

Axis Mundi

ČASOPIS PRE ŠTÚDIUM KULTÚR A NÁBOŽENSTIEV SVETA
JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF WORLD CULTURES AND RELIGIONS

1 • 2023

Ročník / Volume 20



Axis Mundi

ČASOPIS PRE ŠTÚDIUM KULTÚR A NÁBOŽENSTIEV SVETA
JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF WORLD CULTURES AND RELIGIONS

1 • 2025
Ročník / Volume 20

Obsah

Panorama of Indigenous Women's Activism in Brazil: Bodies, Territories, and the Politics of Ancestral Resistance	
ANNA MARIE LARSEN	1
The "Image of the Indian" in Visual Media: From Colonial Misrepresentation to Contemporary Resistance	
NATÁLIE HLAVATÁ	9
Spirituality of Tupi Guarani, Gurani Mbya and Nhandeva Indigenous communities in Brazil	
KLÁRA KINDEL	18
Produkování budoucností původními obyvateli Brazílie	
PARIDE BOLLETTIN	26

Front cover:

Author: Bepkyi Xikrin from the Trincadeira-Bacajá Indigenous Land in the Brazilian Amazon, taken in 2025.
The photo depicts two young people collecting imbirá, a liana used to create bundles that will be beaten in the water to perform ritual fishing with timbó.

Panorama of Indigenous Women’s Activism in Brazil: Bodies, Territories, and the Politics of Ancestral Resistance

ANNA MARIE LARSEN

Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Science, Masaryk University

Abstract: This article examines the contemporary landscape of Indigenous women’s activism in Brazil, focusing on how they navigate intersectional identities while challenging both colonial and patriarchal structures. Through an analysis of the body-territory concept developed by Indigenous intellectuals, such as Célia Xakriabá, this study reveals how Indigenous women’s political engagement operates across three key areas: politics, education, and social media. Drawing on intersectional theory and Indigenous feminist frameworks, the research demonstrates that Indigenous women’s activism represents not merely resistance to oppression, but the active construction of alternative ways of being grounded in ancestral knowledge. The establishment of Brazil’s Ministry of Indigenous Peoples under Sônia Guajajara’s leadership exemplifies this transformation from marginalization to political protagonism. Through an examination of prominent leaders like Guajajara and Xakriabá, this work contributes to an understanding of how Indigenous women’s activism shapes contemporary Brazilian politics while asserting their roles as “warriors of ancestrality”.

Keywords: Indigenous women, Brazil, body-territory, intersectionality, leadership, Brazil, Ethnography

Introduction: From Margins to Ministry

In January 2023, an unprecedented moment in Brazilian politics occurred when the government created the Ministry of Indigenous Peoples and appointed Sônia Guajajara, from the Tentehar-Guajajara people, as its first-ever Indigenous Minister. Her appointment marked more than a symbolic representation; it embodied a fundamental shift in how Indigenous peoples, and particularly Indigenous women, occupy political space. As Guajajara stated at the United Nations Environment Programme: “*Just a few years ago, no one could have imagined an Indigenous minister in Brazil. My appointment enables Indigenous Peoples to dream. Now we can speak for and represent ourselves. We understand that it is time to make a statement: It is time to put our*

foot down” (United Nations Environment Programme 2024).

This transformation from marginalization to political protagonism represents the culmination of decades of Indigenous women’s activism that has operated across multiple domains. Indigenous women in Brazil, representing approximately 860,000 individuals from over 310 Indigenous groups (IBGE 2022), have emerged as key actors reshaping the political landscape through their engagement in politics, education, and social media platforms.

The recognition of Indigenous rights in Brazil reached a historic milestone with the 1988 Constitution, which acknowledged Indigenous peoples as the original inhabitants and provided constitutional protections for their cultural practices and territorial rights (Brasil

1988). However, the implementation of these rights remains contested, with powerful economic and political interests challenging Indigenous territorial claims through mechanisms like the recently defeated “Marco Temporal” thesis, which sought to restrict Indigenous land rights to territories explicitly occupied on the date of the Constitution’s promulgation (APIB 2023).

Indigenous women’s activism emerges within this contested landscape as a form of resistance that operates through what Brazilian Indigenous intellectual Célia Xakriabá, from the Xakriabá Indigenous territory in the municipality of São João das Missões, conceptualizes as “body-territory” – an understanding of the profound interconnectedness between physical bodies and ancestral lands that challenges Western separations between the individual and the collective, the past and the present (Xakriabá 2020). This framework provides the foundation for examining how Indigenous women navigate complex identities while constructing alternative forms of political engagement. In this paper, I will introduce the emergence of Indigenous women’s protagonism and how they are promoting a change in the recognition of Indigenous rights in multiple spheres.

The Double Gaze: Understanding Indigenous Women’s Intersectional Experience

Indigenous women in Brazil navigate complex political identities shaped by intersecting oppressions tied to both ethnicity and gender. Mariceia Guedes Pataxó, a Brazilian Indigenous scholar and educator of the Pataxó people, describes this as a “double gaze” of prejudice, where Indigenous women face discrimination first as women and then as Indigenous individuals (Guedes 2017). Despite these challenges and the significant achievements of Indigenous women, academic attention to their experiences remains limited (Dutra and Mayorga 2019).

Kimberlé Crenshaw’s formulation of intersectionality emphasizes the importance of examining overlapping social markers to fully comprehend the cumulative effects of discrimination (Crenshaw 1989, 140). Indigenous women in Brazil face gender-based oppression, ethnic marginalization, and class-based exclusion, which have historically placed them on the fringes of society and leadership.

Indigenous scholars and leaders, such as Sônia Guajajara, have powerfully articulated that the oppression faced by Indigenous women in Brazil is inseparable from the intersecting forces of colonialism and patriarchy. She emphasizes that the barriers limiting Indigenous

women’s participation and leadership are not inherent to Indigenous cultures, but rather a result of a colonial legacy:

“Subservience is not cultural. To stand on the margins is not cultural. It is a colonial heritage; it is part of the colonization we lived and complied with. We complied with machismo, domestic violence, and barring women’s participation. We must break this barrier. The colonial, machista barrier that many Indigenous people still see as culture. We must confront that” (Guajajara in McNee et al. 2021, 17).

This intersectional oppression is historically anchored in colonial processes that imposed not only Eurocentric and racist structures but also a patriarchal order that disempowered and dehumanized Indigenous peoples and enslaved people from Africa, and especially women. The colonial patriarch, as described by Guatemalan anthropologist and Maya Kaqchikel scholar Aura Cumes, became the owner and master of Indigenous families, communities, and nature itself, exerting violence under this legitimized authority (Cumes 2019, 297). The imposition of capitalist patriarchy mirrored European dynamics, privatizing communal lands and women’s reproductive labour, and systematically erasing Indigenous women’s agency and leadership.

Indigenous Feminism and the Body-Territory Framework

Indigenous feminism emerges as an intersectional framework rooted in the lived experiences of Indigenous women and the mobilization of ancestral knowledge. This approach lays the groundwork for understanding how Indigenous women are increasingly engaging in activism to advocate for their rights and those of their communities, including land rights, education, and protection from violence (ANMIGA 2021; Mendes 2024).

The emergence of Indigenous feminism within these movements highlights the distinct needs and priorities of Indigenous women, while also critiquing the colonial foundations of mainstream, hegemonic feminism (McNee et al. 2021; Martinelli 2019). This movement emphasizes the role of Indigenous women, who use the term “warriors of ancestrality” to define themselves, committed to preserving culture for future generations and challenging both patriarchal structures and racism (ANMIGA 2021). A key distinction of Indigenous feminism is the inseparability of land, identity, and rights, as Xakriabá explains:

“When someone reaffirms themselves as a feminist in a more urban context of social struggle in general,

when they say ‘feminist’, they can define themselves as feminists alone. But we, Indigenous people, when I say ‘feminist’, I, as Célia Xakriabá, wouldn’t consider myself a feminist alone. That’s why it’s difficult. At no point did I reaffirm myself in that conceptual context. What I’m saying is that we, Indigenous women, fight for territorial rights, for equality. Because, for me, there’s no right to equality if our connection to the land isn’t guaranteed. So, it’s still a complex discussion” (Xakriabá in Martinelli 2019, translated by the author).

The concept of body-territory, proposed by Indigenous intellectuals, originates from the understanding of the profound interconnectedness between the physical body and ancestral land. This idea, introduced by Célia Xakriabá, is based on Indigenous epistemology, which views the body as part of the territory and the territory as part of the body. Xakriabá articulates this relationship through practices and symbols such as the use of clay, genipap, and chalk, which represent different periods in their history: clay symbolizes the land and ancestry, genipap the memory and resistance of their people, and chalk the power of knowledge, helping to tell the story of their past (Xakriabá 2020). The emphasis is that their intellectuality is not confined to mental processes but is expressed through embodied practices and movements across time and situated in territories. The land, in this frame, is not merely a physical space but a sacred entity that embodies their identity, spirituality, and cultural memory. Violations against their bodies are thus seen as inseparable from the exploitation or desecration of their territories (Xakriabá et al. 2024). As Xakriabá expressed: *“We Indigenous women are Earth’s womb. When the government eases gun laws, we Indigenous women are the main targets. The proliferation of guns pierces our wombs and the Earth’s womb, threatening future generations”* (Xakriabá in McNee et al. 2021, 10).

Three Areas of Indigenous Women’s Activism

The activism of Indigenous women takes various forms, encompassing local leaders, organizational staff, social media influencers, book publishers, academics, and even elected officials, such as ministers and deputies. These efforts can be broadly categorized into three key areas: politics, education, and social media. These categories often overlap, creating a complex network of Indigenous women’s activism.

Each woman’s position as an activist is distinct and shaped by her specific actions and life trajectories. For

example, the most prominent Indigenous women leaders, Sônia Guajajara and Célia Xakriabá, are very active in all three areas. They are highly accomplished politicians, university graduates, and influential personalities on their Instagram accounts, with thousands of followers (Boulos 2022; Xakriabá 2025; Guajajara 2025).

Political Engagement and Institutional Transformation

For most of Brazil’s history, Indigenous people were marginalized and excluded from positions of political power. Policies and governance related to Indigenous communities were typically handled by non-Indigenous officials, often without meaningful consultation with the communities themselves. This led to policies that frequently disregarded Indigenous rights, such as land dispossession, forced assimilation, and exploitation of natural resources in Indigenous territories (Segato 2003; Sampaio 2021).

The situation changed with the 1988 Constitution and the recognition of Indigenous rights. Since then, Indigenous people have gradually participated in political actions. The Ministry of Indigenous Peoples was established in January 2023 under President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. This was a groundbreaking move, as it was the first time a dedicated Ministry of Indigenous peoples was created in Brazil (Ministério dos Povos Indígenas 2023). The first person to hold the position of Minister of Indigenous Peoples is Sônia Guajajara. Her appointment marked the first time an Indigenous person was given such a high-ranking position in the Brazilian government (Mendes 2024). This appointment represents a shift toward inclusive governance. Indigenous people are not only represented but are also in charge of the application of laws and policies that directly affect their communities.

The Bancada do Cocar (Headdress Lobby) is an informal term used to refer to a group of Indigenous representatives in Brazil’s National Congress, and it helped to amplify Indigenous voices and push for structural changes, including the creation of the Ministry. The name “Cocar” refers to the traditional headdresses worn by many Indigenous people in Brazil, symbolizing their cultural identity and heritage. The group gained more visibility after the 2022 elections, which saw a record number of Indigenous candidates elected to Congress, including Célia Xakriabá and Sônia Guajajara. Specifically, in the elections that year, there were 186 Indigenous candidates who ran for public office across Brazil, representing a 40% increase compared to the previous election cycle (Brasil 2023; Miranda 2022).

Indigenous women are increasingly prominent in various organizations, both within mixed-gender institutions and in their own dedicated groups. The Map of Indigenous Women's Organizations in Brazil 2024 documents 241 such organizations, showcasing their diversity and growth across all biomes and states (Mendes 2024). Articulação Nacional das Mulheres Indígenas Guerreiras da Ancestralidade (National Articulation of Indigenous Women Warriors of Ancestry – ANMIGA), founded in 2021, coordinates these efforts nationwide, emphasizing the concept of "body-territory" and the intrinsic link between Indigenous women and their ancestral lands.

ANMIGA is one of the most prominent organizations of Indigenous women. The most significant event they organize is the annual Indigenous Women's March. The first Women's March in 2019 joined over 2,500 women from 130 Indigenous groups. The number of participants increases each year, with the most recent one in 2025 uniting more than 5,000 Indigenous women. The main objective, as it is for most of the Indigenous organizations, is the demarcation of the Indigenous lands and the protection against illegal mining and deforestation. These themes are further echoed in the event's slogans, with the first march in 2019 using "Territory: our body, our spirit" and the most recent in 2025 adopting "Our body, our territory: we are the guardians of the planet" (ANMIGA 2021).

Educational Activism and Knowledge Decolonization

Education has played a crucial role in Indigenous women's activism, functioning as both a means of empowerment and a site for cultural preservation. Their involvement in this area is diverse, including initiatives aimed at decolonizing curricula, reclaiming Indigenous languages, and establishing educational environments that respect and reflect their identities and histories. Indigenous women's activism in education is characterized by a movement to reclaim and indigenize knowledge production. Many Indigenous women scholars now assert their "lugar de fala" (standpoint), making explicit their identities and experiences as central to their research methodologies and themes. Their academic works frequently arise from community needs and are oriented toward resistance, cultural affirmation, and the decolonization of both knowledge and institutional practices (Bollettin 2025, 23–37; Kludasch and Bollettin 2022; Santos 2019).

For example, Célia Nunes Correa emphasizes the importance of territorialized education, advocating for

school-community interaction and the production of Indigenous knowledge within academic spaces as part of a broader process of decolonizing "bodies-territories" (Correa 2018). Rita Gomes do Nascimento analyzes Tapeba school rituals as acts of resistance and identity construction, demonstrating how Indigenous educational practices can serve as counter-hegemonic responses to social and cultural oppression (Nascimento 2009). Further educational activism also manifests in the development of innovative pedagogical strategies. Dalila Luiz explores the use of "generating themes" in Terena schools, emancipatory methods rooted in students' lived experiences, and the valorization of Indigenous languages (Luiz 2021). Similarly, Márcia da Silva (Silva 2012) and Francineia Bittencourt Fontes (Fontes 2019) integrate oral histories, myths, and territorial knowledge into their academic work, reinforcing the importance of community-based knowledge transmission.

Despite these advances, Indigenous women face significant obstacles in disseminating their academic work. University repositories often fail to identify Indigenous authorship, and there is a notable lack of platforms explicitly dedicated to Indigenous academic production. This invisibility perpetuates the marginalization of Indigenous epistemologies and hinders the broader impact of their research (Correa 2018; Sant'Anna 2021).

Through their academic and activist efforts, Indigenous women challenge the coloniality of knowledge, promote the indigenization of curricula, and advocate for the recognition of Indigenous epistemologies as vital to the academic landscape and the well-being of their communities (Menezes et al. 2019).

Digital Activism and Social Media Presence

Social media has become a transformative arena for Indigenous women's activism, enabling the sharing of Indigenous knowledge, lived experiences, and collective struggles with a broad and diverse audience. Unlike traditional media, which often erases or distorts Indigenous women's voices, digital platforms such as Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter provide spaces for self-representation, community building, and resistance (Hill 2016; Vessoni 2022).

For Indigenous women specifically, social media serves as a site of everyday resistance and resurgence, where identity, leadership, and community-building are enacted in visible and empowering ways. As Hill argues, Indigenous women's use of social media for

community building and identity representation constitutes everyday acts of resistance and revitalization that challenge mainstream media narratives and reshape public understanding of Indigenous identities (Hill 2016).

The Instagram account of Mídia Guarani Mbya (@midiaguaranimbya) serves as a digital platform for the Guarani Mbya community, where cultural content, news, and updates are regularly shared. Although the focus is not exclusively on women, their voices and perspectives are woven throughout the posts, highlighting their roles in cultural transmission, education, and community events. Through both visual and narrative content, this account demonstrates how traditional forms of Indigenous communication, such as orality and corporeality, are being reimagined in digital spaces.

Rede Katahirine (@redekatahirine on Instagram) stands out as a networked account that amplifies the voices of Indigenous women across Brazil. By sharing campaigns, educational materials, and calls to action, Rede Katahirine demonstrates the power of digital collectives in mobilizing support and disseminating Indigenous feminist perspectives.

