, pp. 28)[9] in a particular *time* and *space*. In this sense, analysing

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[9] According to Weber (2016, pp. 29), "[t]ropes are material and semiotic references to actual things that express how we understand them.". See also Haraway (2018, pp. 11).

figurations entails tracing different networks of power relations and the systems of knowledge that sustain and are sustained by them (Weber, 2016, pp. 28-29). They are also *spatial* because they "intertwine with particular spatial modalities", as Haraway (2018, pp. 12) argued. In this research, I use the word *image* as a synonym for *figuration*, sometimes interchangeably. However, I acknowledge that some theoretical work to distinguish both should be undertaken in the future.

Bearing that theoretical and methodological clarification in mind, the dissertation is divided into three chapters, each with its own theme but somewhat interconnected. In **Chapter 1**, I start by delineating the theoretical basis of the research, focusing on a critique of IR spatial claims. I argue, following post-colonial engagements in the discipline, that the omnipresent division between *inside* and *outside*, that constitutes the *international* a *space of anarchy*, is sustained through associations between indigenous people and savagery as the *international* is constituted as an extension of those *primitive societies*. Following that, I discuss colonial *images*, *stories* and *tales* of indigenous people and how they were expressed cartographically, helping to constitute the American continent following a particular intelligibility. Lastly, I briefly discuss the relationship between *cartography* and *violence* through critical cartography studies, emphasising how both *taking out* and *inserting* on the *map* are practices of violence.

In **Chapter 2**, I turn to the Amazon region, exploring the constitution, entanglements the practical resonances of the *images* of *Eldorado* and *Green Hell*. Following that, I discuss the *images* of *violence* and *war* associated with the Yanomami indigenous people, and I also briefly sketch the de/territorialisation process involved in *garimpo* (gold mining) infrastructures in their land. Lastly, I propose a *counter/cartography* of all those *images* – *capitalism*, *war*, and *violence* – through Davi Kopenawa's thought. In **Chapter 3**, I analyse the Brazilian legislation concerning indigenous territorial recognition, and, more specifically, I the Yanomami territorial demarcation process *with* and *against* the prevailing Brazilian legislation. Also, based on Kopenawa and Albert, I analyse the Yanomami notion of *forest-land* and how it enables us to understand that there is something *beyond* and *below* the map of the demarcated *Yanomami Indigenous Land*. Finally, I write some final remarks.

2
Cartographical Fantasies: un/mapping the tropics

> *"No longer relegated to whispers in the night, such stories might be simultaneously true and fabulous. How else can we account for the fact that anything is alive in the mess we have made?" (Tsing, 2021, pp. xvii-xviii).*

> *"In the end, the act of discovery itself, for which all the untold lives were sacrificed and miseries endured, consisted of what in European culture counts as a purely passive experience – that of seeing." (Pratt, 2008, pp. 198).*

In this chapter, I would like to explore the (spatial) *images* that emerged through colonial contact with the *unknown*. The first colonial *encounters* – and we can certainly question the use of this word, as does Enrique Dussel (1995, pp. 55) – were permeated by *anxieties* and *uncertainties* (Inayatullah; Blaney, 2004), which were translated into spatial comprehensions and imaginaries that, in turn, shaped the way we imagine (*international*) politics (Jahn, 1999; Sampson, 2002). Then, discourses/narratives and spatial practices are intertwined (de Certeau, 1988; Smith, 2021). With this in mind, I will analyse the construction of imperial/colonial maps to grasp the *fantasies* that sustained much of the European spatial practices and their succeeding rationalisation in maps through colonial cartographical conventions that supposedly represented the *real world*. With the analysis, I do not aim to unpack the *fantasies* entailed in these representations from what would be the *real* spatial substrate of what is being represented, i.e. the territory, but to fracture the *real*/*imaginary* binary sustaining much of our spatial understandings.

I engaged with *cartographic* practices more broadly, understanding how "[e]very story is a travel story – a spatial practice" (de Certeau, 1988, pp. 115). In this sense, imperial/colonial *tales* and *stories* are engaged as *cartographic*/*spatial practices*, shaping space compositions and forms of reading *landscapes* (Smith, 2021). Following Mary Louise Pratt (2008), I see those imperial/colonial accounts/reports as *verbal painting* acts, which means, quoting Michael J. Shapiro (2004b), that the *genres* they produced worked as "modes of symbolic action that turn land or territory into 'landscape' […] when it acquires a frame and a narrative element or argument" (Shapiro, 2004b, pp. 97), delimiting, then, a *field of vision*, what is *in* and what is *out*, as well as "a thematic" (Shapiro, 2004b, pp. 98) with how the elements are arranged and could be interpreted. My focus here is not fully

explaining those visual artefacts but instead working with the political compositions they reflect and make emerge, as I aim to understand how *maps* produce "spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, and events in the human world" (Harley; Woodward, 1987, pp. xvi). As argued by Debbie Leslie (2017, pp. 299-300), "images are not separate from the world 'out there', and any act of envisioning is necessarily political because it involves framing", which means that as visual artefacts, the *maps* emerging through *verbal* or *imagery* depictions also re/produce relations of imperial/colonial power.

The chapter is divided as follows. In the first section, I analyse the image of anarchy in political thought and how it helped to create and crystalise a spatial order that is (re)produced by International Relations, as a discipline and set of practices. In the second section, I turn to *visual* and *textual* depictions of *anarchy* in imperial/colonial maps and accounts, and I focus on how imperial/colonial anxieties over Amerindian populations are entangled with cartographical practices. In the third and last section, I turn to critical cartography studies to analyse how the scholarship treated the relationship between *violence* and *cartography*. Drawing on this literature, I briefly propose that we analyse not only how positioning something *off the map* but also how placing it *on the map* are both ways of (re)producing relations of violence.

2.1
Images of *Anarchy*

Anarchy is one of the most influential *images* used to depict and localise the *international*. Nonetheless, this form of reading the *international* is far from being neutral and is, instead, the result of a long process entangled with colonialism's history. Naeem Inayatullah and David L. Blaney (2004) demonstrate how the *international* constituted itself through a specific reading of *difference* as deviation so that there is an effort to eradicate it, assimilate it, or cover it up. Indigenous peoples were crucial in determining this understanding of *difference* that reverberates but is not limited to international relations, as they were commonly built as a pole of radical alterity in the face of the European-Western Self. According to Naeem Inayatullah and David L. Blaney (2004), a set of

commitments[10] with uniformity delimited the horizons of European-Western thought in the colonial context, which caused the contact with the *Other* (Amerindian) to be permeated by *anxieties* and *uncertainties*.

On the one hand, the *wild man/woman* expresses someone without social and political control since he/she is seen as a subject without social order living in a state of *anarchy*, and, on the other hand, for the same reason, unrestricted in terms of impulses and desires. Such representations constantly involved a content of *ex(r)otization*, as in "[t]he first colonial reports [which] represented Amerindians in Colombia as deviants and sexual degenerates" (Kapoor, 2015, pp. 1614). However, in an ambivalent way, they were sometimes represented with excessive sexuality (*animalised* and *perverted*) and sometimes lacking any sexual components (*emasculated* and *effeminate*) (Kapoor, 2015, pp. 1614-1615; Kempadoo, 2004, pp. 30). Women, specifically, were constantly accused of *witchcraft* and *devil worship* resulting from an association between abnormal sexuality and racialisation processes (Federici, 2017, pp. 357-358)[11], further reinforced during the transatlantic slave system (Kempadoo, 2004, pp. 31). Those *stories*, often *tales*, were "libidinously eroticized" (McClintock, 1995, pp. 22) in the representation of the *unknown*.

In this sense, both the "theme of sexual perversity and the myth of the 'erotic East'" (Kapoor, 2015, pp. 1614) express the entanglements of different systems of domination, such as racism, sexism and hetero-normativity, politically organised to support the colonial enterprise[12]. Those entanglements led Anne McClintock (1995, pp. 22) to coin the term *porno-tropics* to express "a fantastic magic lantern of the mind onto which Europe projected its forbidden sexual desires and fears". *Fantasy* was pivotal in shaping colonial imagination and practices, making the boundaries between *reality* and *fantasy* often blurred and distinguishing unproductive (Taussig, 1987, pp. 9-10).

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[10] According to Inayatullah and Blaney (2004), such commitments come not only from the process of trying to eradicate *difference* – and postpone the need to deal with it – in the religious wars in Europe and the marks left by them but also from the Christian thought of the 16th and 17th centuries, which inferred a commitment to a common origin: divine creation. Thus, the difference was seen as an anomaly of God's will (Inayatullah; Blaney, 2004, pp. 43).

[11] See also McClintock (1995, pp. 2-4) on witchcraft, racialisation and sexualisation on colonial spatial representations.

[12] Those processes and the colonial imagination were unstable over the centuries, especially with the ambivalent and ambiguous positioning of *miscegenation*/*mestizaje* between fascination and fear. For that, see Kempadoo (2004, pp. 32-34). McClintock (pp. 299-329). Schwartz and Salomon (1999, pp. 483), Cocco and Cava (2018, pp. 69).

Thus, by making an association between Amerindians and *savagery*, European political thought delimited the construction of *savagery/primitiveness* as a way to guarantee the temporal and spatial boundaries of (European) civilisation by defining such societies as "[...] outside of the discourse of sovereignty" (Inayatullah; Blaney, 2004). There is, then, an interconnection between the spatial and the temporal registers in colonial dispossession practices, which, as argued by McClintock (1995), entails a (libidinous) association between *virgin* and *empty land*. This association was structured through a contradictory framing:

> the [colonial] journey is figured as proceeding forward in geographical space but backward in historical time […] Since indigenous peoples are not supposed to be spatially there – for the lands are "empty" – they are symbolically displaced onto what I call *anachronistic space* […] [they] exist in a permanently anterior time within the geographic space of the modern empire as anachronistic humans, atavistic, irrational, bereft of human agency - the living embodiment of the archaic "primitive" (McClintock, 1995, pp. 30).

Temporal displacement was intrinsically connected with spatial displacement, both stressing practices of *mapping* through the spatialisation of time and the temporalisation of space (McClintock, 1995, pp. 37). But as Ilan Kapoor (2015), Kamal Kempadoo (2004) and McClintock (1995) argue, those representations of *Otherness* in the colonial imaginary speak more about European (suppressed) *desires* and *fantasies* than about colonised populations' social and political organisation, which means that they were "a screen onto which Western colonial sexual fantasies, desires and anxieties were being projected or transferred" (Kapoor, 2015, pp. 1615). Some of the representations based on such *figurations*, more specifically of the Amerindians, were the notions of *state of nature* and *anarchy*, that is, central elements for the constitution of the *international* as a distinct level of *reality*, the prevailing *global spatial imaginary* as well as for the legitimisation of IR as an autonomous field of study.

For that matter, Beate Jahn (1999) argues that the modern notion of the *state of nature* appropriated by IR developed through the *encounter*[13] between Spanish

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[13] I agree with Dussel (1995) that there is no such thing as an *encounter of two worlds* besides a *myth*. He argues that this understanding "elaborates a myth: the new world as a single culture harmoniously blending the European and the indigenous" (Dussel, 1995, pp. 55), which is a euphemism for all colonial violent practices and an ideological device of the *mestizo* elites to claim racial and/or ethnic democracy. In this sense, by completely disdaining "indigenous rites, gods, myths, and beliefs, and sought to erase them through the method of tabula rasa" (Dussel, 1995, pp. 55), the Spanish, but also the Portuguese and other colonialists, established asymmetrical

colonisers and Amerindians, thus not being a neutral category as it seems. It entailed and was preceded by the depiction of Amerindians as *without reason* and, therefore, without possession of themselves and things since they were incapable of transforming *nature into culture* or, in other words, controlling *external nature* and themselves. Nevertheless, there were different positions, such as Juán Gines de Sepulveda, Bartolomé de Las Casas, and Francisco de Vitoria[14]. Still, the interpretative key of the *colonial encounter* was based mainly on two different positions: first, that Amerindians lived in a *state of nature* with the potential – not reached – for *reason*, or, in other words, they had not developed culture; second, they were savages precisely because of the socialisation they had and could not never access civilisation. Both presupposed civilisational *hierarchy* and *assimilation*, which defined the terms of the discussion not on the possibility of colonial intervention but *how to do it* – whether as an open war against those living contrary to *natural law* or based on the (supposedly) *protection* of them against themselves, so that, in the end, the war would be enforced if *salvation* was not accepted. Intervention as a "moral obligation" (Jahn, 1999, pp. 417) prevailed.

Therefore, according to Jahn (1999), the *state of nature* does not describe a pre-existing universal condition, nor, in Thomas Hobbes' case, an "unreal scenario that serves only to justify the State's authority" (Hillani, 2023, pp. 6), but is precisely the "the product of a particular historical event and, hence, already highly charged with cultural, sociological, and ethical meanings waiting to be deciphered" (Jahn, 1999, pp. 412). In Hobbes, for instance, the *state of nature*, despite never being described with these exact words in *Leviathan* (Hillani, 2023, pp. 3), was sustained by a specific reading of Amerindian sociality, in which, according to him:

> It may peradventure be thought there was never such a time nor condition of war as this; and I believe it was never generally so, over all the world: but there are many places where they live so now. For the *savage people* in many places of America, except the government of small families, the concord whereof dependeth (sic.) on natural lust, have no government at all, and live at this day in that brutish manner, as I said before (Hobbes, 2017, pp. 104, my emphasis).

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relations with the colonised. How was an encounter possible when "an *argumentation community* in which all are respected as equal participants, was impossible" (Dussel, 1995), pp. 55)? With this in mind, in this research, I still use this concept not as a concealing device of colonial violence but rather as a way to analyse how different practices of violence are embedded in various types of *encounters* across time and space.

[14] See also Inayatullah (2008) and Blaney and Inayatullah (1994).

This association is not residual but central to Hobbes' materialist comprehension. Nevertheless, Hobbes' the *state of nature* claim does not entail, as argued by Hillani (2023, pp. 11, emphasis in the original), a "prepolitical condition, but a *political condition without the State*", which means it is not be seen as pre-social or pre-political[15]. However, several readings of Hobbes, especially in IR, build themselves on comprehending the *state of nature* as a lack of order, usually translated as a condition of *anarchy*, delimiting a particular way of seeing and imagining (*international*) *politics*.

This *image of anarchy among savages*[16] shaped "not only the imaginary regarding native peoples in America and elsewhere but the whole of political philosophy" (Hillani, 2023, pp. 2). European political thought, more specifically, was impacted in at least three interconnected ways (Jahn, 1999). First, it provided historical evidence for the epistemological notion of the state of nature, thus making it not only a *hypothetical* condition of human existence but also a *concrete* one in some places. Second, it "led to a redefinition of history along a linear time scale, providing a secular *telos* as the basis of the historical process" (Jahn, 1999, pp. 417). Amerindians were European contemporaries, thus, a *line* could be drawn between them because even though they were living simultaneously, they were positioned at different stages of *human development*. This justified the state and private property as foundations of natural law to bring order and (*ontological*) development. Third, an ethical consequence, it provided a basis for criticising European society, for example, related to the supposed *freedom* and *equality* as natural human issues lost in Europe. The result is a temporal and spatial (re) organisation which:

> having defined a universally valid form of domestic political
> organization in relation to a different and non-European form of
> political organization these theories implicitly define the proper

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[15] See Allan M. Hillani (2023) for a reinterpretation of Hobbes in light of Pierre Clastres and Eduardo Viveiros de Castro.

[16] Those references to *anarchy* as a lack of social and political organisation do not refer to anarchism as theory and practice. My purpose here is to unpack the current meaning of the concept in IR, which references the supposed absence of central and superior authority commonly used to describe the *international* as a different *level of reality*. This means I do not aim, unfortunately, to propose another reading of *anarchy* but only to critique the current comprehension and its consequences to the way we theorise the *international*.

relations between these different forms of political organization, i.e. international relations (Jahn, 1999, pp. 421).

Following that, Aaron B. Sampson (2002) and Onofre dos Santos Filho (2019) analyse how such a conception of the *state of nature*, rationalised by European contractualism, configures both the understanding of *international anarchy* as a pre-social space and the divisions between *inside* (*political community/order*) and *outside* (*anarchy/disorder*) through the contraposition to *Amerindian stateless societies*. In this sense, as Santos Filho (2019) argues, the rationalisation of the stories and tales of the colonial encounter through the notions of the *state of nature* and *anarchy* by contractualists, such as Hobbes and John Locke, shaped a political-geographical imaginary that commonly taken for granted. On the one hand, the colonial *images* of Amerindians employed by them "developed into a theory of legitimate political community within the state and the state of nature between states, […] subsequently exported again into the international sphere" (Jahn, 1999, pp. 413). On the other hand, a spatial location system, based on the separation *between civilised societies* and those living in *anarchy* and the *state of nature*, demarcated *two worlds* with the Tropic of Cancer as its geographical reference. This means that sovereignty and statehood were the reference points for defining the absence of civilisation (Santos Filho, 2019).

With the expansion of statehood with decolonisation throughout the 20th century, a new spatiality was established in which *anarchy* and the *state of nature* became presuppositions that based both what would come to configure the sovereign territorial state and the patterns of interactions between them, as well as the construction of IR as a discipline and its categories of analysis (Santos Filho, 2019). Then, across different theoretical strands in IR, such as Kenneth Waltz's neorealism and Alexander Wendt's constructivism, a specific concept of *anarchy* is employed, which Sampson (2002) calls *Tropical Anarchy*. This comprehension conceives the "international system as primitive" (Sampson, 2002, pp. 429), reproducing *images* of a *primitive environment*: *disorderly*, *decentralised*, *anarchic*, *uncivilised*, and *individualistic*.

Two are the main consequences: it predetermines the *nature* of *international politics*, consequently delimiting the political horizons of IR into two fronts: "either maintain the primitive status quo or civilize the world" (Sampson, 2002, pp. 429). The connection between *geographical* and knowledge domination embedded in

colonialism (McClintock, 1995, pp. 23), then, is reproduced in the constitution of the discipline as the *international* as a *space* of (*primitive*) *anarchy* becomes a device of *(geo)political imagination* entailing both efforts of totalising explanations of what is the *international* and which practices, actors, places, among others, should be seen as parts of it. The *map* of the *international* is reduced to what is located *outside*.

This highlights the connection between its ontological and epistemological foundations and imperialism and colonialism (Thakur; Davis; Vale, 2017; Beier, 2009) and how the discipline reproduces these processes (Beier, 2005). In this sense, the interconnection between the *temporal and spatial difference* stated above was configured through the relationship between racial/sexual boundaries and a specific territorial imagination. This political-geographical imaginary is considered a pre-social reality that commonly sustains much of the readings of the place of the *international* (Inayatullah; Blaney, 2004; Santos Filho, 2019). Thus, we must understand that in addition to a reduction of the notion of *space* in/of IR to the sovereign space understood in terms of a fixed and unchanging territory of the State, as argued by John Agnew (1994), it is reproduced through such spatial categories, even if not explicitly, the associations of backwardness of Amerindian societies (Beier, 2009), because, to paraphrase Pierre Clastres (2003), these are always considered to be *lacking* something that every actual society should possess: *politics*, understood in terms of the presence of a State.

One way to critique this vision would be to search for the *real* substrate of international politics, i.e., another *totalising explanation* of what is the *international* and where it should be seen, or another origin of the *international* to see it *otherwise*. Instead, given the centrality of the Tropics in the constitution of the way we see and engage with the *international*, I aim in the next section to focus on the *fantasies* in the colonial construction of difference and, consequently, of the space. Expanding on the colonial tales and stories of the beginning of this section, I focus mainly on the colonial voyages in the Amazon region, specifically cartographical practices, both spatial depictions through *maps* and narratives that spatialise their content, to see what emerges through them. The *tropics*, then, is deconstructed, not in the sense of uncovering its *real image*, but in how the *real* is simultaneously *imagined*.

2.2
Anarchy in *Images*

Columbus's long voyage to the *Indies* moored in dry land in late October 1492. In his first report to the metropolis, Columbus centred on the natives of the *new lands*. "But it seemed to me", he stressed:

> "that they were people who had practically nothing. They were naked, as their mother gave birth to them [...] They didn't carry weapons, which they didn't even know, because I showed them swords, which they held by the edge and cut themselves for ignorance [...] (Colombo, 1991, pp. 45, my translation[17]).

In 1501, Amerigo Vespucci sailed from Lisbon to explore *unknown regions*. After months of travel, his three boats docked, and the ship's crew established the first contact with the Amerindians. In his account, Vespucci says:

> In those regions, we find such a multitude of people that no one can enumerate, as it is read in the Apocalypse, people, I say, gentle and tractable. All, of both sexes, go about naked, without covering any part of the body; as they come from the mother's womb, so they go until death [...] Another of their customs, quite enormous and beyond human credibility: indeed, their women, being lustful, cause their husbands' groins to swell with such thickness that they appear deformed and obscene; this due to some artifice and the bite of some poisonous animals. Because of this, many of them lose their groins – which rot due to lack of care – and become eunuchs [...] They live at the same time without king and without command, and each one is his own master. They take as many wives as they want: the son copulates with the mother; the brother with the sister; and the cousin with the cousin; the passerby and those who cross paths with him [...] Peoples generate wars among themselves without skill or order [...] And those who lead captives of war keep them not for their lives, but to kill them for their food. Indeed, the victors eat the vanquished. Among the meats, human flesh is common food to them [...] I met a man, with whom I spoke, of whom it was said that he had eaten more than 300 human bodies (Vespúcio, 2013, pp. 6-8, my translation[18]).

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[17] Mas me pareceu que era gente que não possuía praticamente nada. Andavam nus como a mãe lhes deu à luz […] Não andam com armas, que nem conhecem, pois lhes mostrei espadas, que pegaram pelo fio e se cortaram por ignorância [...]

[18] Encontramos naquelas regiões tanta multidão de gente quanto ninguém poderá enumerar, como se lê no Apocalipse, gente, digo, mansa e tratável. Todos, de ambos os sexos, andam nus, sem cobrir nenhuma parte do corpo; como saem do ventre materno, assim vão até a morte [...] Outro costume deles bastante enorme e além da humana credibilidade: na realidade, as mulheres deles, como são libidinosas, fazem intumescer as virilhas dos maridos com tanta crassidão que parecem disformes e torpes; isto por algum artifício e mordedura de alguns animais venenosos. Por causa disso, muitos deles perdem as virilhas – que apodrecem por falta de cuidado – e se tornam eunucos [...] Vivem ao mesmo tempo sem rei e sem comando, e cada um é senhor de si mesmo. Tomam tantas mulheres quantas querem: o filho copula com a mãe; o irmão, com a irmã; e o primo, com a prima; o transeunte e os que cruzam com ele [...] Os povos geram guerras entre si sem arte nem ordem [...] E, aqueles que conduzem cativos de guerra, conservam não por causa da vida deles,

Those small excerpts of their accounts, which certainly do not constitute a *totalising image* of all colonial reports, say *too much*. First, centred on the richness of the land and the obedience of the natives, they marked the *discovery* of what would be called the *New World*, or the *Americas*., the *discovery* is an unsettling act: according to McClintock (1995, pp. 28), it "[…] is always late. The inaugural scene is never, in fact, inaugural or original: something has always gone before" (McClintock, 1995, pp. 28). Additionally, as Mary Louise Pratt argues, it:

> […] involved making one's way to the region and asking the local inhabitants if they knew of any big lakes, etc. in the area, then hiring them to take you there, whereupon with their guidance and support, you proceeded to discover what they already knew. […] discovery in this context consisted of a gesture of converting local knowledges (discourses) into European national and continental knowledges associated with European forms and relations of power (Pratt, 2008, pp. 198).

In the end, despite claiming precedence and ownership of something *new*, the imperial/colonial act of *discovery* is not truly what it claims to be. First, it involves both acts of *similatio*, of making the *different* familiar, and *dissimilation*, or exoticisation (Palencia-Roth, 1992, pp. 4-5). Furthermore, knowing, even if not acknowledging consciously, that *he* didn't come upon something no one knew, the coloniser makes "[t]he inaugural scene of discovery […] redolent not only of male megalomania and imperial aggression but also of male anxiety and paranoia" (McClintock, 1995, pp. 26). This statement leads us to the second point: the imperial/colonial accounts were saturated with gendered, sexualised, and racialised content, which, thus, expresses and reproduces relations of power.

Using Vespucci as an example, when naming *America,* he calls it "[…] after himself […] [which] expresses a desire of claiming a single origin alongside a desire to control the issue of that origin" (McClintock, 1995, pp. 28). McClintock (1995, pp. 29) continues: "[l]ike baptism, the imperial act of discovery is a surrogate birthing ritual: the lands are already peopled, as the child is already born. Discovery, for this reason, is a *retrospective* act". The scene of the *discovery*, as well as the following ones, is based on colonisers anxiety to assert a "power of origins"

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mas para matá-los por causa de sua alimentação. Com efeito, uns aos outros, os vencedores comem os vencidos. Dentre as carnes, a humana é para ele alimento comum [...] Conheci um homem, com o qual falei, do qual se dizia ter comido mais de 300 corpos humanos

(McClintock, 1995, pp. 29), that is of claiming a temporal and geographical privilege over the *new lands* by successive attempts of erasing the colonised agency as well as of exerting control over them.

Jesuitic discourse was also intermingled with fantasy and myths of precedence. For example, John Hemming (1978) argues how Jesuits relied on a mythical account of how an earlier Christian saint, mainly Apostle Tomas, had already visited those regions before and had taught the *natives* the Christian faith. This fantastic story "made them feel that they were continuing the work of an apostle" (Hemming, 1978, pp. 47), and there are several colonial reports on how indigenous people wanted to show them proof of this earlier visit, usually footprints. Those were also invitations to move across *space*. When "[a] Papal Bull of 1512 clearly stated that American natives were descended from Adam and Eve, as was the rest of mankind" (Hemming, 1978, pp. 47), the imperial/colonial enterprise had to found evidence of the Amerindians existence, and, then, of their *land* (Hemming, pp. 48), both, in my view, efforts of (spatial) *legibility*, that is by *de/coding* and abstracting *space* through *images* and words (Soja, 1996, pp. 312), they aimed to make un/familiar to Europeans the *new world* and its inhabitants.

Those attempts, to return to the second point stated above, delineate ambiguous *images*. Three will be explored further: the idea of an *empty/virgin land*, the obedience of the Amerindians, and their *savagery*, especially related to *cannibalism*. Those accounts and visual representations, often surrounded with *fantasies*, will be engaged as an operating process of spatialisation, that is, to use James Ferguson and Akhil Gupta's (2005, pp. 105) arguments on another context, making the *space* "to be understood as a concrete, overarching, spatially encompassing reality […]" through "images, metaphors, and representational practices". Or, in other words, *mapping* the *new world* by delimiting forms of seeing and engaging with its *space*.

The empty land myth is strictly linked to the myth of *virgin land*, "involving both a gender and a racial dispossession" (McClintock, 1995, pp. 30). McClintock (1995, pp. 30) argues in this sense that colonisation makes an articulation between the *land* and feminine lack of desire and need of control, in which "[w]ithin patriarchal narratives, to be a virgin is to be empty of desire and void of sexual agency, passively awaiting the thrusting, male insemination of history, language and reason". The imperial/colonial invasion, then, is both an act of "gendering of

the imperial unknown" (McClintock, 1995, pp. 24) and of territorial mastery. It is not without reason that in Vespucci's account, for example, indigenous women were seen as both *inviting exploration*, with their nudity, and voluptuous, with their uncontrollable sexual desire, demanding, thus, domination.

It is not without reason that visual representations of Vespucci's discovery of America (re)produce the associations mentioned above. Jan van der Straet's 1575 drawing (Figure 1), quoted in McClintock (1995, pp. 25), is a clear example of that, as it depicts a scene where "the indigenous woman extends an inviting hand, insinuating sex and submission […] Vespucci, the godlike arrival, is destined to inseminate her with the male seeds of civilization" (McClintock, 1995, pp. 26). This image of nudity also expresses an association of naivety (Carneiro da Cunha, 1990. P. 93). The *new world's* space is depicted as awaiting to be invaded and explored, necessary efforts of spatial legibility.

Figure 1: Allegory of America, from New Inventions of Modern Times (Nova Reperta)
Extracted from McClintock, 1995, pp. 25.

Following the initial imperial/colonial invasions, there was a (cartographic) effort to assemble the *global space*, which initially "emerged as an abstract -

conceptualised but yet largely unknown - spatial referent" (Strandsbjerg, 2019, pp. 300). As Jeppe Strandsbjerg (2019) states, the four Papal Bulls, including the *Inter Caetera* in 1493 and the Treaty of Tordesillas, issued in 1494, entailed a vital shift on European *political imagination,* mainly because it "no longer primarily corresponded with sociopolitical relations, or "the reality on the ground," but instead with a reality derived through cartographic means" (Strandsbjerg, 2019, pp. 301). Much of the imperial/colonial cartographic competition to divide the *space* was based on the *unknown* (see Carvalho, 2013, pp. 131-133), or, in other words, it preceded the *discovery* of the new lands by Iberian empires (Strandsbjerg, 2019; Padrón, 2011).

For instance, the creation of the "model[s] for the nautical charts" (Padrón, 2011, pp. 33) *Padreo Real* and *Padron Real* by Spain and Portugal, respectively, represented efforts both to translate sailor's accounts under measured geographical knowledge and to concentrate this knowledge under the control of the crown, thus facilitating claims to domination. In this sense, as argued by Jordan Branch, "[t]he ostensibly empty spaces of the Americas […] could be comprehended, negotiated over, and competed for *only* by using an abstract conception of space built on mathematical cartography" (Branch, 2014, pp. 100, emphasis in the original). Those cartographic efforts "serve[d] to unite a myriad of sites, places, and landscape features such as mountains and coastlines into a coherent phenomenon: geographical space" (Strandsbjerg, 2015, pp. 301), which for Strandsbjerg (2015) worked to *assemble* the *globe* as a totality in the following centuries, especially, as emphasised by Mary Louise Pratt (2008, pp. 16), after the launching, in 1735, of "Europe's first major international scientific expedition […] intended to determine once and for all the exact shape of the earth". However, I claim that the geographical space was not coherent and expressed imperial/colonial anxieties (García, 2018).

According to John Hébert (2011, pp. 29), the first *world map* to offer a "clear depiction of North and South America […] its shape, size, and geographic relationship to the rest of the world", was done in 1507 by a several of scholars from Lorraine, nowadays France (Figure 2). This map was based on the early colonial accounts of Columbus; however, mapmaker Martin Waldseemüller and his team, following Vespucci's notes, made one of the most famous early maps of the *world* depicting the so-called *new world* as a different continent.

Figure 2 Universalis cosmographia secundum Ptholomaei traditionem et Americi Vespucii alioru[m]que lustrationes
Extracted from Hébert, 2011, pp. 29.

However, as argued by Pedro Martínez García (2018, pp. 120), "[a] map is almost never an innocent object". In this case, Waldseemüller map, despite claiming an objective and more genuine representation of the (know) *world*, reproduced imperial/colonial relations of power:

> The center of the map is Europe and the Mediterranean world, with the rest of the world radiating from and drawn to that center […] Europe takes visual possession of America and Africa south of the equator through the map and through the symbols on the map. For sub-Saharan Africa and the Americas, only European symbols of authority, and for that matter only those of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns, appear (Hébert, 2011, pp. 30).

Nevertheless, two things call for attention zooming on this map. First, the word *incognita* (*unknown*) in Latin was drawn on the eastern part of the South American map, showing the scarcity of geographic knowledge, notion which appeared again in Waldseemüller 1516 world atlas that employed the terms "Terra Incognitae (Unknown lands) and *Terra Nova* (New lands, or New world) to label much of Latin America" (Hébert, 2011, pp. 31, emphasis in the original). Second, the word *cannibales* (cannibals) (Hébert, 2011, pp. 31) appears two times on the map, near a river and an island, both in the geographical representation of the *Americas* (Figure 3 and Figure 4).
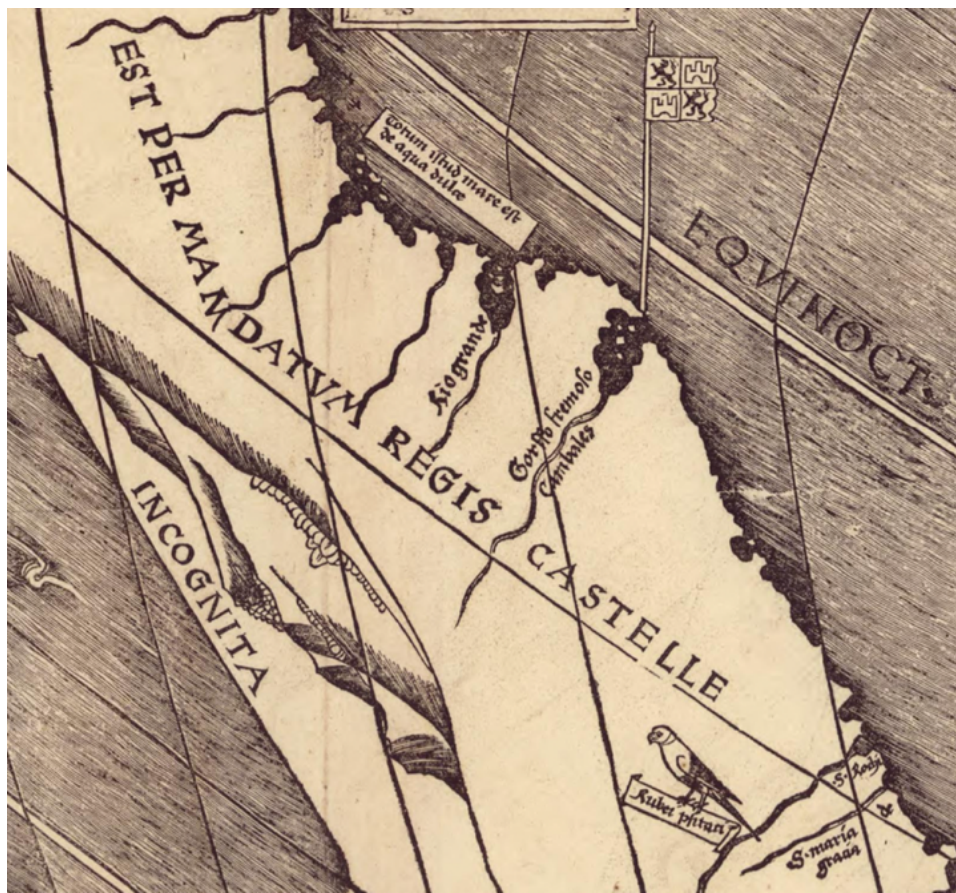
Figure 3: Zoom in on the map Universalis cosmographia
Extracted from Waldseemüller, 1507.

Figure 4: Zoom in on the map Universalis cosmographia
Extracted from Waldseemüller, 1507.

According to James Walker (2015, pp. 8), despite not being unusual on colonisers' accounts (see Palencia-Roth, 1992), *cannibalism* expressed something different when correlated with geographical knowledge "because it incorporated three meanings or concepts – a people, a practice, and a place". As Waldseemüller and his team were following Vespucci's account, they were translating the *landscapes* constructed through his worlds to a visual representation of a *place* (Walker, 2005), which relates to a common association between imperial/colonial observation and authority over what is described as *being seen*.

In this sense, related to the previous *image* of *terra nullius* is the one about the docility of the natives, which was combined with an *image* of violence. It is important to note that those *images* referred, in the context, to indigenous populations that were contacted in the coastal areas, mainly *Tupi* and *Guarani*-speaking indigenous populations (Carneiro da Cunha, 1990). Just following Columbus' account at the beginning of the chapter, he stresses that "[t]hey [the natives] must be good servants and skilful, because I notice that they immediately repeat what we say and I think they would soon become Christians"" (Colombo, 1991, pp. 45, my translation[19]). This *image* reproduces the associations of indigenous exoticism and obedience, which, far from being neutral, were related to efforts of domination and labour exploitation, as according to Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (1990, pp. 93, my translation[20]), it aimed to "convince the Catholic Monarchs of the ease with which they could dominate such prodigiously fertile lands, rich in gold and spices". The political act of *framing the landscape* (Shapiro, 2004), however, tells more stories: as argued by Michael Taussig, *images* of indigenous *savagery* and *generosity/helplessness* were "tenaciously linked and covertly complicity, the one feeding off the other" (Taussig, 1987, pp. 85). For instance, in the same Straet's drawing shown above, "[i]n the central distance of the picture, between Amerigo and America, a cannibal scene is in progress. The cannibals appear to be female and are spit-roasting a human leg" (McClintock, 1995, pp. 26). In the case of Brazil, the entanglement of those *image* was associated with the lack of political order, which expressed the existence of people with no

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[19] Devem [os indígenas] ser bons serviçais e habilidosos, pois noto que repetem logo o que a gente diz e creio que depressa se fariam cristãos

[20] convencer os Reis Católicos da facilidade de se dominarem terras tão prodigiosamente férteis e ricas de ouro e especiarias.

faith, no king, no law, to paraphrase Viveiros de Castro (2002, pp. 185) (see also Carneiro da Cunha, 1990).

Cannibalism[21] was a practice commonly depicted "on the periphery of civilization" (Walker, 2015, pp. 4) and was soon associated with indigenous people in the Americas. It was first stated in Columbus's account, reinforced by Vespucci, and later reproduced in other reports, shaping how Europeans imagined its *space* (Walker, 2015). The first pictorial depiction of cannibalism on a map was probably done between 1502 and 1506 by an unknown Portuguese mapmaker[22] (Figure 5). Despite the richness of the map in its imagery composition, what caught my attention was the "infamous image of the "man on the spit," which the mapmaker placed along the coast of present-day Brazil, [which] was derived from Vespucci's graphic description of the alleged murder and roasting of one of his crew" (Walker, 2015, pp. 5) (Figure 6). This geographical imagination shows the entanglements between *verbal painting* and mapmaking in the imperial/colonial constitution of the Americas.

Figure 5: Portulan (Weltkarte)
Extracted from Munich Digitization Center, 2023.

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[21] For an etymology of the term in Europe, see Frank Lestringant (1997). There is also an important difference between cannibalism and anthropophagy in the colonial discourse (see Carneiro da Cunha, 1990, p. 99), which distinguished between *savages* and *pure Indians*.

[22] The map is sometimes attributed to Vespucci (ee Metcalf, 2012).

Figure 6: Portulan (Weltkarte)
Extracted from Munich Digitization Center, 2023.

Furthermore, there is Diego Gutiérrez, a cartographer from Spanish *Casa de Contratación*, and Hieronymus Cock, a Flemish artist, map of the *Americas*, which was finished in 1562 (García, 2018). This map (Figure 7) showed a more *complete* geographical representation, still with several areas unexplored by European colonisers – *continental interiors,* indeed, "had become the major object of expansionist energies and imaginings" (Pratt, 2008, pp. 23) only by the eighteenth century (see Pratt, 2008) –, relying also on *fantastic* elements to represent the *new continent's space*: *giants* in nowadays regions of Patagonia, which reflected an earlier colonial account regarding the encounter with man with highly high stature (see also Hemming, 1978, pp. 45) and cannibals in the northern-eastern part of nowadays Brazil (García, 2018).

Figure 7: Americae sive quartae orbis partis nova et exactissima descriptio (1562)
Extracted from Gutiérrez, 1562.

But despite depicting an *image of* the Amerindians, *cannibalism* is also an *image* that tells something about the colonisers themselves (see also Vyrgioti, 2021)[23]. According to McClintock, referring to the previously quoted Figure 1:

> In the central distance of the picture, between Amerigo and America, a cannibal scene is in progress. The cannibals appear to be female and are spit-roasting a human leg. A pillar of flame and smoke issues into the sky, conjoining earth, fire, water and air in an elemental scene, structured as a visual assembly of opposites: earth-sky; sea-land; male-female; clothed-unclothed; active-passive; vertical-horizontal; raw-cooked. Situated on the shore, the threshold between land and sea, the drawing is, in almost every sense, a liminal scene. In the foreground, the explorer is of a piece - fully armored, erect and magisterial, the incarnation of male imperial power. Caught in his gaze, the woman is

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[23] Indeed, cannibalism was also a common practice in colonisation voyages between Europeans themselves, see García (2018, pp. 128).

naked, subservient and vulnerable to his advance. In the background, however, the male body is quite literally in pieces, while the women are actively and powerfully engaged. The dismembered leg roasting on the spit evokes a disordering of the body so catastrophic as to be fatal (McClintock, 1995, pp. 26).

What McClintock (1995) warns us, again, is the entanglements between an *image* of a "savage wilderness" (García, 2018, pp. 127) and of an *Edenic* space (Sadlier, 2008, pp. 11-12) inviting the colonial invasion with its richness and abundance (Figure 8). Those *image*s were mutually constituted through the entanglement of earlier colonial accounts and reports, such as those of Columbus and Vespucci but also hundreds of others, or practices of *verbal painting* and cartographic practices, both *framing* the American continent and the Amerindian populations in a certain way.

Figure 8: Lopo Homem-Reinel's map (1519).
Extracted from Sadlier, 2008, pp. 22

One way to counter those cartographical representations would be to deconstruct their embedded fantastic elements or demythologise *history* to use

Taussig's (1987) words. This is the case, for example, of more recent studies based on archaeological evidence that shows how the Amazonian *natural* space was, indeed, only constituted due to *human cultural landscapes* made by the indigenous people. Then, far from being an *unpopulated* and *untouched* space, it was created through entangled and multiple *human* and *non-human* processes (Neves, 1995; Magalhães, 2009; Viveiros de Casto, 1992; Boff, 1997; pp. 111; see also Vadjunec; Schmink; Greiner, 2011). However, an also critical practice would be to "[t]o see the myth in the natural and the real in magic, to demythologise history and to reenchant its reified representation; that is a first step" (Taussig, 1987, pp. 10), to instead trying to find the real *substrate of space*, analyse how it is (re)produced through *real* and *imagined* elements and question what this would entail for our visions of (*international*) politics.

2.3
In/Off the map: on *violence* and *cartography* and *cartography* as *violence*[24]

Critical cartography emerged as a prominent field of study in the second half of the 20th century, especially in the 1990s (see Harley, 1989; 1990), by "situat[ing] maps within specific relations of power and not as neutral scientific documents" (Crampton; Krygier, 2006, pp. 12). Challenging both the discipline of cartography – and its scientific aspirations – and "the business of mapmaking" (Crampton; Krygier, 2006, pp. 12), critical cartography has proposed two main changes. On the one hand, scholars proposed that we understand how *maps* not only *represent* but produce the *reality* and, then, instead of "inert records of morphological landscapes or passive reflections of the world of objects, [*maps* are] regarded as refracted images contributing to dialogue in a socially constructed world." (Harley, 2001, pp. 53). In this sense, *maps* are understood not only as embedded in power relations but also as *technologies of power* per se (Harley, 1989, pp. 12), which means they should be understood within their context of production (Harley, 2001), through the power dynamics they reproduce (see van Houtum; Lacy, 2020; Perkins, 2004) and as "a way of conceiving, articulating, and

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[24] The title of this section was inspired by Mark Neocleous' (2003) article *Off the Map: On Violence and Cartography*.

structuring the human world" (Harley, 2001, pp. 53). This also implies moving out of a linkage between cartography and objectivity to one that engages with suspicion to "what cartographers tell us maps are supposed to be" (Harley, 1989, pp. 1), or, in other words, by recognising that every *map*, as a *textual composition* (Harley, 1989), is a piece of *fiction* (Harley, 2001, pp. 63). On the other hand, artists and scholars alike proposed "subversive cartographies" (Crampton; Krygier, 2006, pp. 17), that is, they "question[ed] the commensurability of Euclidean space" (Crampton; Krygier, 2006, pp. 18), and proposed new ways of representing, feeling and sensing the space, claiming its eminently political character (see Merriman, 2011; Perkins, 2004).

Despite the great diversity of works on critical cartography studies, I will focus specifically on the relation between what is *being shown* and what is *being hidden* in *maps*, or the *sounds* and *silences* of cartography. Harley (2001) analyses how *distortion* and *misrepresentation* are familiar characters in mapmaking techniques across history and how those are *political practices* as "[b]ehind the map maker lies a set of power relations, creating its own specification" (Harley, 2001, pp. 63). Those might be *deliberate* – when they have some political justification, for example, for *military/security reasons* – or *unconscious* – when a system of beliefs and values, for instance, shape specific representation schemas that do not pass necessarily through *rational choice*, if such thing exists (Harley, 2001). The issue of *silence* can result from both (Harley, 1988).

According to J. B. Harley (1988, pp. 57), *silences* in *maps* could occur for a myriad of reasons, for example, lack of geographical knowledge, error and "technological constraints". He focuses, nevertheless, on what he calls "political silences" (Harley, 1988, pp. 57), which can be, as above-state, *intentional* and *unintentional*. Regarding the first, in his study of early modern European cartography (16th and 17th century), Harley (1988) argues that censorship and secrecy, mainly for strategic or commercial reasons, were common procedures that constrained both cartographical knowledge and techniques. Some monarchies, for example, keep maps secret to prevent the nurturing of local identities and to suppress the rise of republicanism, while the rise of the *monopoly capitalism* in the imperial/colonial era also relied on the "monopoly of knowledge which enabled the new lands and the routes to and from them to be mapped" (Harley, 1988, pp. 61). Regarding the second, although not intentionally done, *unintentional silences* were

also an expression of power relations. For instance, Harley (1988) points out how the quest for *objectivity scientificisation* depended on the uniformisations of cartographical representation that subsumed the multiplicity of *places* and *landscapes*, which "serves to dehumanise the landscape" (Harley, 1988, pp. 66). Those processes were also expressed in the colonial/imperial conquest, with maps trying to erase indigenous people's presence by *naming places* otherwise or simply stating their *blankness* (Harley, 1988; Neocleous, 2003, pp. 418). Harley argues, then, that :

> In essence, these maps depict a European landscape in European engraving style but far from being actual portraits of America, they really show landscapes whose advent Europe desired and they remain silent about the true America. This sort of cartographic silence becomes an affirmative ideological act. It serves to prepare the way for European settlement […] the map becomes a license for the appropriation of the territory depicted (Harley, 1988, pp. 70).

It is relevant to note that Harley's analysis is based on the understanding that "silences should be regarded as positive statements and not as merely passive gaps in the flow of language" (Harley, 1988, pp. 58). This means that they should not be understood as purely *negative* – a *lack* of something – but as *productive* – they tell things through absence –, as they "may sometimes become the determinate part of the cartographic message" (Harley, 1988, pp. 58). Still, his analysis is based on the relation between *power* and the action of *taking out*, non-representing something cartographically.

Mark Neocleous (2003), in his analysis of the relation between the exercise of territorial control and state violence, argues that the "conjunction of space and politics" (Neocleous, 2003, pp. 411) is premised on *cartographical violence*. Seeing maps as "an instrument of power" (Neocleous, 2003, pp. 418), Neocleou claims that cartography "emerged as a political discourse concerned with the acquisition and maintenance of state power" (Neocleous, 2003, pp. 417) and, as such, they are central elements not only in the *spatial representation* but also in *space creation* by embedding it with particular meanings and *limits*. Additionally, similarly to Harley (1988), Neocleous (2003) proposes that *cartographical silences* should be regarded as *productive* of spatial, and, then, power, relations. Challenging the view of *maps* as neutral and objective artefacts, the author argues that *violence* is inscribed in

cartographical practices both through what is being shown, which delimits state ownership over a territorial limit, and what is being deemed *off the map*.

However, Harley (1988) and Neocleous (2003) focus, although differently, on what is being suppressed in the field of vision. On the one hand, Harley (1998) emphasises the relations of power involved in not *drawing* something in a cartographical piece, analysing how *maps* "exert a social influence through their omissions as much as by the features they depict and emphasize." (Harley, 2001, pp. 67). Neocleous (2003), despite arguing that there is violence in the act of depicting itself, emphasises the relationship between statecraft and the obliteration of its constitutional violence through cartographic practices, in which "[a]s a consequence, the map helps mask the violence that brings the state into being and the interests that sustain the ideological preponderance of the state system" (Neocleous, 2003, pp. 422). In this sense, although Neocleous (2003) points out that *maps* are central in creating a homogeneous, *shared* and *imagined space*, thus establishing an identity connected to the space of the polity with supposedly *natural borders*, his emphasis is still on *acts of suppression*.

Drawing on this literature, I aim to analyse how the act of putting *on* the map is also involved in practices of violence. As analysed in this chapter, I focus on the depictions of indigenous people in imperial/colonial cartography and how the constitution, or creation, of *space* meshed with Eurocentric images of Amerindian populations. The next chapter will further analyse those processes, focusing on the Amazon.

3
War Rhythms: The Mining Boom Warfare[25]

> *"To cross-check truth in this field is necessary and necessarily Sisyphean, ratifying an illusory objectivity, a power-prone objectivity which in authorizing the split between truth and fiction secures power's fabulous reach. Alternatively we can listen to these stories neither as fiction nor as disguised signs of truth, but as real"*
> (Taussig, 1987, 2021, pp. 75).

> *"And we have to become humble in front of this overwhelming misery and overwhelming fornication, overwhelming growth and overwhelming lack of order. Even the...the stars up here in the sky look like a mess. There is no harmony in the universe. We have to get acquainted to this idea that there is no real harmony as we have conceived it. But when I say this, I say this all full of admiration for the jungle. It is not that I hate it. I love it. I love it very much. But I love it against my better judgment"* (Herzog apud Blank; Bogan, 1984, pp. 57)

      In this chapter, I will analyse the de/territorialisation practices of the political and economic process embedded in the western invasions of the Yanomami territory. To guide the analyses, I will work with two contrasting mythic images historically associated with the Amazon - the *Green Hell* and the *Eldorado* – because, according to Candance Slater (2015, pp. 4), the *images* of Amazon "flip[ped] between visions of the region as a paradise-like nature full of marvels and an earthly hell that punishes presumptuous intruders." Again, the purpose is not to *demythologise* the Western accounts through (supposedly) *real representations* of the space but to seek ephemeral ramifications in the (*spatial*) understandings underpinning the state and capitalist expansion in the Yanomami territory. I acknowledge, as Mark Harris (2017, pp. 509), that "it would be nonsense to talk of the Amazon as a unified region at the [colonial] time", so what I aim to do is not to construct a *totalising image* of it but instead, following Slater (2002, pp. 7, my emphasis), to discuss "*an Amazon-centered poetics*", which means "a systematic examination of words and images that can help us better understand such seemingly unpoetic concerns as deforestation and species preservation", and, to go beyond Slater's (2002) argument, for justifying or instigating economic extraction and violence in gold mining. The main aim of the chapter is to critique the standard readings of the *war*, sustaining that the condition imposed against the Yanomami

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[25] The title of this chapter is inspired by the term *rubber boom warfare* used by Taussig (1987, pp. 30) to analyse the *economy of terror* of rubber extraction dependent on indigenous labour in Putumayo, Peru.

would complexify the associations between *the international* and *war* as it questions its commonly associated practices and actors. This operation is not meant to portray the violence against the Yanomami as an isolated or *exceptional* event. Instead, it is an ongoing process that dates back to colonialism and manifests in various forms "through a forgetting of conjoint histories between the colonial and the postcolonial, the normal and the aberrant, the routine and the exceptional" (Kumarakulasingam, 2019, p. 257), as argues Narendran Kumarakulasingam (2019) in his broader critique of the denial of colonial violence in *horrorism*.

The chapter is organised as follows. In the first part, I will analyse the *figurations* of *El Dorado* and *Green Hell* in the *invention* of Amazonia and how they related to the *images* associated with the indigenous people. This analysis is based on cartographical accounts and representations and aims to investigate how they constituted the forest as both a space of *danger* and an *abundance of wealth*, thus intermingling the *images* of *El Dorado* and *Green Hell*. In the second part, I will analyse the *images* related to the Yanomami indigenous people through the colonial invasion of their land and how those *images* established associations between these people and *violence* and *war*, primarily through the anthropological accounts of Napoleon Chagnon. Third, I will sketch briefly the de/territorialisation process involved in invading Yanomami land throughout the 20th century, focusing more specifically on the *garimpo*. This will focus on the role of *infrastructure* – mainly military – and how they diffusely (re)produce colonial/imperial relations through war efforts. In the fourth section, I will propose a *counter/cartography* of all those *images – capitalism*, *war*, and *violence* associated with the Yanomami indigenous people – through Davi Kopenawa's thought. In this chapter, I draw on the work of Slater (2002; 2015) and Albert (1990; 1995; 2005), but I try to theorise with Yanomami people, which is not central to Slater's account, and the imperial/colonial infrastructures, which is not central to Albert.

3.1
Gold in *Hell*

"[T]he rivers, however, began to recede earlier than expected, making any plan to take gold from I don't know how many towns impossible. I returned without

much gold on the ships, but I had something much more precise in my pockets: a map of the route to *El Dorado*" (Raleigh, 2002 *apud* Camilo, 2011, pp. 4, my translation, emphasis in the original[26]), stated British colonialist Walter Raleigh on his journey through the *New World*. The constitution of the modern borders of the Americas often occurred due to "mythological questions" (Camilo, 2011, pp. 1, my translation[27]). In the case of Amazonia, it was no different. As argued by Amanda M. Smith (2022, pp. 699), "[s]cience and fantasy have co-constructed the region as a place where the search for legendary treasures is tautologically justified by their indisputable position on the map". The constitution of the region, then, was saturated with mythical accounts, often based on indigenous cosmological expressions: in 1654, Father Simão de Vasconcelos, for example, found his account of the *Amazonas* and *Prata* rivers' flows – the first to the north and the second to the south, – on indigenous cosmologies that sustained the geographical existence of a "mythological island of Brazil" (Camilo, 2011, pp. 2, my translation[28]).

Additionally, the very origin of the name *Amazonas* River refers to the indigenous word *amassona*, which means "the canoe-breaking river" (Camilo, 2011, pp. 3, my translation[29]). In contrast, others associate it with a mythical indigenous society formed only of female warriors, the Amazonas, which also refers to Greco-Roman mythology[30] (Smiljanic, 2012, pp. 123; Manguel;

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[26] [O]s rios, entretanto, começaram a baixar antes do esperado, inviabilizando qualquer plano de tomar o ouro de nem sei quantas cidades. Voltei sem muito ouro nos navios, mas trouxe algo muito mais precisos nos bolsos, o mapa do caminho do *El Dorado*

[27] questões mitológicas

[28] mitológica Ilha Brasil

[29] o rio que quebra canoas

[30] In the accounts of chronicler Friar Carvajal, who was in Captain Francisco de Orellana's attempt to escape the Amazon River to the sea after a failed voyage into the forest at the beginning of the 1540s, the Amazonas were described as "[…] very white and tall, with very long hair braided and wound about their heads. They are very robust, and go naked with their private parts covered, with their bows and arrows in their hands, doing as much fighting as ten Indian men" (Hemming, 1978, pp. 193). Additionally, one indigenous man captured have allegedly said to this expedition that they had "stone houses, temples to the sun, and a wealth of gold and silver-idols, table service and crowns of precious metals — dresses of llama wool, roads enclosed by walls and guarded by sentries, and animals like camels on which to ride" (Hemming, 1978, pp. 193). Lastly, they supposedly lived in stone houses in walled villages and wore clothes made of wool from Peruvian sheep (Smiljanic, 2012, pp. 124). This shows, again, not only the gendered and eroticised elements in indigenous women's references in imperial/colonial accounts but also how European mythology was embedded in these acts of *imagination* that functioned, to paraphrase Hemming (1978, pp. 193), to "to whet the explorers' appetites". Despite that they have "ever been seen along this river, and never will be seen" (Hemming, 1978, pp. 193), this reference "appear in the New World as a bridge between the known and the unknown to make those new regions more familiar" (Rabelo, 2020, pp. 20, my translation) and will remain associated with the river, naming it until nowadays.

Guadalupi, 2003, pp. 18). Those were also expressed on cartographical practices and representations that moved from the "pre-edenic primitivism to primordial infernism" to use Neide Gondim's (1994, pp. 77, my translation[31]) words, as they were framing entangled metaphoric spatial understandings of a *Rain Forest* and a *Jungle* (Slater, 2015), as well as legitimising specific imperial/colonial (geographical) practices. Among them are the myths of *Eldorado* and *Green Hell.*

The Amazon River was, ironically, discovered before Brazil, or at least before the date that Pedro Alvarez Cabral landed in the southern part of the American continent. In January 1500, A "Spaniard, Vicente Yáñez Pinzón, [got] four small ships provably struck the coast of Brazil in Pernambuco" (Hemming, 1978, pp. 183) and, with his crew, claimed possession of the territories by "carving their own names and those of their monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, on the trees and rocks" (Hemming, 1978, pp. 183). The spatialisation of the Spanish imperium was, then, as ordinary and ephemeral as a tree carving. It was the job of the colonialist to transform this *non-event into an event*, to paraphrase Pratt (2008), as an act of *discovery*. However*,* it should be framed as an act of conquest (Fausto, 1999, pp. 251). Sailing through the shores, Pinzon, who happened to have been also captain of Columbus's trip in 1492 (Hemming, 2009), and his crew arrived at the Amazon River[32], or a tributary, in January 1500, later on sailing upward the river between 80 and 100 miles, taking thirty-six indigenous men enslaved (Hemming, 2009). Hemming argues, following their accounts, that they:

> achieved many 'firsts': the first battle with Brazilian Indians, probably Potiguar; the first captives thirty-six men 'bigger than large Germans'; and the first peaceful contacts 'with many painted people who flocked to the ships with as much love as if they had conversed with them all their lives' (Hemming, 1978, pp. 183).

Pinzon named the river after a saint, *Santa María de la Mar Dulce*, and after this first voyage, the *river-sea* (Rio-mar) was left "undisturbed", primarily not by choice (Hemming, 1978, pp. 183). The European colonialists "were unable to penetrate the Amazon from the sea" (Harris, 2017, pp. 510). According to Hemming (1978, pp. 184), several conditions imposed difficulties in accessing the

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[31] primitivismo pré-edênico ao infernismo primordial
[32] Regina Maria A. Fonseca Gadelha (2002, pp. 66) points out that the Pará River could also have been the river found.

region: the denseness of the forest, indigenous populations that resisted the entrance of *enemies* (Hemming, 1978; Gadelha, 2002), and the strong winds and sea currents by which "coastal shipping was often swept up to the Caribbean, with dangerous reefs and shallows, and no easy anchorage" (Hemming, 1978, pp. 184). This was indeed the case in the following centuries during Portuguese and Spanish colonisation: even though the Amazon was in the *space* designed for Spain by the 1494 Tordesillas treaty, the Andean cordilleras, and the discovery of silver nearer the western coast of South America, imposed a barrier to Spanish occupation of the Amazon region; for the Portuguese colonial empire, the geography and hydrography of the territory made easier to colonise the coastal and central areas of nowadays Brazil (Gadelha, 2002, pp. 64). Also, the winds and sea currents made travelling from *Rio Grande do Norte* to Lisboa faster than other cities, such as *Salvador* and *Olinda* (Gadelha, 2022, pp.74; Hemming, 1978, pp. 217). In this sense, Gadelha (2002, pp. 63, my translation[33]) argues that "position and space facilitated the territorial occupation of the country", and the *spatial* factor should be a central element in shaping colonial/imperial *movement* across the continent.

Pinzon's colonial/imperial incursion marked what Lucas Montalvão Rabelo (2020) calls the first phase of the XVI century's cartographical representation of the Amazon River, which aimed to "incorporate the new hydric source and its surroundings, giving it icons for indigenous settlements, speculations about its course, toponymy, among others" (Rabelo, 2020, pp. 6, my translation[34]). In this first period, due to the lack of geographical knowledge, the cartographical artefacts, especially from the *Casa de Contratação de Sevilha*, included what was called river *Marañón* as the same river as what would be called the Amazon (Smiljanic, 2012, pp. 123). One of the first maps to display this and to imagine the place dates to the 1530s from an unknown author (Figure 9)[35]. There is also a map from 1539 by Alonso de Santa Cruz, from *Casa de Contratação de Sevilha*, which shows the *Marañón* as one of the central elements of the *New World*'s cartography. According to Rabelo (2020, pp. 10, my translation[36]), those examples are evidence of "a certain

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[33] posição e espaço facilitaram a ocupação territorial do país
[34] incorporar o novo ente hídrico, e seu entorno, dotando-o de ícones para as povoações indígenas, especulações sobre seu curso, toponímia, entre outros
[35] Rabelo (2020, pp. 8) argues that it is claimed to be made by Diego Ribeiro or Alonso Chaves.
[36] uma certa liberdade dos cartógrafos em especular sobre a geografia interiorana com base nos dados obtidos na costa

freedom on the part of cartographers to speculate on the geography of the interior based on data obtained on the coast", which will change the image and geographical positioning of the Amazon after the first inland – through rivers to be more precise- journeys.

Figure 9: Detail of the "Marañom River" on an anonymous map of America (1532) Extracted from Rabelo, 2020, pp. 6.