These digital practices, among many others, do not simply function as communication tools, they also act as extensions of Indigenous women’s activism, merging traditional storytelling and resistance with modern contexts. Building on Dominique Vessoni’s examination of Célia Xakriabá and the notion of body-territory, it becomes evident that Indigenous women’s activism on social media goes beyond mere visibility and communication. It represents the continuous reconstruction of identity, territory, and resistance in the digital era (Vessoni 2022).

Prominent Leaders: Sônia Guajajara and Célia Xakriabá

Sônia Guajajara: From Activism to Ministry

Sônia Guajajara is a prominent Indigenous leader from the Tentehar-Guajajara people, located in the State of Maranhão. Her background in the Arariboia Indigenous Territory exposed her to the persistent threats faced by her community, including land invasions, deforestation, and violence against Indigenous peoples. These challenges shaped her commitment to defending indigenous rights, territory, and cultural preservation from an early age. Sônia Guajajara holds a Teaching degree (Licenciatura) in Literature and a Bachelor’s degree in Nursing from the State University of Maranhão (UEMA). She has also played a key role in Indigenous organizations such as the Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil

(Association of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil – APIB), advocating for Indigenous sovereignty and social justice (McNee et al. 2021).

Guajajara emerged as a national leader through her activism, public speaking, and ability to bridge traditional Indigenous knowledge with contemporary socio-political debates. She gained widespread recognition for her participation in movements such as the Acampamento Terra Livre (ATL) and the First March of Indigenous Women in Brazil. Her speeches, which blend poetic rhetoric with urgent calls for climate action and Indigenous rights, have made her a leading voice in both national and international forums. The legacy of resistance in her community has played a significant role in shaping Sônia’s leadership. She frequently highlights the importance of collective memory and ancestral wisdom in guiding Indigenous political actions (McNee et al. 2021).

Sônia has skillfully leveraged digital platforms to amplify Indigenous voices, using social media to advocate for land rights, environmental protection, and the inclusion of Indigenous perspectives in policy-making. Her online advocacy enhances her community-based efforts, bringing Indigenous issues to the attention of an international audience. As mentioned above, in 2023, she made history by becoming Brazil’s first Minister of Indigenous Peoples, a groundbreaking achievement for Indigenous political representation. Her leadership in the Ministry aims to strengthen Indigenous governance, advocate for environmental justice, and challenge policies that threaten Indigenous lands and rights (Guajajara 2022; McNee et al. 2021).

Célia Xakriabá: Academic and Digital Pioneer

Célia Xakriabá is from the Xakriabá Indigenous territory in the municipality of São João das Missões, in the State of Minas Gerais. The Xakriabá people have a long history of struggle for land rights and cultural preservation, which has profoundly influenced Célia’s activism. Growing up in a context of territorial conflict and violence against Indigenous peoples, she was shaped by the need to defend Indigenous rights and territories (Vessoni 2022; McNee et al. 2021). Célia Xakriabá holds a master’s degree in Sustainable Development and a PhD in Anthropology from the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG), awarded in 2024. Her academic training has provided her with the tools to articulate Indigenous struggles within broader political and environmental discourses. She has also been the first Indigenous woman to join the Minas Gerais State

Department of Education, marking a significant step for Indigenous representation in institutional spaces.

Célia's leadership is deeply rooted in her community's struggles and her ability to bridge traditional Indigenous knowledge with contemporary political and environmental issues. Her activism, communication skills, and ability to mobilize support have made her a prominent figure in the Indigenous movement. She effectively utilizes social media, particularly Instagram, to amplify her voice and that of other Indigenous people, making digital activism a key part of her leadership (Vessoni 2022).

Her posts on Instagram combine personal narratives with political messages, creating a powerful form of digital activism that resonates with both Indigenous and non-Indigenous audiences. She employs poetic rhetoric and visual performances, incorporating traditional Indigenous symbols such as body paint and traditional clothing to convey messages of resistance and cultural pride (Vessoni 2022).

Conclusion: Warriors of Ancestrality and Political Transformation

Indigenous women's activism in Brazil represents a multifaceted and dynamic movement that spans politics, education, and social media. Through their protagonism in different areas, Indigenous women have challenged historical injustices and exclusion from decision-making processes. The establishment of the Ministry of Indigenous Peoples, led by Sônia Guajajara, marks a significant shift toward inclusive governance, ensuring that policies affecting Indigenous communities are shaped by those who understand their struggles and needs.

Organizations such as ANMIGA have played crucial roles in mobilizing Indigenous women around issues like territorial defense and combating violence. These efforts demonstrate the strength and resilience of Indigenous women in demanding justice and protecting their ancestral lands. Moreover, Indigenous women are protagonists of intercultural and bilingual education, challenging dominant epistemologies and

advocating for the integration of Indigenous knowledge into mainstream education.

Social media has become a powerful tool for Indigenous women to amplify their voices and mobilize support. Leaders like Sônia Guajajara and Célia Xakriabá, as well as many other women, use platforms like Instagram to convey messages of resistance and cultural pride, making Indigenous struggles more visible globally.

The activism of Indigenous women operates through what can be understood as embodied resistance, drawing on ancestral knowledge to challenge both colonial temporalities and patriarchal structures. Their political engagement embodies the body-territory framework, rejecting separations between the individual and the collective, the spiritual and the material, the past and the present. As "warriors of ancestrality", they are committed to preserving culture for future generations while transforming contemporary political landscapes (ANMIGA 2021; Santana et al. 2024).

Overall, the activism of Indigenous women in Brazil represents a profound transformation in the political, educational, and social landscapes of the country. Their contributions underscore the importance of recognizing and valuing Indigenous knowledge and experiences, paving the way for a more inclusive and equitable society. This panorama reveals Indigenous women not merely as subjects of marginalization but as architects of political transformation who assert, in the words of Sônia Guajajara, that "the future is ancestral" (Ioris 2023).

Acknowledgments

I want to express my deep gratitude to the Indigenous communities that welcomed me during my ethnographic research. My sincere thanks go to the Tupi-Guarani, Guarani Nhandeva, and Guarani Mbya peoples of the Renacer and Piaçaguera Indigenous Lands in São Paulo, Brazil, whose openness and generosity enabled me to gain a deeper understanding of their experiences and struggles. I am also profoundly grateful to my supervisor, Dr. Paride Bollettin, for his guidance, support, and invaluable insights throughout this research.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ANMIGA (Articulação Nacional das Mulheres Indígenas Guerreiras da Ancestralidade). 2021. “Manifesto – ANMIGA.” Accessed September 20, 2025. <https://anmiga.org/en/manifesto-2/>.
- APIB (Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil). 2023. “Marco Temporal: Não à tese do genocídio indígena.” Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil. Last change 2023. <https://apiboficial.org/marco-temporal/>.
- Bollettin, Paride. 2025. “Indigenous Women at the University and Epistemic Defiances.” In *Women in Warfare: From the Myth of the Amazons to Modern Armed Conflicts*, edited by U. Mondini, 23–37. Roma: Progetto Cultura.
- Boulos, Guilherme. 2022. “Sônia Guajajara.” *TIME*, May 23, 2022. <https://time.com/collection/100-most-influential-people-2022/6177858/sonia-guajajara/>.
- Brasil. Câmara dos Deputados. 2023. “Bancada do Cocar toma posse na Câmara com festa e promessa de resistência.” *Portal da Câmara dos Deputados*, February 1, 2023. <https://www.camara.leg.br/noticias/936592-bancada-do-cocar-toma-posse-na-camara-com-festa-e-promessa-de-resistencia/>.
- Correa, Célia Nunes. 2018. *O barro, o genipapo e o giz no fazer epistemológico de Autoria Xakriabá: reativação da memória por uma educação territorializada*. MA thesis, Universidade de Brasília.
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1989. “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Anti-discrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics.” *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1989 (1): 139–67.
- Cumes, Aura. 2019. “Colonialismo patriarcal y patriarcado colonial: violencia y despojos en las sociedades que nos dan forma.” *Tiempos de muerte: cuerpos, rebeldías, resistencias*, 297–310.
- Dutra, Juliana Cabral de O., and Claudia Mayorga. 2019. “Mulheres indígenas em movimentos: possíveis articulações entre gênero e política.” *Psicologia: Ciência e Profissão* 39: e221693.
- Fontes, Francineia Bittencourt. 2019. *Hiipana, Eeno Hiepolekoa: Construindo um pensamento antropológico a partir da mitologia Baniwa e de suas transformações*. MA thesis, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro.
- Guajajara, Sonia (@soniaguajajara). 2025. Instagram profile. Accessed September 20, 2025. <https://www.instagram.com/soniaguajajara/>.
- Guajajara, Sônia. 2022. “Sonia Guajajara: It’s Time to ‘Indigenize Politics and Reforest Minds’.” *SUMAÚMA*, September 13, 2022. <https://sumauma.com/en/aldear-a-politica-e-reflorestar-mentes/>.
- Guedes, Mariceia. 2017. “The Leadership of Indigenous Women.” Video of seminar, May. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ma8khw6GUe8>.
- Hill, Katherine. 2016. *Building Bridges Online: Young Indigenous Women Using Social Media for Community Building and Identity Representation*. MA thesis, Concordia University.
- Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE). 2022. *População indígena: resultados do censo demográfico 2022*. IBGE. <https://www.ibge.gov.br/estatisticas/sociais/populacao/-22827-censo-demografico-2022.html>.
- Ioris, Antonio A. R. 2023. “Indigeneity and Indigenous Politics: Ground-breaking Resources.” *Revista de Estudos Sociais* 85: 3–21. <https://doi.org/10.7440/res85.2023.01>.
- Kludasch, Nara Lares, and Paride Bollettin. 2022. “Decoloniality of Knowledge: Scientific Dissemination of Indigenous Women Productions.” *Anthropologia Integra* 13 (2): 39–44.
- Luiz, Dalila. 2021. “A prática pedagógica de professores terena: o uso de temas geradores no processo de alfabetização.” *Revista Brasileira de Educação, Cultura e Linguagem*. <https://www.academia.edu/82725542/>.
- Martinelli, Andréa. 2019. “Sociedade ‘desconhece a nossa presença’, diz 1ª mulher indígena em doutorado na UFMG.” *Cedefes*, August 12, 2019. <https://www.cedefes.org.br/sociedade-desconhece-a-nossa-presenca-diz-1a-mulher-indigena-em-doutorado-na-ufmg/>.
- McNee, Malcolm, Sônia Guajajara, and Célia Xakriabá. 2021. “Indigenous Women on the Frontlines of Climate Activism: The Battle for Environmental Justice in the Amazon.” *Meridians* 19 (2): 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1215/15366936-8910249>.
- Mendes, Auá. 2024. *Mapa das organizações das mulheres indígenas no Brasil 2024*. São Paulo: ISA – Instituto Socioambiental.
- Menezes, Jaileila Araújo, Saiane Silva Lins, and Juliana Vieira Sampaio. 2019. “Provocações pós-coloniais à formação em psicologia.” *Psicologia & Sociedade* 31: e191231. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1807-0310/2019v31191231>.
- Ministério dos Povos Indígenas. 2023. “Institucional.” GOV.BR. Accessed September 20, 2025. <https://www.gov.br/povosindigenas/pt-br/aceso-a-informacao/institucional>.
- Miranda, Beatriz. 2022. “With Rights at Risk, Indigenous Brazilians Get on the Ballot to Fight Back.” *Mongabay Environmental News*, September 15, 2022.
- Nascimento, Rita Gomes de. 2009. *Rituais de resistência: experiências pedagógicas Tapeba*. PhD diss., Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte.

- Sampaio, Paula Faustino. 2021. *Indígenas mulheres entre colonialismos e resistências de longa duração – séculos XX e XXI*. PhD diss., Universidade Federal da Grande Dourados.
- Sant’Anna, Fernanda Vieira de. 2021. *Ruptura histórica e abordagem criativa: uma cartografia de identidades nativas*. PhD diss., Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro.
- Santana, Aleff dos Santos, Adriana Rodrigues Silva, Juliette de Castro Tavares, Ana Carolina Yanaguibashi Gonçalves, and Jaqueline Ferreira da Silva. 2024. “Voices of Ancestry: Intersectional Paths Taken by Indigenous Women in Organizational Management.” *Contextus – Revista Contemporânea de Economia e Gestão* 22 (1). <https://www.redalyc.org/journal/5707/570778243008/-html/>.
- Santos, Gilney Costa. 2019. “Ribeiro D. O que é lugar de fala?” *Saúde em Debate* 43: 360–62. <https://doi.org/10.1590/0103-11042019S826>.
- Segato, Rita Laura. 2003. *Uma agenda de ações afirmativas para as mulheres indígenas do Brasil*. Série Antropologia, no. 326. Brasília: Universidade de Brasília.
- Silva, Márcia Vieira da. 2012. *Reterritorialização e identidade do povo Omágua-Kambebe na aldeia Tururucari-Uka*. MA thesis, Universidade Federal do Amazonas.
- United Nations Environment Programme. 2024. “Sonia Guajajara – Policy Leadership.” Accessed September 20, 2025. <https://www.unep.org/championsofearth/laureates/2024/-sonia-guajajara>.
- Vessoni, Dominique Xavier. 2022. *Cartografias de um corpo-território: uma análise dos afetos produzidos por Célia Xakriabá na plataforma Instagram*. MA thesis, Universidade Estadual de Londrina.
- Xakriabá, Célia (@celia.xakriaba). 2025. Instagram profile. Accessed September 20, 2025. <https://www.instagram.com/celia.xakriaba/>.
- Xakriabá, Célia. 2020. *O território como corpo e o corpo como território: as vozes que vêm da terra*. PhD diss., Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais.
- Xakriabá, Célia, et al. 2024. “‘Territory is Where Life Happens’: Indigenous Education and Culture as Political Basis for Xakriabá Youth Participation in Indigenous Movements.” In *Minority Rights and Social Change*, edited by Kyriaki Topidi and Eugenia Relaño Pastor. Routledge.

The "Image of the Indian" in Visual Media: From Colonial Misrepresentation to Contemporary Resistance

NATÁLIE HLAVATÁ

Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Science, Masaryk University

Abstract: This paper examines how centuries of colonial visual representations of Indigenous people have crystallized into persistent stereotypes in contemporary cinema. Through analysis of sources from Pero Vaz de Caminha's 1500 letter through 20th century films, the paper shows continuity between colonial imagery and modern media production. Despite progress in Indigenous rights recognition, patterns of misrepresentation persist, promoting harmful stereotypes that affect public perception and Indigenous self-understanding. The paper also explores emerging Indigenous cinema that challenges these representational patterns through collaborative filmmaking, revealing both the ongoing legacy of colonial imagery and the potential for Indigenous-controlled media to reshape dominant narratives and create spaces for authentic Indigenous voices.

Key words: Indigenous cinema, visual media, Indigenous representation, colonialism, Brazil

Introduction

Visual representation of Indigenous people has been shaped by colonial power structures that continue to influence contemporary media production. From the earliest colonial documentation to current cinema, Indigenous people have been subjected to "coloniality of seeing" – a visual regime that places Indigenous subjects as objects of Western observation and interpretation (Barriendos 2009).

This paper examines how centuries of colonial visual representations of Indigenous people have crystallized into persistent stereotypes present in contemporary cinema, demonstrating the continuity between 16th century colonial texts and 21st century media productions. Despite the progress in Indigenous rights recognition, patterns of misrepresentation persist across visual media platforms, promoting harmful stereotypes that affect both

public perception and Indigenous self-understanding.

The analysis further explores the emergence of visual media created by Indigenous peoples that challenges these representational patterns through collaborative filmmaking and community-based media production. Through examination of representation of Indigenous bodies in visual media, this paper reveals both the ongoing legacy of colonial imagery and the potential of Indigenous cinema to reshape dominant narratives and to create spaces for Indigenous voices and perceptions.

First Contact and Colonial Representation

The beginning of European representation of Indigenous peoples can be traced to the earliest encounters between Portuguese colonizers and the

Indigenous people of Brazil. The first documentation comes from Pero Vaz de Caminha's letter to the King of Portugal, which provides a report on the fleet's arrival and an thorough observation of Indigenous bodies (Borba and Milani 2019). Caminha's descriptions reveal a fascination with Indigenous nudity: "*Brown, naked, with nothing to cover their shame. [...] There were three or four young girls among them [...]; and their shames were so high and so tight and so clean from their hair that, when we looked at them, they weren't ashamed*" (Caminha 1500, 2, 4).

These descriptions show how Caminha and his companions reduced Indigenous people to collections of body parts rather than recognizing them as complete human beings. The repeated and detailed observations of intimate anatomy established a pattern of sexualization that would persist throughout the following centuries. This fragmentation of Indigenous bodies represents an early manifestation of what would become a systematic process of dehumanization.

Despite Caminha's claim that Indigenous people "were just like us" (Caminha 1500, 9), implying a form of equality between natives and colonizers, he also declares that "they neither have nor understand any belief, according to appearances" and "they will easily take on whatever stamp you want to give them" (Caminha 1500, 10). The contradictory statements reveal the fundamental colonial logic that saw Indigenous people as inferior based on visual characteristics such as clothing practices, tool technologies, and body decorations. This positioning was based on the colonial era's characterization of Indigenous people as having "no law, no God, no king", which was used as a reason to call them "uncivilized". In the past decades, many authors such as Pierre Clastres, Manuela Carneiro da Cunha and Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (Clastres 1990; Carneiro da Cunha 1998; Viveiros de Castro 1992) have been involved in discussions about revising these colonial stereotypes about Indigenous people.

Caminha's letter started a centuries-long practice of colonial Indigenous representation that prioritized European perspectives over Indigenous realities. As Caiuby Novaes observes, the visual representa-

tions of this period reveal more about their creators than about the documented people (History of Science 2020). This explains why Indigenous people in colonial paintings often have European physical features. Colonial representations functioned primarily to establish the European perspective which put into contrast Indigenous people and Europeans, and they were later manipulated by various colonial institutions to achieve specific objectives.

Two primary colonial institutions shaped Indigenous representation throughout the 16th century: the Church and European colonial powers (Barriendos 2009). The Church operated through Jesuit missionaries and other congregations in sequence whose stated objective was to convert Indigenous people to Christianity, eliminate "bad customs" (including nudity, shamanic practices, and Indigenous sexuality), and "save savage souls" (Silva Marques 2017). Jesuit reports divided Indigenous people into "good Indians" – those amenable to conversion and cultural molding – and "bad Indians" – those considered irredeemably savage and resistant to European influence. This binary classification supported European colonizers who were seeking an excuse for military intervention and extraction of resources. By characterizing Indigenous people as savage, inferior, and predisposed to cannibalism, colonizers created moral justifications for intervening in the continent (Barriendos 2009). The supposed cannibalism of Indigenous people, which began as a fictional colonial narrative, was used as an explanation for the decimation of Indigenous communities across centuries.

The stereotype of the "noble savage", while often attributed to Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Discourse on Inequality*, actually originated much earlier. Ellingson demonstrates that Marc Lescarbot first used this phrase nearly two centuries before Rousseau, and that the concept only returned to academic discourse in the 19th century through John Crawford's deliberate misrepresentation of earlier authors (Ellingson 2001). Importantly, the "noble savage" myth implies that most "savages" are not noble, thus reinforcing European racial superiority.

By the 19th century, Indigenous identity had been reduced to two primary categories: the "noble

savage" and the "bad savage". Both representations, whether demonizing or idealizing, had no connection to Indigenous realities. Indigenous people were transformed from human beings with distinct cultures and histories into colonial fantasies which served European ideological purposes. Visual arts provided mechanisms for reinforcing these colonial narratives. Vítor Meirelles' *First Mass in Brazil* (1860) illustrates the colonial visual hierarchy: European monks and soldiers occupy the luminous center while Indigenous people remain shadowed, naked, and animalized in the margins. Similarly, Jean Baptiste Debret's paintings such as *Heads of Different Castes of Savages Pl.28* (1835) present Indigenous people as impersonal objects rather than subjects, with Debret categorizing them simply as "different castes of savages" without specifying distinct communities.

The 19th century intensified these distortions through the emergence of racial theories and social Darwinism (Schwarcz 2005). Georges Cuvier's introduction of race into scientific literature led to anthropometry, which classified human groups based on physical features and quickly established hierarchies of supposed intellectual capacity. Anthropological photography quickly became a tool for classifying and objectifying Indigenous bodies, with artificial studio compositions forcing subjects into nakedness and specific poses that emphasized their status as objects rather than subjects of documentation (Felipe 2023). Brazilian museums dedicated themselves to ethnographic research primarily to prove Indigenous "uncivilized" status, as can be observed in J.B. Lacerda's claim that "*because of their ability, the Botocudos should be placed alongside the Neo-Caledonians and Australians among the races most notable for their degree of intellectual inferiority*" (Schwarcz 2005). The example of the School of Medicine of Bahia, which was the first academic institution in Brazil and in which worked Nina Rodrigues (a theorist of scientific racism in Brazil), illustrates this institutional approach to racial classification (Bollettin and Tromboni 2021). In recent years, however, Indigenous people have become protagonists in collaboration with the anthropological museum housed in the same building.

Indigenous Representation in Cinema

Indigenous people attracted filmmakers from the beginnings of cinema, with Alfred Cort Haddon producing one of the first ethnographic films (Mullins 1996). While Haddon focused on Oceania, Indigenous representations appeared globally: Native Americans became characters in western films from the 1910s (Hilger 2016), while early documentaries such as *Rituais e Festas Borôro* (Reis 1917) recorded Brazilian Indigenous people and *Nanook of the North* (Flaherty 1922) documented Inuit communities.

Salvatore Lazzaro's *O Guaraní* (1911) became the first fictional film about Brazilian Indigenous people (Silva 2007). Lazzaro was, as many of the first directors who were creating films about Brazilian Indigenous people, European. With time, Brazilian filmmakers entered cinema production as well and the medium became closely tied to "national cinema": an ideology which attempted to capture national culture and identity on screen (Gray 2020). The historical and social significance of Indigenous people made them frequent subjects in 20th century Brazilian films (Pastina 2018). However, filmmakers were not focusing on accurate representation of Indigenous lives (Gonçalves 2019).

Throughout Brazilian cinema history, Indigenous representation emerged in various waves. The 1920s "Beautiful Age of cinema" featured Indigenous people heavily influenced by "noble savage" stereotypes and José de Alencar's romantic literature (Gonçalves 2019). The 1970s marked peak Indigenous screen presence, including telenovelas such as *Os irmãos Coragem* (1970) and *Aritana* (1978-1979), though characterizations remained stereotypical with Indigenous people having background "savage" roles in Amazon settings (Pastina 2018). The 1980s brought significant change as cinema began using Indigenous identity for social critique, notably through *Yndio do Brasil* (Back 1995), a 70-minute collage exposing stereotypical Indigenous representation throughout 20th century cinema (Bona Moreira 2018). Back's compilation reveals recurring patterns: Indigenous people positioned as landscape elements rather than human beings, contrasted with

powerful white characters, heavily sexualized through strategic camera work, and frequently portrayed by white actors.

Stereotypical Roles in Cinema

Despite Indigenous presence in Brazilian cinema since the early 20th century, their representation remained marked by systematic exclusion from filmmaking processes (Gonçalves 2019). Indigenous people were excluded from consultancy positions, leading to cultural inaccuracies such as *Iracema*, *A Virgem dos Lábios de Mel* (Coimbra 1979), where supposedly Brazilian Indigenous people wear Native American clothing (Berardo 2013). Legal restrictions prevented Indigenous people from signing acting contracts, while directors considered them incapable of cinema performance, resulting in white actors portraying Indigenous characters through painted faces or darkened complexions (Pastina 2018).

This systematic exclusion maintained colonial representational patterns, reducing Indigenous screen presence to imaginary constructions that can be divided into four primary categories: the "noble savage", the "sexualized Indigenous person", the "bad cannibal", and Indigenous people as landscape elements (Gonçalves 2019).

The "noble savage" representation, heavily influenced by Alencar's romantic literature, presented idealized Indigenous characters like Peri from *O Guarani*: muscular, heroic, nature-connected figures deemed unworthy of the love of a white woman despite their nobility (Alencar, 1996; Berardo, 2013). This stereotype suggested that Indigenous nobility required embracing white values and serving white interests, positioning the "white way of being" as superior.

Sexualized representation connected Indigenous nudity to promiscuity and hypersexuality (Gonçalves 2019). Female characters frequently appeared partially nude or seductively dressed, with camera work that mimicked the eyes of a lustful man. Coimbra's *Iracema*, *A Virgem dos Lábios de Mel* serves as an example of this sexualization: Iracema's description as "a virgin with honey lips" immediately presents her through sexual frameworks.

Throughout the film, the character is nearly naked and is portrayed by Helena Ramos, a non-Indigenous actress known for soft porn movies.

The "bad savage" category, most often depicted in the form of a "savage cannibal", employed animalistic language to justify Indigenous violence, supporting colonial cannibalism narratives. Films like *Cannibal Holocaust* (Deodato 1980) and *The Green Inferno* (Roth 2013) portrayed Indigenous communities as brutal cannibals, reinforcing centuries-old justifications for violence against Indigenous people.

The "landscape" category reduced Indigenous people to environmental elements. They were present merely to establish setting and were without speaking roles or distinct personalities. This generalization stems from colonial "Indian" terminology that homogenized over 260 distinct Brazilian Indigenous groups, resulting in films featuring generic "Indigenous" styling rather than specific cultural attributes.

Effects of Inaccurate Indigenous Representation

Although Brazil liberated itself from colonial domination at the beginning of the 19th century, the Eurocentric legacy of colonialism is still present in the social order and in forms of knowledge. Anibal Quijano (2000) denominates this the coloniality of power which continues seeing the Western way of living and understanding of the world as superior and giving this "Western way" the power to impose itself over others. These dynamics can be observed in Indigenous representation. Who an Indigenous person is has been appropriated and distorted for centuries by the people in power, initially by the colonizers and later by governments and filmmakers that are either Western or Western-influenced. Through coloniality of power, the "image of the Indian" has been artificially created and presented to the world as the reality.

Foucault's analysis of power relations explains how control over bodily representation translates to control over being itself. As he states, "*body is also directly involved in a political field; power relations have an immediate hold upon it [...] the body is invested with relations of power and domination*"

(Foucault 1975). This domination does not need to be inherently physical or violent but can manifest through subtle, manipulative control over representation, as occurred with Indigenous people in Brazil. The misrepresentations comes hand-in-hand with social standing and legal rights recognition of Indigenous people, which have been all negatively affected.

Misrepresentation reinforces negative stereotypes ranging from "uncivilized", "uneducated", and "stupid" to "violent", "dangerous", and "cannibalistic". The cultivation theory, introduced by George Gerbner, demonstrates how *"repetitive, long-range, and consistent exposure to patterns common to most programming, such as casting, social typing, and the 'fate' of different social types, can be expected to cultivate stable and widely-shared images of life and society"* (Gerbner 1998). His research showed that extended exposure to media violence increased fear and vigilance among viewers, suggesting that repeated exposure to Indigenous stereotypes could shape public understanding of Indigenous reality.

For most global populations, cinema might constitute the primary means of "interaction" with Indigenous people. Given that Brazilian Indigenous people represent approximately 0.83% of Brazil's population and a minimal percentage of global population, most individuals worldwide will never encounter Indigenous people directly. Cinema therefore becomes a predominant source of information about Indigenous cultures for millions of people. If cinema consistently presents stereotypical representations across decades, these distorted images become the foundation for public understanding of Indigenous reality. This dynamic becomes particularly problematic in regions with only minimal contacts with Indigenous populations, such as in my home country (the Czech Republic). Although Indigenous people have raised historical interest in Central Europe (Singerton et al. 2025), only in recent years they are receiving more academic attention, which can be observed in both publications (e.g. Šavelková 2017; Šavelková et al 2021; Brenišínová 2024) and conferences (e.g. Search for Indigenous America). However, in public discourse, Indigenous people are still often presented in a romanticized and exoticized way. This creates an in-

accurate idea of who an Indigenous person is among general population. The persistence of these stereotypes creates daily challenges for Indigenous people worldwide. Eva Maria Fjellheim, a Sami woman, documents how Sami people pursuing higher education are not perceived as "truly Sami" because dominant stereotypes understand Indigenous people as lacking education (Fjellheim 2020).

Indigenous misrepresentation also affects Indigenous self-perception, as shown in Shenton's study with Indigenous Kichwa women (Shenton 2018). Her research explored media consumption habits and perceptions of white, Latina, and Indigenous women across media platforms. Results revealed that white women were perceived most positively as "pretty", "rich", "happy", and "educated", while Indigenous women, particularly by younger respondents, were consistently perceived as "uncivilized" and "uneducated" based solely on photographs. This research demonstrates the internalization of colonial stereotypes within Indigenous communities themselves, revealing how pervasive media representation can shape Indigenous self-understanding.

Beginning of Change

While Indigenous representation in mainstream feature films operated through colonial frameworks, documentary cinema evolved more positively. In the beginnings, however, the production remained hierarchical with non-Indigenous directors in charge of Indigenous representation. Even well-intentioned efforts sometimes failed to achieve cultural accuracy, as demonstrated by Vincent Carelli's Nambikwara female initiation ritual film, which the community deemed to be "too Western" (Lacerda 2018).

Since the 1960s, anthropologists began collaborating with Indigenous people in filmmaking to increase accuracy and advocate for Indigenous protagonism (Barber 2011). This collaboration not only improved Indigenous cinema representation but provided Indigenous people opportunities to tell their own stories, which were previously controlled exclusively by non-Indigenous people.

Collaboration represents a crucial characteristic of Indigenous cinema. Contemporary productions

increasingly feature Indigenous and non-Indigenous filmmaker partnerships, as can be seen in films like *The Last Forest* (Bolognesi 2021) and *The Hyperwomen* (Kuikuro, Sette and Fausto 2011). This collaborative approach is part of a greater movement of Indigenous people to appropriate their representations in different spheres, including academia, thereby shaping the narratives about themselves (Bollettin 2023). Movies are also produced by Indigenous people about Indigenous people through organizations like Video nas Aldeias and collectives such as the Ijã Mytyli Collective of Cinema Manoki and Myky.

Video nas Aldeias, founded in 1986, is one of Brazil's most influential Indigenous filmmaking support projects. Its objective is to "*support the struggles of indigenous peoples to strengthen their identities and their territorial and cultural heritage, through audiovisual resources and a production shared with the indigenous peoples*" ("Video Nas Aldeias – Apresentação," n.d.). The project started from Carelli's problematic Nambikwara ritual film, which led to collaborative remake that was approved and liked by the Nambikwara. Today, Video nas Aldeias supports Indigenous movie production through screening platforms and workshops where Indigenous people from across Brazil learn to make films. It also strengthens inter-community relationships which is crucial for the Indigenous movement (Lacerda 2018). Additional support projects include the Kayapó Video Project (Turner 1992) and increasing numbers of ethnographic film festivals worldwide, while online platforms like YouTube expand Indigenous cinema accessibility.

Felipe (2024) identifies additional characteristics of Indigenous cinema: capturing community culture and daily life, interconnectedness with politics and rights advocacy, and "embedded aesthetics" – Ginsburg's term which describes how Indigenous culture, knowledge, and worldview affect both the content on screen and filming methods (Felipe 2024). This aligns with Gray's concept of "Third Cinema" that opposes Hollywood and European production, though some scholars like Gauthier classify Indigenous cinema as "Fourth Cinema": cinema made by Indigenous people through an

Indigenous perspective and with political subtext (Gray 2020; Gauthier 2015).

Indigenous cinema can have multiple purposes from preserving culture and knowledge for future generations, as can be observed in Kayapó cinema, to educating broader public about Indigenous communities (Demarchi and Madi Dias 2018). However, as Ginsburg observes, "*Efforts to produce indigenous media worldwide are generally small-scale, low budget and locally based; because of this, their existence is politically and economically fragile, while their significance is largely invisible outside of occasional festivals or circles of specialists*" (Ginsburg 1991). This limitation persists today, limiting Indigenous cinema exposure to those specifically interested in Indigenous issues.

Final considerations

This analysis demonstrates how centuries of colonial visual discourse have crystallized into persistent stereotypes that continue shaping Indigenous representation in contemporary cinema across multiple platforms and production contexts. The "coloniality of seeing" established through early documentation like Caminha's 1500 letter has evolved into categorical systems that dominate mainstream cinema, promoting harmful misrepresentations that affect both public perception and Indigenous self-understanding while maintaining fundamental power imbalances between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.

The examination reveals continuities between 16th century colonial texts and 21st century media productions, suggesting that despite undeniable progress in Indigenous rights recognition and multicultural awareness, many representational patterns remain largely unchanged. The same stereotypes that justified colonial violence (the "noble savage", the "sexualized primitive", the "savage cannibal", the "landscape element") continue appearing in contemporary cinema which proves the persistence of colonial ideologies within supposedly progressive media environments.