After successive failed attempts to explore the region in 1535 and 1554, for example, "[t]he area had earned a bad reputation, with its difficult navigation, fierce inhabitants, and lack of obvious riches" (Hemming, 1978, pp. 184). However, rumours of riches were spreading across the lands. In Peru, as stated by Hemming (1978), the existence of "the land of El Dorado ('The Gilded Man'), a ruler whose kingdom was so full of gold that he had himself covered in gold dust each year in a ceremony in the middle of a lake" and of "La Canela, 'The Land of Cinnamon', one of the spices so highly valued in Europe that they inspired Columbus' voyages across the Atlantic" (Hemming, 1978, p, 185) instigated colonial/imperial incursions to the hinterlands[37]. It is important to state also that those tales emerged in a context where Europeans believed that *gold* was a "living thing" that grew

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[37] The myth of *El Dorado* retains a "fluid geography" (Slater, 2002, pp. 30). For example, it was located in the Amazon, the Andes, and California. Tales of its location, usually based on Amerindian cultural beliefs, were constantly transformed and augmented by imperial/colonial explorers to justify funding for further colonial efforts.

"better near the equator" (Slater, 2002, pp. 30), creating not only imperial/colonial anxieties to find the commodity but also *desire* to encounter *otherness* materialised through the divine *gold king* and his *golden city* (Slater, 2002).

In the case of Eldorado, it was a central element in several imperial/colonial accounts during the XVI century. Searches for riches and spatial expansion were strictly connected, and in the case of the Spanish colonial empire, the "Spaniards who, despite being masters of the gold and silver mines of Quito, did not appease their ambition, sailing the length and breadth of the Great River in search of more treasures" (Camilo, 2011, pp. 8, my translation[38]). However, it is also necessary to consider that some of those expeditions were used as the perfect "outlets for the social turbulence experienced" (Rabelo, 2020, pp. 7, my translation[39]) in Spanish America. In 1538, an expedition led by Captain Alonso de Mercadillo departed from Peru, reaching the Amazon[40], later on sailing through its waters and supposedly arriving at "a land full of Indians who had gold ornaments" (Hemming, 1978, pp. 185) and a territory of a people called *Machifalo* at the Upper-Amazon. Those stories *travelled* and reached the ears of Gonzalo Pizarro (Hemming, 2009), the brother of the Spanish colonialist Francisco Pizarro, who was responsible for dismantling the Inca empire and invading "what is now Peru, Ecuador and parts of Bolivia, Chile and Argentina" (Hemming, 1978, pp. 185), and who also appointed Gonzalo as Governor of Quito in 1540. He led the same year, more than 200 Spaniards in search of *El Dorado* in the forests near Quito. It was indeed a failed attempt, and by the end of the year, most horses perished and "four thousand native porters had died of exhaustion" (Hemming, 1978, pp. 186), ending up trying to find a way to reach the Atlantic.

Captain Francisco de Orellana abandoned him under the promise of going to find food and coming back to rescue the rest of the expedition, instead sailing the Napo and Coca rivers, and later the Amazon, then continuing the exploration efforts (Cesco; Bezerra, 2021). During the travelling downwards the river, which Friar Gaspar de Carjaval recounted, they encountered different and large-scale indigenous societies, some more receptive than others, until reaching the sea and

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[38] espanhóis que, mesmo sendo senhores das minas de ouro e prata de Quito, não aplacaram sua ambição, navegando por toda a extensão do Grande Rio atrás de mais tesouros
[39] válvulas de escape para as turbulências sociais vividas
[40] He supposedly reached the *Tefé* and *Coari* Rivers (Rabelo, 2020, pp. 7).

Spanish colonial settlements in 1542, leaving a trace of violence behind with the killing and kidnapping of several indigenous people, including children, whose societies were said to have thousands of individuals (Hemming, 1978, pp. 186-194; Harris, 2017, pp. 520). Some of the conflicts, nevertheless, may be caused by the Tupi "messianic migration" (Harris, 2017, pp. 509) that, by going upward the rivers some years before Orellana's journey, caused disruptions in Amerindian political and social arrangements[41]. This may be the case as to why the colonialists' boats were attacked so fiercely even before or without reaching dry land, probably showing that "[t]hese were people used to war on the river [and] [t]hey may have been defending a perceived threat to their way of life rather than attacking European outsiders" (Harris, 2017, pp. 510). This states how some anti-colonial forms of resistance impacted Europeans despite not being directed to them, which contradicts some *images* of Amerindian resistance that position the colonisers in the centre of every occurrence in the colonies[42].

Orellana returned to Spain after reaching the ocean and Spanish colonial settlements in Venezuela in 1542 (Hemming, 1978, pp. 194). Nevertheless, in 1544, he decided to come back to another colonial expedition on the Amazon, dying two years later without fulfilling his wishes, despite trying to do so (Cesco; Bezerra, 2021; Harris, 2017, pp. 520-521). With Orellana's journey through the Amazon, the cartographical representations changed. In Spain, he recounted his movements across the forest to a *Casa de Contratação de Sevilha*, and some maps could be drawn with/after his words (Rabelo, 2020, pp. 11). It was a new cartographical moment, but not without a sense of *imagination*. Before, the contours of the river were unknown, but now, in Spanish pilot Sebastião Caboto's 1544 map (Figure 10), the:

> lack of a precise survey of its course (latitude, longitude, width, etc.), [meant that] the solution adopted for its representation [was] to go against the words of Gaspar de Carvajal about how the natives claimed that the great river constantly meandered through the region, like a *snake* (Rabelo, 2020, pp. 10, my translation, my emphasis[43]).

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[41] For further explanation of the Tupi exodus, see Hélène Clastres (1978) and Pierre Clastres (2003, p. 231-234).

[42] I would like to thank Jimmy Klausen for this insight while correcting a preliminary version of this chapter.

[43] falta de um levantamento preciso do seu percurso (latitude, longitude, largura etc.), [fez com que] a solução adotada para sua representação [fosse] ir de encontro com as palavras de Gaspar de

It also displays the supposed combat between Orellana's crew and the Amazona warriors. The *river of the amazons*, then, was invented by being imagined in a particular cartographical disposition through indigenous cosmologies, showing how this process was not unilinear but of mutual contamination.

Figure 10: Amazon River on Sebastião Caboto's world map (1544)
Extracted from Rabelo, 2020, pp. 9.

Another colonial/imperial expedition along the upper Amazon River and the forest was done in 1549 (Hemming, 1978), as well as others in the following years, which ended up cartographing the river and the forest and its beings. Portuguese cartographer Diogo Homem did one of the first maps in 1558 and then published it in the Queen Mary Atlas after Orellana's journey (Figure 11). The Amazon River is depicted in a serpent-like form, and the word "*Canibales* is just to the right, between the course of the Amazon River towards its mouth and the toponym *Brasilis*" (Rabelo, 2020, pp. 1, my translation, emphasis in the original[44]). The representation of cannibalism also refers to other imaginaries of extra-European spaces: for example, "huts reminiscent of the peoples of the Asian steppes [and] [t]he human pieces [that] are stuck in trees or on spits being roasted on the fire [refers to the]

Carvajal sobre como os nativos afirmavam que o grande rio constantemente serpenteava a região, a semelhança de uma cobra

[44] *Canibales* está logo a sua direita, entre o curso do rio Amazonas rumo a sua foz e o topônimo *Brasilis*

woodcuts by André Thevet in his work *Singularities of Antarctic France*" (Rabelo, 2020, pp. 18, my translation, emphasis in the original[45]). About this phase of cartographical invention, Rabelo argues that it:

> [...] was of fundamental importance to the region's future identity. In it, the main body of the river - and the elements surrounding it - had toponyms that survive to this day (as in the case of the Amazonas and Negro rivers); its meandering west/east shape was consolidated and remained on maps until the mid-17th century; the differences between the indigenous provinces attributed by Europeans to the region began to be delineated; among other characteristics (Rabelo, 2020, pp. 6, my translation[46]).

Figure 11: Map of the Amazon River and its surroundings by Diogo Homem (1558)
Extracted from Rabelo, 2020, pp. 3.

Then, those *geographical* and *imagetical* representations were embedded in the "process of constructing/inventing a new geographical entity": the Americas, more broadly, and the Amazon River, more specifically (Rabelo, 2020, pp. 2, my translation[47]). Due to the number of colonial/imperial expeditions in the Amazon in the subsequent year and lack of time to analyse them all, I will focus on Walter Ralegh, a British privateer and courtier, as he was the one who made one the most

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[45] cabanas que remetem aos povos das estepes asiáticas [...] [o]s pedaços humanos [que] encontram-se presos em árvores ou em espetos sendo assados no fogo [...] xilogravuras de André Thevet em sua obra *Singularidades da França Antártica*

[46] teve uma importância fundamental para a futura identidade da região. Nela, o corpo principal do rio – e os elementos de seu entorno possuía topônimos que sobrevivem até hoje (caso de Amazonas e rio Negro); sua forma serpenteada oeste/leste consolidou-se e permaneceu nos mapas até meados do século XVII; começaram a ser delineadas as diferenças entre as províncias indígenas atribuídas pelos europeus à região; entre outras características

[47] processo de construção/invenção de um novo ente geográfico

famous attempts to describe and *sell* to the colonial metropolis the promise of finding and exploring the riches of the *gold land*. He published, in 1596, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana*, in which he narrated his first, and mostly unsuccessful, attempt to go into the depths of the rainforest in 1595, also employing a gendered narration where *he* invocates "the 'body' of Guiana and its 'prize'" (Burnett, 2011, pp. 41). It is not surprising, then, that Ralegh's *e(x)roticized* account made references to naked indigenous bodies covered in gold powder. Several-day ceremonies are full of alcoholic drinks and misuse of the gold resources, thus justifying European intervention (Slater, 2002, pp. 34-36). He sailed the *Orinoco* River in search of El Dorado and assured in his book that gold would be found, despite the that the empire's location had not yet been *discovered*.

There is even a cartographical representation, attributed to him, of Eldorado's locality, which had, as argued by Charles Nicholl (*apud* Burnett, 2011, pp. 38), a "mingling of the psychological and the geographical."[48]. This map (Figure 12), despite having a bit of accuracy in terms of hydrography learned through contact with indigenous people, employs fantastic elements not only in the cartographical representation of a place *unknown* but also in how it is represented: with a monstrous insect-like form (Burnett, 2011). The depiction of the city of Manoa on the shore of a lake attracted several imperial/colonial invaders that never found the golden city of Manoa on the shore of a lake, just like in El Dorado's 1596 map, but still exploited wood and indigenous labour in tobacco crops, for example (Hemming, 1978, pp. 224-225). Maps that positioned this lake somewhere in the Amazon were made until the 19th century (Slater, 2002, pp. 38).

This ambiguous representation of *El Dorado* as (wealthy) paradise and monstrous leads us to the second mythical depiction of Amazonia, what I would refer to here through the name of *Green Hell* (Smith, 2021, pp. 701). As argued by Candance Slater (2015, pp. 5), the imperial/colonial chronicles merged references to abundant material promises, "fabulously abundant nature", and a space "full of dangers". Despite being coined just in 1927 by Alberto Rangel's fictive novel *Inferno Verde* (see also Queiroz, 2017; Slater, 2002, pp. 95), the term *Green Hell*

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[48] This map was central to a boundary dispute in the 1860s between Venezuela, supported by the United States, on the one hand, and the United Kingdom and Guiana, a British colony, on the other, over a region where gold was recently found (see Burnett, pp. 40).

summarises a common denominator, even in those (supposedly) "fact-oriented" 18th century onwards scientific expeditions (Slater, 2015, pp. 5), of different accounts of the region: the suffocating humidity and heat; the dangerous, unknown and strange-looking species of plants and animals, often poisonous and treacherous; the *savage* Amerindians that could attack at any time coming from behind the trees and at the river banks – which does not exclude being sometimes referred as *docile*, as seen also in the last chapter. A space that haunts the deepest Europeans' nightmares but still attracts them into its *wilderness* and "marvelous surprises" (Slater, 2002, pp. 2). The more inaccessible and elusive, the more attractive, "[c]ertain that fate had reserved the best for the last" (Slater, 2002, pp. 34).

In the case of the Amazon river, "at one point the proposal was to call the river Marañas, a word that means 'afflictions' or 'misfortunes'" (Cesco; Bezerra, 2021, pp. 218, my translation[49]) and Lope de Aguirre ended, in 1561, a letter to King Phillip II of Spain with "… [t]he stories [about marvels] are false and in this river, there is nothing but despair…" (Aguirre *apud* Hemming, 2009, pp. 45. Those ambiguous images constitute what Slater (2002) calls – and what names her book – *entangled Edens*: "varied images of a terrestrial paradise—and of an accompanying earthly hell—that the Amazon has long evoked in both insiders and outsiders" (Slater, 2002, pp. 8). However, I would like to further this point and stress that the Golden Hell *image* reflects European anxieties about their own acts. Hemming states one of those examples through Jesuit António Vieira's account of a *war* near the Xingu and Tocantins rivers in the late 1630s:

> Besides killing and enslaving, 'they [Portuguese colonisers] razed and burned entire villages, which are generally made of dry palm-leaves, roasting alive in them those who refused to surrender as slaves. They overcame and subjected others peacefully, but by execrable deceit. They would promise them alliance and friendship in the name and good faith of the King. But, once they had them off guard and unarmed, they seized and bound them all, dividing them among themselves as slaves or selling them with the greatest cruelty…' (Hemming, 1978, pp. 221).

According to another colonial account, this war resulted in a "river […] dyed with blood" (Hemming, 1978, pp. 221). Those actions were framed through the imperial/colonial *image*s of the forest, which were co-constituted with the *image*s

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[49] em determinado momento a proposta foi de chamar o rio de Marañas, palavra que significa 'aflições' ou 'desgraças'

of the *Indians*, regarded as *savage and seen as demanding civilisation and domestication, either to impose forced labour on colonial plantations* or to impose the Catholic faith through Christian missionaries. To paraphrase Taussig (1987, pp. 77), the forest reveals itself "not merely as animated but as human". The result was open war towards Amerindian populations, which resulted in the near extinction of indigenous people "living near the mouths of the Amazon" (Hemming, 1978, pp. 222). Nevertheless, the colonial *image*s are composed of what Taussig (1987) calls *double savagery*:

> It must not be overlooked that the colonially construed image of the wild Indian was a powerfully ambiguous image, a seesawing, bifocalized and hazy composite of the animal and the human […] In their human or humanlike form, the wild Indians could all the better reflect back to the colonists vast and baroque projections of human wildness. And it was only because the wild Indians were human that they were able to serve as labor and as subjects of torture; for it is not the victim as animal that gratifies the torturer, but the fact that the victim is human, thus enabling the torturer to become the savage (Taussig, 1987, pp. 82-83).

Figure 12: Map of Guiana (El Dorado), 1596.
Extracted from Burnett, 2011, pp. 38.

The *torturer becoming the savage* reinforced the *image* of the *Green Hell*, and colonisers often tried to disavow the anxieties arising from their actions by blaming the forest for their madness (Taussig, 1987; Slater, 2002). The *Hell*, then, was very much an imperial/colonial invention. Given the above, what interests me

in merging the *fantastic* and *real* in those tales and stories is not if they are *true* or *false* – if such things exist – but rather what the consequences of this particular lineage of spatial imagination are and their ramifications. Or the afterlives of those *images* and how they operate as "devices that functioned through idealization" (Slater, 2002, pp. 30). Regarding the *image* of the *land of riches*, both mineral *resources* and fauna and flora (*natural*) diversity, it resonates ambiguously with environmental conservation movements that aim to preserve the fragile forest *untouched*, as well as to efforts to explore the forest (unused or misused) *resources* by mining, logging, and deforesting for agribusiness, for example. For instance, the Serra Pelada mine in Grande Carajás, made world-famous by Sebastião Salgado's photographs (Slater, 2002, pp. 107), had *El Dorado* as one of its *slum cities* founded by poor *garimpeiros* (gold prospectors) to extract gold in the vicinities (Boff, 1997, pp. 122), showing how those tales survive in different ways.

The second *image* of a *grotesque land* finds resonations with literary works regarding the political violence in contemporary Amazon (Slater, 2002, pp.) or in those accounts that reinforce the relation between the forest and *wilderness*, such as in filmmaker Werner Herzog's quote at the beginning of the chapter. Often, both *images* entangle as in the reification of the forest as a potential place for transformation, for instance, in *green capitalism* efforts to supposedly explore the forest's resources ecologically (Zhouri, 2006) or in accounts that state the *economy of terror* enacted through a variety of violent encounters with Amerindians societies, as stated in the title and content of Patrick Tierney's book *Darkness in El Dorado* (Tierney, 2000), which will be further explained in the next section. What I am to do is analyse how different "encounters among different myths […] have helped to shape the Amazon's myriad realities" (Slater, 2002, pp. 7), first through the Yanomami history and set of de/territorialisation process made by Western-colonial-capitalism, and later by *counter/cartographing* those process with Yanomami shaman Davi Kopenawa.

3.2
The Warlike Societies: Yanomami's *first images*

The occupation of the Amazon region followed the different patterns of *resource* extraction (Albert, 1995). As stated in the previous section, gold

prospecting was one of the ways through which settler colonialism materialised its spatial occupation during the first centuries of imperial/colonial domination, which was systematised through the alliance between the church and the Iberian monarchies during the XVI and XVI centuries and resulted in an ethnocide of significant proportions of Amerindian societies (Leal, 2010). However, it does not mean economic determinism, as the expansion of the imperial/colonial, and later of the Brazilian nation-state, frontiers were not determined solely by the pursuit of resource extraction but also by civilisational – and, then, racial, gendered, and ethnic – elements. However, following the cycles of commodities exploration to fulfil the emerging international capitalist economy is a way to track historically different bordering processes to further analyse their particularities regarding contact with indigenous populations (Albert, 2005; Leal, 2010).

Following the *gold prospecting hysteria*, which couldn't find large quantities of the mineral in the Amazon to make it the central axis of the colonial exploitative economy, the Portuguese colonisation replaced its matrix of production with extractivism. The indigenous populations were subordinated to enslaved labour regimes and forced into the catholic faith – despite resisting in different ways (Viveiros de Castro, 2002) – both processes were strictly connected: the missionaries were responsible for making whole indigenous societies *descend* from their villages to close the first cities (*missões*) (Hemming, 1978). Mass killing and ethnocide were the results of the violence committed during *capture* for enslavement, but also a result of the harsh labour conditions themselves, as they prevented ethnic and cultural reproduction. This does not mean there was no resistance, as conflicts to prevent the metropolitan forces from appropriating the territory abounded in the historical record (Leal, 2010).

During the 17th and 18th centuries, the extractive economy gained ground within the Portuguese Empire's economic system. It was based mainly on what was broadly known as *sertão spices* (*drogas do sertão*), which were "synonyms for Asian spices, as well as aromatic products, or even, in the case of Brazil, sugar or brazilwood" (Pompeu, 2023, pp. 108, my translation[50]). Or, in other words, products that could be found directly in the forest "as long as they achieved some

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[50] sinônimos das especiarias asiáticas, assim como produtos aromáticos, ou ainda, no caso do Brasil, poderiam significar açúcar ou pau-Brasil

market value" (Pompeu, 2023, pp. 109, my translation[51]), not demanding a systematised organisation of production – cocoa, cinnamon, copaiba oil, cloves, for example. However, the economy also comprised an emergent agricultural production based on indigenous enslaved labour, such as cotton and sugar (Leal, 2010). During the 19th and early 20th centuries, there was a *rubber boom* in the Amazon region, in which rubber extraction became the central element of the national economy. The rubber extraction was based, in the case of Brazil, on an informal credit system (*sistema de aviamento*), in which the exchange of goods and groceries for raw materials – rubber – sustained the labour relations, also creating debt, dependence, and then subordination of rubber tappers to the owners of the trading houses along the riverbanks (Costa, 2014). The rubber tappers were also central not only in organising forms of resistance to the expansion of the capital in the Brazilian Amazon but also essential to the definition of the Brazilian borders in the region, especially in the 1903 and 1909 border dispute between Brazil, Peru and Bolivia over the territory of the now-Brazilian state of Acre (Almeida, 2004)[52].

With the crash of the *rubber boom* due to the re-articulation of the capitalist world economy, the regional chains of commodity extraction collapsed. It started to be "precariously sustained by extraction, mining and cattle-raising fronts [...] until the advent of the geopolitical integration plans of the military governments of the 1960s and 1970s" (Albert, 1995, pp. 2, my translation[53]), which will be further analysed in the next section. As I will develop more intensely in the next section, gold mining moved from a peripheral economic activity to being the most relevant financially. The construction of a highway network and the government programs to *colonise* the territory – seen as unoccupied, a giant *demographic void* – supported the gold rush and made it possible to increase mining sites within the forest (Albert,

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[51] desde que alcançassem algum valor de mercado

[52] While Brazilian rubber tappers resided in a region abundant with various species of rubber trees from the *Hevea* genus, their Peruvian and Bolivian counterparts, known as *caucheiros*, lived in an area where there were "*caucho* trees belonging to the *Castilloa* genus" (Almeida, 2014, pp. 36, my translation, emphasis in the original). Unlike the *Hevea* genus, extracting rubber from *caucho* trees required felling the trees, making continuous extraction impossible. Consequently, *caucheiros* led nomadic lifestyles, whereas Brazilian rubber tappers lived in sedentary groups that unofficially claimed ownership of portions of the forest. This allowed the Brazilian government to assert territorial control, arguing for permanent Brazilian population settlements. This resulted in the fact that "the *borders between Peru and Brazil* coincide today, in general terms, with a *botanical border*" (Almeida, 2015, pp. 35, my translation, my emphasis).

[53] precariamente sustentada por frentes extrativistas, garimpeiras e pecuaristas [...] até o advento dos planos de integração geopolítica dos governos militares dos anos 1960 e 1970

1995, pp. 6; Monteiro; Coelho; Cota; Barbosa, 2010). *Serra Pelada*, in Pará, was one of the most famous cases and "[a]t the peak of production, there must have been more than 100,000 miners working in the Serra Pelada mine" (Coelho; Cota; Barbosa, 2010, pp. 145, my translation[54]). What matters here is that the mode of demographical occupation and the subsequent territorialisation processes and strategies resulted in delayed Western contact with the Yanomami indigenous populations as their territory, in a mountainous region in the contemporary border between Brazil and Venezuela, was "the blind spot of Spanish and Portuguese (and later Brazilian and Venezuelan) colonisation of Amazonia" (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 35, my translation[55]). Most significantly, they were not exposed to the systematised violence of the containment and dispossession acts as well as to permanent contact with *white people*[56] in their land until the first half of the 20th century (Le Tourneau, 2012; Albert, 1995)

François-Michel Le Tourneau (2012, pp. 35, my translation[57]) argues that the presence of the Yanomami populations did not become apparent in the "geographical knowledge of Western societies" until the 18th century. However, it was only a century later that the first outsiders invaded their livable space, and two centuries later, the existence of a single ethnic group was recognised[58]. The initial contacts can be traced to Portuguese *reconnaissance expeditions* in the 1750s to define and expand the limits of the empire inland, until that moment, only defined through cartographic markings of the Tordesillas Treaty. In 1750, with the signing of the Treaty of Madrid – overturned in 1761 – the borders between the Portuguese and Spanish empires were redrawn, and both dispatched expeditions to explore the new possessions. Apolinar Diaz de la Fuente, a Spanish colonialist, is said to have written the first accounts of the Yanomami, called *Guaharibos* at that time. Those

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[54] [n]o auge da produção, devem ter trabalhado, no garimpo de Serra Pelada, mais de 100 mil garimpeiros

[55] d'angle mort de la colonisation espagnole et portugaise (puis brésilienne et vénézuélienne) en Amazonie

[56] I use the term *white* in accordance with the use Davi Kopenawa (2015) makes of it. As Viveiros de Castro points out, it is used as an antonym for *Indian*, referring to "all those people and institutions that are not Indian" (Viveiros De Castro, 2017, pp. 188, my translation), *foreigners* in a broad sense of the term. In the case of the Yanomami, but also of other indigenous peoples, the word *white* (*napē* in the Yanomami language) also carries with it the meaning of *enemy*, so that "the enemy par excellence and by essence is the 'White'" (Viveiros De Castro, 2015, pp. 12-13, my translation).

[57] savoir géographique des sociétés occidentales

[58] To a complex analysis of the ethnogenesis process in South American indigenous societies, see Stuart Schwartz and Frank Salomon (1999).

were "obtained from the ethnic groups living around their territory [...] [and] [c]ertain legends began to surround them: their ferocity in battle, their ability to blend into the forest and the fact that they were 'white Indians' [...]" (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 36, my translation[59])[60]. Despite slight contact, primarily indirect, these accounts established the first and most durable *images* of the Yanomami, a *warlike society*.

References to the Yanomami populations were not very abundant; however, with several expeditions, especially to *discover* the source of the Orinoco River, between 1800 and 1886, their geographical occupation was now more apparent to the colonial/imperial *dominium* (Le Tourneau, 2012). Also, it has been historically established that they had indirect contact with *Western society*, especially steel artefacts, by its relations – war or trade – with other indigenous people in the 19th century, such as the Caribs and Arawaks (Albert, 1990, pp. 558). It is also interesting to note that the search for the river's sources was also linked to the myth of *El Dorado*, as the lake where the golden city was supposed to be located was also claimed to be the origin of the Orinoco (Le Tourneau, 2012).

British colonialist Robert Hermann Schomburgk, who received funding from the British Crown to travel in the region in 1839, despite not *encountering* Yanomami populations – whom he called *kirishanas* – described them similarly to the La Fuente's *images*. According to his account, "*the Kirishanas are feared; they know it, and have no qualms about pillaging the most harmless tribes when they get the chance; their poisoned arrows are always ready to fire*" (Schomburgk *apud* Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 38, my translation, emphasis in the original[61]). Again, the *images* that associated the Yanomami people with *savagery* and violence entangled with the ones of the forest as a dangerous place lacking *order* resurged. Additionally, the region was:

> the subject of a *mythical geography* mixing ancient elements such as El Dorado with newer ones, such as the legend of the 'white Indians' […],

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[59] obtenues auprès des ethnies habitant le pourtour de leur territoire […] [and] [c]ertaines légendes commencent alors à les entourer: leur férocité au combat, leur habilité à se fondre dans la forêt et le fait qu'il s'agirait 'd'indiens blancs'

[60] The *physical differences* (eye and skin colour, especially) of Yanomami populations recounted to Europeans by other indigenous people in the region were often translated into mythical accounts of the existence of *white Indians* (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 38). Let's also remember the reference to the Amazon's women warriors as white. Also, those legends fed the exoticism of the Yanomami.

[61] *les Kirishanas sont redoutés ; ils le savent, et n'ont aucun scrupule à piller les tribus les plus inoffensives lorsqu'ils en ont l'opportunité ; leurs flèches empoisonnées sont toujours prêtes*

> this *phantasmagorical geography* also feeds on the approximations and even lies of the explorers themselves, who report local stories without taking any distance, or who describe regions they were unable to visit (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 38, my translation, my emphasis[62]).

The 20th century has marked a turning point in the *imaginative geography* of the region and its people. Several expeditions – Theodor Koch-Grünberg between 1911-193, Alexander Hamilton Rice in 1920, Georges Salathé and Dom A. Meyer in 1929 and 1930, and Alain Gheerbrandt between 1959 and 1950 - established direct contacts with the Yanomami villages, until now relegated to the scattered commercial relations and the fantastic (geographical) *images*. Still, the new accounts reinforced the latter *images*: Koch-Grünberg described the hostility between different Yanomami villages; Hamilton Rice, instead, described these indigenous populations following the ambiguous images stated in the first chapter: some *ferocious*, while others *docile* and *submissive*. However, the official expeditions after 1928 surveyed the mountainous region to delimit the borders between Brazil and Venezuela, which consolidated the *images* mentioned above (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 40-42).

Following that, the Brazilian Boundary Demarcation Commission, created in 1928, organised efforts to delimit national borders more precisely. Its northern region subdivision was the one with the mandate to cover the region where the Yanomami live in the north part of the current state of Roraima, at that moment, part of the state of Amazonas, only becoming a Federal territory on its own in 1943 under the name of Rio Branco Federal Territory. Ten years after the creation of the Commission and until 1974, Brazil and Venezuela started a joint work to define the lines that separated both entities. Those expeditions were responsible for making the space legible, as most of its physiognomy remained unknown, and, ultimately, for *inventing* it and its borders, materially through the construction of concrete markers to define where moving further would mean going from the *inside* to the *outside*, but also imaginatively as the (re)producing *images* associated with the forest and its inhabitants (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 43-45). The indigenous presence was also acknowledged in these reconnaissance efforts, however :

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[62] l'objet d'une géographie mythique mélangeant des éléments anciens comme l'Eldorado et des éléments plus nouveaux, comme la légende des 'Indiens blancs' […], cette géographie fantasmée se nourrit aussi des approximations, voire des mensonges des explorateurs eux-mêmes, qui rapportent sans prendre de distance les histoires locales, ou qui décrivent des régions qu'ils n'ont pu visiter.

[a]ll the indigenous groups encountered […] are approached through a cultural filter that seeks to analyse them according to broad categories derived from a number of clichés. There is always a desire to identify a 'chief', whose authority is seen as absolute and despotic, and to recognise in the villages an organisation into kingdoms whose previously identified 'chiefs' are emperors or kings. Finally, every indigenous group is encouraged to identify its 'enemies', whose reported exactions will be detailed without being questioned. Often, moreover, the discourse on the indigenous presence in the most remote regions is not collected first-hand but, on the contrary, extrapolated from indications gathered from neighbouring peoples, with the approximations in translation that one can imagine (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 46, my translation[63])

The expeditions were the first to establish long-term contact with the Yanomami indigenous populations. However, they were often met with resistance, and there are accounts of attacks on base camps. They and their villages were described, again, ambiguously: while some individuals claim they were open to establishing friendly relations, others argue that "*the Indians of the region are false and liars; they are not trustworthy and do not deserve to be treated with kindness*" (Pombo *apud* Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 47, my translation, emphasis in the original[64]); their villages often described as being abundant with food as they could use advanced agricultural techniques to farm the land, but also some emphasised "the paucity and poverty of the techniques used" (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 47, my translation[65]). Those *images* initially propelled the expeditors to travel armed and to approach the indigenous groups with violence, expecting to be attacked. In this period, the reports also gave a lot of weight to these *encounters*. However, with time, most realised that the indigenous societies were not as violent as they were deemed to be, which also made the reports concentrate on more technical information regarding border demarcation (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 47-48). The Brazilian state spatial expansion, however, was not limited to the border

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[63] Tous les groupes indigènes rencontrés par la CBDL sont abordés à partir d'un filtre culturel qui souhaite les analyser en fonction de grandes catégories issues d'un certain nombre de clichés. On veut toujours identifier un 'chef', dont l'autorité est vue comme absolue et despotique, et reconnaître dans les villages une organisation en royaumes dont les 'chefs' identifiés précédemment sont les empereurs ou les rois. Enfin, tout groupe indigène est incité à identifier ses 'ennemis', dont les exactions ainsi rapportées seront détaillées sans être mises en doute. Souvent d'ailleurs, le discours sur la présence indigène dans les régions les plus éloignées n'est pas recueilli de première main mais au contraire extrapolé à partir des indications recueillies auprès des peuples voisins, avec les approximations de traduction que l'on imagine.