While Indigenous cinema represents a crucial counter-narrative challenging these representational patterns through collaborative filmmaking,

community-based production, and technological appropriation, its impact remains significantly constrained by limited distribution networks and restricted audience reach.

Indigenous cinema has multiple essential functions beyond entertainment: preserving cultural practices and knowledge systems for future generations, strengthening inter-community relationships crucial for political organizing, educating non-Indigenous audiences about Indigenous realities, and creating spaces for Indigenous voices. This Indigenous appropriation of cinema, as well as of communication tools, is intrinsically political, oriented toward the defense of rights and to give visibility to their fights (Xikrin and Bollettin 2022). Projects like *Video nas Aldeias* demonstrate the potential for collaborative media production to serve community needs and broader educational objectives. Even though there are certain notable exceptions, such as the movies *The Last Forest* (Bolognesi 2021) and *The Hyperwomen* (Kuikuro, Sette and Fausto 2011), Ginsburg's observation remains unfortunately accurate three decades later: Indigenous media efforts still continue mostly operating as small scale, locally based productions that struggle with reaching a broader audience (Ginsburg 1991). This invisibility severely limits Indigenous cinema's capacity for challenging dominant stereotypes or reaching the global audiences who depend upon mainstream media for information about Indigenous people.

The urgent need for Indigenous cinema to enter mainstream distribution networks and achieve widespread accessibility cannot be overstated. Beyond simply combating harmful stereotypes, such visibility would create essential spaces for meaningful dialogue and mutual understanding between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. This cultural exchange would help build better and more equitable relationships across cultural boundaries. Furthermore, mainstream Indigenous cinema visibility would provide global audiences with alternatives to colonial stereotypes while showing the diversity, sophistication, and contemporary relevance of Indigenous knowledge systems. Such representation could challenge fundamental assumptions about modernity, development, and progress while offering Indigenous perspectives on pressing global challenges including environmental sustainability, community organization, and cultural preservation.

The path forward requires sustained commitment from mainstream media industries, funding organizations, educational institutions, and policy makers to actively prioritize Indigenous voices, support collaborative production models, and challenge exclusionary practices that support Indigenous marginalization in visual media. Only through this expanded platform can Indigenous voices effectively challenge the colonial legacy persisting in contemporary visual media and establish their own representation that honors Indigenous knowledge, experiences, and worldviews.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Back, Sylvio, dir. 1995. "Yndio Do Brasil." Video, 1:06:10. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=owFYba_OCI4&t=388s&ab_channel=MarcoAur%C3%A9lio.
- Barber, Nicholas. 2011. "The Socio-Political Effects of Narrative and Representational Innovations in Brazilian Indigenous Media." *University of Toronto Art Journal* 4: 1–11.
- Barriendos, Joaquín. 2009. "The Coloniality of Seeing: towards a New Inter-Epistemic Visual Dialogue." Reelaboration of materials that were used for a seminar "La colonialidad del ver: la invención del canibalismo de Indias y los imaginarios visuales trasatlánticos de la modernidad/colonialidad". Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, Ecuador, November.
- Berardo, Rosa. 2013. "A Representação Da Alteridade: Este-reótipos Do Índio Brasileiro No Cinema De Ficção Da Década De 70." *Comunicação & Informação*.
- Bollettin, Paride. 2023. "El protagonismo indígena en la antropología contemporánea." *Revista Científica de Ciencias Sociales y Humanas* 1 (82): 31–43. <https://doi.org/10.33324/uv.v1i82.639>.
- Bollettin, Paride, and Marco Tromboni. 2021. "Anthropology and Museums: Notes from a Course." *Teaching and Learning Anthropology* 4 (2): 27–48. <https://doi.org/10.5070/T30048890>.
- Bolognesi, Luiz, dir. 2021. *A Última Floresta*. Documentary. Gullane Distribuidora. Video, 1:16:06. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P88Mnpkdfa4&t=2-56s&ab_channel=ConfrariaPachamama.

- Bona Moreira, Caio Ricardo. 2018. "Branco também é índio: A construção de uma poética ameríndia em 'Yndio do Brasil', de Sylvio Back." *El jardín de los poetas* 4 (7).
- Borba, Rodrigo, and Tomasso M. Milani. 2019. "Colonial Intertexts: Discourses, Bodies and Stranger Fetishism in the Brazilian Media." *Elsevier* 30. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dcm.2019.01.003>.
- Brenišínová, Monika. 2024. Jak indián (ne)přišel o I aneb Dilema pojmu v současném diskurzu. Několik poznámek na úvod. *Svět literatury* 70 (XXXIV).
- Caminha, Pero Vaz de. 1500. "A Carta." A Biblioteca Virtual do Estudante Brasileiro. <<http://www.bibvirt.futuro.usp.br>>.
- Carneiro da Cunha, Manuela. 1998. *História Dos Índios No Brasil*. Companhia das Letras.
- Clastres, Pierre. 1990. *Society Against the State: Essays in Political Anthropology*. Zone Books.
- Coimbra, Carlos, dir. 1979. *Iracema, A Virgem Dos Lábios de Mel*. Romance. Embrafilme. Video, 1:33:44. <https://m.ok.ru/video/4225254296272>.
- Debret, Jean-Baptiste. *Têtes de Différentes Castes Sauvages Pl.28*. 1835, engraving, 51,4 x 33,4 cm. The New York Public Library, New York. <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/e4b4a390-c6bd-012f-78fd-58d385a7bc34?canvasIndex=0>.
- Demarchi, André, and Diego Madi Dias. 2018. "Vídeo-Ritual: Circuitos Imagéticos e Filmagens Rituais Entre Os Mebêngôkre - Kayapó (Dossiê Olhares Cruzados)." *GIS - Gesto, Imagem E Som - Revista De Antropologia* 3 (1): 38–61. <https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.2525-3123.gis.2018.142-190>.
- Deodato, Ruggero, dir. 1980. *Cannibal Holocaust*. Documentary. United Artists. Video, 1:35:44. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fKuUzoQncic&ab_channel=W-T-H.
- Ellingson, Ter. 2001. *The Myth of the Noble Savage*. University of California Press.
- Felipe, Marcos Aurélio. 2023. "Da colonialidade do ver ao cinema indígena: apontamentos sobre a (contra)colonialidade em Abya Yala." *Revista Antropológica* 66. <https://doi.org/dx.doi.org/10.11606/1678-9857.ra.2022.-201158>.
- Felipe, Marcos Aurélio. 2024. "Domínios do Cinema Indígena: a problemática do sujeito revisitada." *Revista Brasileira de Estudos da Presença* 14 (1). <https://doi.org/10.1590/2237-2660134450vs01>.
- Fjellheim, Eva Maria. 2020. "Through Our Stories We Resist: Decolonial Perspectives on South Saami History, Indigeneity and Rights." In *Indigenous Knowledges and the Sustainable Development Agenda*. Routledge, edited by Anders Breidlid and Roy Krøvel. Routledge.
- Flaherty, Robert, dir. 1922. *Nanook of the North*. Ethnographic documentary. Pathé Exchange. Video, 1:18:23. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lkW14Lu1IBo&ab_channel=Andr%C3%A9Bourbeau.
- Foucault, Michel. 1975. *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Random House, Inc. https://ipfs.io/ipfs/bafykbzacebus4oapbtju3qk7btglj2c5usdwgibetaqngouqblf7m7abjue?filename=Michel%20Foucault%20-%20Discipline%20and%20Punish_%20The%20Birth%20of%20the%20Prison-Vintage%20%282012%29.pdf.
- Gauthier, Jennifer L. 2015. "Embodying Change: Cinematic Representations of Indigenous Women's Bodies, a Cross-Cultural Comparison." *International Journal of Media & Cultural Politics* 11 (3): 283–98. https://doi.org/doi:10.1386/macp.11.3.283_1.
- Gerbner, George. 1998. "Cultivation Analysis: An Overview." *Mass Communication and Society* 1 (3–4): 175–94. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.1998.9677855>.
- Ginsburg, Faye. 1991. "Indigenous Media: Faustian Contract or Global Village?" *Cultural Anthropology* 6 (1): 92–112.
- Gonçalves, Josianne Diniz. 2019. "Em Busca do Personagem Complexo: As Identidades Negra, Indígena e Nordestina no Cinema Brasileiro." MA diss., Universidade de Brasília.
- Gray, Gordon. 2020. *Cinema: A Visual Anthropology*. Routledge.
- Hilger, Michael. 2016. *Native Americans in the Movies Portrayals from Silent Films to the Present*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- History of Science, dir. 2020. *Sylvia Caiuby Novaes - Etnografia em Imagens*. Video. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iwHXX4dBtRs&ab_channel=HistoryofScience.
- Kuikuro, Takumã, Leonardo Sette, and Carlos Fausto, dirs. 2011. *As Hiper Mulheres*. Documentary. Video nas Aldeias. 1:19:28. <https://vimeo.com/ondemand/ashipermulheres/21790-1269>.
- Lacerda, Rodrigo. 2018. "The Collaborative Indigenous Cinema of Video Nas Aldeias and the Intangible Cultural Heritage." *Memoriamedia*.
- Meirelles, Vítor. *Primeira Missa no Brasil*. 1860, oil on canvas. L270 x P357 (cm). Museu Nacional de Belas Artes, Rio de Janeiro. https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/first-mass-in-brazil-v%C3%ADtor-meireles/IQFUWbm_Wu1Xa-A?hl=en.
- Mullins, Steve. 1996. "Haddon, Alfred Cort (1855–1940)." *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 14. <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/haddon-alfred-cort-10386/text18401>.
- Pastina, Antonio la. 2018. "Reproducing Colonial Fantasies: The Indigenous Other in Brazilian Telenovelas." In *From Filmmaker Warriors to Flash Drive Shamans: Indigenous Media Production and Engagement in Latin America*, edited by Richard Pace. Vanderbilt University Press.
- Purkytová, Gabriela. 2020. "Portrayal of American Indians in American and European (Czech) Culture: Sport Mascots and Logos." Diploma Thesis, Charles University. <https://dspace.cuni.cz/bitstream/handle/20.500.11956/119218/120358935.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>.

- Quijano, Anibal. 2000. "Coloniality of Power and Eurocentrism in Latin America." *International Sociology* 15(2): 215-232.
- Reis, Luiz Thomaz, dir. 1917. *Rituais e Festas Borôro*. Ethnographic documentary. Comissão Rondon. Video, 30:49. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o1kQ1KdF43c&ab_channel=PovosInd%C3%ADgenasnoBrasil.
- Roth, Eli, dir. 2013. *The Green Inferno*. Horror. High Top Releasing, BH Tilt, Universal Pictures. Video, 1:40:38. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D0Vzptg9tCs&ab_channel=PAVLAKROUPOVA.
- Šavelková, Livia. 2017. "Native Americans, Film, and the Fourth World Cinema." *The Journal of Culture* 6 (1): 36-44.
- Šavelková, Livia, Jana Jetmarová, and Tomáš Boukal, eds. 2021. *Původní obyvatelé a globalizace*. Pavel Mervart.
- Schwarcz, Lilia. 2005. *O espetáculo das raças: cientistas, instituições e questão racial no Brasil*. 6. Companhia das Letras.
- Shenton, Jamie E. 2018. "As Seen on TV?: Visions of Civilization in Emerging Kichwa Media Markets." In *From Filmmaker Warriors to Flash Drive Shamans: Indigenous Media Production and Engagement in Latin America*, edited by Richard Pace. Vanderbilt University Press.
- Silva, Juliano Gonçalves da. 2007. "Entre o bom e o mau selvagem: ficção e alteridade no cinema brasileiro." *Espaço Ameríndio*, ahead of print, 2007. <https://doi.org/10.22456/1982-6524.2436>.
- Silva Marques, Alexsandro da. 2017. "Corpo e cultura: uma antropofagia em devir." *Revista Acadêmica Gueto* 8: 80-90.
- Singerton, Jonathan, Krizova, Marketa, and Michael Burri (eds.). 2025. *Habsburg Encounters with Native America: Familiar Strangers*. Central European University Press. <https://doi.org/10.5117/9789048571802>
- Turner, Terence. 1992. "Defiant Images: The Kayapo Appropriation of Video." *Anthropology Today* 8 (6): 5-16. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2783265>.
- "Video Nas Aldeias - Apresentação." n.d. Accessed March 2, 2025, Video. <https://videonasaldeias.org.br/2009/vna.php?p=1>.
- Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo B. 1992. "O Mármore e a Murta: Sobre a Inconstância Da Alma Selvagem." *Revista de Antropologia*. 35: 21-74. <https://doi.org/10.11606/2179-0892.ra.1992.111318>.

Spirituality of Tupi Guarani, Gurani Mbya and Nhandeva Indigenous communities in Brazil

KLÁRA KINDEL

Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Science, Masaryk University

Abstract: Spirituality is an integral part of the everyday life of the Tupi Guarani, Guarani Mbya, and Nhandeva Indigenous communities in Brazil. This article is based on one and a half months of ethnographic fieldwork among these communities, during which I had the opportunity to experience their spirituality firsthand. I explore key concepts that shape their spiritual reality, including Nhanderu, the father and creator, and Nhe'e (the soul), which embarks on its journey after death to Ywy Maraey, the Land Without Evil. Additionally, I discuss the role of spiritual leaders and other significant aspects of their spirituality, highlighting how these realities continue to guide daily life, rituals, and the relationship between the living and the dead.

Key words: spirituality, Indigenous people, Brazil, ethnography, interview

Spirituality

"When the non-indigenous people arrived, they thought we didn't know a god, that we had no souls, no religion, and that we were nothing. But we always had a soul and believed in a god, the one that made everything."

Dona Catarina (interview with the author 2024)

Spirituality is a concept that can be defined in many ways. There are countless definitions, and most of them suggest that spirituality involves a person's trust in something "transcendental" than themselves, whether that be a higher power, the universe, or a deeper connection with the world around them.

For example, Astrow et al. (2001, 283) defined spirituality as "...the search for transcendent meaning," which can manifest through religious practices or be expressed "exclusively through a person's connection with nature, music, art, a set of philosophical beliefs, or relationships with friends and family." Similarly, Mohr et al. (2006; 1952) defined it as "a person's

experience or belief in a power separate from their own existence."

Spirituality is a significant part of the daily lives of the Tupi Guarani, Guarani Mbya, and Nhandeva communities, with whom I realised the fieldwork described in this paper. Over time, they have faced many outside influences trying to change their spirituality (Moreira-Almeida, Mosqueiro and Bhugra 2021).

One of the biggest impacts came with the arrival of the Jesuits in the 16th century, who aimed to convert Indigenous people to Christianity (Wilde 2015, 58–59). By the early 17th century, the Jesuits had established around thirty missions in the Jesuit Province of Paraguay – now part of Argentina, Paraguay, and Brazil (López et al. 2018), which became home to roughly 140,000 Indigenous people (Wilde 2015).

The Jesuits soon understood the deeply spiritual life of the Guarani people, so they studied the Guarani language and traditions and tried to blend elements of Guarani mythology into their teachings to make Christianity more relatable and easier to accept (López et al.

2018). For example, Clastres (1978) wrote that Nóbrega, one of the first European missionaries to arrive on the coasts of Brazil, mentioned that the Indigenous people called thunder "*Tupã*" and considered it as "something divine". So, the missionary proposed to use "Pai Tupa" (Father Tupa) as a convenient expression for the introduction of the Christian god.

With the introduction of Christianity, many traditional Indigenous practices were suppressed. The Jesuits saw parts of Indigenous practices, like shamanistic rituals, as conflicting with Christian beliefs. Because of this, several of their cultural heritage were lost, changed or syncretised to fit into Christian teachings¹ (Shapiro 1987).

This blending of traditions can also be seen in the role of shamans, as well as in other practices. Even though the Catholic Church once opposed shamanism, many Guarani shamans have integrated Christian symbols and prayers into their healing rituals, creating a fusion of spiritual practices that reflect their evolving cultural identity (Shapiro 1987).

Important works by Brazilian scholars exploring the spirituality and relationship with death of Indigenous peoples include those by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro and Manuela Carneiro da Cunha. In *Araweté: Os Deuses Canibais* (1986), Viveiros de Castro examines the social organization of the Araweté, a Tupi-Guarani people from the eastern Amazon (Middle Xingu, Brazil), with a focus on their concepts of personhood, death, divinity, shamanism, and warfare. Similarly, the pioneering book *Os Mortos e os Outros* (1978) by Manuela Carneiro da Cunha explores how the Krahô people understand death, personhood, and the social world, especially the relationship between the living and the dead. These works show the continuity of Amerindian spirituality and relations with death in the face of colonial processes.

In this article, I will explore key spiritual concepts of Tupi Guarani, Guarani Mbya and Nhandeva Indigenous communities from Renascer, Municipality of Ubatuba, and villages Nhamandu Mirim and Tapirema from Piaçaguera Indigenous Land, both located in the State of São Paulo, Brazil. In the face of the colonisation processes described above, and the ongoing pressures from the wider society, it becomes important to observe how the spirituality of these people still occupies a central space in their lives.

The Concept of *Nhe'e*

In the center of Tupi-Guarani spirituality lies the *Nhe'e*. In the book *The Legends of the Creation and Destruction of the World*, Nimuendaju (1941) already explained the Guarani theory of the soul through a spiritual dualism of the human being: the celestial soul (*ayvucué*) and the earthly animal soul (*acyiguá*). Calmness and gentle dispositions are manifestations of *ayvucué*, whereas restlessness and violent or negative actions stem from *acyiguá*.

Macedo (2011) mentions that *Nhe'es* of the Guarani people are of celestial and divine origin, not mentioning the earthly aspect of it. In her work, she also emphasizes that some Guarani people say that the *Nhe'e* of white people can be of a different origin.

We were sitting at the dinner table in Lenira's house. Lenira, a teacher and leader in the village of Nhamandu Mirim, lived in the house that had become home to me during my month-long stay in Nhamandu Mirim, Brazil. It was one of my first days together with the Tupi-Guarani of the Piaçaguera Indigenous Land. I wanted to find out more about the *Nhe'e*, as it was hard for me to understand this concept. Curious, I asked Lenira where the *Nhe'e* is situated, and she answered, "*Nhe'e is inside the body. The body is just a shell, a cape, or a cloak.*" Although *Nhe'e* is inside the body, it is not firmly bound to it and can leave without the person dying. It can depart during songs, smoke, or ceremonies, where the body faints and the soul travels to different realms. The *Nhe'e* also travels through dreams, which allows *Nhe'e* to gain insight into events occurring in other villages. However, it must return before the body awakens, otherwise, they risk falling ill or even dying (Macedo 2011). Refatti elaborates on this concept, stating: "*Dreams are journeys of the soul, a journey of *Nhe'e*, which, taking advantage of the body's rest, travels the sacred paths where it can encounter the *Nhe'e* of other people, distant relatives, or even ancestors who already dwell in the world of the dead*" (2015, 91).

In some cases, one may even encounter *Nhanderu* (the creator, a central figure in Guarani cosmology, will be elaborated later).

When a child is born, it initially lacks a soul, receiving only its body from *Nhanderu*. The *Nhe'e* finds the child's body when the child is ready, a moment marked by the first signs of speech and physical strength. Initially, parents must take precautions to prevent the soul from

¹ However, in other cases, Indigenous people actively manipulated the supposed "conversion" to create alliances with white colonizers (Viveiros de Castro 1992). The same dynamic can be observed today in response to the actions of Protestant missionaries, as seen among the Mebengokré (Bollettin 2013).

leaving, such as avoiding certain foods and anything that can cut the body. As the child grows, they must live according to *Nhanderu's* desires, following the way of *Nhandereko* (a proper way of living, which will be described later) (Benites 2016; Refatti 2015).

Cadogan (1959) translated *Nhe'e* as a "soul-word", suggesting that it is not only a spiritual concept but also a linguistic one. This translation suggests that the relationship between speech and the soul is crucial. The spoken word is considered a medium through which the soul communicates with the external world. It is important to be cautious with words, prioritizing good speech over insults or harmful words. If people live a good life on earth, they take care of their *Nhe'e* and grow closer to *Nhanderu*, which ensures that when they die, they can find their way back to the Land Without Evil (afterlife, final destination of *Nhe'e*, to be explained later). In some cases, a person may appear to be dead but continues speaking and breathing because their *Nhe'e* still inhabits the body. Conversely, when the *Nhe'e* leaves the body before death, it can be identified because the person loses the ability to communicate normally, speaking strange or nonsensical things, as language is a primary manifestation of the *Nhe'e* (Refatti 2015).

This strong connection between speech and *Nhe'e* makes me reflect on the relationship with words among the Guarani Mbya people. Every Guarani Mbya person I met spoke very carefully and quietly, which made me wonder if it is because they are consciously protecting their *Nhe'e*².

To reach the Land Without Evil, it is essential to care for the soul, as it is fragile and can leave the person. Refatti (2015) emphasizes that practices such as visiting the prayer house, smoking the *petyngua* (sacred pipe), listening to and respecting the elders, respecting silence, avoiding leaving the house during lightning, and adhering to diets and physical work, all contribute to the well-being of the body and the happiness of the soul.

The Land Without Evil

The *Nhe'e* continues to exist after the physical death, embarking on a spiritual journey to *YvyMaraey* (The Land Without Evil) – the final destination of the *Nhe'e*. Regarding that, Lenira said: "*It is a place behind the ocean, an infinite path. A place where what you plant one day, you can eat the next. Along this path, the spirits go dancing and are eternally happy.*"

Guaciane, a young leader in village Tapirema, also added: "*Things there are indestructible, forever lasting, and no evil is present there.*" Interestingly, the views on who can reach this destination vary. Guaciane mentioned that all spirits may reach *Yvy Maraey*, and it does not matter if the person is a good or bad one. Papá, a spiritual leader from Renascer, and Lenira, a leader from Nhamandu Mirim, stated that only good people may reach *Yvy Maraey*. Dona Catarina, a spiritual leader from Tapirema, similarly explained that "*only good people may die.*" This statement does not imply that immoral people are physically unable to die; rather, it suggests that dying is understood as a spiritual process in which a person must become good, which allows them to pass on to the afterlife. Lenira further added that those with strong spirituality will continue there. Benites, Abel, and Pinna (2022) emphasize that to reach *Yvy Maraey*, people must live by the *Nhandereko*. *Nhandereko* is a core concept in Tupi-Guarani culture that reflects their way of life, emphasizing cultural identity, sustainable agricultural practices, spiritual connections, and knowledge transmission. It represents the Guarani's links to their ancestors, and it focuses on farming for community needs rather than commercial gain. Knowledge of *Nhandereko* is passed down communally, preserving their cultural heritage and deep relationship with nature, tradition, and community (Larín 2020). Benites, Abel, and Pinna (2022) discuss how rituals like chanting during *Mborai* ceremonies are essential in facilitating the journey of the soul to the Land Without Evil. *Mborai* stands for chanting, and it has a deep relevance in various aspects of life and death. It is important for communication with spirits and for receiving strength. Singing helps the soul detach from earthly worries and negativity, making its journey to the Land Without Evil easier.

Up to this day, migrations with the purpose of finding a Land Without Evil are being conducted. Evidence about these travels exists even before the precolonial period, showing the continuity of this practice (Shapiro 1987; Machado and Ortiz 2019; Léry 1578). Clastres (1978) and Léry (1578) states that the belief in an earthly paradise has been viewed as the heart of Tupi-Guarani religion.

Nhanderu – The Creator

Nhanderu, often referred to by the Guarani as *Nhanderuvucu*, *Nhanderu Ete*, or *Nhanderu Utsu*, is a central

2 For more information see Políticas e poéticas em variações discursivas Tupi Guarani, by Amanda Cristina Danaga (2021).

figure in Tupi-Guarani cosmology. He is the creator and "father" of Tupi-Guarani communities.

To learn more about *Nhanderu*, together with a colleague with whom we were in the Indigenos Land, we travelled to Tapirema, a village also located within the Piaçaguera territory. I had heard that Dona Catarina is a leader with strong spirituality, so I asked if she would be willing to speak with me. She kindly agreed to an interview. During our conversation Dona Catarina described *Nhanderu* in the following terms: "*Nhanderu came from the sky to create the earth. It took him seven days. He created the forest, the rivers, the land- everything you see is his creation. We are a mirror of him; everything is a God.*"

He is seen as the original creator who formed both the physical world and the spiritual realms. However, he is not just a distant creator but an active and engaging presence in the lives of the communities (Castro e Silva and Hünemeier 2023). Dona Catarina expressed that their communities pray and sing directly to *Nhanderu*, without intermediaries like Jesus, comparing it to bypassing a secretary to speak directly with a president. According to her, while this direct approach may take longer, when the miracle happens, it is immediate. However, reaching *Nhanderu* requires strength and discipline to stay on the right path.

There are different opinions on what *Nhanderu* looks like, but Lenira imagines and describes him as a beautiful indigenous man, with a face "*that shines like a light.*" Dona Catarina described him: "*He is a person, right? Like us, because he made us like him, he is invisible and very powerful.*"

In the book *Remédio do mato*, which is dedicated to the knowledge and written with the people from the Piaçaguera Indigenous Land, the authors *Nymbopyruá* (Dona Catarina), *Takuá*, *Poitena* (2023, 57) mention the presence of Guardians – helpers of *Nhanderu*. They state that:

"The Indigenous people talk to the river, the forest, the mountains and the plants, always asking for permission to enter, to penetrate and other, because for Indigenous people, all the elements and beings of nature have a Guardian who, in the Tupi Guarani language, is called Paragwy djary."

This correlates with what I was told, that *Nhanderu* is not alone; he has helpers known as the Guardians. Lenira called them *Ka'agwydja-Kwery*, and she said: "*Every being has its Guardian, offering protection, except for the people, as they are under the protection of Nhanderu himself.*" For the Tupi-Guarani, Guarani Mbya, and Nhandeva peoples with whom I lived, every-

thing in nature is alive and, therefore, a living being – trees, grass, fire, stones, everything is alive and has its own Guardian. If you harm a being, its Guardian may punish you.

Along with my colleague, we were invited to visit Papá at his home in the beautiful village of Renascer, surrounded by the Atlantic Forest. Papá, a respected spiritual leader in the community and Katu, Papá's wife, welcomed us warmly. Sitting on the porch of their house, Papá shared with me an experience of being punished by a Guardian spirit. Katu added that the same had happened to her brother, he had gone to cut a palm tree without asking permission to their Guardian, fainted, and was lost in the forest for seven days. Papá then remarked: "*It is not unusual,*" referring to such encounters with Guardians, "*but some Indigenous people are not as lucky as I and are never found again.*"

Interactions between the Living and the Dead

The world of the dead and the world of the living are not entirely separate, they are intertwined, interacting with each other. Throughout my fieldwork, I came across several proofs of these interactions. Papá told me:

"The dead live in darkness. When you light a fire, they will go away. But when it is dark, they go hunting, targeting those who are spiritually weak. That's why people should not go out at night and why the fire is so important."

I experienced this kind of interaction firsthand. During my first days in Renascer, I unknowingly stepped onto a piece of land where one should not go without spiritual preparation, it was a cemetery. After that, Papá warned me that the spirit might punish my body for the disruption I caused. It was a very serious situation, which left me, my colleagues, and the people living in the village deeply concerned. A few days later, I began experiencing seizure-like episodes, during which I would shake, faint, and feel the spirits taking the warmth from my body as they "*want to take me on their site*" as Papá explained. I was then advised to apologize to nature, and the struggles thankfully stopped.

Another story was told by Dona Catarina. She described:

"There was a place with a tree that people were always afraid to pass under. My brother walked by it and became very sick. Then, my father, who was a Pajé (shaman), performed a blessing and asked Nhanderu to cleanse the area because there was a bad spirit. And it happened. A strong thunderstorm came after a week. A lightning bolt struck the tree,

splitting it open. It was very big, a Jambolão tree with small fruits. It split in half, and the fire burned there for about two or three days. After that day, no one was ever afraid to pass under the tree again."

The important thing is that the relationship is always controlled by the living, keeping the dead at a safe distance. Thus, when the soul wanders the earth because it has not found its destined place, it can endanger the living (Allard 2000). For comparison, the Mebengokr³ explain that the spirits of the dead, driven by longing for the living, can return to seek contact, yet this makes their presence dangerous for the living (Bollettin, 2014).

Opy – the prayer house

The prayer house, or *Opy*, is an important place. It is not just a building; it is a place of spiritual connection, where people gather, and ceremonies happen.

The prayer house is built on the place where *Amba* happened. *Amba* is a sign that is believed to link the earth (*yvy*) and the sky (*yva*). *Amba* can be discovered in various ways: sometimes a lightning strike in the forest reveals it, or it might appear in a dream (Macedo 2011).

The prayer house is typically a wooden building with a palm-leaf roof. Usually of a rectangular shape. Orientation is very important; the altar should face the rising sun, and the entrance should be the opposite way (Macedo 2011).

In Renascer, the *Opy* was a rectangular wooden building. Near the entrance, there were stools placed for women to sit, while along the side wall, two benches were designated for the men. A fire was kept lit in one half of the prayer house. Opposite the entrance stood the altar, which resembled a large bowl mounted on a trunk.

The *Opy* is a place where ceremonies are happening, like the *moataxi* and *pyxy* (healing ceremonies) during which the tobacco smoke is blown, and hands are rubbed on the affected areas. Because the healing ceremony opens a connection between worlds, the prayer house must be sealed – the door and windows of the prayer house must stay closed. If they were not closed, the harmful spirits or energies may get in. The most well-known harmful force among the Tupi-Guarani is the spiritual essence left behind on earth after someone dies – *ague*. These forces all belong to the earthly world, called *yvyrupa* or *yvyvai*, meaning "bad" or "imperfect" earth. This is different from the divine

or celestial origin and destination of the soul *nhe'e* (Macedo 2011).

Even though the ceremonies involve dealing with harmful spirits, which are connected to different parts of nature, the goal is to remove them from both the person and the prayer house. After the tobacco smoke and suction are used to draw out these harmful forces, they take shape in objects like small stones, bits of earth, insects, or even invisible forms. These objects must then be burned in the fire on the ground or inside the *petyngua* (sacred pipe) to complete the cleansing process (Macedo 2011).

I had the opportunity to visit the prayer house in Renascer few times. The second time we went there was to attend a welcoming ceremony. During the ceremony, men and women sat separately in different parts of the building, with a fire burning at the center. The ceremony began with the rhythmic sounds of drums and a guitar. After some time, my colleague and I were invited to sit near the altar at the front, which left us very nervous at first, as our two other colleagues who did not pass on the land with the cemetery were not. When we took a seat, Katu, the wife of Papá, stood up, and we were officially welcomed into the village. Following this, everyone stood up, singing and dancing together.

Another visit to the prayer house was to do a protection painting for our upcoming trip to the Atlantic Forest. The paintings were done on faces with the *achiote* plant, which serves as food as well as a red dye. On me and my other female colleagues, paintings were done by a woman, and on our male colleagues by a man. On the faces of women, the painting was a straight line across our noses and cheeks. On the men, the painting was two vertical lines on the cheeks under the eyes.

Warnings and Signs before Death

When we went to the forest to see a waterfall with my colleagues and Thiago, one of the leaders from Renascer, we heard a bird singing on our way back. We then quietly sat on a tree trunk, and Thiago explained that the bird we heard was a *Taguato*.

The *Taguato* is a type of hawk, and its song sounds like it is saying "let go" in the Guarani language; in English it is known as the roadside hawk, in Latin *Rupornis magnirostris*. Thiago told us that hearing a *Taguato* is a warning that someone close to you may die. To protect yourself and your beloved ones, you should seek the help of a *Pajé* (a spiritual leader or shaman). If it's too late, what was foreseen will come true.

3 Mebengokr³ is a group of Indigenous people living in central Brazil along the banks of the Bacajá river (Bollettin 2014).

Later, during an interview with Papá, he shared another perspective on the *Taguato*. He said that the *Taguato* is a reincarnated *Pajé*, although not all *Pajés* become *Taguato*. When *Taguato* gives its warning, he added: "half of the sky will turn red."

On our last morning in Renascer, my colleague and I, along with two colleagues from the State University of São Paulo who had accompanied us for half of our fieldwork, were packing to travel to the village of Nhamandu Mirim, where we would continue our research.

Suddenly, we heard a *Taguato*, and shortly after, the dogs in the village began to bark. Fabiana, the school principal, made an unsettling prediction, that someone may die.

Dreams also serve as another type of warning. Among Indigenous communities, dreams hold a very different meaning and significance compared to those in Western society. In the Guarani language, the word for "dream" is *-exa ra'u*, which translates to "see sleeping" (Macedo 2011).