[64] *les Indiens de la région sont faux et menteurs; ils ne sont pas dignes de confiance et ne méritent pas d'être traités avec bienveillance.*

[65] le dénuement et la pauvreté des techniques utilisées.

Commission. The *Indian Protection Service* (*Serviço de Proteção aos Índios –*
SPI)[66] was also expanding its presence along and possibly supporting the
Commission (Le Tourneau, 2012).

The SPI, created in 1910 under the Ministry of Agriculture after Brazil was
denounced for slaughtering indigenous people at the *XVI Congress of Americanists*
in Vienna (Cunha, 2018, pp. 300), aimed officially to *protect* and maintain
guardianship of indigenous populations in the Brazilian territory. Its actions,
initially directed by a military officer, Marshal Cândido Rondon (Dambrós, 2019),
however, were grounded on "relationship[s] of control and power" (Nötzold;
Bringmann, 2013, pp. 148, my translation[67]), in which the Service understood
protection not in terms of "defend[ing] the rights of indigenous people to self-
recognised traditional territories" (Nötzold; Bringmann, 2013, pp. 148, my
translation[68]) but:

> linked to the interests of national society, integrating and binding them
> through strategies of attraction and confinement in specific places,
> determined according to the interests of a dominant political and
> economic class (Nötzold; Bringmann, 2013, pp. 148, my translation[69]).

As a *civilising*, and then, *disciplining*, agency, the SPI worked by
centralising the control in the indigenous societies and was involved in "territorial
expropriations and control of socio-cultural organisations, up to the exploitation of
indigenous labour" (Nötzold; Bringmann, 2013, pp. 149, my translation[70]) in a
period where the Brazilian state was strategically trying to diffuse its control over
the border regions, and wanted to fixate permanent population settlements by
integrating indigenous people in the Brazilian nation through *aid work* (Nötzold;
Bringmann, 2013). The SPI was also responsible, especially between the 1940s and
1950s, to "develop strategies for utilising indigenous areas through agricultural,
livestock, industrial and extractive activities, with a view to increasing the

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[66] Its first name was actually *Indian Protection Service and the Localisation of National Workers*
(SPILTN) – *Serviço de Proteção aos Índios e Localização de Trabalhadores* Nacionais (SPILTN)
(Souza Lima, 1998, pp. 156). The name changed to *Indian Protection Service* in 1918 (Souza
Lima, 2015, pp. 428).

[67] relação de controle e poder

[68] defender direitos sobre territórios auto reconhecidos como tradicionais pelos indígenas

[69] atrelada aos interesses da sociedade nacional, integrando-os e vinculando-os através de estratégias
de atração e confinamento em locais específicos, determinados de acordo com o interesse de uma
classe política e econômica dominante

[70] expropriações territoriais e controle das organizações socioculturais, até a exploração do trabalho
indígena

usefulness of indigenous people to the Brazilian economy" (Nötzold; Bringmann, 2013, pp. 151, my translation[71]) either to make their territories self-sustainable – as if they weren't already – or to market surplus production, which states its utilitarian and paternalist view over indigenous people.

In the case of the Yanomami, the SPI operation posts were constructed on their land. The first one was installed near the Toototobi River but was almost deactivated due to its isolated location from the nearer urban centre. Later, the Service implemented another post, attracting some Yanomami groups to occupy nearby territory. Despite being distant from most Yanomami villages, which made achieving the aims of the governmental agency difficult, the SPI agents were able to establish contact with several individuals and to gather information regarding the size of the population – quantified in almost 7,000 in 1940 – and to diffuse its strategy to explore economically the indigenous products and labor (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 48-49). It is also possible to argue that it engaged in other of its central strategies: attract "the indigenous people who lived in a nomadic state, gathered in tribes (sic.) scattered throughout territories in the process of being explored" (Nötzold; Bringmann, 2013, pp. 150, my translation[72]). The agents also reported several conflicts between Yanomami villages and expeditions supposedly to *wage war* (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 49). The above-analysed efforts did not only impact the Yanomami sociality but also was essential both to make the space *legible* to future invasions and permanent contacts, more specifically from the Brazilian army and Christian missionaries and to reinforce the *images* associated with the Yanomami indigenous people, especially the one regarding *ferocity* and *savagery*.

From the 1950s onwards, Christian – catholic and protestant – settlements were established in the Yanomami land. The most famous were the Evangelical Mission of Amazonia (Missão Evangélica da Amazônia, MEVA) and the Baptist Mid-Mission and New Tribes Mission. Some of them, like MEVA, were American missions, which recruited volunteers in the United States and Brazil to proselytise this indigenous population seen as far removed from the (Western and) Christian

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[71] elaborar estratégias de aproveitamento das áreas indígenas através das atividades agrícolas, pecuárias, industriais e extrativas, com vistas a aumentar a *utilidade* dos indígenas para a economia brasileira

[72] os indígenas que viviam em estado nômade, reunidos em tribos (sic.) espalhadas por territórios em processo desbravamento

faith. Following the MEVA case, it is possible to argue that those missions' invasion of the land followed a similar pattern:

> After aerial reconnaissance, the missionaries donated barter goods, first abandoned in the forest or dropped from planes, then given directly to the Indians to gain acceptance. Once the initial contacts had been made, the missionaries tried to get the community to open a rudimentary airstrip so that they could regularly replenish their stock of goods. These goods are then used to improve the airfield and build the houses that will make up the mission. Finally, missionary couples settle down, sometimes with their children, and begin their missionary work proper, with particular emphasis on learning the language at first. To this end, the missions generally include the presence of a linguist, whose aim is to translate the Bible into the local language, which will then form the basis of the proselytising activity (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 63, my translation[73])

In this sense, similar to a colonial settlement effort and often supported by the *Brazilian Air Force* (Força Aérea Brasileira - FAB), they impacted the social and political organisation of the different indigenous villages, mainly because they introduced new goods that disrupted previous friendship/enmity trade relations, seasonal migration to exchange goods, and the modification of last nomadic lifestyle. Without sufficient resources to establish its bases, the interest in the Brazilian army lay in its object of occupying border areas, which translated into *paranoia* or into *cartographic anxiety*, to paraphrase Sankara Krishna (1994), aimed to *secure* the national borders and ensure human presence to avoid territorial invasions. The indigenous people were not seen as Brazilian citizens occupying the territory, so they viewed the necessity of attracting non-indigenous or *outsiders*. On the other hand, the missionaries benefited from the FAB support that ensured other governmental agencies would not expel them. Those missionary settlements in the forest, near important rivers, were also essential to host the first Anthropologists

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[73] Après une reconnaissance aérienne, ceux-ci procèdent à des dons de biens de troc, d'abord abandonnés dans la forêt ou largués depuis des avions, puis donnés directement aux Indiens, pour se faire accepter. Une fois passée la phase de premiers contacts, les missionnaires cherchent à obtenir de la communauté qu'elle ouvre une piste rudimentaire qui leur permet de renouveler régulièrement leur stock de marchandises. Celles-ci sont alors utilisées pour obtenir une amélioration de la piste, et la construction de maisons qui composeront la mission. Finalement, des couples de missionnaires s'installent, parfois avec leurs enfants, et commencent leur activité missionnaire proprement dite, avec une insistance particulière sur l'apprentissage de la langue dans un premier temps. A cette fin, les missions comprennent généralement la présence d'un linguiste, dont l'objectif est la traduction en langue locale de la Bible, qui constituera alors le fondement de l'activité de prosélytisme.

who aimed to study these indigenous populations between the 1950s and 1970s (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 65-73)[74].

Attracted by the isolation from Western society of most of the villages, several Anthropologists began to study the Yanomami populations both in Brazil and in Venezuela. Among them are relevant studies until nowadays, such as those of Alcida Rita Ramos and Jacques Lizot. Also influential are the studies of American anthropologist Napoleon Chagnon (1988) and Ernesto Migliazza (1972; 1982), the second who was also responsible for doing the first linguistic studies, which figured out that the different villages speak a common language that could be divided into four distinct groups (*Yanomami, Yanomam, Sanumá e Yanam*), also suggesting that they composed a single *ethnic group* that he named as *Yanoama* (Le Tourneau, 2012; Castro; Pereira, 2013).

In the case of Chagnon, if, as argued by Maria Inês Smiljanic (2012, pp. 128, my translation[75]), "[a]fter five centuries of colonisation, spaces for the production of exoticism have become increasingly scarce", he found a favourable *space* to (re)elaborate on the exotic images constructed about the indigenous people, although through a change from "the fantastic discourse [...] to the scientific discourse" (Smiljanic, 2012, pp. 128, my translation[76])[77]. His studies, which started in 1964, were decisive in consolidating and disseminating the associations between the Yanomami, violence and war (Viveiros de Castro, 2015, pp. 25; Smiljanic, 2012). *Yanomamö: The Fierce People*, published in 1968, was the first of a series of publications that spread those *images* that resonated in several publications, for example, in a Time Magazine's 1967 article that compared the Yanomami people with "baboon troops" (Ramos, 2004, pp. 21, my translation[78]). His book came out in a period where the fascination towards *violence* became one of the most critical things in the media and anthropology academic circuits, primarily because of the U.S. participation in the Vietnam War (Smiljanic, 2012) in which the American

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[74] Chagnon, for example, states that he reached the Yanoami territory first through an American missionary settlement (Chagnon, 1968, pp. 4).

[75] [a]pós cinco séculos de colonização, os espaços para a produção do exotismo se tornaram cada vez mais escassos

[76] o discurso fantástico [...] ao discurso científico

[77] Contradictorily, although on the surface, Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (1998) argues that it was in the 19th century that questions about the *humanity* or *inhumanity* of indigenous peoples in Brazil intensified, especially as a result of physical anthropology and scientific racism. According to her, until then, there was a certain understanding of *imperfect humanity*, such as the papal declaration of 1532, which stated that indigenous people possessed souls although still being *savages*.

[78] bandas de babuinos

society was trying to find a justification "to think about your own warmongering" (Fausto, 1999, pp. 255, my translation[79]). *Violence* and despise for *violence*, then, were both drives sustaining the desire towards warfare, as the Yanomami case illustrates.

Claiming that the Yanomami were *primitive* and "one of the largest unacculturated tribes left in all of South America" (Chagnon, 1968, pp. 1), Chagnon argued that he was "impressed […] [by] the importance of aggression in their culture" and that he has had witnessed "many incidences that expressed individual vindictiveness on the one hand and collective bellicosity on the other" (Chagnon, 1968, pp. 2). They lived, according to him, "in a state of chronic warfare" (Chagnon, 1968, pp. 3), which he realised since the very first moment when he was horrified by being received by "a dozen burly, naked, filthy, hideous men staring at us down the shafts of their drawn arrows […]" (Chagnon, 1968, pp. 5). Ultimately, Chagnon's (1968) ethnocentrism and contempt for Yanomami culture – his book is full of references to indigenous lack of knowledge, aggression, filthiness and lack of hygiene, poor nutrition, treacherous personality, and the ills of a *primitive* collectivist society, among others – were translated in ethnographic research that found "bellicosity, ferocity, and violence" (Chagnon, 1968, pp. 118) as the main features of Yanomami sociality, where war was only but "one form of violence in a graded series of aggressive activities" (Chagnon, 1968, pp. 118) that range from *the individual level* – chest-pounding duels and side slapping –, to *collective level* – club fights within or between villages over women, food, or revenge/retaliation because of a previous killing (Chagnon, 1968, pp. 119). According to Bruce Albert (1989, pp. 639; 1990, pp. 558), Chagnon emulates the Hobbesian *image* of the state of nature and its association with (primitive) Amerindian societies (see also Geertz, 2001).

Chagnon (1968), then, (re)affirms the *images* that associate excessive behaviours – aggressiveness and exaggerated sexuality, for example – with indigenous people, particularly the Yanomami, without analysing in depth the role of *hostility patterns* in the sociopolitical compositions of several indigenous societies (Ramos, 2004; Albert, 1990, pp. 562) "thereby contributing to the production and validation of current Western cultural values" (Albert, 1989, pp.

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[79] to think about your own warmongering

639). Following that, in his article *Life histories, bloodrevenge, and warfare in a tribal population* published in *Science* in 1988, Chagnon (1988, pp. 26) elaborated a sociobiological theory on "violent conflict among primitive peoples". Entangling racial/ethnic, gendered, and sexual elements, the two main arguments are: first, that there is a relationship between "the status of 'killer' and reproductive success" (Albert, 1989, pp. 639), in which the Yanomami people would be constituted by "genetic automatons driven by the imperative to maximise the reproductive potential of the 'great killers', the men who would have the greatest number of enemies killed in combat on their accounts" (Viveiros de Castro, 2015, pp. 25, my translation[80]); and second, following the previous one, that violence was generalised among the Yanomami, resulting that:

> 44 percent of males estimated to be 25 or older have participated in the killing of someone, that approximately 30 percent of adult male deaths are due to violence, and that nearly 70 percent of all adults over an estimated 40 years of age have lost a close genetic relative due to violence (Chagnon, 1988, pp. 26).

It is the *scientific discourse* reelaborating the *ex(r)oticization* of indigenous populations, as Pratt (2008) analysed. Smiljanic (2012, pp. 146, my translation[81]) argues that "if in travel stories the adventure of their authors and fable go hand in hand, in scientific discourse, the exotic comes disguised as scientifically established 'truths'". In addition, along with American geneticist James Neel, Chagnon conducted genetic experiments among Yanomami populations in Venezuela and the region of Toototobi on the Brazilian side of the border in 1967 and 1972 (Le Tourneau, 2012). Their studies, nevertheless, have been accused of serious ethical violations in Tierney's book *Darkness in Eldorado*, published in August 2000[82]. According to Alcida Rita Ramos (2004, pp. 27, my translation[83]), even though the main accusation against Neel and Chagnon of provoking "a major epidemic among the Yanomami in Venezuela by using an obsolete measles vaccine" was refuted by

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[80] autômatos genéticos movidos pelo imperative de maximização do potencial reprodutivo dos 'grandes matadores', os homens que teriam em sua conta o maior número de inimigos mortos em combate

[81] se nos relatos de viagem a aventura de seus autores e a fábula andam juntas, no discurso científico, o exótico vem disfarçado de "verdades" cientificamente estabelecidas

[82] Chagnon has also been accused of allying with a Venezuelan business person to obstruct the investigations of a massacre that was perpetrated against the Yanomami in 1993 (see Ramos, 2004, pp. 25-26).

[83] una gran epidemia entre los yanomami de Venezuela, al emplear una vacuna obsoleta contra el sarampión

epidemiologists, their ethnographic practice remained essentially anti-ethical. Despite the "bribery, misinformation and disrespect" (Ramos, 2004, pp. 27, my translation[84]) accusations (see also Diniz, 2007, pp. 287-293), the book made public the information that the researchers collected about 12 thousand blood samples without consent, which were later taken to the U.S universities to carry out genetic studies (Ramos, 2004; Diniz, 2007).

The result of all this is a form of *cartographical imagination* of the space and its inhabitants that will heavily influence the processes of invasion, expropriation, and land demarcation in the following decades (Albert, 1989; Viveiros de Castro, 2015). This will be analysed in further detail in the next section of the current chapter and the following.

3.3
De/territorialisation machines: infrastructure and/as war

As extensively analysed in the previous pages, over the centuries, the Amazon has continued to be seen as a place to be explored (Loureiro, 2002). The vision of a tremendous demographic void and the absence of *development* justified various incursions and the need to bring *modernity* to replace the supposed *backwardness* (Ramos, 1993). However, as argued by Albert (1995, pp. 2, my translation[85]), "[i]n the Brazilian Amazon, multiple conflicting territorialisation strategies clash, sometimes carried out in accordance with state planning, sometimes contrary to it". This will be the axis of this section.

In the case of Brazil, the *developmentalist* policies implemented by the Brazilian state served the purposes of territorial appropriation and political, economic and cultural domination (Paiva, 2017). Under the government of Getúlio Vargas (1930-1945, and 1951-1954), for example, in addition to industrialisation and urbanisation policies, measures were taken to prevent rural workers from migrating to urban centres so that migration to *empty spaces*, such as the Amazon, was encouraged as a policy of *internal colonisation*, to provide cheap labour for the region's bourgeoisie and to contain "social tensions [over land] in the countryside"

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[84] suborno, informaciones falsas y falta de respeto
[85] defrontam-se na Amazônia brasileira múltiplas estratégias antagônicas de territorialização, ora conduzidas em conformidade com o planejamento estatal, ora ao arrepio deste

(Secreto, 2007, pp. 119, my translation[86]). Given the impossibility of incorporating the rural worker under the new regime of urban/industrial labour with labour rights, the government established a strategy of *imaginary incorporation* in which "[s]ambas, poetry, novels, essays and paintings were produced during the period, portraying the rural man, the *retirante*, the farmer" to organise it and establish a new regime of agrarian production that broke with the structures of the *plantation* (Secreto, 2007, pp. 117, my translation[87]). Under the *Westward March* national plan, the government sought to conquer the *interior* and establish permanent settlements (Secreto, 2007).
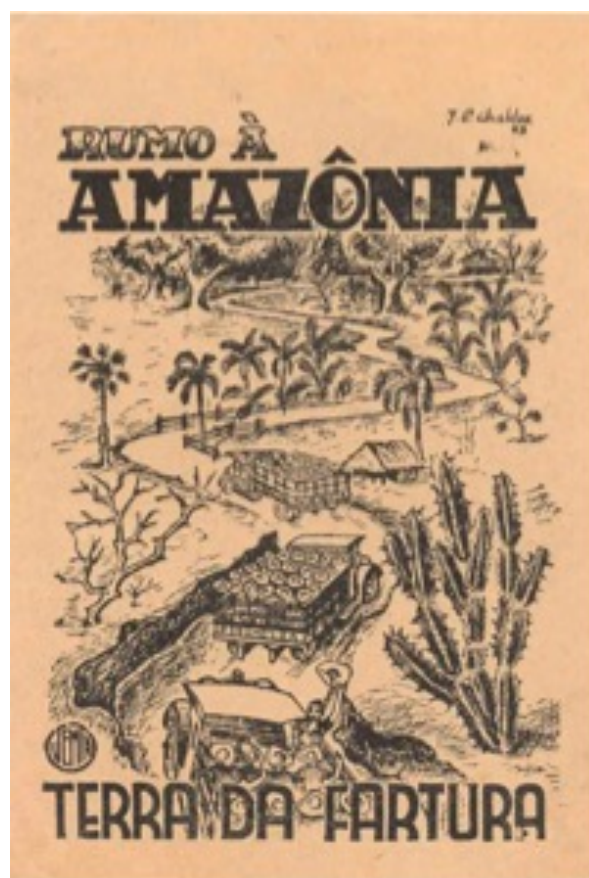
Figure 13: Cover of the rubber soldier's booklet (1943)
Extracted from Miranda; Hochman, 2021, pp. 10

However, the Second World War made the government change its initial plans. With the signature of the Washington Agreements in 1942 to supply raw materials for the warfare effort, the "idea of settlement of families being sent to the

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[86] tensões sociais no campo

[87] Sambas, poesias, romances, ensaios, pinturas foram produzidos durante o período, retratando o homem do campo, o retirante, o lavrador

Amazon region was replaced by the idea of recruiting labourers" (Secreto, 2007, pp. 121, my translation[88]). The attraction of the so-called *rubber soldiers* (*soldados da borracha*) meant reaffirming an economic extractive model and stimulating nomadism instead of permanent settlement, which was necessary for rubber exploration, a decaying economic sector since the first decades of the 20th century. Nevertheless, the Brazilian government and the U.S. Rubber Development Corporation (RDC) worked to weaken the *aviamento* system mentioned above by providing the main products necessary for their survival so that bartering with local elites was no longer necessary (Secreto, 2007).
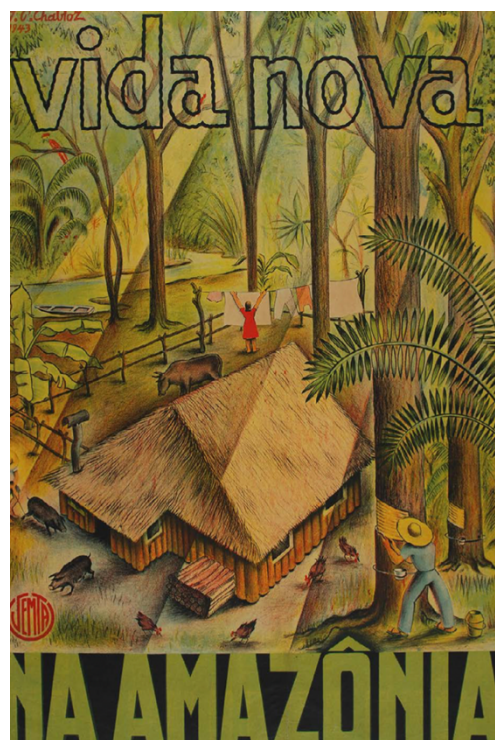
Figure 14: Litography "Vida Nova na Amazônia" (1943)
Extracted from Miranda; Hochman, 2021, pp. 10

The iconography of the state propaganda explored the elements that emphasised the importance of *rubber soldiers* to the nation and associated the Amazon with a wealth of resources, conjoining both aspects with the Second World War (geo)political vision and *framing* the rubber extraction as an act of *warfare* as well as the Amazon as a place to be *conquered* (Figure 13). Those propagandas constructed a landscape that is "idyllic and indicates abundance: house, firewood,

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[88] labourers idéia de povoamento, de famílias sendo encaminhadas para a região amazônica, foi substituída pela de recrutamento de trabalhadores

pigs, chickens, oxen and, to complete the picture, a child playing and a woman hanging white clothes on the clothesline" (Sacramento, 2007, pp. 128, my translation[89]) (Figure 14). Slater (2015, pp. 6) argues that "this campaign [Westward March] saw the Amazon as a stubborn giant that must be transformed into a wellspring of profitable resources and, as such, an obvious symbol of the nation's size and imperial aspirations". In this sense, those elements help to *map* the Amazon in a way that moved away from the images of *Green Hell* to those of promised *Eden* that would guarantee abundant resources (Slater, 2015).

Implementing major infrastructure projects during the *corporate-military dictatorship* (1964-1985) sought to continue capitalist expansion and expropriation of resources in the Amazon region (Paiva, 2017). The term *corporate-military dictatorship* is used, instead of military dictatorship, to analyse the establishment of the dictatorial period as a counter-revolutionary insurrection sustained through a mutual-support pact between the national army and various sectors of the elite, including big landowners and the industrial bourgeoisie. These sectors benefited from industrial policies, such as contracts to construct infrastructure projects, and the government looking the other way to certain practices, such as land grabbing in Amazonia (Prieto, 2017). In the case of the Amazonia, a process of *colonisation* and *agrarian counter-reform* was carried out by the regime through the National Agrarian Reform Institute (*Instituto Nacional de Reforma Agrária* – INCRA) as a way to control the tensions in the countryside over the redistribution of land as well as to ensure the control over the territory by encouraging the migration of poor labourers to occupy the supposedly *demographic void*, thus directing conflicts over land from rural workers and large landowners to migrants and indigenous peoples and local population (Ianni, 1979). According to Slater, then:

> [a]s part of their model of consumerist development, the coup's leaders revived older notions of the Amazon as a potential land of plenty capable of solving the social problems that arose in the Brazilian south as increasingly powerful agro-industrial interests pushed small farmers off the land (Slater, 2015, pp. 6).

As argued by Le Tourneau (2012), the direct *presence* of the Brazilian state in the Yanomami land was scarce until the 1970s, and most of it was the result of

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[89] idílica e indica fartura: casa, lenha, porcos, galinhas, boi e, para completar o quadro, uma criança brincando e uma mulher pendurando roupas brancas no varal

the work carried out first by the Christian missions and later by Anthropologists. However, the *National Integration Plan* (PIN) carried out by the corporate-military regime severely changed that, especially with the plans to construct two major infrastructural projects: the Transamazonian Highway (BR-230) and the Perimetral Norte Highway (BR-210) (Figure 15). Those, among other highway projects, would transverse the Amazonian region, furthering the plan of *spatially integrating* it with the rest of the country and the neighbours Venezuela and Colombia – although with an exclusionary *integration* based on the expropriation of resources (Silva, 2015, pp. 107). In the case of Perimetral Norte, one of its aims was to increase the resources exploration, mainly minerals and oil:

> Insofar as its route links the Serra do Navio mining site in Amapá to the Trombetas region, which is the subject of a major bauxite mining project and passes through the north-western Amazon region, which was thought at the time to be potentially rich in oil, its justification would have been to channel this production towards the Atlantic or to gain access to subsoil resource (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 77, my translation[90]).
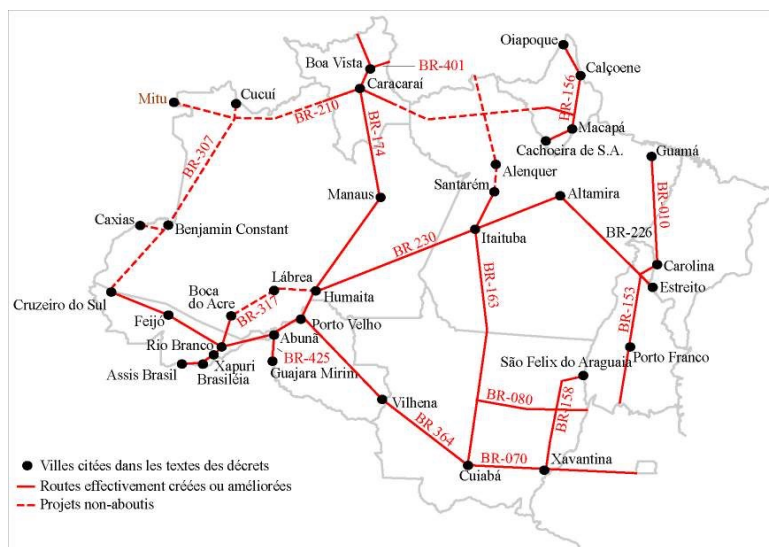
Figure 15: The corporate-military dictatorship's road projects in Amazonia
Extracted from Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 77

However, on the one hand, Le Tourneau (2012) argues that although relevant, those were not decisive elements for the infrastructural projects, as the

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[90] Dans la mesure où son tracé relie le site minier de Serra do Navio, dans l'Amapá, la région du Trombetas, objet d'un grand projet d'exploitation de bauxite, et qu'il passe dans la région Nord-Ouest de l'Amazonie, que l'on pensait à l'époque potentiellement riche en pétrole, sa justification aurait été l'écoulement de ces productions vers l'Atlantique ou l'accès aux ressources du sous-sol

region could already be accessed through rivers or railways, and most of the resources were still unknown. On the other hand, the view of the necessity to ensure strategic control over the region, seen as poor populated, played a significant role in the infrastructural planning. The initial infrastructural plan would have "had to cross almost 600 km of the region inhabited by the Yanomami" (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 76, my translation[91]) of its 4.2 thousand kilometres of extension; although not concluded until the present days it had severe impacts on the Yanomami social, political and cultural organisation, and is considered the beginning of the is regarded as the beginning of the process of mass murder of the Yanomami indigenous peoples (Le Tourneau, 2012).

The terrain was challenging – with dense forest and several water courses – and progress was slow, usually just a few kilometres daily. First, a team of men cleaned the forest to build the road path. These:

> were followed by mechanised teams responsible for removing the stumps and cleaning up the branches from the felled trees (generally by burning them) […] Lastly, the earthmoving machines followed […] behind them all, the carpenters responsible for building the bridges (all made of wood) (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 79, my translation[92]).

The construction, undertaken by the large contractor company Camargo Corrêa, mainly relied on migrant workers from the Northeast region, which states how the *internalisation* of the *national borders* was heavily dependent on the continuous *internal colonisation* funded by the Brazilian state (Le Tourneau, 2012). INCRA, indeed, carried out a project to implement settlements along the roads (Silva, 2015). The abandonment of the construction in 1976 meant that most of the Yanomami population, except for a few villages near the construction site, such as the *Yawaripë* (Silva, 2015), the *Opiktheri*, and the *Wakatautheri*, remained with little or no contact with the *whites*. However, it still led to "serious socio-demographic consequences for the Yanomami groups settled along its route" (Le Tourneau, pp. 81, my translation[93]) as parts of the land in which the *Yawaripë* lived started to be occupied by cattle farms and other types of settler spatial occupations.

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[91] devait traverser sur près de 600 km la région habitée par les Yanomami.

[92] Elles étaient suivies d'équipes mécanisées chargées d'enlever les souches et de nettoyer les branchages des arbres abattus (en général en les brûlant [...] Enfin, suivaient les engins de terrassement [...], et, en arrière de tous, les charpentiers chargés d'élaborer les ponts (tous en bois).

[93] lourdes conséquences socio-démographiques pour les groupes Yanomami installés le long de son tracé.

The indigenous were then inserted in this socio, political and economic organisation, also being impacted by the spread of diseases, such as measles, influenza, tuberculosis, and pneumonia, and almost a quarter of this group population died during the construction period (Le Tourneau, 2012).

However, the state of Roraima, where most of the Yanomami live, remained peripheral regarding (geo)political interest during the corporate-military dictatorship period. Albert (1995, pp. 6, my translation[94]) argues that the state was "afflicted by poorly fertile soils, with the livestock capacity of its natural grasslands saturated since the 1940s, and mineral riches that are very difficult to access", which "preserved the Yanomami from the worst until 1987" (Albert, 1995, pp. 6, my translation[95]). Nevertheless, this does not mean that the military and the infrastructural projects were not central to the massive territorial invasion, as most of the gold mining flourished and could penetrate the region due to the infrastructure built by or with the army's influence (Ramos, 1993).

In 1975, with the *Radar on the Amazon* (RADAM - *Radar na Amazônia*) project, the corporate-military regime aimed to "collect data on mineral resources, soils, vegetation, land use and cartography in the Amazon" (Silva, 2015, pp. 108-109, my translation[96]), which was responsible for discovering and propagating that the region was rich in mineral resources, like diamonds and gold (Silva, 2015, pp. 123). The *state machine*, then, actively worked to attract extractive enterprise and *garimpeiros*, especially from the *Grande Carajás* project (*Serra Pelada*) in Pará, to this region as a way of guaranteeing the fulfilment of its land *occupation* plan and the *defence* of the *national borders* (Silva, 2015, pp. 123-125). However, after 1985, with the end of the corporate-military dictatorship, the Armed Forces started to increase its presence in the Amazon region and implement a strategy of political control, particularly with the *Calha Norte Project* (Ramos, 1993).