Lenira shared a story that complements this perspective. She recounted: "A woman appeared in her daughter-in-law's dream to say goodbye. The next day, news arrived of her death. That night, she appeared in her son's dream, offering him advice about life."

Lenira then offered me another example of experiencing a warning before death. She explained that her son, a person with strong spirituality, once went to the prayer house and received the spirit of *Wyrá'idja* into his body (*Wyrá* means wood, and *idja* means owner or Guardian. The tree symbolizes life, making *Wyrá'idja* the spirit of life, which purifies, cleanses illness, and brings warnings). Her son said that the message he received from the spirit foreshadowed the death of a *txedjary* (an elder). A few months later, Vagner's mother, Lenira's companion, was hospitalized and passed away.

The Pajé

The *Pajé*, often translated as a shaman, plays an important role among the Tupi-Guarani people⁴. As a mediator between the human world and the spirit one, the *Pajés* possess the ability to influence both spiritual and physical realities, guiding their community through rituals, healing practices, and interactions with celestial beings (Shapiro 1987).

Papá explained:

"Being Pajé is partially a gift that they are born with, but it also has to be trained. Pajés must follow many restrictions. They cannot touch money; they should not eat industrially processed food – they should eat what is made in the territory, because their body must become neutral. Pajés cannot waste words; they must speak only sparingly. They cannot swear or hurt people with their words because it would come back to their own body."

He also mentioned that not every village has a *Pajé*. Sometimes, *Pajés* must travel to other villages, or people in need must travel to find one.

Regarding female *Pajés*, he stated:

"Women are Pajés too, but they face discrimination, so they hide from white people. Female Pajés are even more important – they go through labour, help with childbirth, care for children, and have a closer connection to herbs."

Historically, *Pajés*, especially those with transcendent powers – known as *Caraiba* – led migrations to find Land Without Evil, as they are believed to have the ability to locate it. Due to their authority, they are free to move among different communities as their importance extends beyond village politics⁵. The *Caraiba* lived outside the normal social structure of family ties and political alliances. He could move between villages, even those at war. When a *Caraiba* visited some village, it was a significant event, often marked by long speeches where the "Land Without Evil" was a key topic (Shapiro 1987).

Clastres, in her book *The Land-without-Evil: Tupi-Guarani Prophetism* (1978), mentions a Hierarchy among the *Pajés* of Apapocuva Guarani people, where the people are divided into four categories based on their shamanistic gifts. The first, negative, gathers those who do not possess any chant, that is, those who have not yet received, inspiration. Most adolescents and a few rare adults who are decisively averse to dealing with spirits belong to this category, and they can never lead dances. The second category includes everyone, men and women, who possess one or more chants – proof that they have an auxiliary spirit without, however, being endowed with a power that can be used for collective purposes. Some of these (those approaching the third category) can lead certain dances. The largest

⁴ For broader perspectives on the centrality of shamanism among other Indigenous peoples in South America, see Taussig (1987), Kopenawa and Albert (2013), or Bollettin (2023).

⁵ For more information about Tupi-Guarani politics see *Encontros, efeitos e afetos. Discursos de uma liderança Tupi*, by Amanda Cristina Danaga (2016).

number of adults of both sexes belongs to this group. The third category is that of the true shamans, the *Pajés*: capable of healing, predicting, discovering the names of newborns. Men and women are included here, and they are entitled to the title of "*Nanderu*" or "*Nandesy*" (our father, our mother). Only men can ascend to the fourth category, the great shamans. These often become the political leaders of the group.

During colonial times, *Pajés* presented a challenge for missionaries who aimed to convert people to Christianity, as they were seen as influential figures who could lead people away from Christian teachings. Missionaries tried to undermine shamans by branding them as frauds or servants of the Devil (Shapiro 1987).

Conclusion

The spirituality of the Tupi Guarani, Guarani Mbya, and Nhandeva peoples is a living system deeply rooted in their cosmology, oral tradition, and everyday life. Central concepts such as *Nhe'e* (the soul), *Nhanderu* (the creator), the *Ywy Maraey* (Afterlife) the role of the *Pajé*, and the sacred space of the *Opy* are not abstract ideas but active forces shaping how these communities understand and live the world.

Since colonial times, these traditions have undergone significant transformations. The arrival of missionaries, territorial displacement, and external religious and political pressures have challenged Indigenous ways of life. Yet, instead of disappearing, these spiritual practices have shown resilience. In many cases, elements were adapted, hidden, or reinterpreted to survive.

What stands out most from the fieldwork is that spirituality is not simply preserved, it is lived. The connection between the living and the dead, between humans and nature, remains strong and respected.

Despite historical and ongoing threats, there is a powerful and conscious effort among the Tupi Guarani, Mbya, and Nhandeva to protect and pass down their spiritual knowledge through ceremonies, language, storytelling, and everyday practices. This actions also are mobilised in the appropriation of new instruments, such as the activities of Lenira in the school (Bollettin, Danaga and Peggion, 2024), expressing a strong resistance of these people in front of the impacts of the colonial processes. In this direction, by documenting these spiritual concepts, this article challenges narratives of cultural loss and highlights the resilience of Tupi-Guarani, Guarani Mbya and Nhandeva cosmology.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allard, Olivier. 2000. "Passé/Présent des rites funéraires guarani." MA thesis, Université de Paris X–Nanterre, Département d'Ethnologie.
https://www.academia.edu/37309131/Pass%C3%A9-9_pr%C3%A9sent_des_rites_fun%C3%A9raires_guarani.
- Astrow, Alan B., Christina M. Puchalski, and Daniel P. Sulmasy. 2001. "Religion, Spirituality, and Health Care: Social, Ethical, and Practical Considerations." *The American Journal of Medicine* 110 (4): 283–87.
[https://doi.org/10.1016/s0002-9343\(00\)00708-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/s0002-9343(00)00708-7).
- Benites, Sandra. 2016. "Ore Arandu (Nosso Conhecimento Guarani): Sobre Nheê – Espíritonome / Ore Arandu (Our Knowledge): About Nheê – Spirit Name." *Ara Rete*, 2016.
<https://klineeditora.com/revistajesushistorico/arquivos20/6%20-ara-rete-sandra-benites.pdf>.
- Benites, Sandra, Renata Abel, and Renan Pinna. 2022. "Entre Palavras, Cantos e Escuta: Notas sobre Sonoridades Guarani nos Contextos entre Vida e Morte." In *Anais da ReACT – Reunião de Antropologia da Ciência e Tecnologia* 5 (5).
<https://ocs.ige.unicamp.br/ojs/react/article/view/3853>.
- Bollettin, Paride. 2014. "Il morto non sono io." In *Sulle rive dell'Acheronte*, edited by Igor Baglioni. Quasar Edizioni.
https://www.academia.edu/9737451/Il_morto_non_sono_io.
- Bollettin, Paride, Amanda Danaga, and Edmundo Peggion. 2024. "Encounters between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Schools: Reflections from an Ongoing Action." *Conhecimento & Diversidade* 16 (44): 663–83.
<https://doi.org/10.18316/rcd.v16i44.12239>.
- Cadogan, León. 1959. *Ayvu Rapyta: Textos Míticos de los Mbyá-Guaraní del Guairá*. Universidade de São Paulo.
- Carneiro da Cunha, Manuela. 1978. *Os mortos e os outros*. Editora Hucitec.
- Castro e Silva, M. A., and T. Hünemeier. 2023. "A Multidisciplinary Overview on the Tupi-Speaking People Expansion." *American Journal of Biological Anthropology*.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/ajpa.24876>.
- Clastres, Hélène. 1978. *Terra sem mal*. Translated by Renato Janine Ribeiro. Editora Brasiliense.
- Danaga, Amanda. 2016. "Encontros, efeitos e afetos. Discursos de uma liderança Tupi." PhD diss., Universidade Federal de São Carlos.
https://bdtd.ibict.br/vufind/Record/SCAR_fec70bc9ade63f0a45f6cf59fe073c8f.
- Danaga, Amanda. 2021. "Políticas e poéticas em variações discursivas Tupi Guarani." *Revista De Antropologia Da UFSCar*, 13(1), 17–38.
<https://doi.org/10.52426/rau.v13i1.363>.
- Kopenawa, Davi, and Bruce Albert. 2013. *The Falling Sky*:

- Words of a Yanomami Shaman*. Translated by Nicholas Elliott and Alison Dundy. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Léry, Jean de. 1578. *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil, autrement dite Amérique*. La Rochelle: Antoine Chuppin.
<https://archive.org/details/histoiredunvoyag01lryj/page/n41/mode/2up>.
- Larín, Leticia. 2020. "On the Link – Between an Artisan, Farmer, among Others, Guarani (Nhandéva) and a Contemporary Visual Artist from São Paulo – That Caused the Emergency of Artistic Cultural Projects in Co-Authorship." *UMÁTICA: Revista sobre Creación y Análisis de la Imagen* 2 (3).
<https://doi.org/10.24310/Umatica.2020.v2i3.11312>.
- López, Alejandro, Martin M. Gamboa Lerena, and Armando Mudrik. 2018. "Churches Orientations in the Jesuits Missions among Guarani People." *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 18 (4): 165–71.
<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.1478668>.
- Macedo, Valeria. 2011. "Tracking Guarani Songs: Between Villages, Cities, and Worlds." *Vibrant* 8 (1): 377–410.
<https://doi.org/10.1590/S1809-43412011000100014>.
- Machado, Almires Martins, and Rosalvo Ivarra Ortiz. 2019. "Tekoá Pyaú: A Busca da Morada Celeste Guarani Mbyá da Amazônia Meridional." *Espaço Ameríndio* 13 (1): 300–20.
<https://doi.org/10.22456/1982-6524.83833>.
- Mohr, Sylvia, Pierre-Yves Brandt, Laurence Borrás, and Philippe Huguelet. 2006. "Toward an Integration of Spirituality and Religiousness into the Psychosocial Dimension of Schizophrenia." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 163 (11): 1952–59.
<https://doi.org/10.1176/appi.ajp.163.11.1952>.
- Moreira-Almeida, Alexander, Ben Hur P. Mosqueiro, and Dinesh Bhugra, eds. 2021. *Spirituality and Mental Health Across Cultures*. Oxford University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/med/9780198846833.001.0001>
- Nimuendaju, Curt. 1987. *As lendas da criação e destruição do mundo como fundamentos da religião dos Apapocuva-Guarani*. Hucitec.
- Nymbopyruá, Catarina, Takuá, Simone and Poitena, Andreza. 2023. *Remédiodo mato: cura e cultura através da Floresta* [Medicine of the Forest – Healing and Culture Through the Forest]. PROAC, Governo do Estado de São Paulo.
- Refatti, Denize. 2015. "Os sonhos e os caminhos do Nhe'e: Uma etnografia da experiência onírica como fonte de conhecimento entre os Ava Guarani de Ocoy." MA thesis, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina.
<https://repositorio.ufsc.br/bitstream/handle/1234567-89/135105/334510.pdf?sequence=1>.
- Shapiro, Judith. 1987. "From Tupã to the Land without Evil: The Christianization of Tupi Guarani Cosmology." *American Ethnologist* 14 (1): 126–39.
<https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.1987.14.1.02a00080>.
- Taussig, Michael T. 1987. *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing*. University of Chicago Press.
- Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo. 1986. *Araweté: os deuses canibais*. ANPOCS.
- Wilde, Guillermo Luis. 2015. "Imagining Guaranis and Jesuits: Yesterday's History, Today's Perspective." *Re-Vista: Harvard Review of Latin America* 14 (3): 58–60. Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies.
<https://revista.drclas.harvard.edu/imagining-guaranis-and-jesuits/>.

Produkování budoucností původními obyvateli Brazílie

PARIDE BOLLETTIN

Department of Anthropology, Masaryk University
Postgraduate Program in Social Sciences, State University of São Paulo
Centro Studi Americanistici Circolo Amerindiano

Abstract: In this paper, I will reflect on how the future shapes the experiences and actions of Indigenous people in Brazil. Growing political protagonism, inclusion in universities, and digital activism underscore how Indigenous people actively work to create their futures. Meanwhile, in their public engagement, academic productions, and digital interventions, they also connect these futures with ancestry and memory. In this context, I propose that present engagements and actions are shaped by multiple concurrent temporalities, necessitating a creative pluralisation of experiences.

Úvod: Co znamená jít na Měsíc?

V posledních letech, kdy čelíme narůstající sociální a environmentální krizi, antropologové věnují více pozornosti výzvám, které přináší nejistá budoucnost (Tsing et al. 2017). V tomto směru lze pozorovat rozmach studií, které zkoumají, jak představivost, očekávání nebo strach z „budoucnosti“ ovlivňují sociální život v přítomnosti (Hannerz 2016; Collin, 2021; Altstaedt 2024). Tyto debaty se zabývají možností posunu od unilinéárního vnímání času, které je založeno na předpokladu, že čas plyne pouze z minulosti do přítomnosti. Místo toho tyto debaty naznačují, že by bylo možné chápat „přítomnost“ jako výsledek „budoucnosti“ v akci, což znamená, že jednání lidí je ovlivněno jejich chápáním, očekáváním či obavami z budoucnosti (Bryant a Knight 2019). V současných bouřlivých časech, kdy čelíme environmentálním, ekonomickým, sociálním a vojenským krizím, které vyvolávají nejistotu ohledně budoucnosti lidstva a planety, je představa vesmírných cest prezentována jako možné řešení pro lidstvo (Szolucha 2022; Salazar a Gorman 2023). Tento závod o dobývání vesmíru a kolonizaci jiných planet však lze vnímat jako ústřední součást procesu komercializace, militarizace a elitizace budoucnosti (Suchman 2007; Young a Docherty 2024).

Mezitím se objevují a nabývají na viditelnosti alternativní představy budoucnosti. Tyto alternativy odha-

lují koloniální základy techno-utopické budoucnosti, která je prezentována jako řešení současných mnohonásobných krizí. „Indigenní futurismus“, jak jej definuje badatelka a spisovatelka z řad severoamerických původních národů Anišinábé Grace Dillon (2012), vybízí k nahlížení času jako cyklického jevu. Tím zdůrazňuje provázanost minulosti, přítomnosti a budoucnosti a zároveň zpochybňuje lineární chápání časového toku. Tyto koncepty vybízejí k pohledu na „budoucnost“ z okraje, jako formu pluralizace zkušeností směrem k inkluzivnějším „budoucnostem“ (Taylor et al. 2024). Původní obyvatelé Brazílie, dříve neviditelní a marginalizovaní ve většinové společnosti, dnes artikulují své požadavky a kladou „budoucnosti“ do centra svých ontologických, epistemologických i politických nároků. Původní národy prezentují tyto budoucnosti jako pluralitní, což úzce souvisí s jejich požadavkem na uznání vlastní rozmanitosti jakožto formy politického boje v rámci širší společnosti. V tomto článku se chci věnovat otázce zkušeností s těmito „budoucnostmi“ prostřednictvím popisu a reflexe některých návrhů formulovaných původními obyvateli Brazílie. Ukážu, jak jsou tyto budoucnosti uváděny do praxe, vyprávěny a nárokovány a jakým způsobem mohou obohatit antropologické debaty a přispět k širším formám politického angažmá.

Jako užitečný výchozí bod může posloužit příběh, který uvádí intelektuál a spisovatel z řad původních

obyvatel z brazilského státu Rondônia Daniel Munduruku:

„Víte, že člověk už byl na Měsíci?‘ Starý muž ani nezvedl hlavu a dál pokračoval ve své činnosti. Profesorka nebyla spokojená a otázku zopakovala, ale starý muž mlčel. Rozhořčená profesorka zvýšila hlas: ‘Víte, že člověk byl na Měsíci?‘ Starý muž se velmi pomalu postavil a, dívaje se dívce do očí, odpověděl s profesorským výrazem: ‘Ano, vím, slečno. Byl jsem tam’“ (Munduruku 1999, 59)!

Tento příběh ilustruje alternativní pojetí cesty do vesmíru jako projevu možné „budoucnosti“. Pro profesorku v příběhu představuje přistání člověka na Měsíci metonymií pokrokového, lineárně chápaného času směřujícího k budoucnosti definované kumulativním technologickým vývojem. Slova domorodého muže naopak představují potvrzení ztělesněné zkušenosti možných kontinuit mezi „předky“ (k tomuto pojmu se vrátím později) a „budoucnostmi“. Tento nesoulad dvou temporalit vyvolává zásadní otázku po způsobech prožívání a představování budoucnosti. „Být tam“ nepředstavuje pouze potvrzení cyklického vnímání času, ale zároveň staví přítomnost a jednání jako ústřední složky zkušenosti, čímž dává subjektu roli protagonisty techno-futuristické výpravy na Měsíc. Tento rozpor ukazuje, jak jsou temporality, budoucnosti a mocenské vztahy úzce propojené. Cesta na Měsíc se v tomto příběhu stává současně potvrzením ideologie techno-futurismu a nárokem původních obyvatel na současnost a vlastní schopnost jednat.

Antropologie, původní obyvatelé Brazílie a mnohonásobné temporality

Antropologové vedli dlouhé debaty o různých temporalitách a o tom, jak tyto temporality formují a jsou formovány sociálními procesy. Čas, jeho prožívání a vnímání, byl rámován jako sociální konstrukt, který se liší napříč různými kulturami a společnostmi a je tudíž považován za ovlivněný kolektivními reprezentacemi (Mauss 1904). Budoucnost je v tomto rámci strukturována sociálními normami, očekáváními a rytmy, a není tedy čistě lineární entitou. V tzv. „tradičních společnostech“ je čas často popisován jako pohlčený mýtickým vědomím (Lévi-Strauss 1961), v kontrastu s pojetím historicity, které je vlastní západní perspektivě. Budoucnost je tak cyklická a zakotvená v opakování „struktur“.

V jiném směru lze čas chápat jako fenomén vznikající z individuálních a sociálních forem jednání (Gell 1992) a budoucnost jako pole jejich očekávaných výsledků. Je tedy konstruována prostřednictvím lidského

jednání a záměrů, a v tomto smyslu představuje sociální produkt. Budoucnost se tak stává kulturní schopností spojenou s představivostí a projekcí možností (Appadurai 2013). Projekce možností je však úzce svázána s mocenskými vztahy mezi různými skupinami a jednotlivci, kteří mají nerovný přístup a rozdílné možnosti podílet se na formování a vyjednávání možných budoucností. Globalizace neoliberální ekonomiky a společnosti v tomto rámci posiluje nerovnosti, čímž některé skupiny zcela vylučuje z podílu na formování budoucnosti, například v případě vesmírného závodu. Podobné vyloučení lze rozpoznat i v antropologickém přístupu, který často umisťuje nezápádní společnosti do bezčasé minulosti, jako by setrvali v nekonečné reprodukci „tradic“ (Fabian 1984). Tento popis tyto společnosti vylučuje z vlastních historických procesů i z možnosti aktivně utvářet své budoucnosti. V tomto kontextu se temporality původních obyvatel staly předmětem celé řady prací, které poukazují na rozmanitost prožívaných možností.

Terence Turner (2009; viz také Bollettin 2020) například popisuje, že pojetí času u komunity Kayapó vychází z cyklického a událostního rámce. V jejich ceremoniích se čas manifestuje skrze opakování a proměnu kulturních forem, jako jsou písně, tance či masky. Tyto formy nejsou pouhými replikami minulosti, ale aktivními způsoby znovuoživení mytických událostí, které prostřednictvím rituálu vnášejí minulost do přítomnosti. Masky a tělesné ozdoby slouží v rituálním kontextu Kayapó jako prostředky proměny, skrze něž se účastníci stávají reprezentacemi zvířat nebo předků, ztělesňující tvůrčí síly mytických bytostí. Tento proces jasně ukazuje, že čas není lineární, ale opakující se cyklus kulturní reprodukce.

Lidé Araweté jsou naopak popisováni jako ti, kteří ztělesňují fluidní a transformativní pojetí času (Viveiros de Castro 1992). V jejich kosmologii jsou lidé chápáni jako bytosti neustále v procesu stávání se – proměňují se v bohy (maí) prostřednictvím aktů konzumace a napodobování. Tato ontologická fluidita odráží časové vnímání, kde je budoucnost prožívána jako prodloužení neustále plynoucí přítomnosti. Araweté nekladou důraz na temporalitu jako životní cyklus ztělesněný v rituálech a svým neformálním přístupem k sociálním rolím ukazují pojetí času, které není založeno na pevných etapách, ale na kontinuálním a neustále probíhajícím procesu proměny.

Podle Daviho Kopenawy, šamana a mluvčího komunity Yanomami, je čas v jejich kosmologii neoddělitelně spojen s duchovními a přírodními aspekty světa (Kopenawa a Albert 2013). Z perspektivy Yanomami

jsou země (urihi) a nebe (hutumosi) neoddělitelně propojené, přičemž narušení jedné sféry má přímé důsledky pro sféru druhou. Kopenawa popisuje, jak těžba nerostných surovin ze země současně poškozuje nebe, což vede k environmentální a duchovní degradaci. Jeho vyprávění zdůrazňuje vzájemnou provázanost vícečetných a pluralitních temporalit. Cyklická sezónnost lesa se prolíná s morálními a spirituálními dimenzemi času, jak jej lidé prožívají ve svých vztazích s duchy. V tomto rámci mají činy vykonané v přítomnosti zásadní důsledky pro budoucnost lidského i duchovního světa. Kopenawa varuje před environmentální destrukcí, která může vést ke kosmickému a kosmologickému pádu nebe – události, jež se již v minulosti cyklicky odehrála.

Z výše uvedených popisů se vynořuje obraz temporalit původních obyvatel jako úzce provázaných se sociálními praktikami, kosmologickými představami a environmentálními vztahy (Fausto a Heckenberger 2007). Budoucnost není chápána jako abstraktní pojem, ale je hluboce spojena s přítomností i minulostí v rámci, v němž mají činy a rozhodnutí důsledky na mnoha úrovních. Potlačení těchto časových rámců a neviditelnost aktivní role původních obyvatel při utváření vlastních budoucností lze chápat jako odraz a současně reprodukci koloniálních mocenských struktur. V současném kontextu se požadavek na protagonismus původních obyvatel, například v akademickém prostředí (Bollettin 2023), promítá do nároku na alternativní budoucnosti coby formy odporu vůči přetrvávajícím kolonizačním procesům (Hickey 2019).

Konstrukce budoucností domorodými lidmi

Jak bylo uvedeno výše, formy, v nichž je temporalita prožívána, vybírána a popisována, mají dopad na politické vztahy mezi lidmi. Požadavek na specifickou temporalitu souvisí s požadavkem na současnost a protagonismus v boji proti stereotypní představě o původních obyvatelích jako těch, kdo jsou uzavřeni ve „věčné minulosti“. Tato představa bývá spojována s mýtickým myšlením, které je chápáno jako forma neustálého opakování. Je však důležité si všimnout, že toto mýtické myšlení není záležitost pouze minulosti, ale je neustále uskutečňováno a znovu prožíváno (Bollettin 2019). Právě tím se stává nárokem na přítomnost i na možnost utvářet budoucnost.

Příkladem může být příběh o dcerách Kwamôty, které pocházejí ze stromů, jak je uvádí bakairijská badatelka Isabel Teresa Cristina Taukane (2013). Nicméně, tento původ vyžaduje propojení předků, současnosti a protagonismu k budování budoucnosti.

„Pro ženy Bakairi znamená ‘chodit mezi stromy’ chodit mezi stromy, kterými jsme my samy, protože v naší kosmologické představě o vzniku žen, Yukamaniru a jejích sester, pocházejí ženy ze stromů. Proto je vhodné říci, že jsme ‘stromové ženy’, tedy představujeme háj a chceme rozsévat naše semena obnovy a naděje na této vyprahlé půdě, na kterou nám historická trajektorie uvalila výzvy čelit kolonizujícímu a sexistickému pohledu“ (Taukane 2013, 15).

Hlavní myšlenkou je zde tvůrčí síla stromových žen, jež směřuje k utváření budoucností, stejně jako semena vyrostou v nové rostliny. V tomto pojetí se ukazuje, že mýtický diskurz je mostem mezi dobou předků, kdy bytí nabývalo své podoby, a budoucí virtualitou, v níž je protagonismus původních obyvatel definován jako možnost zvrátit koloniální a patriarchální dědictví. Uznání této síly mýtického diskurzu umožňuje rozpoznat současnost a aktivní roli původních obyvatel, kteří jej formulují. Znamená to posun od idealizované a nehybné tradice, která je základem identity původních obyvatel, k pochopení těchto lidí jako historických subjektů.

Ztělesnění mýtu stromových žen vnáší do utváření budoucnosti politický rozměr, jenž je ze své podstaty kolektivní. Stromové ženy představují pluralitu jak intenzivně, neboť jsou současně stromy i ženami, tak extenzivně, neboť stromů je mnoho a žen rovněž. Kolektivní rozměr budoucnosti zdůrazňuje také potiguarská intelektuálka, spisovatelka a učitelka Graça Graúna:

„Protože jsme jednou z mnoha, jsme zde, uprostřed velkých proměn, s důvěrou v to, co děláme nyní, naše sny se vrátí do reality. Jsme pozorní k obzorům“ (Graúna 2014, 56).

Konstatování Graúny odhaluje řadu aspektů domorodé zkušenosti, které si zaslouží pozornost. Opakované použití zájmena „my“ posiluje kolektivní hlas a přesouvá důraz z jednotlivce na společenství. Výraz „jedna z mnoha“ vyjadřuje pocit příslušnosti ke komunitě, sdílené věci nebo kulturní identitě. Toto „my“ přitom není exkluzivní, nevymezuje se vůči ostatním, ale signalizuje účast na společné zkušenosti. Zdůrazňuje solidaritu a vzájemné propojení v inkluzivní rovině a vyvolává vědomí společné sounáležitosti.

Výraz „uprostřed velkých proměn“ vyvolává představu pohybu, nestability a přechodu. Na rozdíl od pojetí změny jako něčeho ukončeného zde transformace vystupuje jako otevřený proces – jako stávání se. Přítomnost je tak chápána jako jeden z mnoha kroků v širším vývoji, který propojuje minulost s budoucností. Volba slova „uprostřed“ zároveň umisťuje Graúnu i ko-

lektiv do liminálního stavu, na práh mezi tím, co bylo, a tím, co teprve přichází. Právě tímto vyjádřením vstupuje budoucnost do samotného středu kolektivního života.

Budoucnost utváří přítomnost. Věta „naše sny se vrátí do reality“ evokuje cyklickou temporalitu naděje – temporalitu, v níž sny nejsou vymazány, ale pouze odloženy, čekající na své znovunabytí. „Návrat do reality“ naznačuje, že tyto sny již dříve existovaly ve sdílené a hmatatelné skutečnosti, v mytických časech, než je zastínila kolonizace. Otevírá se zde vize znovuzískání, v níž se to, co bylo potlačeno či umlčeno, znovu vynořuje. Zároveň slova „jsme pozorní k obzorům“ vybízí k pohledu vpřed. Obzory zde označují hranici mezi známým a neznámým, mezi přítomným a možným. Budoucnost vyžaduje akt tvůrčí a politické imaginace a připravenosti, vyjadřuje odolnost, vědomé očekávání a rozhodnutí vstoupit do toho, co přichází.

Tento cyklický charakter času, který propojuje minulost, přítomnost a budoucnost, tvoří samotnou možnost existence v situovaném rozměru. V roce 2021 umělkyně z komunity Tupinambá Glicería Célia znovu probudila historii a budoucnost svou rekonstrukcí pláště z perí na výstavě „Kwá yapé turusú yuriri assajaba tupinambá (Toto je velký návrat pláště Tupinambá), který byl prezentován i na Benátském bienále současného umění v roce 2025. Nešlo přitom jen o pouhou reprodukci artefaktu ukradeného v době kolonialismu, šlo o znovuzaznění procesu: plášť, jak jej sama popisuje, je „věčný hledač“ (Tupinambá, 2022). Je živým spojením mezi znalostmi předků a budoucnostmi, které se teprve rozvinou. Takto návrat pláště vzdoruje koloniální temporalitě – neohlíží se zpět, ale žene se vpřed. Jeho perí šeptá o územích, která je třeba znovu získat, o příbězích, jež čekají na své opětovné vyprávění, a o vztazích, které je třeba znovu utkat. Plášť je živý právě díky odolnosti lidu Tupinambá, vzdoruje neviditelnosti nikoli jako relikvie, ale jako semena žen Bakairi či jako sen v pojetí Graúny. Jeho samotná existence volá po nových politických obzorech, mezidruhových vztazích a příbězích, které se stále utvářejí. Práce Glicerii Célie propojuje různé temporality: plášť spojuje minulé boje za území s budoucí suverenitou a proměňuje kulturní paměť v cestu pro příští generace. Návrat pláště, stejně jako návrat snů, zde není statický ani jednou provždy daný. Je to pohyb, horizont, k němuž plášť, sny i ti, kdo je nesou, neustále směřují, aby pěstovali nové budoucnosti jako semena.

Zkušenost budoucnosti jako návratu formuje i další způsoby, jimiž původní obyvatelé potvrzují svůj hlas. Ve svém díle „Petroglifos para um antigo futuro“ (Pe-

troglify pro dávnou budoucnost) domorodý umělec Denilson Baniwa, který také vystavoval na Benátském bienále současného umění v roce 2025, zkoumá témata odporu původních obyvatel, paměti předků a propojení tradičních znalostí se současnou realitou (Baniwa 2021). Pro toto dílo použil laserové paprsky a betonovou stěnu, na které namaloval jaguára uprostřed města, aby dal viditelnost tomu, co kolonizace skryla. Petroglify označují přítomnost původních obyvatel, vytesanou do kamenů Amazonie, a jsou využívány k přehodnocení města a modernity v aktu, který spojuje věčný čas se současností. Stejný záměr vyjadřuje i název „dávná budoucnost“, který zpochybňuje lineární západní pojetí času a opět navrhuje temporalitu původních obyvatel, kde jsou minulost a budoucnost propojeny, čímž potvrzuje současnost a život původních obyvatel a jejich budování alternativních budoucností.

Denilson Baniwa rozšiřuje svou kritiku na temporalitu koloniální moci, která odsoudila původní obyvatele do fiktivní nehybné minulosti, a na antropology, kteří často nahrazovali hlasy původních obyvatel. V jeho díle „O Antropólogo moderno já nasceu antigo“ (Moderní antropolog, jež se narodil starý) se nachází koláž, která zobrazuje domorodého chlapce, jak se dívá na antropologa píšícího do zápisníku. Koláž karikuje litografie francouzského malíře Jeana-Baptiste Debreta, který zobrazoval původní obyvatele v 19. století. V paralelismu mezi obrazy koloniální doby a antropologickými texty Denilson Baniwa odsuzuje umlčování původních obyvatel a požaduje jejich protagonismus při utváření svých budoucností (Baniwa 2022).

Požadavek na protagonismus původních obyvatel formuje přivlastňování akademických, literárních, uměleckých a politických prostor. Stejně jako nesoulad mezi různými temporalitami je i fragmentace těchto oblastí vnímána jako dědictví kolonialismu. Jako vyplývá z předchozích úvah, přemýšlet o budoucnosti z pohledu původních obyvatel znamená přehodnotit oddělení minulosti a přítomnosti, mýtu a historie, lidí a jiných než lidských bytostí, stromových žen, kreativity a tradice. Propojení těchto různorodých oblastí umožňuje vynoření kosmopolitiky budoucnosti, nikoli jako apokalyptického konce, ale jako prostoru mnoha možností. Domorodý myslitel Ailton Krenak (2019) tvrdí, že „konec světa“ není blížící se katastrofa, které bychom se měli obávat. Naopak, je to něco, co se již stalo: „Pro [domorodé] národy, které přijaly návštěvu [kolonizátorů] a zemřely, nastal konec světa v 16. století“ (Krenak 2019, 20). Tento pohled přetváří budoucnost ne jako odpočítávání ke kolapsu, ale jako trvající praxi odporu a znovuvytváření existence.

Krenakova myšlenka „adiar o fim“ (odkládání konce) neznamena oddalování nevyhnutelného zániku, ale odmítnutí samotné logiky, na níž je tento zánik postaven. Koloniální pojetí času s jeho neúnavným tlakem na těžbu a neustálý pokrok přetrvává vazby mezi lidmi a světem řek, lesů či hor – tedy tím, co kosmologie původních obyvatel staví do středu svých pojetí času. Odpovědí na tuto představu nevyhnutelnosti je obnova vzájemnosti: uznání, že čas není abstraktní veličina, ale síť vztahů. Tato vztahová temporalita zpochybňuje západní mýty o rozvoji a pokroku. Budoucnost zde není vzdáleným horizontem, nýbrž žitou praxí zakořeněnou v tom, co Krenak nazývá „terra adiada“ (odložená země), čas uchovávaný ve stavu potenciálu, nikoli využívání. Podobně jako Denilson Baniwa obrací naruby představu „moderního antropologa“, i Krenakovo myšlení narušuje koloniální protiklad mezi tradicí a modernitou, a trvá na tom, že znalosti původních národů byly vždy orientované na budoucnost.