The *Calha Norte* was an "ambitious plan for the occupation and development of the Amazon, the product of the geopolitical and nationalist concerns of the National Security Council" (Ramos, 1993, pp. 3, my translation[97]).

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[94] afligido por solos pouco férteis, com a capacidade pecuária de seus campos naturais saturada desde os anos 1940, e de riquezas minerais de acesso muito difícil

[95] preservou os Yanomami do pior até 1987

[96] coleta de dados de recursos minerais, solos, vegetação, uso da terra e cartografia da Amazônia

[97] ambicioso plano de ocupação e desenvolvimento da Amazônia, produto das preocupações geopolíticas e nacionalistas do Conselho de Segurança Nacional

According to Ramos (1993), the Project was elaborated with strict confidentiality, and the concerns regarding its implementation could be traced to the entanglement of *images* that historically constituted the Amazon. In the words – recuperated from the explanatory memorandum for the project delivered to José Sarney, the President at the time - of General Rubens Bayma Denys, then Secretary General of the National Security Council:

> It is a practically unexplored area, corresponding to 14 per cent of the national territory and delimited by an extensive border strip, practically inhabited by indigenous people [...] the immense demographic void of the region, the hostile and little-known environment, the great extension of the border strip, sparsely populated, as well as the susceptibility of Guyana and Suriname to Marxist ideological influence, aspects which make national sovereignty vulnerable (Denys, 1985 *apud* Santilli, 1987, pp. 3-19, my translation[98]).

The General does an operation of re-elaborating the *images* of the *Green Hell – a hostile environment –* and the *Virgin Land – an almost unexplored area –* with a nationalist grammar embedded in the Cold War period *– fear of Marxist ideological influence*. State intervention was necessary to reach the promised destiny of the region. Also, it is mentioned in the final project that the area where the Yanomami lived was primarily targeted by the project because "[f]or some time now, there has been pressure from both nationals and foreigners to create a Yanomami state – at the expense of current Brazilian and Venezuelan" (Ramos, 1993, pp. 4, my translation[99])[100]. Given that, the central axis of the *Calha Norte* was "building a vast infrastructure - aerodromes, roads, barracks, schools, banks, food distributors - to make it possible to 'enliven' the international border zone" (Ramos, 1993, pp. 4, my translation[101]) through (*white*) population settlements and extractive economic activities, mainly mining. The Yanomami populations were seen as

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[98] Trata-se de uma área praticamente inexplorada, correspondendo a 14% do Território Nacional e delimitada por uma extensa faixa de fronteira, praticamente habitada por indígenas [...] o imenso vazio demográfico da região, o ambiente hostil e pouco conhecido, a grande extensão da faixa de fronteira, escassamente povoada, bem como a suscetibilidade da Guiana e do Suriname a influência ideológica marxista, aspectos estes que tornam vulnerável a soberania nacional

[99] Há bastante tempo, observam-se pressões, tanto de nacionais quanto de estrangeiros, visando constituir – às custas do atual território brasileiro e venezuelano – um Estado Yanomami

[100] I could not find the original document of the Project, so I relied on Ramos's (1993) quote of the text.

[101] construção de uma vasta infraestrutura aeródromos, rodovias, quartéis, escolas, bancos, distribuidores de alimentos - para tornar possível a 'vivificação' da zona de fronteira internacional

incapable of securing the *national borders* or as possible threats, which resulted in a contradictory *image* of them:

> On the one hand, the Yanomami area in Brazil would be inhabited by a small population of only 7,500 Indians; on the other hand, the Indians represent numerous contingents; after all, there are so many that, with some pressure from here and there, they could even create an independent state. Even so, frequent statements by both the military and civilians maintain the fallacy of large empty spaces in Yanomami territory and that these Indians have too much land (Ramos, 1993, pp. 4, my translation[102]).

Such ambiguity results in the necessity of *creating* these *demographic voids* through *open war* towards the indigenous populations. As argued by Ramos (1993, pp. 4-5, my translation[103]), "[w]here there are no demographic voids, they have to be invented". In the case of Yanomami, the construction of infrastructure and exterminating violence went hand in hand. The *Calha Norte* included the construction of "four posts (battalions) and seven aerodromes" (Ramos, 1993, pp. 5[104]) in Yanomami territory, the first airfield constructed in 1986 with the expansion of a small landing track in the *Paapiú* region – from 300 meters to a kilometre – in the middle of Yanomami land in a very inaccessible area. This expansion involved not only the territorial dispersion of a previous indigenous village but was also crucial to the entrance of gold mining in the future when the military corps abandoned the field. A short time later, it became one of the main entrances of gold mining prospectors in the Yanomami territory, enabling its capillarisation by land and water, and, in 1989, there were more than 50 thousand *garimpeiros* extracting gold in the territory, introducing a large-scale malaria epidemics (Ramos, 1993, pp. 5).

This gold prospecting hysteria relates to the *image* of *El Dorado*. As argued by Slater (2015, pp. 13) "[w]hile the original El Dorado is centered first and foremost upon a shimmering commodity, it is also a dream of plenty that finds its way into the present" (Slater, 2015, pp. 13). Slater (2002, pp. 104) also argues that the *gold fever* attracts individuals, primarily poor, because of its "aura of possibility

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[102] por um lado, a área Yanomami no Brasil seria habitada por uma pequena população de apenas 7.500 índios; por outro lado, os índios representam numerosos contingentes; são, afinal, tantos que, com algumas pressões daqui e dali, poderiam mesmo criar um Estado independente. Mesmo assim, frequentes declarações tanto de militares como de civis mantêm a falácia de grandes espaços vazios em território Yanomami e que esses índios têm terra demais.
[103] Lá onde não existem vazios demográficos, é então necessário inventá-los.
[104] quatro postos (batalhões) e sete aeródromos

that comes to surround even the least favoured participants". So, viewing the forest as a place of hidden surprises appeals to risking one's life in search of riches. Gold is often related to mythical stories about a woman's spirit that inhabits the forest and tells *garimpeiros* where to find gold, but sometimes stories about individuals being fooled by this spirit with wrong locations. Those tales also refer to the forest as "a living being that permits and even invites momentary intervention but defies full conquest and control" (Slater, 2002, pp. 104), which entangles different *images* of the Amazon.

The Federal Government and, most significantly, the military overlooked this mass killing – of the forest and the Amerindian societies – as it was, albeit contradictorily, ensuring *civilisational* presence in the region. When visiting the territory in 1988, the Ministry of Justice Secretary-General said it was a "*faroeste aéreo*" (Ramos, 1993, pp. 6, my translation[105])[106]. In 1989, when a Commission called Action for Citizenship (*Ação pela Cidadania*), composed of politicians, ONG's personnel, Christian missionaries, and academics managed to enter the territory, it was said by one of its members: "'This is Vietnam!' [...] at the sight of the apocalyptic sight of aeroplanes and helicopters in constant motion that saturated the Paapiú runway with an infernal and unrelenting noise" (Ramos, 1993, pp. 6, my translation[107])[108]. To paraphrase Taussig (1987, pp. 34), those confirmations of the atrocities committed against the Yanomami "involved the barely conscious tension of fascination and disgust, binding the fantastic to the credible". What we see here also is the role of *infrastructures* in war efforts.

Laleh Khalili (2017) argues that logistics and infrastructure are entangled with colonial and imperial building (see also Fredericks, 2021). According to her, it also shapes the *forced insertion* in the "global system of rule" (Khalili, 2017, pp. 94) and in the global flows and dynamics of capital, military and security activities and consolidation of dominant institutions (Chua; Danyluk; Cowen; Khalili, 2018). Khalili (2017) argues that colonial and imperial dominium depended on the

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[105] faroeste aéreo

[106] In a literal translation to *an aerial western*, this is a reference to an image of war between cowboys and indigenous people, but translated to the 21st century through a reference to aeroplanes. Then a reference to *Western* as a genre. For a reference see Shapiro (2004a).

[107] 'Isto é um Vietnã!' […] ante a visão apocalíptica de aviões e helicópteros em constante movimento que saturavam a pista do Paapiú com um ruído infernal e sem trégua

[108] This *image of war* also references US political history and the *images* of *Manifest Destiny* and *imperialism*. For that, see Shapiro (2004a). Again, I would like to express my gratitude to Jimmy for this insight.

construction of infrastructure and logistical networks to "extract resources and move the soldiers and materiel needed to control them" (Khalili, 2017, pp. 94). Furthermore, "[t]he construction process itself is an extraordinary way to transform labor systems" (Khalili, 2017, pp. 95), establishing racial hierarchies and labour exploitation regimes. Extending Khalili's (2017) argument, I argue that the construction of infrastructure and logistics networks in the Yanomami territory entangled military activities, (*internal*) colonial settlements, and extraction of labour power – through indigenous labour in some extractive activities, but also prostitution/sexual work (Ramos, 1993) which also states the entanglement of sexual/gendered systems of oppression and resources extraction, mainly minerals. It also connects with the *image* of the mysterious woman-seducer spirit previously mentioned.

Figure 16: Yanomami Indigenous people on the BR-210 federal highway (*Perimetral Norte*)
Extracted from Albert, 1976 *apud* Instituto Socioambiental (ISA),

Infrastructure also worked to *de/territorialise* Yanomami's spatial occupation, as the environmental destruction severely impacted their form of life, forcing some villages to search for new areas to live in. However, as "instruments of social engineering" (Khalili, 2017, pp. 96) and as a *spatial practice* (Chua; Danyluk; Cowen; Khalili, 2018), these spatial processes were also processes of *inclusion* in the Western capitalist networks of circulation of goods and capital,

which states the "intimate relationship between state violence and commercial trade in the modern era" (Chua; Danyluk; Cowen; Khalili, 2018, pp. 620). Figure 16, from 1976, shows how the Perimetral Norte roads, for example, enabled the circulation of indigenous people but also were the *material means* for the destruction of their territory and invasion of their lands.

To summarise:

> […] infrastructure is not just a material embodiment of violence (structural or otherwise), but often its instrumental medium, insofar as the material organization and form of a landscape not only reflect but also reinforce social orders, thereby becoming a contributing factor to reoccurring forms of harm (Rodgers; O'Neill, 2012, pp. 404).

In this sense, infrastructures enable the operation and sustentation of certain forms of violence (Rodgers; O'Neill, 2012, pp. 403). It also entails the (re)production of power relations and the modulation of the relationship in/with the *landscape* through its materiality, aesthetic and sensorial dimensions (Larkin, 2013, pp. 334-338). In the Yanomami case, the infrastructure built by the military (Figure 17) not only made possible the entrance of gold mining in their territory but also, when the situation started to get out of control, the same *material* means were used to expel "doctors, catholic missionaries and anthropologists who worked with the Yanomami" (Ramos, 1993, pp. 5, my translation[109]) and, during about two years (between 1987 and 1989), to prevent unauthorised individuals from entering the region (Ramos, 1993, pp. 5).

Also, the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI, the successor of the SPI) posts were abandoned and invaded by *garimpeiros*, becoming "the *concrete* symbol of official connivance with this disaster" (Ramos, 1993, pp. 6, my translation, my emphasis[110]) and often occupied – sometimes by armed men – by gold mining owners (Ramos, 1993, pp. 10). The state government could not *control* the situation – there were between 80 and 100 hundred thousand *garimpeiros* in the capital of Roraima, Boa Vista, which was double its population of about 43 thousand in the period – and worked to *manage* and not prohibit the situation in a spectrum of acceptable and unacceptable optimal limits, by supposedly *disciplining* extractive

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[109] médicos, missionários católicos e antropólogos que trabalhavam com os Yanomami
[110] o símbolo concreto da conivência oficial com esse desastre

activities through the creation of *islands* to gold mining and corridors to industrial mining explorations *inside* the indigenous land.

Figure 17: Landing strip for aeroplanes at the Chimarrão Garimpo, Alto Rio Mucajaí/ RR region.
Extracted from Vincent, 1990 *apud* Instituto Socioambiental

According to Ramos (1993), after the state of calamity became widely known, large mining companies were sold by the army and the government as the solution to control the situation by exploring the resources more *responsibly*. Also, they would be responsible for employing a large contingent of miners so that they could leave their *unregulated* jobs and solve the eminent demographic issue. This would also circumvent a legal impediment. While the 1988 Constitution prohibited gold mining:

> industrial mining on indigenous lands will be allowed with the approval of the National Congress and after the indigenous communities have been heard. Ultimately, it is these mining companies that are the biggest

beneficiaries of the military action and the trail of disease and death left by mining on Yanomami land (Ramos, 1993, pp. 8, my translation[111])

As a result, *gold mining* was responsible for imposing new dynamics of de/territorialisation in the Yanomami territory. The airfields, occupied structures left by the army or newly constructed clandestine ones, were enabling the destruction of the forest to extract gold and also the spread of diseases, such as Malaria, that killed about 22% of the Yanomami population in Roraima, about 1 thousand individuals, between 1987 and 1990 (Ramos, 1993, pp. 9) (Figure 17). The dynamics of gold mining in the Yanomami territory were not the same as in *Serra Pelada*, characterised as *Gully mining* (*Garimpo de Barranco*) where "large numbers of people" excavate areas "when the river level is low, making contact with the sandbanks possible" (Herraiz; da Silva, 2015, pp. 210, my translation[112]). It is neither similar to what is called *raft and dradge mining* (*garimpo de draga ou balsa*). In the first case (*raft mining*), a cheaper option – about R\$30.000 for each *machine* – is composed of "small floating houses, equipped with a motor coupled to a pump which, by means of hoses [positioned by a diver], sucks the material from the riverbed" (Herraiz; da Silva, 2015, pp. 210, my translation[113]). While in the second case (*dradge mining*), the most expensive option – around R\$1 million for each *machine* – it is based on the following:

> These are systems equipped with a larger diameter suction pump, usually coupled to more powerful engines such as lorry engines (600 h.pp.), containing an iron boom large enough to reach the depth of the river bed (even in the channel itself), an aerial pipe that guides the material sucked into a box and, finally, a hydraulic control system, operated remotely on top of the dredger, dispensing with the diving function (Herraiz; da Silva, 2015, pp. 210, my translation[114]).

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[111] a mineração industrial em terras indígenas será permitida mediante a aprovação do Congresso Nacional e depois de ouvidas as comunidades indígenas. Em última instância, são essas mineradoras as maiores beneficiadas pela atuação militar e pelo rastro de doenças e morte deixado pela garimpagem em terras Yanomami

[112] grande número de pessoas em suas escavações [...] o nível do rio está baixo, tornando-se possível o contato com as bancadas de areia.

[113] pequenas casas flutuantes, dotadas de motor acoplado a uma bomba que, por meio de mangueiras, suga o material do leito do rio

[114] são sistemas dotados de bomba de sucção de maior diâmetro, acoplada geralmente a motores de maior potência como os de caminhão (600 c.v.), contendo uma lança de ferro de tamanho suficiente para alcançar a profundidade do leito do rio (inclusive no próprio canal), um cano aéreo que conduz o material sugado para uma caixa e, por fim, um sistema hidráulico de comandos, operados remotamente em cima da draga, dispensando-se a função de mergulho.

Nevertheless, it is another form that combines aspects of both manual and mechanised labour, as described above. Gold extraction consists: first, of digging holes near rivers banks, later adding water to create clay with mineral sediments; second, pumps are used to suck up this mixture and direct it through a system of pipes to a reservoir that separates the sediments from the water; third, the sediments are manually picked by the *garimpeiros* and the water is deposited on the land, creating ponds that destroy the area and contaminate the soil; fourth, mercury is added in the sediments to separate *gold dust* from mud, often sliding through the soil and further contaminating the pools formed by the mining water; fifth, the mixture containing gold and mercury is melted, and the mercury evaporates, polluting the air and often inhalated by the *garimpeiros*, and later condensing and returning to the rivers, contaminating the water and fish species that are eaten by the indigenous people (Hernandez; Scarr; Boadle, 2020). The result is the creation of a landscape similar to that in Figure 18 from 2019.

Figure 18: Satellite view of an area exploited by mining in the Yanomami Indigenous Land
Extracted from Hernandez; Scarr; Boadle, 2020

The indigenous people who survived those processes were obliged to search for new areas or to join other communities that were not their own, including White settlements, which benefited from the spatial displacement of indigenous villages to invade the territory by expanding the areas of outsiders' permanent settlements.

For example, the area near Apiaú Rive became "a gigantic burn area of more than 30,000 hectares transformed into a regional colonisation project" (Ramos, 1993, pp. 9, my translation[115]).

Additionally, sometimes, with hundreds of individuals simultaneously infected by diseases, the ones who remained healthy could not produce food or hunt in the quantities demanded by the whole group, creating situations of extreme hunger and malnutrition. This *state of war* resulted in several fronts pressuring the Brazilian state to demarcate the Yanomami Indigenous Land in the 1990s.

3.4
Merchandise Warfare: counter/cartographing Capitalism and War with Davi Kopenawa

The life story of Davi Kopenawa, Yanomami Shaman and spokesperson, intermingle with the processes previously analysed. Kopenawa, born in 1956 in a village of no more than 200 indigenous people in the far northeast part of Amazonas state in Brazil, near the Venezuelan border, saw his group decimated by two successive epidemics in the 1950s because of the contact with SPI agents and the *New Tribes Mission*. He was then forced into Christian proselytising (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 188-194), for which he "owes […] his biblical forename, the skill of writing, and a less than-enchanted view of Christianity" (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 3). However, he rebelled against the missionaries after most of his village died because of the measles epidemic transmitted by the mission at the end of the 1960s. Kopenawa says "[t]here were really a great number of us when I lived on the Rio Toototobi as a child. […] Then the white people came with their fever and measles and a lot of our people died" (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 158). He, as an orphan, left his village to take a job with the FUNAI in 1976, where he then tried, in his own words, to "become a white man" (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 3). This experience at FUNAI allowed him to travel through the Yanomami territory:

> gaining knowledge of its breadth and its cultural cohesion in spite of local differences […] [and] a more precise understanding of the economic greed animating those he calls "the People of Merchandise,"

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[115] uma gigantesca área de queimadas de mais de 30 mil hectares transformados em projeto de colonização regional

and the threats they represent to the existence of the forest and the survival of his people (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 3-4).

After working for FUNAI for about four years, he married the daughter of a Shaman in the Watoriki region, initiating the shamanic journeying that led him to be one the most important indigenous people denouncing the ongoing genocide and destruction of Yanomami indigenous land as well as demanding the demarcation of the territory. Considering this, I would like to develop two ideas in this last section based on the chapters Earth Eaters, Cannibal Gold, and Merchandise Love from Davi Kopenawa and Bruce Albert's book (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013). First, framing it as a *counter-anthropology/reverse anthropology* of the white capitalist colonial world (Viveiros de Castro, 2015) and shamanic critique of the "political economy of nature" (Albert, 1995, pp. 23[116]), I would like to analyse how Kopenawa comprehends the *materialisation* and process of capitalism; second, to analyse how he theorises *war* and the *images* of violence associated with the Yanomami. This analysis aims to *counter/cartograph* spatial processes associated with Yanomami territory and its people, proposing another *landscape* through his words.

First and foremost, in *Earth Eaters*, Kopenawa analyses *white people's* destructive views and actions against the *forest* (*urihi a*) and how this developed in him the idea that he needed to defend all the beings that constituted it (*spirits*, *animals*, *plants*, among others). Kopenawa narrates and theorises his people's encounters with *garimpeiros*, more specifically, and the *garimpo* enterprise, more generally. He says that when they arrived in his village, they were "frenetically searching for an evil thing" (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 262) that the Yanomami had never heard about, *oru* (gold)[117]. This led him to call them *earth eaters* and compare them to *peccary*, a species of wild pig ordinary in his region, calling them *napë worëri pë, the* "outsider peccary spirits" because they "relentlessly dig into the ground and burrow in the mud like wild pigs looking for earthworm" (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 263). They also "soiled the rivers with yellowish mire and filled them with *xawara* epidemic fumes from their machines" (Kopenawa;

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[116] economia política da Natureza

[117] Kopenawa says that the Yanomami knew *gold* but as "shiny flakes on the sand of the forest's stream beds" (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 287), and it was used by the *elders* to make substances that caused blindness on enemies. However, despite its existence in significant quantities near his village, Kopenawa says that young people do not know how to use it anymore, so it must be left untouched with the fear of becoming blind.

Albert, 2013, pp. 262, emphasis in the original). Those contacts and invasions, nevertheless, were stories of extreme violence against the Yanomami people, resulting in several deaths on both sides. When faced with the violent invaders and lacking governmental support to defend their territory, Kopenawa demonstrates how he and his community started to protect themselves:

> [t]his time, we had not been surprised by the gold prospectors' arrival. All the men of *Watoriki* had gathered around them, bows and arrows in hand, their bodies painted black like warriors'. As for our women, they were yelling in anger and throwing their *hore kiki* sorcery plants at the outsiders to make them cowards. We were ready to defend ourselves alone, without the federal police. Once again, I spoke to the *garimpeiros* harshly and informed them that we would arrow those who attempted to remain in our forest. They were nervous and hostile but did not dare to insist, and finally, they left in the footsteps of those who had preceded them (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 272).

In *Cannibal Gold*, Kopenawa gives a cosmological account of how *Omama*, the Yanomami's demiurge, hid minerals, gold, and oil very deep under the earth so no one could find them. In his dreams, Kopenawa tells us, the *xapiri* (*spirits of the forest*) told him their origin: "[w]hat the white people call "minerals" are the fragments of the sky, moon, sun, and stars, which fell at the beginning of time" (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 283). They were hidden because they are saturated with *diseases* and *epidemics*, "[t]his is why [say Kopenawa] they must be left where he has always kept them buried" (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 283). Nevertheless, they are not only poisonous, but they are responsible for keeping the *earth from collapsing* because if "they reach the place where the chaos being *Xiwãripo* lives, […] [t]he forest floor, which is not very thick, will start to break apart everywhere" (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 286). When metal, including gold, is melted in factories, they liberate *toxic fumes* that Kopenawa calls *metal smoke*; they bring epidemics and disease to Yanomami and *white people*. All *metal smoke* mixes to become a single *xawara epidemic*. Because *white people* don't know the *xapiri* words, they come to dig the earth, "[…] even though they already possess more than enough merchandise" (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 283), thinking they will not be contaminated like the Yanomami. This shows the overlapping of *images* connecting pollution, industrial exploitation of the land, *white ignorance*, and epidemics.

Kopenawa translates his and his people's encounters with some of the social relations that (re)produce capitalism to his cosmological understandings. Then, what Ramos (1990, pp. 286) explains as "a massive assault of mining spreading through their lands like an out-of-control cancer, [which has caused] many communities to lose their game, fish, drinking water, health, peace and future prospects" (Ramos, 1990, pp. 286, my translation[118]), Kopenawa theorises in terms of a deadly epidemic resulting from the greed of *white people* in the ongoing exploitation of a *toxic metal*, which only needs to be removed from the earth by destroying the forest because it was hidden so that it wouldn't be found in the first place. Ultimately, the *epidemic* would be a retaliation of the forest because of the attempt to explore something that has no use value. This resonates with environmentalists' and even scientific claims that the *Earth* is taking revenge on human beings through climatic events and epidemics.

According to Kopenawa, like the Yanomami, *white people* were created by *Omama* (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 155-156). Still*,* soon, they abandoned and rejected the elders' sayings, little by little forgetting them, and soon they "thought strayed onto a dark and tangled path" (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 326). They started destroying their forests, desiring the metals most challenging to get, building factories to melt them into significant amounts of merchandise, and making money proliferate everywhere to exchange. Kopenawa argues that they thought they were so clever that they would never lack anything by creating merchandise and destroying the forest. Nevertheless, "[b]y wanting to possess all this merchandise, they were seized by a limitless desire" (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 327), closing their thoughts to all other things. Those processes also impact the Yanomami, as Kopenawa argues:

> [o]ur minds [of the Yanomami people] get entangled with words about the gold prospectors who eat the forest's floor and foul our rivers, with words about the **settlers** and the **cattle ranchers** who burn its trees to feed their animals, with words about the **government** that wants to open new roads here and tear minerals out of the ground. We fear malaria, flu, and **tuberculosis**. Our mind is constantly attracted by white people's merchandise (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 160, emphasis in the original).

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[118] assalto maciço de garimpos espalhando-se por suas terras como um câncer fora de controle, [que fez com que] muitas comunidades perde[ssem] suas reservas de caça, de peixe, de água potável, de saúde, de paz e de perspectivas futuras

In this sense, Kopenawa describes a set of social, economic, and political relations in which the production and accumulation of merchandise disassociate from the realm of human necessity, in which a relentless desire to accumulate manifests itself in violent behaviours, showing that *violence* is disorganised, despite being part of a system. It is also similar to an understanding of *commodity fetishism*, as described by Tible (2019b, pp. 276, my translation[119]), when "human products look like autonomous figures, possessing a life of their own" (pp. 276), becoming *merchandise* whensoever subsuming the social relations that created them in the first place. According to him, "[m]erchandise has the value of *xawara* epidemic. This is why the diseases always follow it" (Kopenaea; Albert, 2013, pp. 293). A *libidinal economy* is then connected with a productive system, sustained through social and productive relations based on an ongoing process of expropriation and accumulation. Lastly, through Kopenawa's words, we could have a sense of Capitalism's spatial practices: capilarising into their land, it manifests itself through multiple frontiers and actors as an ongoing and gradual process of dispossession that always entails a sense of *motion*, that is, while the Yanomami *occupy* their territory and want to *remain* spatially – despite its sociality being based on constant *movement* in space to hunt, wage conflicts, plant, among others – capitalism is constantly expanding itself to still *unexplored* spaces.

From his cosmological understanding, we can see an operation of *translation*, with Kopenawa building an *ecological discourse*. This ecological discourse is not self-contained but resonates with Kopenawa's contacts with the white capitalist colonial world and other struggles, especially the rubber tapper's struggle led by Chico Mendes[120]. In the first case, Tible (2019b, pp. 287, my translation[121]) argues that "[t]he strength of Davi Kopenawa's discourse derives from an articulation between cosmological coordinates in accordance with Yanomami shamanism and the discursive frameworks imposed by the State and by

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[119] os produtos humanos parecem figuras autônomas, possuindo vida própria

[120] Chico Mendes was a rubber tapper, unionist and the political leader of the *seringueiros* movement in the Brazilian Amazon. He was at the forefront of the struggle to recognise the right of rubber tappers and other traditional populations to use and live on their land and was notably recognised for his fight for the creation of *extractive reserves*, i.e. areas of forest protected by law that are given over to the traditional populations who live there from extractivism and subsistence farming. He was murdered at the behest of large landowners in 1988 (Almeida, 2004).

[121] A força do discurso de Davi Kopenawa decorre de uma articulação entre coordenadas cosmológicas de acordo com o xamanismo Yanomami e os quadros discursivos impostos pelo Estado e pelos brancos em geral (capitalismo)

whites in general (capitalism)". A discourse, nevertheless, that strengthens and reformulates critical thought from a concrete struggle, *profaning* it from other cosmological coordinates. In the second case, Kopenawa narrates how his words found resonance in Chico Mendes', not only found in his struggle to *extractive reserves* and his ecological discourse (Almeida, 2004) sources of inspiration to the Yanomami but also in connections between them:

> [m]y ideas on the forest continued to develop little by little until, much later, I listened to Chico Mendes's words. This is how I learned to know the white people's words about what they call "nature." My thought became clearer and higher. It spread a lot. I began to understand that it was not enough to protect only the small area where we live. So I decided to speak up to defend the entire forest, including the one human beings do not inhabit and even the white people's land very far beyond us (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 396).

When Chico Mendes was murdered, Kopenawa began to fear for his own life, as they saw both of them engaged in a similar struggle with related enemies. 277). Kopenawa also aims to warn *white people* about their destructive actions towards the *world* by comparing the *white people's* notions of *protecting the forest, pollution*, and *ecology* to Yanomami's comprehension of *Omama's metal of nature, xawara epidemic fumes*, and *all the beings* as the centre of what *white people* call *ecology*, Kopenawa aims to advise and connect different struggles to protect the *falling of the sky/end of the world*.

This situation of *war* could be extended to a critique of the common association between the Yanomami populations and violence. XX argues that ethnocentric anthropological accounts of indigenous people's patterns of conflict rely on the overlapping of the dichotomies of *war/peace* and *antagonism/alliance*. That is, "anthropology seems to confuse potential forms of social relations (antagonism and alliance) with one of the ways in which they are actualised (war and peace)" (do Pateo, 2005, pp. 24, my translation[122]). Carlos Fausto (1999, pp. 252, my translation[123]) also argues that the social systems of the *indigenous war*, in the plural[124], should be analysed through a gaze that considers how they were

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[122] a antropologia parece confundir formas de relação social em caráter potencial (antagonismo e aliança) com uma das formas de sua atualização (guerra e paz)

[123] guerra e pelo escambo, por doenças como a varíola, o sarampo e a gripe, e pela catequese missionária

[124] According to him, the manifestations of *war* were and are multiple. For example, "[i]n these five hundred years [of colonial/imperial conquest], there have been wars of resistance; there have been

affected by "war and barter, by diseases such as smallpox, measles and influenza, and by missionary catechesis". The majority of the anthropological explanations are based on a *naturalist* approach (war as a *natural*– conflicts over lack of resources as in –, or *sociobiological* – genetic – phenomenon, or as *materialist* – a result or intensified because of colonisation over the control of resources, as in R. Brian Ferguson [2001]) or *socio-political-cultural* (*war* as a centrifugal/diffusive institution to actively refuse *political unification,* as in Clastres, or as the opposite of an unsuccessful *exchange* relation, as in Marcel Mauss or an expression of *exchange relation* itself, as in Claude Lévi-Strauss) (Fausto, 1999, pp. 253-261). According to Fausto (1999), *war* in Amerindian societies should be understood as a form of *sociality* through patterns of hostility, ambiguously "[…] a mode of relationship that seems to be the very negation of the social relationship […]" (Fausto, 1999, pp. 262, my translation[125]). Then, we should understand it:

> as part of a generalised economy [...] in which surpluses are both material and symbolic, in which control of the means of production involves control of the supernatural, and in which production concerns not only objects but above all bodies and people (Fausto, 1999, pp. 265, my translation[126])

In the case of the Yanomami, Kopenawa proposes a counterview of the *image* of his people as violent and in a *generalised state of war*. Kopenawa reverses this discourse by stating that besides the Yanomami *wars* and *raids* in old times, they never killed without restraint like *white people*, stating that *war* was not fought *without reason* – mainly revenge (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 359-360) and to mourn a dead one ashes – and that it was taught to them in beginning of time by the cosmological entities *Õeõeri* (child warrior), *Arowë* (a mythic warrior), and *Aiamori* (a bellicose spirit). According to Kopenawa, *white people* "fight in great numbers, with bullets and bombs that burn all their houses. They even kill their women and children [so] they simply make their wars for bad talk, to grab new land to tear minerals and oil out of its ground" (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 359). He

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those motivated by the capture of enemies to be exchanged for metal instruments with the whites; there have been others that resulted from the movement of fleeing populations; or, even, those driven by 'traditional' values that took place in sociodemographic contexts that were no longer 'traditional'" (Fausto, 1999, pp. 252, my translation).

[125] um modo de relação que parece ser a própria negação da relação social

[126] como parte de uma economia generalizada [...] em que os excedentes são materiais e simbólicos, em que o controle dos meios de produção envolve o controle do sobrenatural, e em que a produção concerne não só aos objetos, mas sobretudo a corpos e pessoas

says, then, "[t]hey [*white people*] reproach the Yanomami for arrowing each other, but they are the ones who really wage war" (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 359). In that sense, Kopeawa refers to the *Gulf War* when he says that he "watched them on television fighting each other for oil with their airplanes in a land with no trees" (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 360), which worried him that it could reach the Yanomami territory soon due to the escalating violence of the *garimpo* warfare.

According to him, the *garimpeiros* are always fighting because of *merchandise*, contrary to the Yanomami, who engage in *raids* to revenge a dead one; however, soon after, they often seek to reconcile and form friendships. Here, there is also a dissonance between the concepts and practices of *war* and *arrowing*: for him, "to make war" (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 365) is different from arrowing (*niyayuu*) as the latter is associated with a *generalised economy*, to paraphrase Fausto (1999), that is related to the production of *persons* and *groups* and not the appropriation of territories as *white people's war*. He argues, then, that "[w]e [the Yanomami] fight about human beings. We go to war for the sorrow we have for our brothers and fathers who have just died" (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 364). This comprehension could be related to what Viveiros de Castro (2002, pp. 163) calls a *symbolic economy of predation*, where is "the heterogeneity of substance that establishes the dynamic play of the relationship" (Viveiros de Castro, 2002, pp. 165, my translation[127]), in which *reciprocity* – and not *objectification* as in modern capitalist relations of production – is the base of a general pattern of sociality. Fausto (1999) argues that this *economy* should be understood as:

> the ideal person is not constituted by the internal transmission and ritual confirmation of distinctive social attributes (emblems, ancestral names, prerogatives), but by the violent acquisition of potency outside society (in the form of names, songs and the souls of enemies). [...] Or to put it another way, we have economies that predate on and appropriate something outside the group's boundaries to produce people within it […] In indigenous thinking, killing an enemy is not simply ending his life, producing his disappearance, but, on the contrary, establishing a new type of relationship with that same enemy, now dead (Fausto, 1999, pp. 266, my translation[128]).

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[127] a heterogeneidade de substância que instaura o jogo dinâmico da relação

[128] a pessoa ideal não é constituída pela transmissão interna e pela confirmação ritual de atributos sociais distintivos (emblemas, nomes de ancestrais, prerrogativas), mas pela aquisição violenta de potência no exterior da sociedade (na forma de nomes, cantos e almas de inimigos). [...] Ou, dito de outro modo, temos economias que predam e se apropriam de algo fora dos limites do grupo para produzir pessoas dentro dele [...] No pensamento indígena, matar um inimigo não e simplesmente acabar com sua vida, produzir seu desaparecimento, mas, ao contrario, estabelecer um novo tipo de relação com esse mesmo inimigo, agora morto

In this sense, Kopenawa's thought sheds light on the complexity of patterns of hostility in the Yanomami sociality. Despite completely refusing that *violence* is not a *natural* element of his people, he contextualises the practices of *raiding* and *warfare* on a broader economy of (re)production of social relations. In this sense, if Chagnon's words map the Yanomami territory as lacking order and involved in generalised violence, Kopenawa maps it in terms of multiple relation patterns and virtual affinities. Another *land* is, then, possible to be *imagined*.

4
Borders, Life, Dreams

> *"Yet it is always the colonial view of the jungle that provides the means for representing and trying to make sense of the colonial situation. Emptiness and absence become assailing presences. The nebulous becomes corporeal and tangible. And in this dreadful object-making, as shadows of things acquire substance, a veil of lifelessness, if not of death, is drawn apart to reveal the forest not merely as animated but as human".*
> *(Taussig, 1987, pp. 77)*

This chapter aims to briefly analyse the *Yamomami Indigenous Land* demarcation process. The recognition of a territory for the Yanomami indigenous people extended over several decades, with the Brazilian government making a series of efforts to delay or prevent territorial recognition. This has occurred largely despite legislation recognising certain indigenous rights concerning the right to territorial and, therefore, political, social and cultural self-determination. This makes a *legal analysis* essential to visualise not only the letter of the *law* but also its silences and non-compliance. In addition, I argue in the chapter that, despite the determination of a bordered territory *within* Brazil, the Yanomami Indigenous Land goes *beyond* the borders defined on the map when considering the Yanomami notion of *forest-land*. The chapter is divided into three parts. First, I analyse, historically, the Brazilian legislation concerning indigenous territorial recognition, through the colonial context, the republican period, the corporate-military dictatorship and the context of redemocratisation. Finally, the section will analyse the Yanomami territorial demarcation process *with* and *against* the prevailing Brazilian legislation. In the second section, based on Kopenawa and Albert, I analyse the Yanomami notion of *forest-land* and how it enables us to understand that there is something *beyond* and *below* the map, which the bureaucratic-state borders try to erase by drawing lines. The understanding of *forest-land*, I argue, leads us to an extended understanding of *life*, which involves multiple *beings* in the constitution of a diffuse and mutable territoriality. The third section, finally, is reserved for a brief study of Yanomami dreams and how they relate to the spatial order. I argue that dreams are a central part of Yanomami's sociality and political compositions and that, as such, they are a constitutive part of the *forest-land,* whether *real* and/or *imagined*.

4.1 Borders

The history of territorially defined *indigenous lands* in Brazil returns to the colonial period (Carneiro da Cunha, 2018). According to Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (2018), despite the disputes over the rights of indigenous people's territorial sovereignty in the colonial period[129] what prevailed was, ambiguously, a jurisdiction that "[a]ffirmed the full original sovereignty of indigenous nations" (Carneiro da Cunha, 2018, pp. 281, my translation[130]) at the same time that authorised the occupation and containment of their territories. How do we explain this, at least on the surface, contradictory claim?

In the 16th century, the catholic doctrines orbited around the recognition that Amerindian populations deserved the right to sovereignty despite being *uncivilised* and *unfaithful*. In the words of the catholic theologian and cardinal, Pierre D'Ailly, "just as an unworthy priest could administer valid sacraments, so sinners and infidels could have dominion" (Carneiro da Cunha, 2018, pp. 282, my translation[131]). Francisco de Vitoria and Hugo Grotius would sustain similar claims. In the case of the Portuguese colonial empire in nowadays Brazil, the *law* recognised indigenous rights over their territories, as "the royal charters of July 1609 and 10 September 1611, promulgated by Philip III" (Carneiro da Cunha, 2018, pp. 285, my translation[132]), testifies. It claims that:

> the Gentiles are masters of their estates in the villages, as they are in the Serra, and they cannot be taken from them, nor can any harm or injustice be done to them, nor can they be moved against their will from the captaincies and places ordered to them, except when they freely wish to do so (Carta Régia, 1611 *apud* Carneiro da Cunha, 2018, pp. 285, my translation[133]).

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[129] This also involved disputes over *temporal* framing in the colonial enterprise: would the right of the church and the imperial/colonial powers be located temporally *before* the indigenous peoples of America? Were the *spiritual*, *temporal* and *spatial* realms entangled? Would these peoples, despite sharing the same *space* as the Europeans, share the same *time,* or would they lag in the *evolution of civilisation*?

[130] [a]afirmava a plena soberania original das nações indígenas

[131] tal como um sacerdote indigno podia administrar sacramentos válidos, assim também pecadores e infiéis podiam ter domínio

[132] as cartas régias de julho de 1609 e de 10 de setembro de 1611, promulgadas por Filipe III

[133] os gentios são senhores de suas fazendas nas povoações, como o são na Serra, sem lhes poderem ser tomadas, nem sobre elas se lhes fazer moléstia ou injustiça alguma; nem poderão ser mudados contra suas vontades das capitanias e lugares que lhes forem ordenados, salvo quando eles livremente o quiserem fazer

However, during the imperial period, after the independence in 1822, the indigenous right to sovereignty and citizenship was actively denied under the premise that a nation-state should be built. The existence of indigenous self-government became an impasse for constructing a single nation for the newly independent state. In 1823, with the new constitution, the imperial government created a *Commission for Colonisation and Catechisation* (*Comissão de Colonização e Catequização*) to *civilise* the *savage* populations that inhabited the territory, while about thirty years later, in 1850, the *Land Law* (*Lei das Terras*) was promulgated. This law established the criteria to consider land as *vacant.* Despite indigenous people not being considered *owners* by a title deed granted by the imperial/colonial government, they were considered *natural owners* by the jurisdiction (Carneiro da Cunha, 2018, pp. 289-291). In this sense, prevailed what is known as the *theory of indigeneity* (*teoria do indigenato*), in which the *right* over land would not be granted over the *occupation* of a particular area but from the acknowledgement that those populations lived in the territory before the creation of the colonial state, that is, a *congenital* and not an *acquired right* (Carneiro da Cunha, 2018). However, as pointed out by Elizângela Cardoso de Araújo Silva (2018), this *law* represented the *birth of latifundium* (*latifúndio*) as it established that ownership of *land* would occur only by purchase, which intensified land invasions and the falsification of ownership documents at the cost of the invasion of indigenous territories.

However, as in the previous centuries, "the state continues to encourage the settlement of *Indians* [...] [lands that] often coincide with the original territory of the group" (Carneiro da Cunha, 2018, pp. 291, my translation, my emphasis[134]). This shows, following Beatriz Perrone-Moisés (1998, pp. 117, my translation[135]) arguments, that there was a clear distinction regarding laws "between 'friendly indians' and 'wild gentiles' [...]", in which the imperial/colonial law despite supposedly recognising indigenous people's rights of *freedom* and over *land*, these were only extended to those deemed 'friendly', which meant they were *aldeados* living near imperial/colonial settlements and *assimilated* into the western society.

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[134] o Estado continua fomentando o aldeamento dos índios [...] [terras que] concindiam frequentemente com o território originário do grupo
[135] entre 'índios amigos' e 'gentio bravo' […]

Therefore, the *law* only granted *freedom* – whatever this means – and *good treatment* – for religious conversion – to those indigenous people who had already lost – at least some of – their social, political and cultural independence by setting up *sedentary villages*:

> firstly, they must be *'descended'*, that is, brought from their villages in the interior (*'sertão'*) to the Portuguese settlements: there, they must be catechised and *civilised* so that they become *'useful vassals'* as documents from the 18th century put it. The [colonisers] inhabitants' livelihood would depend on them, both in the work of the gardens, producing basic necessities, and in working on the colonisers' plantations. They would be the main elements of new *descents*, both because of their knowledge of the land and the language and because of the example they could set. They would also be the main defenders of the colony, making up the bulk of the contingents of war troops against both indigenous and European enemies (Perrone-Moisés, 1998, pp. 118, my translation, my emphasis[136])

It is unsurprising, then, that mechanisms for appropriating indigenous territories were established for those deemed as *savage*, as the imperial/colonial regime depended on them both to make settlements possible – remembering here that settler colonialism relies on the elimination of the *natives's* presence, be it physical or cultural (Wolfe, 2006) – and to increase the labour force[137] and to the protection of territorial settlements from *enemies – hostile* indigenous people and other imperial/colonial powers (Perrone-Moisés, 1998, pp. 120). For instance, the legal authority granted to *provincial assemblies*, in conjunction with the central government, to create laws regarding the acknowledgement of indigenous land

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[136] em primeiro lugar, devem ser 'descidos', isto é, trazidos de suas aldeias no interior ('sertão') para junto das povoações portuguesas: lá devem ser catequizados e civilizados de modo a tornarem-se 'vassalos úteis', como dirão documentos do século XVIII. Deles dependerá o sustento dos moradores, tanto no trabalho das roças, produzindo géneros de primeira necessidade, quanto no trabalho nas plantações dos colonizadores. Serão eles os elementos principais de novos descimentos, tanto pelos conhecimentos que possuem da terra e da língua quanto pelo exemplo que podem dar. Serão eles, também, os principais defensores da colónia, constituindo o grosso dos contingentes de tropas de guerra contra inimigos tanto indígenas quanto europeus.

[137] According to Perrone-Moisés (1998, pp. 120, my translation), as they were *free*, indigenous labour should be waged according to the *law*, and it is common to find in the imperial/colonial archive's references of indigenous people working "[…] 'voluntarily' or 'willingly' […]". Several, nevertheless, refused to work (Carneiro da Cunha, 1998, pp. 148). However, given social and political circumstances, this voluntariness must be apprehended with suspicion as well as the respect of waging the labour (Perrone-Moisés, 1998, pp. 121). Those who abandoned the *aldeias* were liable to be enslaved and devices to exploit unpaid labour were common, such as the marriage of an indigenous person to enslaved one and simply preventing them from returning after doing temporary work (Perrone-Moisés, 1998, pp. 123). Indigenous enslavement was maintained legal until 1833. However, it was still possible to see indigenous being sold as enslaved in 1850 in Rio de Janeiro and, until the following century, in Amazonia (Carneiro da Cunha, 1998, pp. 143).

rights frequently led to the forced relocation of indigenous communities. The possibility of removing or bringing indigenous populations together in the same *aldeamento* and *reducing* – and this was an official term of the period (Carneiro da Cunha, 1998, pp. 143) – the territories' size were also strategies to achieve this goal. This was done through mechanisms such as leasing pieces of land to settlers within indigenous villages, which resulted in future claims that the indigenous people had been *assimilated* into colonial society and, therefore, there was no longer a population with *natural rights* over territory. It was also common for *provincial assemblies* to consider indigenous lands vacant, even though the law expressly said the opposite.

This would express a relevant change, especially in the 19th century, in the *indigenist policy* (*política indigenista*)[138]: "the indigenous question is no longer essentially a question of *labour*, but of *land*" (Carneiro da Cunha, 1998, pp. 133, my translation, my emphasis[139]). During this period, especially after the arrival of the Portuguese royal family in Brazil in January 1808, Dom João VI, then King of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarves, unleashed an *open* and *offensive wa*r against indigenous peoples considered *wild*, especially the *Botocudos*, which disrupted with a policy that had been applied, relatively systematically, of carrying out only *defensive wars* (Carneiro da Cunha, 1998, pp. 136) – which was often manipulated and subverted, as Perrone-Moisés (1998, pp. 123-127) points out. The *conquered* and *decimated* indigenous people would have their lands considered *vacant* (Carneiro da Cunha, 1998, pp. 142), which states the connection between war strategies and territorial containment. Nevertheless, with the independence in 1822, the strategy returned to *assimilation*, often through *territorial spoliation* and *expropriation*, resulting in large-scale *ethnocide* (Carneiro da Cunha, 1998). This tradition continued until the 20th century, although with

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[138] According to *Instituto Socioambiental* (2018), there are tensions between *indigenist* and *indigenous policies*. The first refers to "acts in benefit of Native Brazilian peoples causing deep impact on their lifestyle and everyday life. Such acts, however, are proposed and elaborated by other social agents". Concurrently, the second refers to "policy adopted by the Native Brazilians themselves". Also, there are differences, as well as confuences, between *indigenism* (*indigenismo*) and *indigenist policy*. According to Leonardo Barros Soares, Catarina Chaves Costa, Marina de Barros Fonseca and Victor Amaral Costa (2021, pp. 2), "the former concerns a set of ideas relating to the incorporation of indigenous peoples into national states, while the latter is defined by its practical character of measures taken by the powers of the state to realise their assimilationist objective".

[139] a questão indígena deixou de ser essencialmente uma questão de mão-de-obra para se tornar uma questão de terras.

multiple actors making those expropriation strategies (Carneiro da Cunha, 2018). Summarising these processes, Carneiro da Cunha states that:

> firstly, the so-called '*savage hordes*' are concentrated in *villages*, freeing up vast areas over which their titles were undisputed and exchanging them for [territorially] limited *village* lands; at the same time, the settlement of *strangers* in their surroundings is encouraged; inalienable lands were granted to the *villages*, but areas within them were leased for their sustenance; *villages* were expatriated and distinct groups were concentrated; *villages* were then extinguished on the pretext that the Indians were 'confused with the mass of the population'; the provision of the law that gave the Indians ownership of the land of the extinct villages was ignored, and only plots of land were granted to them. The remaining areas were reverted to the Empire and then to the provinces, which passed them on to the municipalities so that they could sell them to landowners or use them to create new population centres [...] the end product of these petty steps is total expropriation (Carneiro da Cunha, 1998, pp. 146, my translation, my emphasis[140]).

The period between the late 1800s and early 1900s saw significant political and social changes with the establishment of the republican regime. Although the rural elite retained their class privileges, there was a concerted effort to build a nation, as identified by Souza Lima (2015), with a focus on three key areas: Firstly, the transition from a predominantly slave-based economic and political system to one that would have *free labour*, with all the limitations of the term, as its central element. Secondly, the establishment of a *state bureaucratic apparatus*. Thirdly, forming a national identity around the diversity that constituted the Brazilian people (Souza Lima, 2015). The creation of *Indian Protection Service* (*Serviço de Proteção aos Índios* – SPI) in 1910 must be contextualised in this order of things, and there was a change in the legal regime that supported the territorial rights of indigenous populations. The organism's creation represented a rupture with the indigenous questions being dispersedly controlled by ecclesiastical orders of missionaries as it became centralised in the recently constituted republican state (Souza Lima, 1998). In this sense, Antônio Carlos de Souza Lima (1998, pp. 155,

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[140] começa-se por concentrar em aldeamentos as chamadas 'hordas selvagens', liberando-se vastas áreas, sobre as quais seus títulos eram incontestes, e trocando-as por limitadas terras de aldeias; ao mesmo tempo, encoraja-se o estabelecimento de estranhos em sua vizinhança; concedem-se terras inalienáveis às aldeias, mas aforam-se áreas dentro delas para o seu sustento; deportam-se aldeias e concentram-se grupos distintos; a seguir, extinguem-se aldeias a pretexto de que os índios se acham 'confundidos com a massa da população'; ignora-se o dispositivo de lei que atribui aos índios a propriedade da terra das aldeias extintas e concedem-se-lhes apenas lotes dentro delas; revertem-se as áreas restantes ao Império e depois às províncias, que as repassam aos municípios para que as vendam aos foreiros ou as utilizem para a criação de novos centros de população [...] o produto final, resultante desses passos mesquinhos, é uma expropriação total.

my translation[141]) describes it as "the first governmentalised power apparatus set up to manage the relationship between indigenous peoples, different social groups and other power apparatuses", which draws on "technologies of power" used before – like "[t]he Jesuit techniques of penetrating the hinterlands by distributing gifts, dressing the indigenous people, and playing music" (Souza Lima, 2015, pp. 429, my translation[142]) – but now centralised into a single institution with homogenised policies to *manage* all (know) indigenous populations in a *national scale* (Souza Lima 1998). At least initially, its primary mission was to *pacify/civilise[143] wild Indians* through the association of *images* that referred to the "transition from being *hostile*, *elusive* and *wandering*, *lazy* and *useless*, to becoming *docile*, *settled* and *sedentarised*, *hard-working*, and *guardian of the hinterlands*" (Souza Lima, 2015, pp. 430, my translation, emphasis in the original[144]), thus *inserting* them *into the nation*:

> [i]t was a question of *attracting* and *pacifying*, conquering lands without destroying the indigenous occupants, thus obtaining the necessary labour force to carry out the ideals [...] of clearing and preparing uncolonised lands (for later definitive occupation by whites), by means of populations 'acclimatised' to the tropics. It would take place the double movement of knowledge and possession of the spaces that were marked as *unknown* on the maps of the time, and the transformation of the Indian into a national labourer (Souza Lima, 1998, my translation, emphasis in the original)[145].

In other words, it was also a question of *defining* and *securing* the *national* borders by delimitating – state recognised – indigenous territories but later

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[141] primeiro aparelho de poder governamentalizado instituído para gerir a relação entre os povos indígenas, distintos grupos sociais e demais aparelhos de poder [...] tecnologias de poder

[142] As técnicas jesuíticas de penetrar os sertões distribuindo presentes (brindes), vestindo os indígenas, tocando música

[143] As Mark Neocleous (2014) argues *pacification* has as its genealogy a *grammar* and a set of *practices* associated with colonial conquest, capitalist accumulation and racial violence. According to the author, this means that "[a]t the heart of pacification, then, are the kinds of practices we associate with the police power: the fabrication of social order, the dispersal of the mythical entity called 'security' through civil society and the attempt to stabilise the order around the logic of peace and security. If 'pacification' is a euphemism for anything, it is 'police'" (Neocleous, 2014, pp. 34).

[144] a passagem do *hostil*, *arredio* e *errante*, *preguiçoso* e *inútil* para o *manso*, *agremiado* e *sedentarizado*, *trabalhador* e *guarda dos sertões*

[145] tratava-se de atrair e pacificar, conquistar terras sem destruir os ocupantes indígenas, obtendo, assim, a mão-de-obra necessária à execução dos ideais […] de desbravamento e preparação das terras não colonizadas (para uma posterior ocupação definitiva por brancos), por meio de populações 'aclimatadas' aos trópicos. Realizar-se-ia o duplo movimento de conhecimento-apossamento dos espaços grafados como desconhecidos nos mapas da época, e a transformação do índio em trabalhador nacional.

occupying – or colonising – them with *white* settlements (Souza Lima, 1998, pp. 165-166). Despite explicitly recognising that the state should not intervene in indigenous cultures and that they should be granted the *right* to live without being assimilated, to use a term that constantly appears in the discourse of the time, into the *civilised society*, the 1916's *Civil Code* (*Código Civil*) declared indigenous people "relatively incapacitated" (Carneiro da Cunha, 2018, pp. 300, my translation[146]), which demanded *state tutelage* to be exerted by the SPI (Souza Lima, 1998; 2015; Souza Filho, 1992), or what Souza Lima (2015, pp. 430, my translation, emphasis in the original[147]) calls "*tutelary power*", in reference to Max Weber and Michel Foucault.

In this sense, although it guarantees indigenous peoples the right to have control over their lands, especially after the Federal Constitution of 1934, the state, and now just the federal government and not the provinces or states, would be responsible for *protecting* them before, during and after the guarantee of territorial possession as well as to guarantee that they would not consider them *vacant* lands as in article 129 of the previous mentioned Constitution: "The land tenure of *silvícolas* who are permanently located on it will be respected, but they will not be allowed to sell it" (BRASIL, 1934[148])[149]. In this sense, it continued to be the state's responsibility to acknowledge the ownership of the land rather than *give* it to the indigenous populations, or, in other words, it is only up to the state to recognise a previously acquired right of *immemorial ownership* of *traditionally occupied* lands. This process occurs throughout the creation of "territories for and by the function of administering them [and the] monopoly of the acts of defining and controlling what are the collectivities on which it will affect" (Souza Lima, 2015, pp. 431-432, my translation[150]). The SPI proceeded with the delimitation of *indigenous reserves,* which were:

> small portions of land recognised by the public administration through its various agencies as being in the possession of *Indians* and assigned, by legal means, to the establishment and maintenance of specific

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[146] relativamente incapazes

[147] poder tutelar

[148] Será respeitada a posse de terras de silvícolas que nelas se achem permanentemente localizados, sendo-lhes, no entanto, vedado aliená-las

[149] *Silvícula* means *what or who is born or lives in the jungle*, or *savage* without the polished language of the law.

[150] territórios para e pela função de administrá-los [e o] monopólio dos atos de definir e controlar o que são as coletividades sobre as quais incidirá

> indigenous peoples […] Its purpose was to *discipline* access to and use of lands considered '*free*', essentially by trying to suppress *wandering*, i.e. the *movement* of peoples through their traditional territories according to their ecological adaptation, while at the same time mediating their commodification by applying ideally centralised registration and recording systems to them (Souza Lima, 2016, pp. 434, my translation, my emphasis[151]).

It then involved the constitution of *spatial legibility* and ethnogenesis, as Service concentrated the *power* to legally define *indigenous* and *non-indigenous* people. The 1967 Federal Constitution, already under the corporate-military dictatorship, maintained the right of indigenous people to live in traditional lands. However, Article 4 of the constitutional text (BRASIL, 1967) transferred its *ownership* from the indigenous people to the federal government, arguing that it would more efficiently guarantee *legal and territorial security* (Carneiro da Cunha, 2018, pp. 308-312). It was also when the SPI was substituted by the *National Indian Foundation* (*Fundação Nacional do Índio* – FUNAI) (Dambrós, 2019), in a context following massive decolonisation movements and a critique of scientific racism and colonialism, in which, at least for some people, believe that:

> the lands occupied by the indigenous people should be extensive enough to ensure their gradual, self-managed social transformation, in harmony with their way of relating to nature and in the direction they deem appropriate (Souza Lima, 2015, pp. 437, my translation[152]).

This occurred even before the creation of FUNAI, for example, with the delimitation of the first *indigenous parks*, the Xingu being the most famous example, during the early 1960s. However, it had a *counter-effect*: the constitution of an *image* of the *indigenous* as someone *crystalised in time*, who still lived in their *traditional* way of life and that must, for that reason, be kept untouched from the *outside* (Souza Lima, 2015, pp. 437), simultaneously discriminating those that did not fit into that *pristine image* and that are trying until nowadays to reconnect with

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[151] pequenas porções de terra reconhecidas pela administração pública através de suas diversas agências como de posse de índios e atribuídas, por meios jurídicos, ao estabelecimento e à manutenção de povos indígenas específicos [...] Sua finalidade era disciplinar o acesso às terras tidas como "livres", e sua utilização, essencialmente pela tentativa de suprimir a errância, ou seja, a circulação dos povos pelos seus territórios tradicionais segundo suas formas de adaptação ecológicas, ao mesmo tempo mediando sua mercantilização, aplicando-lhes sistemas de registro e cadastramento idealmente centralizados

[152] as terras ocupadas pelos indígenas deveriam ser extensas o suficiente para lhes assegurar uma transformação social autogerida e paulatina, em harmonia com o seu modo de relacionamento com a natureza e na direção que julgassem oportuna

the indigenous culture (for that see de Oliveira, 1998; Soares; Costa; Fonseca, Costa, 2021).

Two years later, the same rights were preserved in the 1969 constitutional amendment text. Still, article 1968 established a new legal achievement for the indigenous populations: it declared null any act legal act that aimed "ownership, possession or occupation of land inhabited by *silvícolas*" (Brasil, 1969, my translation[153]), which would extend to acts that occupied indigenous territories before 1969 and recognised not only the *ownership* but also the "exclusive *enjoyment* of the natural riches and all the utilities existing therein" (Brasil, 1969, my translation, my emphasis[154]), also involving a broader recognition of what *land* is beyond the possession of a spatial demarcation for an understanding of "the territory necessary for the *physical and cultural reproduction* of the indigenous community" (Carneiro da Cunha, 2018, pp. 314, my translation, my emphasis[155]). In 1973, pressured by national and international organisations, the corporate-military dictatorship established the *Indian Statute* (Law 6001/1973) (Brasil, 1973), which, in general lines, further recognised indigenous people's rights to *ownership* of *traditional lands*, however still maintained the *tutelage* tradition of the state agencies (Souza Lima, 2015, pp. 439). It also establishes that indigenous land demarcation should be limited to areas where the indigenous people lived and grew crops for their subsistence, "disregarding any other activity that required broader extensions, such as hunting, gathering and fishing" (Dambrós, 2019, pp. 177, my translation[156]) and *cultural landscapes that* go beyond utilitarian use of the space. Those measures may seem contradictory, as we have seen and as we will see later, as the corporate-military dictatorship was incredibly violent and thwarting indigenous peoples' rights.

The 1988 constitution represented a juridical rupture in the above-analysed *tutelage* tradition. According to Souza Lima (2015, pp. 440, my translation[157]), it opened the way to establishing the *organised indigenous movement* as it recognised the "civil procedural capacity for indigenous people, their communities, and their

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[153] o domínio, a posse ou a ocupação de terras habitadas pelos silvícolas

[154] usufruto exclusivo das riquezas naturais e de todas as utilidades nelas existentes

[155] o território necessário para à reprodução física e cultural da comunidade indígena

[156] desconsiderando qualquer outra atividade que exigiam extensões mais amplas, como por exemplo, caça, coleta e pesca

[157] capacidade processual civil aos índios, suas comunidades e suas "organizações"

'organisations'". It changed the *language* from *tutelage* to *respect* for their social, political and cultural formations and *participation*. Still, tutelage was maintained through other means; for instance, several indigenous organisations became increasingly dependent on governmental and non-governmental organisations to participate in the public arena, as well as having their participation limited to bureaucratic questions (Souza Lima, 2015). In this sense, what made the state's *tutelary power* weaken was not constitutional recognition but the organisation and empowerment of the indigenous peoples themselves, which dates back to colonial times in the sense of political and territorial self-determination (Souza Lima, 2015; Dambrós, 2019; Baniwa, 2007; Souza Filho, 1992).

Nevertheless, despite its importance for its historical component, Carneiro da Cunha (2018) makes few references to how those *rights* were *de jure* recognitions, that is, only stated by law, with its implementation and materialisation overtly subverting the *written words* (Perrone-Moisés, 1998, pp 116). Or, in other words, how the *language* of the law and its *practice* are two different registers. Carneiro da Cunha (2018) does not mention, for example, that the 1850s Land Law, despite not considering indigenous territories as *vacant* and then, that indigenous people would have *rights* over a specific geography and *foreign* occupation would be deemed as *illegal*, was the beginning of a process of *spatial interiorisation* and colonisation encouraged by the state that reshaped the political and cultural landscape. Unsurprisingly, there was no clarity over what territories were *vacant* and that settlers would invade supposedly *depopulated* lands; however, that were part of indigenous ways of life and social reproduction. This was when they weren't intentionally invading and massacring populations to erase their presence or forcing them to set up *villages* (*aldeias*) near colonial settlements (Dambrós, 2019). Also, the *legislation* said more about "como a limitação que a ocupação indígena exerce sobre a disponibilidade das terras do Estado e de particulares do que como garantia das terras aos índios" (Souza Filho, 1992, pp. 154). Therefore, as some may suggest, I cannot see the above-mentioned colonial laws constituting *proto-indigenous rights*.

Additionally, both corporate-military dictatorship and the following redemocratisation period were violent towards indigenous people. As stated above, the 1973 *Indian Act* "maintain[ed] the idea that the indigenous person is *partially capable* and needs the tutelage of the state (FUNAI) and aims to *integrate*

indigenous people into Brazilian society" (Dambrós, 2019, pp. 177, my translation, my emphasis[158]). It also establishes that indigenous land demarcation should be limited to areas where the indigenous people lived and grew crops for their subsistence, "disregarding any other activity that required broader extensions, such as hunting, gathering and fishing" (Dambrós, 2019, pp. 177, my translation[159]) and *cultural landscapes* that go beyond utilitarian use of the *space*. Furthermore, as argued by Selma Martins Duarte (2021, pp. 123, my translation[160]), "more than 8,350 indigenous people were killed by the direct action or omission of government agents", some of whom murdered in intentional actions to exterminate whole communities. There are also several accusations in subsequent court reports of enslavement of adults and children as well as torture, both committed by SPI and FUNAI agents (Duarte, 2021, pp. 124), which elucidates the degree of violence towards indigenous people in this period.

After the fall of the corporate-dictatorial regime, some aspects of the following patterns of relation between the state and indigenous people were maintained. According to Souza Filho (1992):

> Sometimes the drafting of the law is not enough, there is a gap between the *legislative decision* and the implementation of policies in accordance with the *law in force*, as well as the judicial application to resolve conflicts. The case of Brazil is exemplary. Since 1988, the Constitution of the Republic has dedicated a chapter to the Indians, recognising their rights, their lands, their customs, their languages, while the enforcement arm of the state denies these rights, invades their lands, disrespects their customs, omits their languages, and the judiciary is either silent or simply not obeyed (Souza Filho, 1992, pp. 151, my translation[161]).

This is mainly evident in the land demarcation processes. There are roughly 720 *Indigenous Lands*, among which about 490 are fully recognised by the state while the others are in different phases of the recognition process. They correspond

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[158] onde mantêm a ideia de que o indígena é parcialmente capaz e que necessita da tutela do estado (a FUNAI) e tem como objetivo a integração dos indígenas a sociedade brasileira.

[159] desconsiderando qualquer outra atividade que exigiam extensões mais amplas, como por exemplo, caça, coleta e pesca

[160] 8.350 indígenas foram mortos por ação direta ou omissão de agentes governamentais

[161] Por vezes não basta a elaboração da lei, há uma distância entre a decisão legislativa e a execução de políticas de acordo com a lei vigente e, ainda, a aplicação judicial para solução de conflitos. O caso do Brasil é exemplar. Actualmente, desde 1988, a Constituição da República dedica um capítulo para os índios, reconhecendo seus direitos, suas terras, seus costumes, suas línguas, já o braço executor do Estado nega esses direitos, invade suas terras, desrespeita seus costumes, omite suas linguas, e o Judiciario ou se cala ou simplesmente não é obecedecido

to about 117 million hectares (Soares; Costa; Fonseca; Costa, 2021). Since 1976, with Decree 76.999, the procedures for land demarcation have become increasingly bureaucratic and time-consuming: from a process that was directly a matter of a presidential decision to, in 1983, involving the creation of a Work Group that would "to assess and approve demarcations before presidential ratification" (Soares; Costa; Fonseca, Costa, 2021, pp. 4, my translation[162]), to the inclusion of the *National Security Council* decision-making process, in 1987. With the 1988 Constitution and Decree 22 of 1991, indigenous people were also added as necessary parts "in all phases of the demarcation process" (Soares; Costa; Fonseca; Costa, 2021, pp. 4m my translation[163]). Currently, Decree number 1775, of 8 January 1996, is the legal instrument that frames the land demarcation process (Dambrós, 2019, pp. 178), and, briefly, it involves the following steps:

> 1) production of a Circumstantiated Report on the Identification and Delimitation of Indigenous Land (RCID) based on a study carried out by a multidisciplinary Technical Group (GT) and coordinated by an anthropologist, which must be approved by FUNAI and published in the Federal Official Gazette (DOU);6 2) a 90-day deadline for states, municipalities or other interested parties to present their administrative counter-claims; 3) declaration of the boundaries by means of an ordinance by the Minister of Justice;7 4) physical demarcation of the indigenous land by FUNAI; 5) approval of the demarcation by presidential decree; 6) removal of the non-indigenous occupants; 7) registration of the indigenous land with the Federal Property Office (SPU) (Soares; Costa; Fonseca; Costa, 2021, pp. 5, my translation[164]).

According to Soares, Costa, Fonseca and Costa (2021), indigenous political mobilisation to pressure the government, the pressuring of allies (artists, NGOs, academics, among others), and the quality of the realisation of the process just described above are considered the main factors that resulted in indigenous land demarcations in Brazil. Simultaneously, the judicialisation of the processes – the use of the courts to resolve disputes –, the existence of economic interests in resource exploration in the area, and legislative pressures from antagonist forces –

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[162] avaliar e aprovar as demarcações antes da homologação presidencial

[163] em todas fases do processo demarcatório

[164] 1) produção de Relatório Circunstanciado de Identificação e Delimitação de terra indígena (RCID) com base em estudo realizado por Grupo Técnico (GT) multidisciplinar e coordenado por antropólogo, o qual deve ser aprovado pela Funai e publicado no Diário Oficial da União (DOU);6 2) prazo de 90 dias para a apresentação de contraditório administrativo por estados, municípios ou outros interessados; 3) declaração de limites por meio de portaria pelo ministro da Justiça; 7 4) demarcação física da terra indígena a cargo da Funai; 5) homologação da demarcação por decreto presidencial; 6) retirada dos não indígenas ocupantes; 7) registro da terra indígena na Secretaria de Patrimônio da União (SPU).

mainly what is known as *ruralist caucus*, a group of parliamentarians who defend the interests of, and are often funded by, large landowners –, are among the factors that contribute negatively for indigenous land demarcation (Soares; Costa; Fonseca, Costa, 2021, pp. 12). Soares, Costa, Fonseca, and Costa (2021, pp. 15) also argue that the Brazilian state bureaucracy is organised to delay the procedures and, then, the demarcation itself. Lastly, those processes involve spatialisation discourses and practices to make the land *legible* and, then, make the exercise of control possible, which also consists in following strict bureaucratic rules. Dambrós gives one example:

> Within this context, the demarcated Indigenous Lands receive geodesic, polygon and azimuth markers on their boundaries. The base is made of concrete, 20 centimetres above the surface, and the markers are cast in bronze with the standard inscriptions. However, what is most emblematic, as another symbolic material element, is the plaque indicating a *Demarcated Indigenous Land*, the size of which is 1.00 X 0.67 metres and attached to a wooden structure 2 metres above the surface (Dambrós, 2019, pp. 181, my translation, my emphasis[165]).

With this in mind, despite the importance of analysing the factors that interfere with an un/successful claim over land, I will focus here on a specific process of land demarcation: The Yanomami Indigenous Land. Le Tourneau (2012) argues that the proposal to create a *protected territory* for the Yanomami began in the 1960s. It was mainly conducted by two groups, sometimes in allyship, the church and anthropologists, particularly Alcida Rita Ramos and Kenneth Taylor (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 99-100). According to Ramos and Taylor (1979, pp. 113), these first requests – eleven, between 1968 and 1978 – took place because of the "prospect of rapid occupation of the region and the consequent threat that this would represent for the Yanomami Indians" and three of them can be highlighted: first, the project submitted to FUNAI by Alcida Rita Ramos and Taylor himself, which was supplemented with new information the following year; second, the Bishop of Roraima, in march 1969, submitted another request to demarcate an indigenous land to FUNAI that time larger than the previous one; the same year, the Ministry of

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[165]Dentro desse contexto, as Terras Indígenas demarcadas recebem em seus limites marcos geodésico, de poligonação e de azimute, a base é de concreto, tendo uma altura de 20 centímetros acima da superfície e as marcas são fundidas em bronze com as inscrições padrão. Porém, o que marca de forma mais emblemática, como outro elemento simbólico material, é a placa que indica uma Terra Indígena Demarcada, o tamanho é de 1,00 X 0,67 metros e fixada a uma estrutura de madeira a 2 metros de altura da superfície

Interior, General José Costa Cavalcanti, elaborated a decree recognising the indigenous land, in a similar pattern as that of the Bishop, to be signed by the military president, but it never succeeded in getting the approval (Le Tourneau, 2012).

Despite never being approved, the FUNAI project, led by Cavalcanti, suffered from harsh criticism by the British Society for the Protection of Aborigines, which visited the country invited by FUNAI in 1972. The main critique was that the borders delimited were not enough to cover all the Yanomami populations and the territory necessary for their physical and cultural reproduction – it was said to include only 300 of the more than 4.000 Yanomamis in Brazil – and that the indigenous populations were not correctly consulted (Le Tourneau, 2012). Those and the following projects are summarised in Figure 19 below.
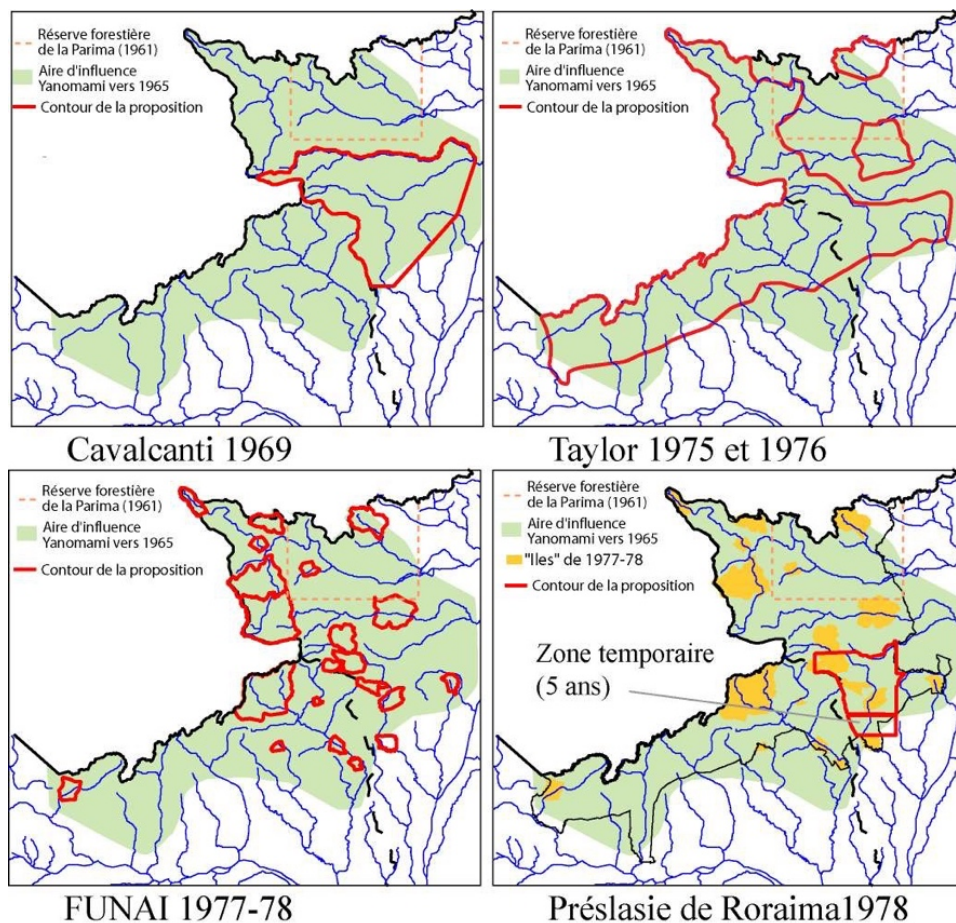
Figure 19: Proposals for the demarcation of Yanomami territory 1969-1978. Extracted from Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 100

Several proposals marked the following years, but FUNAI carried out none. The reason, argues Le Tourneau (2012), was that the government wanted to continue the *garimpo* in the region. Nevertheless, only at the end of the 1970s did FUNAI release the first decrees. In 1975 and 1976, with two new proposals elaborated by Taylor, "a more massive territorial claim appeared, taking into account all the areas inhabited by the Yanomami" (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 101). Two years later, with internal and external pressures, FUNAI, under decrees n°477/N of 22/12/1997, 505/N of 29/05/1978 201 and 512/N of 07/07/1978, decided to demarcate Yanomami's indigenous lands. It was, indeed, *lands*: the proposition sustained the creation of *21 small islands* under the argument that a previous anthropological study led by FUNAI found a *state of war* between communities, which demanded their separation into autonomous territorial entities (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 102) – this demonstrates the resonances of the ethnocentric *images* constructed by Chagnon and explored in the previous chapter (**Chapter 3**). The division of the territory would not only limit the mobility of villages but also allow invaders to enter easily (Figure 20).

Following several FUNAI's refusal to draw up a new project more suited to their demands, in 1978, to demand another territorial division, the *Commission for the Creation of Yanomami Park* (*Comissão pela Criação do Parque Yanomami – CCPY*) was created by allies and Yanomami indigenous people themselves[166]. A year later, it proposed a *counter-project* that demanded the demarcation of one indigenous land that would be territorially contiguous and in line with the political, social, and cultural organisations of the Yanomami. Meanwhile, the Commission organised a *national* and an *international* campaign to pressure the government. Despite knowing the situation, as stated in FUNAI's 1977 report that states the existence of "cattle raising, industrial and mining exploitation projects for the entire (Roraima) Territory" (FUNAI *apud* Taylor, 1979, pp. 115) in indigenous areas, little was done at the time to prevent the spread of violence by recognising a continuous territory that would prevent the movement of *outsiders* in the corridors of about 5 to 30km between each of the demarcated *islands*.

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[166] According to Le Tourneau (2012, pp. 107, my translation), its members were "Claudia Andujar (coordinator), Bruce Albert, Carlo Zaquini, Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, Carlos Alberto Ricardo, Maria Helena Pimentel and Abel de Lima Barros" as well as ad hoc supporters for specific causes. It was, nevertheless, a very understaffed and underfunded organisation to carry out its proposed activities.

Despite the difficulty in accessing the area under the corporate-military dictatorship, the regime not only expelled anthropologists and supporters of the region but also prevented the elaboration and access to topographical data; CCPY was able to elaborate a *counter-project* that would be decisive for the creation of the *Yanomami Indigenous Land* some years later. The organisation produced a report that refuted several arguments against the demarcation of a continuous *Indigenous Park*. According to Le Tourneau (2012), Albert and Carlo Zaquini, the ones behind the project, made several territorial concessions for regions that were considered non-negotiable by the corporate-military dictatorship; however, "the total area claimed […] represents 6,446,200 hectares, well over twice that of Xingu [indigenous land], the benchmark in the field at the time" (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 109, my translation[167]). The main arguments for the project were the following:

> The first is to show how long the Yanomami have been present in the area and to explain why their system of land use means that they have vast tracts of land at their disposal. The second is to demonstrate the poverty of the soils in the proposed region, making them unsuitable for agricultural activities. In this way, the Yanomami Park would fulfil the function of an environmental protection zone suggested by the RADAM project for these forests. Finally, taking up the arguments of the Cavalcanti decree of 1969, the emphasis is on the fact that the Park implies State control of the region and therefore reinforces its sovereignty in a *frontier zone* (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 109, my translation, my emphasis[168]).

In this sense, only by adopting a specific language and a particular rationality could the project be at least considered for implementation (Figure 21). As soon as it was submitted to the government in 1979, a political campaign was organised to pressure its adoption, which was well received and resulted in timid steps by the government, but which were soon delayed because national and regional political forces still did not accept the need to create an indigenous territory in the region (Le Tourneau, 2012).

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[167] représente tout de même une surface de 6 446 200 hectares, soit largement plus du double de celui du Xingu, référence dans le domaine à l'époque.

[168] Le premier consiste à présenter l'ancienneté de la présence Yanomami dans la zone et à expliquer pourquoi leur système d'usage de l'espace implique qu'ils disposent de vastes étendues de territoire. Le second vise à démontrer la pauvreté des sols dans la région proposée, qui les rendent impropres à l'implantation d'activités agricoles. Ainsi, le Parc Yanomami remplirait-il la fonction de zone de protection de l'environnement suggérée par le projet RADAM pour ces forêts. Enfin, reprenant l'argumentaire du décret Cavalcanti de 1969, l'accent est mis sur le fait que le Parc implique un contrôle de l'Etat dans la région et renforce donc sa souveraineté dans une zone frontalièr

The following years were marked by the spread of epidemics – *influenza* and *onchocerciasis*, for example – because of the *garimpo* operations, which killed dozens of Yanomami with little or no health support from FUNAI. The CCPY, often with *external* support as with the NGO *Médecins du Monde* in 1983, provided some health assistance, especially with vaccination campaigns. However, some FUNAI personnel refused or provided limited aid, and, given the difficult access to the forest and the mobile character of the Yanomami sociality, most of the incursions failed to deliver vaccines or other medical treatment to a large number of indigenous people. Additionally, the supporters started to receive death threats, mainly by *garimpeiros* (Le Tourneau, 2012).
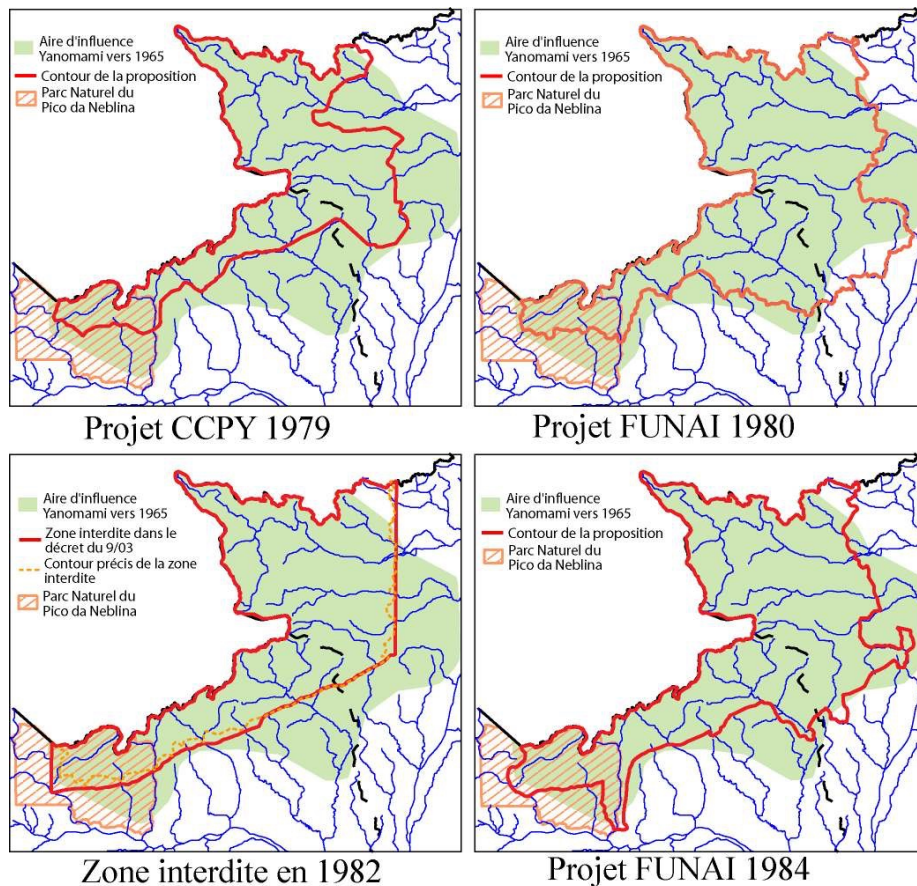

Figure 20: Proposals for the demarcation of Yanomami Indigenous Land 1979-1984
Extracted from Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 110

Although not very effective in preventing the spread of diseases and, consequently, the death of several Yanomami, CCPY's pressures made FUNAI "set up a working group, made up of technicians, to submit a proposal [in April 1980]

for the demarcation of an indigenous area for the benefit of the Yanomami" (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 117, my translation[169]). The proposed demarcation covered an area of over ten million hectares, more significant than the CCPY's 1979 proposal shown in the Figure 21 above; however, soon after its publication, the FUNAI president stated that the territory would be diminished in size when established and that it would not be only an *indigenous land*, but rather a combination of different types of preserved areas, such as national forests, which authorised certain extractive economic activities, areas for environmental preservation, among others. This also means that different federal agencies would have different jurisdiction over parts of the land and that the indigenous people would not have a secured territory as the land use mandates might change because it was not recognised as an indigenous permanent occupation territory. Meanwhile, FUNAI authorises mining in several parts of the Yanomami inhabited territory, which explains the lack of support for the demarcation of a larger area (Le Tourneau, 2012).

In 1982, the government declared part of the area, as in the above Image x, as a *prohibited zone* of about 7.5 million hectares, which means that the area was recognised as an indigenous permanent settlement, and outsider invasions were prohibited (Toledo; Di Benedetto; Bizawu, 2023, pp. 10). However, as argued by Le Tourneau (2012), this status was not equal to a *demarcated* land and was used by the government precisely to create a false sensation that efforts were being made when, in truth, only cosmetic steps were being done. Two years later, after the implementation of a Working Group to carry out studies within the Yanomami communities, FUNAI, along with several members of CCPY, drafted a proposal "for a protected territory for the Yanomami" (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 121, my translation[170]) which followed almost the same *lines* as CCPY's 1979 proposal. This was the first time the area was called *Yanomami Indigenous Park*. However, the discussions stagnated, and during the 1980s, the situation worsened with the lack of FUNAI's investment in opening new posts, controlling the contact with (settler) *outsiders*, and health facilities. The result was the spread of "tuberculosis, flu epidemics and alcoholism" (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 122, my translation) and armed conflicts between indigenous people and white people and between

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[169] rée un groupe de travail, composé de techniciens , chargé de lui remettre un projet de délimitation d'aire indigène au profit des Yanomami
[170] de territoire protégé pour les Yanomami.

indigenous people themselves, as rifles were circulating in some of the areas (Le Tourneau, 2012).

As explained in greater detail in the last chapter, the years between 1985 and 1992, when the land was legally demarcated, were especially turbulent for the Yanomami cause, as not only antagonistic forces gained a boost to prevent, or at least postpone, the territorial demarcation, but also the *garimpo* invasion was worsened in number and intensity. Regarding the first, the increase of gold price in the international economy during the 1980s (Monteiro; Coelho; Cota; Barbosa, 2010) resulted in both legislative – local, state and federal – pressures to *legalise* mining and, then, to prevent the demarcation of an indigenous territory, which would make any extractive activity strictly prohibited. Those pressures also resulted in the invasion of thousands of *garimpeiros* despite the ban on the *prohibited zone*, especially after 1985. The economic downturn of the period, accompanied by inflation and deterioration of the formal labour market, also made the look for gold not only very profitable but also a way to have a stable store of value despite all the risks involved. The federal government of the period also supported *garimpeiros*, as they were seen as a possibility to go out of the economic crisis (Le Tourneau, 2012).

This period also witnessed the increase of the army's influence in the issues regarding indigenous land demarcation, especially with the *Calha Norte* project, on which they *poisoned* the discussions with their ethnocentric *geopolitical paranoia*. The military *ethos* framed the territorial demarcation as a loss of *sovereignty* for the Brazilian state, as "[t]hey [the military] interpreted their territorial claims as a desire to monopolise wealth or prepare for secession" (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 137, my translation[171]). Or, in other words, they could only see indigenous *territorial autonomy* as *territorial sovereignty*, which delimited a field of vision that indigenous land demarcation was only detrimental to the nation. The last three years of the 1980s, with the large-scale invasion of *garimpeiros* and the lack of operations of FUNAI and NGOs, due to legal restrictions or not, severely impacted the land demarcation process and its shape.

In 1987, the *National Security Council* (*Conselho de Segurança Nacional –* CSN) aimed to radically change the legislation to ensure its control over indigenous

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[171] Ils lisent ainsi leurs revendications territoriales comme autant de volontés d'accaparer des richesses ou de préparer une sécession

land demarcation processes. Decree 94.945 of September 1987, for instance, "set out a new procedure for the creation of these areas, with those located in the 'border strip' subject to the approval of the Calha Norte project and including the participation of the CSN secretariat in the demarcation work" (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 174, my translation[172]). This was also followed by attempts to limit the size of indigenous land by proposing that just a limited space should be granted to indigenous people while the other should be environmental protection zones. FUNAI, then, followed this new legislative and political environment in its proposals for the Yanomami land demarcation. Initially, the first ordinance No. 160 of September 1988 of FUNAI proposed not a contiguous Yanomami territory but a "patchwork quilt composed of 22 distinct areas" (Albert, 1991, pp. 42, my translation[173]), in which 70% of the approximately 8.2 million hectares would be recognised not as areas of permanent indigenous possession and occupation, but as a national park and two forest conservation areas, which could allow future economic exploitation (Albert, 1991).

In November 1988, Ordinance No. 250 was launched, reformulating the previous one through pressures from political and economic groups, mainly linked to gold mining (Albert, 1991). If the first revealed, according to Albert (1991, pp. 43, my translation[174]), "[...] an insidious legal-administrative device of expropriation", the second demonstrated explicit mechanisms of expropriation and non-recognition of the total territorial rights and exclusive use of the yanomami over the demarcated territory, as well as the "[...] direct opening to gold mining companies and mining companies" (Albert, 1991, pp. 46, my translation[175]) to enable "[...] the implementation of [...] corporate-military occupation plans" in border regions of the Amazon (Albert, 1991, pp. 46, my translation[176]). This could be seen by General Bayma Denys's 1989 testimony before the National Assembly's Indian Affairs Committee, in which he stated that "we wanted to give the Indians access [to the National Forests], but we didn't want them to own it" (Denys *apud*

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[172] décrit ainsi un nouveau parcours pour la création de ces zones, celles situées dans la « bande frontière » devant compter avec l'approbation du projet Calha Norte et devant inclure la participation du secrétariat du CSN dans les travaux de délimitation.

[173] colcha de retalhos composta de 22 áreas distintas.

[174] insidioso dispositivo jurídico-administrativo de expropriação

[175] a abertura direta a empresas de garimpo e a mineradoras

[176] planos de ocupação militar-empresarial

Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 175, my translation[177])[178]. According to Le Tourneau (2012), the small size of the islands demarcated for indigenous people is explained by the desire to let most of the territory open to mining. However, it also reflected some arguments, such as those of Chagnon, that said the Yanomami communities should not be granted a continuous territory due to inter-communal violence and conflicts (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 177).

It was only in 1989 that the Judiciary, recently empowered with the new 1988 constitution, reversed the attempts to dismember the territory of traditional Yanomami occupation and demanded the expulsion of the invaders, which paved the way through the *internal* and *external* pressure of indigenous struggles, for the Brazilian State to revoke the decrees described above in 1991 and ratify, in 1992, a continuous territory of about 9 million hectares as the *Yanomami Indigenous Land* (Senra, 2021). Between those years, 1990 and 1992, several processes were undertaken: first, the expelling of, at least a significant part, the *garimpeiros* by the federal government – in 1990, an operation called *Free Jungle* (*Selva Livre*) was organised by the new president, Fernando Collor, for minimal time-frame (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 206); second, the federal police tried to evict the *garimpeiros* both by taking them out of Yanomami territory, but also by destroying airstrips they used to get supplies from – despite they continued invading the area and reconstructed the airfields, more than 3,600 were evicted between July and November 1991 –; third, the government, and more specifically, the then Minister of Justice, Jarbas Passarinho, opposed the creation of indigenous land following the boundaries proposed by FUNAI, instead arguing for a 6 million hectares land that the military would accept.

This impasse was only bypassed after some meetings between FUNAI and Passarinho. The minister then started to defend the creation of the indigenous land near the boundary with Venezuela because "the legal status of indigenous lands meant that the federal government retained ownership of these areas, with the Amerindians only obtaining usufruct" (Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 218-219, my

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[177] nous voulions donner aux Indiens l'accès [aux Forêts nationales], mais qu'elles ne leur appartiennent pas

[178] I could not locate the original speech, but Le Tourneau (2012) states that it occurred on 26/04/1989.

translation[179]). This shows how the *language* and the *practice* of state politics could only conceive the recognition of the indigenous land if translated into the *language* and *practice* of sovereignty.

The recognition of the *Yanomami Indigenous Land* in 1992 by the Brazilian State occurred after pressures that were organised in a transversal way between *domestic* and *international* from the connection of indigenous movements, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), International Organizations, academics, state bureaucrats, among others (Albert, 1995; 1991). Passarinho sent a proposal to President Collor in November 1991 of territorial recognition of about 9.4 million hectares to the Yanomami, with almost identical boundaries to a 1985 proposal (Figure 22), which was later accepted and broadcasted on national television just before the United Nations Rio-92 Conference (Le Tourneau, 2012).

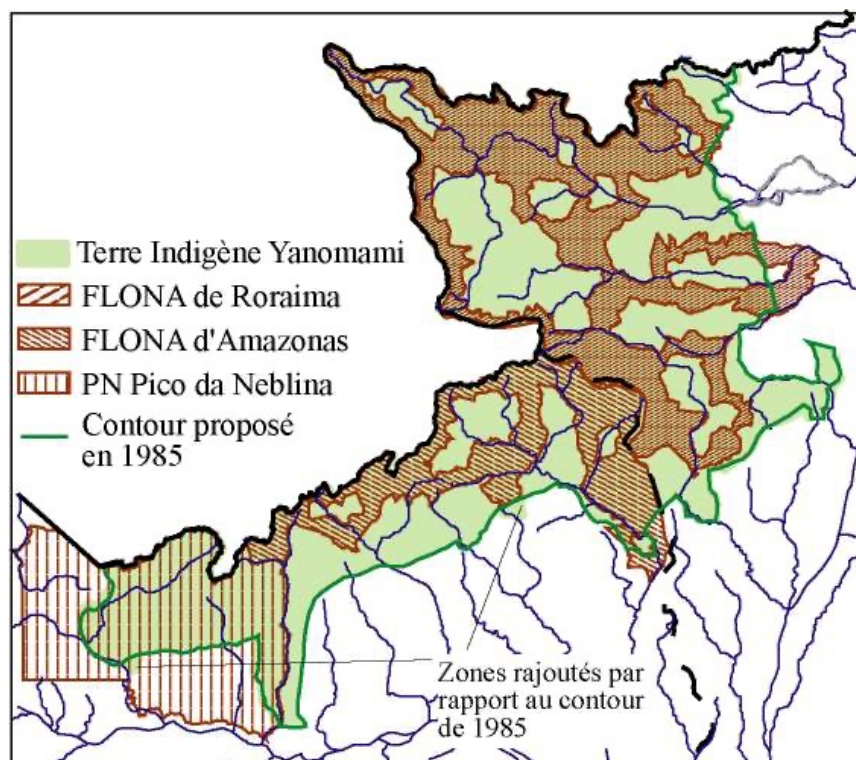Figure 21: The Yanomami territory recognised in 1992
Extracted from Le Tourneau, 2012, pp. 219

However, the collision of state and economic interests and the constitution of this *bordered* spatial imaginary explains, in part, the continuity of invasions of

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[179] le statut légal des Terres indigènes conservent à l'Etat fédéral la propriété de ces espaces, les Amérindiens n'en obtenant que l'usufrui

the *Indigenous Land* even after it was demarcated. One clear example is the *Haximu Massacre*, which occurred in 1993 near a tributary of the *Orinoco River* with the same name. In this episode, *garimpeiros* kills the first five young Yanomami in an ambush. Then, after the Yanomami community sought revenge by killing two *garimpeiros*, gold mining owners of the region planned an operation with "fifteen gold prospectors armed with twelve- and twenty- caliber shotguns, thirty-eight-caliber revolvers, machetes, and knives" (Albert, 2013, pp. 481) to exterminate a whole community. The result is that twelve Yanomami, most of them women and children, were violently murdered, with some of them having their bodies mutilated and dismembered. The ones who managed to survive, either by escaping or because they were outside the site when the massacre happened, were severely impacted by the episode and the subsequent mourning. In an unprecedented manner, this massacre was judged as an act of genocide by Brazilian justice; however, among the twenty-four accused individuals, only five were judged and sentenced (Albert, 2013, pp. 483-487). In this sense, the capitalist expansion process (Silva, 2018) along with the *imaginary* of a bordered space that could be transgressed, as it is still part of the territory of Brazil, are some of the explanations for the continued invasions of the Yanomami Indigenous Land.

In summary, such processes described by Albert (1991) demonstrate the different mechanisms James C. Scott (1998) analysed to create a *state-readable space* to intensify the exercise of control and government. In the case of indigenous peoples in the Brazilian Amazon, such mechanisms are carried out diffusely, based on a series of apparatuses and agents, for example, in the case of decrees 130 and 250, by creating an imaginary of *empty space* (a demographic void, with a *lot of land for a few Indians*, legitimising the expansion of capital and forms of primitive accumulation) and concrete practices for the realisation of such imagery, such as the instrumental use of the effects of epidemics that caused the decimation of indigenous populations (Ramos**,** 1993). In the case of the approval of the Indigenous Land, even if the imaginary of *empty space* referred to above is maintained, legibility efforts are made through the systematic imposition of "[...]an essentially sedentary territorial model" (Senra, 2021, *S.I.*) and the sedimentation, on the *map*, of the multiplicity of itineraries (Albert, 2009).

With this in mind, it is worth asking: is there anything *beyond*/*on* the *map*? How is it appropriated and subverted through different practices *and ways of*

operating (De Certeau, 1988)? In the space I have left, I propose to briefly analyse some *counter/cartographic* practices of the Yanomami people, collected and organised in a non-exhaustive way, primarily through Kopenawa's words.

4.2
Life

In the previous section, I briefly outlined *the Yanomami Indigenous Land* demarcation process and how it was positioned in a broader framework of intelligibility about what indigenous territories in Brazil are and how they should be demarcated. However, it is essential to note that despite being recognised by *law* as a right of indigenous people, indigenous territories are seen *as native titles to property* or, in other words, in terms of a land regime limited by the language and practice of private property. This means it is still in the capitalist and Eurocentrism forms of control and regulation of *life*. Nevertheless, *indigenous lands* are still necessary and defended by indigenous people and supporters as a means to keep indigenous people's physical, cultural and political compositions *alive* (Seeger; Viveiros de Castro, 1979) and are a crucial step to at least mitigate the threats of capitalist ex/appropriation (Silva, 2018). In other words, it should be understood through a complex system of *tensions* and *contradictions* (Porto-Gonçalves, 2006) between the legal guarantee of *forms of property* and *forms of appropriation* (Seeger; Viveiros de Castro, 1979).

Following that, it is also important to note, as proposed by Anthony Seeger and Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1979, pp. 103, my translation[180]), the polymorphous character of indigenous lands. That is, they are constituted through a particular understanding of *land* (*terra*) and *territory* (*território*), respectively, "means of production, place of agricultural labour or soil where animal and gathering resources are distributed [and its] broader socio-political-cosmological dimensions". In this sense, even though the Brazilian law's homogeneous legal-economic definitions define it as "homogeneous geometric space, closed by borders defined by national law, and which distinguishes between two opposing ethnic

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[180] meio de produção, lugar do trabalho agrícola ou solo onde se distribuem recursos animais e de coleta [and its] dimensões sócio-político-cosmológicas mais ampla"

identities: whites (outside) and Indians (inside)" (Seeger; Viveiros de Castro, 1979, pp. 106, my translation[181]), a *negative* definition with the *national society* as the opposite pole, the indigenous people conceptions *indigenous land* extrapolates the tentative uniformisation. According to them, the *land* to Amerindian populations:

> was never defined as a commodity, an alienable object of individual transactions [...] not [...] as a homogeneous and neutral space, but as a mosaic of resources (types of soil, materials and beings found there) unevenly distributed over a surface with no clear conceptual existence. Territory, as such, could or could not be thought of as a closed space (Seeger; Viveiros de Castro, 1979, pp. 104, my translation[182]).

Following Carlos Walter Porto-Gonçalves (2006), I argue that Amerindian societies embed their juridically and politically recognised territories with different *meanings* and ways of *feeling* and positioning themselves through different forms of distributing, spatially, social and power relations. Despite the patterns of violence exercised by capitalism and Eurocentrism, *residual practices* always *extend beyond* and constitute different forms of *territoriality*. With this in mind, in this section, I wish to analyse, through Kopenawa's thought, different forms of *seeing* and *sensing* the *land* (*forest*).

As stated, the Brazilian State recognised the *Yanomami Indigenous Land* in 1992. As argued by Albert:

> [r]egistered in such a way, this Amerindian land appears as an extended boundary line running along the Brazil-Venezuela border, enclosing no less than 96,650 square kilometers of tropical forest—an immense area, checkered on maps by numerous local or federal administrative and political divisions (Albert, 2020, pp. 104).

Nevertheless, Albert (2020, pp. 104) argues, "if you listen to the Yanomami themselves, another reality lies under the flat geographical space defined by state bureaucracy". According to Kopenawa (2022, pp. 29-30), "[t]he white people think that the forest is placed without reason on the ground, as dead"; however, for him, "It's not true. Our forest is alive". This is what appears in the dreams of the shamans

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[181] espaço geométrico homogêneo, fechado por fronteiras definidas pelo direito nacional, e que distingue duas identidades étnicas em oposição: os brancos (fora) e os índios (dentro)

[182] não se definia nunca como mercadoria, objeto alienável de transações individuais [...] não [...] como espaço homogêneo e neutro, mas como mosaico de recursos (tipos de solo, de matérias e seres ali encontrados) desigualmente distribuídos por uma superfície sem existência conceitual nítida. O território, enquanto tal, podia ou não ser pensado como espaço fechado

in the form of the *spirits of the forest* (*Urihinari a),* in its various manifestations – *trees and* animals, for example –. A "complex socio-cosmological multiverse" (Albert, 2020, pp. 104) that for the Yanomami, as Kopenawa states, constitutes a *forest-land* (*urihi-a*), which was created by *Omama*, Yanomami demiurge (Albert; Kopenawa, 2023).

The *forest-land* is both the "forest [...] and the terrestrial space that sustains it" (Albert, 2023, pp. 39, my translation[183]) and the *borders* are also bounded by what is called the "'land of enemy outsiders', *napë pë urihipë*" (Albert, 2023, pp. 39, my translation, my emphasis[184]), both other Amerindian societies and *white people*. In this sense, we could understand that the limits are not understood regarding the official *borders* of the maps but also by the occupation *space* of *outsiders*, which means that they are not static but rather always moving and meshing depending on the patterns of occupations and expansions of the *other*. However, the *forest-land* is just one of the layers constituting the Yanomami cosmos. It organises itself, according to Senra (2021) around four *disks/levels* (*mosi*) that are separate but overlap in certain contexts: the terrestrial plane (*Hutukara*); the underground world (pëhëtëhamimos), inhabited by "monstrous peccaries, earthworms, and wasps." (Albert, 2020, pp. 105); the sky (Hutumosi), which has a rich forest in its back full with animals, plants, and *ghosts* (*pore*)*;* and "[a] kind of embryonic sky called the *Tukurima mosi*, inhabited by human ghosts that, after a second death, are transformed into fly spirits" (Senra, 2021, *S.I.*, my emphasis)*.* As the nowadays *terrestrial plane* was before the back of the *sky* that fell, Albert (2020) argues that the Yanomami spatiality is not *static* and is always *in the making*. As stated in the previous chapter, Kopenawa and other shamans are trying to prevent the *fall of the sky* caused by the *white people's* destruction to suppress cosmological disruption.

In this sense, the Yanomami conceive the *forest-land* not as a space outside human existence, but as interwoven with it as a *living entity* in its multiple manifestations (Albert, 2023). Kopenawa states the *liveliness* of the *forest-land* by saying how it *complains*, *cries* and *feels pain* when a tree is being cut down (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 382; Albert, 2020, pp. 107), which implies a different *sonic engagement* with the sounds of the forest to that employed by *white people*:

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[183] à floresta [....] e ao espaço terrestre que a sustenta
[184] "terra dos forasteiros inimigos", *napë pë urihipë*

the sound of a tree falling and the leaves crawling from the top to the ground is not seen as a mere expression of falling, but instead as a manifestation of the transformation of *life*. In this sense, as argued by Dylan Robinson, indigenous forms of *listening-mapping* "reorients this act toward the life, agency, and subjectivity of sound" (Robinson, 2020, pp. 15). In the case of Yanomami, Albert (2016, pp. 320) argues that "the concert of animal sounds that constantly surrounds them deeply informs the language and the cosmology of their people". For example, different sounds of birds or the movement of plants are signals of the climate events or the presence of particular types of animals or fruits: "the melodious song of the cocoa thrush reveals the presence of mombin plums, and the loud, halting whistles of the yellow-green grosbeak signal that of the fruit from the *Pseudolmedia laevigata* tree" (Albert, 2016, pp. 320), which in turn delimits different forms of seeing and mapping the *space* through a "permanent and flexible acoustic positioning system" (Albert, 2016, pp. 321). When Kopenawa says, translating to his words the *white* discourse on *ecology*, that "we human beings are the "ecology'" (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 391), this also entails an *embodied* and *animated* conceptualisation of *space*, its production and transformation (Remy, 2018) insofar as Kopenawa locates human beings as an integral part of nature.

Additionally, the *forest-land* is also inhabited by an assortment of *visible* and *invisible beings* who were once *humans* (Albert, 2020; Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 286)): *animals* and *spirits*. For example. Kopenawa argues that "[t]he spirits of the big earthworms own the forest earth [and] [i]f you destroy them, it instantly becomes arid". That is why the Yanomami only cultivate the *surface* and never dig deeply, like the *garimpeiros*. This also entails a comprehension in which different *beings* "diffuse agential capacity over multiple elements", to paraphrase Claudia Aradau and Jef Huysmans's (2017, pp. 131) words on a completely different study from this one. Those *earthly connections* are evident in Kopenawa's thought:

> […] there is only water in the forest when it is healthy. As soon as its soil lies bare, the *Mot ʰokari* sun being burns all its watercourses. He dries them out with his burning tongue before swallowing up all their fish and caimans. Then when his feet come close to the ground, the earth starts to bake and increasingly hardens. The mountain rocks become so hot they split and shatter. No tree can sprout out of the soil anymore, for there is not enough dampness left to keep seeds and roots cool. The waters return to the underworld and the dry earth crumbles. The wind

being, who follows us in the forest to cool us like a fan, also flees. We stop seeing his daughters and nieces playing in the treetops. A stifling heat settles everywhere. The fallen leaves and flowers stiffen on the ground. The cool smell of the soil is consumed and vanishes. No plant will grow any longer, no matter what you do (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 185, emphasis in the original).

Regarding animals, a vision of *extended humanity* prevails. According to Viveiros de Castro (2021; 2018), there is a tendency in Amerindian societies to generalise the condition of humanity, which is based on the existence of "an anthropomorphic essence of a spiritual type, common to animate beings, and a variable bodily appearance, characteristic of each species [...] (Viveiros de Castro, 2021, pp. 305, my translation[185]). In Kopenawa, such understanding is evident when he states that "[t]he spider monkeys that we call *paxo* are humans like us […] Though we are humans, they give us the same name they give themselves" (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 287, emphasis in the original). However, the understanding that "[t]he original condition common to humans and animals is not animality, but humanity" (Viveiros de Castro, 2021, pp. 308, my translation[186]), as Viveiros de Castro argues, does not imply *anthropocentrism*, because such designations "do not denote humanity as a natural species, but as social condition of a person [...] (Viveiros de Castro, 2021, pp. 322, my translation[187]), which means "attributing to non-humans the capacities of conscious intentionality and agency that allow them to occupy the enunciative position of subject" (Viveiros de Castro, 2021, pp. 323). Therefore:

> Animals and other beings endowed with souls are not subjects because they are human (in disguise), but the other way round - they are human because they are (potential) subjects. This means that *Culture is the nature of the Subject* [...] For if, as I have suggested, the condition common to humans and animals is humanity, not animality, it is because *humanity* is the name of the general form of the Subject (Viveiros de Castro, 2021, pp. 324-325, emphasis in the original[188]).

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[185] uma essência antropomorfa de tipo espiritual, comum aos seres animados, e uma aparência corporal variável, característica de cada espécie

[186] "[a] condição original comum aos humanos e animais não é a animalidade, mas a humanidade

[187] não denotam a humanidade como espécie natural, mas condição social de pessoa

[188] Os animais e outros entes dotados de alma não são sujeitos porque são humanos (disfarçados), mas o contrário – eles são humanos porque são sujeitos (potenciais). Isso significa dizer que a *Cultura é a natureza do Sujeito* [...] Pois se, como sugeri, a condição comum aos humanos e animais é a humanidade, não a animalidade, é porque *humanidade* é o nome da forma geral do Sujeito

We could conclude, then, following Albert (2009, pp. 146), that the Yanomami *forest-land* is "[…] a territory born of a deterritorialized earth that is open ground for a choreography of shifting occupation". This is the case of the previously analysed multiple *positions* occupied by different *beings* (humans, animals, trees, spirits, among others) in Yanomami sociality and political compositions, but also for the spatial patterns of occupation of the Yanomami communities (Albert; Le Tourneau, 2007). Albert and Le Tourneau (2007, pp. 584) argue that the "Yanomami ethnogeographic organization" is *reticular*, which means it is composed of "a crisscrossing network of sites (points) and routes (lines)" (Albert; Le Tourneau, 2007, pp. 585) that are enacted diffusely and unevenly, but still interconnected, across *space* according to different activities: fishing, gathering, hunting, harvesting, among others (Figure 23). The different *paths* and *places* are also named and occupied by the possibility of the existence of different *beings*, for example, *forest spirits* that could harm the Yanomami.

KEY:
- Gardens
- Plant gathering spot
- Main branches of the network system
- Daily hunting trails
- Trails used in collective long-term expeditions
- Remote campsite
- Hunting trails (used during long-term collective expeditions)
- "Fuzzy areas" of secondary and random trails
- Empty zones ("closed forest") inside and outside the paths network system
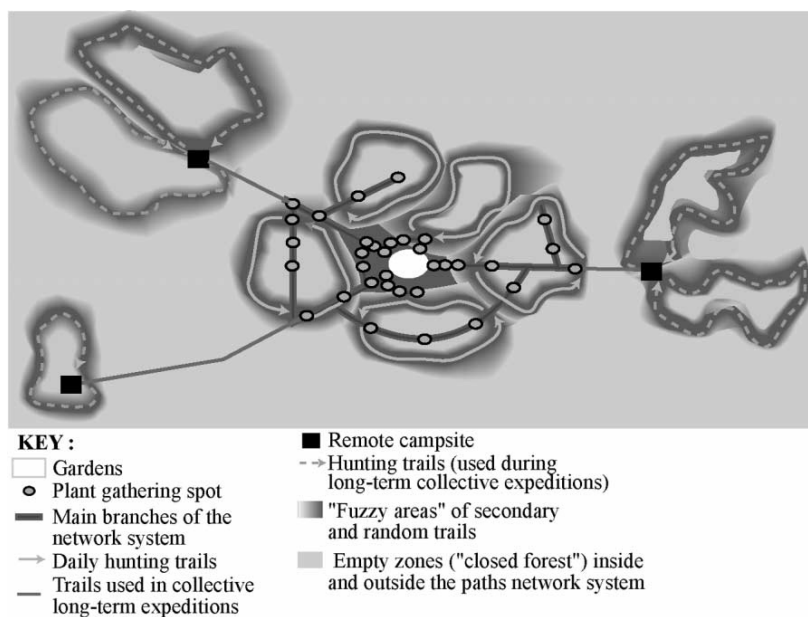
Figure 22: Model of reticular space in Yanomami forest use.
Extracted from Albert; Le Tourneau, 2007, pp. 589

Furthermore, according to Albert (2023), the conception of the *forest-land* is defined not only in broader terms, as a "vast social and political network" (Albert, 2023, pp. 46, my translation[189]) of relationships between different communities – *friends*, *enemies*, *visitors*, *whites*, among others – but also at the micro level, of the

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[189] vasta malha social e política

group, of the "current living space" (*ibid*., pp. 49). In this sense, the forest-land "[...] underpins a multi-dimensional topology that precipitates not so much fixed identities, but paths of identification" (Albert, 2009, pp. 156), both social and ontological. Terms such as "*ipa irihi a* ('my forest-land')" (Albert, 2023, pp. 46, my translation, emphasis in the original[190]) are used to designate, in a temporally localised manner, the *local space* of a community. According to Albert:

> [t]his local space for the use of resources is articulated by the knowledge and use of a complex network of paths (main and secondary) linking a constellation of villages (hunting and gathering camps, old fields and housing site, groupings of fruit trees, geographic accidents) [...] [t]his ever-moving network of toponyms and trails overlaps with the ramifications of the hydrographic system to constitute the fabric of the cultural geography that structures the local space of the 'forest-land'" (Albert, 2023, pp. 46-47).

This complex social, political and cultural cartography both extrapolates the definitions on the *map* and is constituted through them; as we have seen before, the contours of the land are defined through the *white outsider's* invasions of the demarcated land. This leads Kopenawa to *demarcate a boundary* between what he sees as *ecology* (the mutual coexistence of different *beings*) to white people's destructive behaviours over life: *ecology* "is everything that came into being in the forest, far from the white people: everything that isn't surrounded by **fences** yet" (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 393, emphasis in the original). In his understanding, then, the Yanomami *forest-land* goes *beyond* the territorial definitions recognised to them – it is everything not *fenced* –, and even overlaps and contrasts with the *land of the whites*, because, according to him, it is the preservation of the *forest – alive* – that prevents the *fall of the sky/end of the world*.

4.3
Dreams

"The white people, they do not dream as far as we do", says Kopenawa (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 313). According to Hanna Limulja, in her ethnography on Yanomami dreams, a spatial order was created together with the

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[190] *Ipa urihi a* ("minha-terra-floresta")

night and, thus, with *dreams*, when *Titiri*, a Yanomami mythological figure, "[...] named the rivers, the mountains, and thus mapped the paths of the forest" (Limulja, 2022, pp. 59, my translation[191]). Limulja (2022) highlights, then, a connection between *dreams*, politics and the spatial organisation of the *forest-land*. A Yanomami shaman named Gilberto, from the *Pyau* community, reports to Limulja (2022, pp. 150, my translation[192]) that "[w]hen they dream, people know the forest", and this spatial organisation, according to Limulja (2022, pp. 65), delimits precisely where Yanomami, especially shamans – the same word (*mari*) is used for dreams and the shamanic trance –, will circulate in different ways in their dreams, but the forms of circulation are also defined according to the *landscapes* they circulate and build while they are awake (Limulja, 2022, pp. 101).

Limulja (2022) states that dreams are central to Yanomami's sociality and politics. They are understood as *events* in the sense that it doesn't refer to symbolism or representation. Still, the things that *happen* in dreams *really happened* or will happen for the Yanomami because their *vital image* (*pei utupë*), similar to our comprehension of a *spirit* (see Limulja, 2022, pp. 60-64), literally travelled in *space* and *time*. In this sense, "regardless of whether it's "true" or "false", the dream plays the role of mobilising a reality that would otherwise remain unchanged" (Limulja, 2022, pp. 92, my translation[193]). This explains why *dreams* are central to Kopenawa's formulations and appear intermingled with everyday facts in his discourse. For example:

> Before I knew the white people ancestors' land, I was used to traveling in dream, very far from the forest, and sometimes contemplated the image of their cities in my sleep. In the night I often saw a multitude of very tall houses sparkling with lights, the interiors of which seemed to be entirely covered in game skins, as smooth and silky as a deer's coat […] Much later, when I finally visited big cities, I remembered these old dreams and I told myself: "Haixopë! This is exactly how they appeared to me when the *xapiri* carried my image there!" (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 342, emphasis in the original).

It is also through dreams, says Kopenawa, that "you can see all the things of the sky, the forest, and the waters that the elders could contemplate before"

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[191] nomeou os rios, os montes, e assim mapeou os caminhos da floresta
[192] Quando sonham, as pessoas conhecem a floresta.
[193] independentemente de ser "verdadeiro" ou "falso", o sonho cumpre um papel de mobilizar uma realidade que de outra forma permaneceria imutável

(Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, pp. 376). In this sense, it would be possible to visualise other forms of mapping which do not permeate the geographical demarcation of points on a given land surface. Elizabeth Povinelli (2016), in her ethnographic study on aboriginal populations in Australia, demonstrates how the marking of *space* does not only involve human intentionality and is constantly changing due to the *activity* of different beings (humans, spirits, animals, among others) and substances, such as blood and sweat, and "each activity having its own embodied and rhetorical intensities and intensifications" (Povinelli, 2016, pp. 118). In the case of the Yanomami, the *oneiric practice* is also cartographic, as it is a way to see, sense and mark the *space* of the *forest-land*, which makes it "[....] a complex interlacing of lines and paths of variable geometry, at the same time veneered and 'rhizomatic'" (Albert, 2023, pp. 49-50, my translation[194]). With this in mind, we could see, as argued by Albert (2023, pp. 53, my translation[195]), the "rebellious resilience of the yanomami "forest-land-world" under the graphic space of state bureaucracy", as it remains a place *in/of dreams*, constantly changing and demanding the practical stances to its protection.

Even if I can't develop this theme at great length in this work, I would like to briefly outline, or speculate, where it could lead us in future research, my own or that of others. As we have seen in the previous few paragraphs, the Yanomami forest-land is both a material space that demands protection and an *imagined space*, that instantiates in the register of *dreams*. This means, at least for me, that it remains a *terra(in)* under construction, that it can be *imagined* and *dreamt* of in multiple ways and, therefore, that it can also be constructed in multiple ways. I would love to see future work exploring the oneiric and spatial dimensions more fully, in order to understand, from the Yanomami's elaborations, how the terrestrial and oneiric registers are interwoven and what this tells us about the meanings of *land*, *territory* and *borders*. Furthermore, a move I wad not able to make in this research, but which I woudl love to see in the future, is what these forms of elaboration tell us about the *international*. What it means to think of the *international* from the point of view of forest-land is something that still remains in the realms of possibility.

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[194] um complexo entrelaçamento de linhas e percursos de geometria variável, ao mesmo tempo folheado e 'rizomático'

[195] resiliência rebelde da "terra-floresta-mundo" yanomami sob o espaço gráfico da burocracia estatal

5
Final remarks: on cartographical sounds and silences

"A map says to you, "Read me carefully, follow me closely, doubt me not." It says, "I am the earth in the palm of your hand. Without me, you are alone and lost."
(Markham, 1983 apud Harley, 1989, p. 1).

"They tell themselves that it grew by itself and that it covers the ground without reason. They probably think it is dead. But that is not true. It only appears silent and unchanging because the xapiri bravely protect it by pushing back the Yariporari storm wind that angrily arrows its trees and the Xiwãripo chaos being who always tries to make it become other. The forest is alive, this is where its beauty comes from" (Kopenawa; Albert, 2013, p. 382).

This dissertation has dealt with multiple *silencing* processes, but also with various *resonances*. During the research, there were many moments when I found myself lost in the midst of information. I had to guide myself to *map*, or un/map, what I was trying to understand. There were many moments when I found myself wrapped up in layers of violence that were difficult to deal with. I also often questioned whether I was doing justice to the stories I was trying to tell and whether the pages I had written were sufficient to narrate them. These processes of discomfort, unsettlement and discontent, however, have also been productive in *moving* the writing of the research to this point, where I have to outline what I have, what I have not and what I could have achieved.

The central axis of the dissertation was to unsettle some *disciplining* moves of IR that try to erase *subjects*, *objects*, and *places* of the registers of the *international*. I departed from an understanding that the constitution of the *space* in/of the *international* was entangled with the (re)production of *spatial imaginaries*, which led me to question myself: how, then, can we imagine the *international* otherwise? This act of *imagination* does not mean denying the violent operations that led to the constitution of the *international* as we know it from the dominant narratives, because, as we have seen in much of this research, imperial/colonial violence is a foundational act of it. Therefore, for me, *imagining* meant going *beyond* what is given, seeking to find other coordinates to understand the *international*. In the research, this manifested both in seeking to *excavate* colonial histories, which have constructed ethnocentric *images* of indigenous people, and in seeking other coordinates from Yanomami cosmology to *un/map* the *international*.

With this in mind, I explored different forms of *seeing*, *reading*, and *enacting* the *space in/of the international*.

In **Chapter 1**, I developed my research's general terms and themes. In this chapter, I discussed the constitution and reproduction of different *images* and how they manifested spatially. I analysed how *anxieties* and *uncertainties* permeated the imperial/colonial encounter and how those were translated into *spatial images* that shaped how we imagine (*international*) politics. I *focused* mainly on the *image* of *anarchy* and how it was connected with an ethnocentric discourse that translated indigenous political compositions with the lack of *politics*, which resonated in the constitution of a particular comprehension of anarchy in the European political theory that was later transposed to represent the *international* by IR theorists. This research had as its theoretical and methodological premise that the *real* and *fantastic* entangle to the point where it is difficult to distinguish between them at certain times, which makes the research not about trying to find out what separates them but trying to understand the *consequences* of taking both into account. I then turned to *visual* and *textual* depictions of *anarchy* in imperial/colonial *maps* and *accounts* to analyse how they *represented* and *invented images* of indigenous through cartographical practices. In the last section, I build a theoretical framework based on critical cartography studies to highlight the connections between *cartographic practice* and violence. From this, I conclude that both *silences* and *sounds* are practices involved in violence in cartographic delimitation and spatial constructions.

While **Chapter 1** outlined the general arguments, **Chapter 2**, which, in my opinion, was the most challenging part of this research, sought to analyse the construction of *images* of the Amazon based on the myths of *Eldorado* and *Green Hell*. The study showed how both *images*, apparently antagonistic, are entangled in the construction of the space of the *forest*, also reflecting *images* associated with indigenous peoples - on the one hand, docile, and on the other, *extremely violent*. From this, I sought to analyse how the Yanomami indigenous people were situated around *images* that associated them with *violence* and *war* in the anthropological discourse and how these *images* resonated in governmental and non-governmental discourses and practices. With this in mind, in the third section, I analyse the violent processes of invasion and expropriation of Yanomami territory based on the *garimpo*, which, at many times, reproduced both the *images* that associated

Amazonian territory with a *space* of unexploited riches, and in fact constituted this *space* as a *space* of violence by *de/territorialising* the indigenous land through its infrastructures. In the final section, the most challenging from a theoretical and methodological point of view, I took Kopenawa as a theorist of *capitalism*, *war* and *space*, to visualise how his work *counter/cartograph* these *images* from the Yanomami's cosmological coordinates. In this way, I could show how Kopenawa delineates that *violence* and *war* are, in fact, associated with *white people*, and how capitalism is a set of diffuse relations that branches into Yanomami indigenous land through *garimpo*.

In **Chapter 3**, the last one of the dissertation, I took the Brazilian legal discourse and practice as the starting point to analyse historically how indigenous territorial autonomy was delineated. Although some theorists analyse legislation to visualise the emergence of *indigenous rights*, I examined the legal issue *against the grain*, aiming to understand how it actually hinders indigenous self-determination, despite being relevant for recognising territorial rights in a context of (neo)colonial violence perpetrated by the state. Specifically, I focused on the lengthy Yanomami demarcation process and how the Brazilian state used legislation against itself to delay the creation of the *Yanomami Indigenous Land* as much as possible. Thus, I sought to analyse different *border* constitution processes and how they changed over time based on the political interests of the Brazilian government. Building upon this, I return to Kopenawa and Yanomami cosmology to understand how, beyond the bureaucratic-state borders delimited by the *map*, there are other *instantiations* of the *Yanomami Indigenous Land* when considering the indigenous peoples who inhabit it. Through the concept of *forest-land*, I explored two themes – *life* and *dreams* – and how both outline *extended understandings* of what the *Yanomami Indigenous Land is* and what it could be, thus delineating different cartographic imaginaries about it.

The research, however, has several limitations – and thus, openings for future research. Among them, I would like to delineate two, which certainly do not represent the totality of the limitations of my dissertation. The first is that the cartographic archives I analyse in **Chapter 1** and **Chapter 2** are spatially and temporally limited. Most likely, a future research project that focuses on analysing the spatial constructions of colonial Africa and Asia, for example, would encounter other *images* of colonised populations and thus other ways of visualising the

construction of the *international*. The same can be said for the temporal aspect, as much of what I analysed is concentrated between the 16th and 18th centuries. The second limitation concerns Yanomami spatial elaborations. Due to time constraints and resource availability, I did not conduct in-depth ethnographic work and relied on secondary works by authors who have already conducted studies with the Yanomami indigenous peoples and on Davi Kopenawa's cosmopolitical discourse. Therefore, I believe that research analysing the everyday life of the Yanomami people and how the spatial dimension is elaborated and re-elaborated in their ordinary activities would likely better delineate other forms of spatial elaboration than I was able to do. However, I hope to have contributed in some way to a political project of indigenous self-determination.

6
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