Čas pro Krenaka není abstraktní síť kalendářů a termínů, ale ztělesněná zkušenost. Koncept „corpo-território“ (tělo-území) zakotvuje temporalitu v samotné zemi – v cyklech řek, odolnosti lesů a kolektivní paměti společenství (viz také politička a intelektuálka Célia Corrêa z národu Xakriabá, 2018). Rituály smutku a znovuzrození nejsou jen připomínkou minulosti, ale aktivním tvořením budoucnosti, které splétá traumata kolonizace a utváří přítomnost. Jeho chápání času se tak sblíží s přístupem umělců, jako je Gliceria Célia, jejíž plášt' z peří ztělesňuje živé spojení mezi předky a budoucností. „Odložit konec světa“ pak znamená odmítnout samotný rámec koloniálního zániku. Znamená to trvat na budoucnosti, v níž čas není přímka, ale spirála, kde země není majetkem, ale příbuzenstvím, a kde akt snění, jak říká Krenak, představuje radikální formu přežití, protože umožňuje vyprávět ještě jeden příběh: „A moje provokace ohledně odkládání konce světa spočívá právě v tom, že vždy můžeme vyprávět ještě jeden příběh. Pokud to dokážeme, budeme konec světa odkládat“ (Krenak, 2019, s. 13).

Zpátky k budoucnosti a politice

Z výše uvedeného vyplývá, že původní obyvatelé si nárokují právo na vlastní budoucnost, čímž se staví proti koloniálním představám o čase, které je stále znovu vracejí do minulosti. Je však důležité vyhnout se tomu, aby byli původní obyvatelé vnímáni jako idealizovaný „druhý“, který má vyřešit sociální, environmentální, ekonomické a další problémy způsobené západními kapitalistickými systémy (Chandler a Reid 2020). Ba-datelé, umělci, intelektuálové a aktivisté, kteří jsou

v tomto textu krátce představeni, požadují především uznání výzev, jež tyto návrhy budoucností kladou hegemonní unilineární temporalitě a s ní spojeným strukturám moci. Čelit současným sociálně-environmentálním bojům původních obyvatel znamená kreativně vytvářet nové aliance a zároveň přehodnocovat i samotné antropologické a akademické hierarchie a formáty (Xikrin a Bollettin 2022; Xikrin, Xikrin a Bollettin, 2024).

Krenak (2019) zdůrazňuje, že k odložení konce světa je třeba vyprávět ještě jeden příběh. Jak připomíná právník a profesor z řad původních obyvatel Kaiowá Álvaro de Azevedo Gonzaga (2021), tento příběh by měl vycházet z uznání práva na rozmanitost:

„Dekolonizace původních národů je proces jejich stávání se, v němž uvažujeme o postkoloniální budoucnosti a píšeme novou historii červeným inkoustem zajišťování práv“ (Gonzaga 2021, 146–147, kurzíva v originále).

Jde tedy o požadavek uznání plurality a mnohosti. Apokalyptickou budoucnost, kterou dláždí kapitalismus a jím diktovaná temporalita, nelze vyřešit jeho vlastními nástroji. Technologie, včetně vesmírných letů, jimiž tato esej začínala, nenabídnou řešení, protože samy vyrůstají z příčin současných krizí. Jak upozorňuje Krenak: „Pravda je, že vše, co nám technologie dala, jsou hračky. Nejsložitější z nich je ta, která dostane lidi do vesmíru, a také nejdražší“ (2020, 59). Je třeba změnit směr času, jak napovídá název jeho knihy *O amanhã não está à venda* (Zítřek není na prodej). Mnohonásobné krize vyžadují novou temporalitu, nový směr času, protože jediné řešení, jak říká domorodý antropolog z národu Baniwa Gersem Luciano v souvislosti s pandemií covidu-19, může přijít jen „objížděnou do budoucnosti, protože na současné trase žádná budoucnost není“ (Luciano 2021, 17).

Tato krátká esej, která by mohla a měla být rozšířena o mnoho dalších představ budoucnosti, si klade za cíl zdůraznit radikální návrh původní (domorodé) budoucnosti. Jde o návrh na přechod od lineárního času, v němž jsou lidé jedinými subjekty historie, k pluralitnímu, kruhovému či spirálovitému pojetí času, v němž jsou lidé součástí sítě vztahů. Tento pohyb umožňuje vyprávět ještě jeden příběh, proměnit jazyk kapitalistického času v mnohost a rozdílnost původních jazyků. Ty jsou, jak připomíná jazykovědkyně z národu Kokama Altaci Corrêa Rubim (2016), ohroženy zánikem stejně jako temporality, které vyjadřují. Péče o jazyk přitom není

„pouze o tom, co přináší bezprostřední úlevu, ale o tom, co lze promítnout před nejlepší denní nadějí,

kolektivně sdílenou, kdy se národ stává protagonistou vlastního příběhu prostřednictvím svého jazyka" (Rubim 2016, 301).

Návrat k původní budoucnosti znamená uznání práv k zemi, k různým temporalitám, k sebeurčení a k jazykovým rozdílům. Znamená to návrat ke kolektivnímu rozměru života a času, který překračuje individualismus unilineární temporality. Znamená to uznání provázanosti minulosti, přítomnosti a budoucnosti, předků, činů i kreativity. Je to přijetí odpovědnosti pří-

tomnosti vůči budoucnosti jako součásti neustálého procesu stávání se, snění a psaní nových příběhů. Stejně jako semena, i původní budoucnost vyžaduje, aby byla pečlivě a společně zasazena a pěstována, v propojení mezi minulostí, přítomností a budoucími generacemi. Jak říká politička a intelektuálka Xakriabá ve svém příspěvku na Instagramu z 25. ledna 2025: „Děti jsou semena a naše budoucnost (futuro) je plodná (fruturo). Bojujeme proto, aby naše děti nejen spaly, ale také snily.“

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Altstaedt, Sören. 2024. "How Future Imaginations Disseminate throughout the Social." *European Journal of Social Theory*, 27(2): 279–297.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/13684310231212732>.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 2013. *The Future as Cultural Fact: Essays on the Global Condition*. Verso.
- Baniwa, Denilson. 2021. "Petroglifos para um antigo futuro." *Concinnitas*, 22(42): 193–198.
<https://doi.org/10.12957/concinnitas.2021.63198>.
- Baniwa, Denilson. 2022. "Denilson Baniwa: 'falta de uma produção textual indígena sobre a arte me tira o sono'." Interview with Gama revista.
 Available at: <https://gamarevista.uol.com.br/especial/denilson-baniwa-falta-de-uma-producao-textual-indigena-sobre-arte-me-tira-o-sono/> Last access on June 6th 2025.
- Bollettin, Paride. 2019. "Miti multispecifici: mito ed esperienza interspecifica in Amazzonia." *America Critica*, 3(1): 91–112.
<https://doi.org/10.13125/americanacritica/3598>.
- Bollettin, Paride. 2020. *Identità e Trasformazione: processi del divenire in una comunità Amazzonica*. Cleup.
- Bollettin, Paride. 2023. "El protagonismo indígena en la antropología contemporánea." *Universidad Verdad*, 1(82): 30–43. <https://doi.org/10.33324/uv.v1i82.639>.
- Bryant, Rebecca, a Daniel Knight. 2019. *The Anthropology of the Future*. Cambridge University Press.
- Chandler, David, a Julian Reid. 2020. "Becoming Indigenous: the 'Speculative Turn' in Anthropology and the (Re)colonisation of Indigeneity". *Postcolonial Studies*, 23(4): 485–504.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13688790.2020.1745993>.
- Clastres, Pierre. 1975. *Society Against the State: Essays in Political Anthropology*. Zone Books.
- Collins, Samuel Gerald. 2021. *All tomorrow's cultures: Anthropological engagements with the future*. Berghahn.
- Correa, Célia Nunes [Xakriabá]. 2018. *O Barro, o Genipapo e o Giz no fazer epistemológico de Autoria Xakriabá: reativação da memória por uma educação territorializada*. Master Dissertation in Sustainable Development: Universidade de Brasília. Available at: <http://repositorio2.unb.br/handle/10482/34103> Last access on June 6th 2025.
- Dillon, Grace (ed.). 2012. *Walking the Clouds: An Anthology of Indigenous Science Fiction*. University of Arizona Press.
- Fabian, Johannes. 1984. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. Columbia University Press.
- Fausto, Carlos, a Michael Heckenberger (eds.). 2007. *Time and Memory in Indigenous Amazonia: Anthropological Perspectives*. University of Florida Press.
- Gell, Alfred. 1992. *The Anthropology of Time: Cultural Constructions of Temporal Maps and Images*. Berg.
- Gonzaga, Álvaro de Azevedo. 2021. *Decolonialismo indígena*. Matrioska.
- Gorbanenko, Jenia, Jeevendrampillai, David, a Adryon Kozel. 2025. *Exploring Ethnography of Other Space: Methods and Perspectives*. Routledge.
- Graúna, Graça. 2014. "Literatura: Diversidade Étnica e outras Questões Indígenas." *Todas as Musas*, 5(2): 52–57.
- Hannerz, Ulf. 2016. *Writing Future Worlds: An Anthropologist Explores Global Scenarios*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hickey, Amber. 2019. "Rupturing settler time: visual culture and geographies of Indigenous futurity." *World Art*, 9(2) 163–180.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/21500894.2019.1621926>.
- Kopenawa, David, a Bruce Albert. 2013. *The Falling Sky: Words of a Yanomami Shaman*. Harvard University Press.
- Krenak, Ailton. 2019. *Ideias para adiar o fim do mundo*. Companhia das Letras.
- Krenak, Ailton. 2024. *Ancestral Future*. Wiley.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1961. *Entretiens avec Claude Lévi-Strauss* (edited by Georges Charbonnier). Plon.
- Luciano, Gersem dos Santos. 2021. "A pedagogia da resiliência indígena em tempos de pandemia." *Revista de Educação Pública*, 30: 01–17.
<https://doi.org/10.29286/rep.v30ijan/dez.12919>.
- Maruyama, Magoroh, a Arthur Harkins (eds.). 1978. *Cultures of the Future*. Mouton.

- Mauss, Marcel. 1904. *Seasonal Variations of the Eskimo: A Study in Social Morphology*. Routledge.
- Munduruku, Daniel. 1999. *O banquete dos Deuses*. Angra.
- Rubim, Altaci Corrêa. 2016. *O reordenamento político e cultural do povo Kokama: a reconquista da língua e do território além das fronteiras entre o Brasil e o Peru*. PhD diss., Universidade de Brasília, Brasília. Available at: <https://repositorio.unb.br/handle/10482/20961> Last access on June 6th 2025.
- Salazar, Juan Francisco, a Alice Gorman (eds.). *The Routledge Handbook of Social Studies of Outer Space*. Routledge.
- Suchman, Lucy. 2007. *Human-Machine Reconfigurations*. Cambridge University Press.
- Szolucha, Anna. 2022. "Space Exploration and the Imaginaries of Living in a Climate-changing World." *SocArXiv*. February 19. <https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/pr538>.
- Taukane, Isabel Teresa Cristina. 2013. *Na trilha das peko-baym guerreiras kura-bakairi: de mulheres árvores ao associativismo do instituto yukamaniru*. MA diss., Universidade de Brasília. Available at: https://repositorio.unb.br/bitstream/10482/13394/1/-2013_IsabelTeresaCristinaTaukane.pdf Last access on June 6th 2025.
- Taylor, Taryne Jade, Lavender, Isiah, Dillon, Grace, a Chattopadhyay Bodhisattva (eds.). 2024. *The Routledge Handbook of CoFuturisms*. Routledge.
- Tsing, Anna, Swanson, Heather, Gan, Eliane, a Nils Bubandt (eds.). 2017. *Arts of Living on a Damaged Planet: Ghosts and Monsters of the Anthropocene*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Turner, Terence. 2009. "The Crisis of Late Structuralism. Perspectivism and Animism: Rethinking Culture, Nature, Spirit, and Bodiliness." *Tipiti: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America* 7(1), Article 1. <https://doi.org/10.70845/2572-3626.1098>.
- Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo. 1992. *From the Enemy's Point of View: Humanity and Divinity in an Amazonian Society*. University of Chicago Press.
- Xikrin, Bepky, a Paride Bollettin. 2022. "Reappropriating the Trincheira-Bacaja Indigenous Land." *Visual Ethnography*, 11(1): 149-162. <http://dx.doi.org/10.12835/ve2022.1-109>.
- Xikrin, Bepky; Xikrin Katopore, a Paride Bollettin. 2024. "Mebengokré Experience of Bahia." *AntHropologicas Visual*, 10(2). <https://doi.org/10.51359/2526-3781.2024.263899>.
- Young, David, a Niall Docherty. 2024. "An Anticipatory Regime of Multiplanetary Life: on SpaceX, Martian Colonisation and Terrestrial Ruin." *Science as Culture*, 1-26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09505431.2024.2393096>.

Axis Mundi

ČASOPIS PRE ŠTÚDIUM KULTÚR A NÁBOŽENSTIEV SVETA
JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF WORLD CULTURES AND RELIGIONS

1 • 2025
Ročník / Volume 20

Nevyžiadané rukopisy sa nevracajú. Uverejnené materiály nemusia nutne vyjadrovať postoj vydavateľa. Za vecnú správnosť údajov uverejnených v príspevkoch ručia ich autori a recenzenti.

Pokyny pre autorov

Príspevky posielajte na journal.axis.mundi@live.uniba.sk v textových formátoch *.doc, *.docx, *.odt. Akceptujeme príspevky v slovenskom, českom, anglickom a španielskom jazyku. Rozsah príspevkov: štúdie v rozsahu do 36 000 znakov (vrátane medzier), diskusie, eseje do 15 000 znakov (vrátane medzier), správy a recenzie do 5 000 znakov (vrátane medzier). K štúdiám prosím priložte abstrakt a 5-6 kľúčových slov v angličtine a autorov krátky osobný profil. Citačné pravidlá a vzory sú k dispozícii na fphil.uniba.sk/katedry-a-odborne-pracoviska/kpr/axis-mundi/

Uzávierky: 28. február a 30. jún

Instructions for Authors

Manuscripts can be submitted to journal.axis.mundi@live.uniba.sk in format *.doc, *.docx, *.odt. We accept studies (up to 36 000 characters with spaces), discussions (up to 15 000 characters with spaces), book reviews and reports (up to 5 000 characters) in Slovak, Czech, English and Spanish language. Authors are asked to include an abstract and 5-6 keywords and a short personal characteristics of the author. The guidelines for citations and references are available on fphil.uniba.sk/katedry-a-odborne-pracoviska/kpr/axis-mundi/.

Deadlines: February 28 and June 30

Recenzovaný vedecký časopis / Peer reviewed scientific journal
Vychádza dvakrát ročne.

Redakcia:

Šéfredaktor: Matej Karásek
Redaktor: Radoslav Hlúšek

Redakčná rada:

Gábor Barna, Luboš Bělka, Jana Benická, Tomáš Bubík, Hans Gerald Hödl, John F. Chuchiak, Halina Grzymala-Moszczyńska, Mihály Hoppál, Miloš Hubina, Luther H. Martin, Gabriel. Pirický, Peter Salner, David Thurfjell, David Václavík, Tatiana Zachar Podolinská

Jazyková redakcia: Hana Hlôšková

Grafická úprava: Eva Kovačevičová-Fudala

Adresa redakcie: Axis Mundi – Katedra porovnávacej religionistiky FiF UK, Gondova 2, 814 99 Bratislava, IČO 30 511 811

e-mail: journal.axis.mundi@live.uniba.sk,

webová stránka: fphil.uniba.sk/katedry-a-odborne-pracoviska/kpr/axis-mundi/

© Katedra porovnávacej religionistiky Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave a Slovenská spoločnosť pre štúdium náboženstiev
Evidenčné číslo: EV 3747/09
ISSN (ONLINE): 2729-8841

ISSN (ONLINE): 2729-8841
Ev 3747/2009

Toto číslo vychádza s finančnou podporou:

