

“Each one in their own place”.

Xucuru-Kariri and Kiriri territorial domains

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ABSTRACT

Currently, tension and conflict characterize the relationship between the Xucuru-Kariri and Kiriri chiefs in the Caldas City, in Brazilian state of Minas Gerais. Both lead families in their recreations of villages in this region. The process of Xucuru-Kariri and Kiriri territorial formation in Caldas City is explained, firstly, by the exchange of lands and alliance established by their generation above when they lived in Brazilian state of Bahia and, second, by their particular cosmopolitics. Finally, the hypothesis on territorial domains of Xucuru-Kariri and Kiriri indigenous is supported by a diachronic analysis of interactions between leaders in the state of Bahia and description of their cosmopolitical principles, introducing a perspective beyond indigenous relations with the State in the understanding of territoriality processes.

KEYWORDS

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INTRODUCTION

In this text, we analyze relationships between Xucuru-Kariri and Kiriri indigenous chiefs both in the hinterland of Bahia and in the south of Minas Gerais (Brazil), with a particular focus on the territorial configurations that their interactions have produced over time¹.

The Xucuru-Kariri are located on official indigenous lands in the Brazilian states of Alagoas, Bahia and Minas Gerais. They can still be found in the capital of São Paulo (Lima, 2008) and a few recognized landless families in the district of Guarda dos Ferreiros, which is located between the municipalities of São Gotardo and Rio Paranaíba² in the state of Minas Gerais. They make up an indigenous people historically formed in the current state of Alagoas from the relationships established between the Wakonã inhabitants of Alagoas (Kariri linguistic family) and the Xucuru descended from where it is Pernambuco today³. The historical formation of the people dates back to the Capuchin village of the second half of the 18th century in the Agreste region of Alagoas – putting indigenous people displaced by drought and colonial persecution into interaction – and the process of its ethnic-territorial recognition by the State in the first half of the 20th century.

The ethnonym Xucuru-Kariri became official by the Indigenous Protection Service (SPI) with the acquisition of the Fazenda Canto indigenous land by that institution in 1952, years after they were considered extinct in 1872, when the City Council in Palmeira dos Índios/AL claimed the lands of the 18th village.

The history of a portion of the Xucuru-Kariri people, who are in the municipality of Caldas, in Minas Gerais, began intertwining with the history of a Kiriri family when, in 1987, Xucuru-Kariri families from Alagoas, led by the Sátiro family members, moved with the support of the National Foundation of Indian (FUNAI) to the hinterland of Bahia due to parental conflicts that resulted in death (Martins, 1994). The displacement of these families reiterated the power that the Celestino family members had acquired when the village was made official in 1952. The Sátiro were installed in Ibotirama, Bahia (Martins, 1994, 1999; Parisi, 2008; Silva, 2010), a region that is approximately eight hundred kilometers from the municipality of Banzaê/BA, where it is located the oldest village of the Kiriri. From Ibotirama, the Sátiro and their allies went to a settlement known as Fazenda Pedrosa, which is located more precisely in the municipality of Nova Glória/BA (Martins, 1999), where they lived for approximately ten years. Later, due to droughts and conflicts with the locals, these Xucuru-Kariri were relocated to the district of Guarda dos Ferreiros, in São Gotardo/MG, a municipality where they lived for three or four years within the urban center. It was only after claims that they managed to establish themselves, among other lands offered by FUNAI, on an old farm in the municipality of Caldas, in the extreme south of the state of Minas Gerais (Parisi, 2008; Silva, 2010).

¹ | The article is a modified version of the work in Portuguese that we presented, in November 2017, at the XVIII Student Journey of the Program of Postgraduate Studies in Sociology and Anthropology held at Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (IFCS/UFRJ). We appreciate the comments of professors Elsjé Lagrou and Cesar Gordon during the event. We are also grateful for the collaboration of João Bruno Yoshinaga Costa with the translation of the work into English.

² | As per the February 28, 2018 news. Available at: <https://g1.globo.com/mg/triangulo-mineiro/noticia/pm-do-reintegracao-de-posse-familias-are-evacuadas-de-propriedade-entre-saogotardo-e-rio-paranaiba.ghtml>. Accessed April 5, 2018. While the first version of this article was written, such Xucuru-Kariri were in an occupation in Patos de Minas, in the state of Minas Gerais. Currently, at the time of reviewing the text, this indigenous group inhabit an officially recognized land in Presidente Olegário/MG.

³ | On the formation process of the Xucuru-Kariri ethnic group, historical evidence of interactions between these indigenous of Kariri linguistic family in the 17th century are presented by Antunes (1973). For a detailed review on the formation of the indigenous village through missionary action, in the 18th century, where the current Palmeira dos Índios/AL, on the documentary records of occupation indigenous population in Agreste region of Alagoas, in addition to the historical processes of spoliation and recognition of Xucuru-Kariri territories and their relationship with the state agents, see Martins (1994) and Silva Jr. (2007).

In relation to the Kiriri people, historical documents confirm their presence in the Northeast region of Brazil since the end of the 17th century, when missionary work was already organized with these indigenous (Brasileiro, 1999). The former village of Saco dos Morcegos, current Mirandela, located in Banzaê, state of Bahia, was founded by the Portuguese Jesuit João de Barros, as well as the three other villages. The objective of these missions was to gather the Kiriri in a specific area to catechize them and, like the other villages, Saco dos Morcegos also came under strong pressure and disputes caused by the accelerated expansion process of cattle raising (Brasileiro, 1996). In order to end the conflict between sesmeiros (Portuguese lands grantees) and religious, the Portuguese Crown allocated, in 1700, "league-sized squares" of land to all missionary villages of the hinterland. In less than a century after the creation of the village, in 1758, Saco dos Morcegos would be elevated to the status of a village and occupied increasingly by peasants who sought fertile areas in the wild to plant (Brasileiro, 1996).

In the nineteenth century, they were involved in intense persecution of ranchers in the region and administrative excesses generally committed to local interests. During this period it is estimated that much of the land of the former village of Saco dos Morcegos has been negotiated by the Kiriri themselves, who then dispersed from the central core of dwelling, starting to occupy unattractive localities in its surroundings (Brasileiro, 1999). As a result, resistance to the recognition of these people persisted until the mid-twentieth century when, as of 1979, the Kiriri began various strategies to gradually retake their lands.

Currently, the Kiriri are distributed in eleven villages around the central core of Mirandela, namely: Baixa da Cangalha, Baixa do Juá, Araçá, Canta Galo, Cajazeira, Segredo, Pau Ferro, Marcação, Baixa Nova, Mirandela, Gado Velhaco and Lagoa Grande (Macedo, 2009). Recently, some Kiriri families have been claiming an area of fifty-five hectares in Caldas since they occupied it in March 2017, and which belongs to the government of the state of Minas Gerais. Unlike the Xucuru-Kariri who arrived in the city, in 2001, to inhabit a land recognized by the National Foundation of Indian (FUNAI), the Kiriri in Caldas requested recognition of the land under the administration of the State University of Minas Gerais (UEMG) just over a year ago⁴.

The Xucuru-Kariri and Kiriri peoples would be, according to certain concepts of Brazilian Anthropology, "indigenous of the Northeast". It is an ethnological category that usually refers to a group of populations in the Brazilian Northeast who have intensely experienced relationships with actors in the colonization process and the Brazilian State through its indigenist institutions. Due to these relationships, which placed them in political processes of dispute over their existence and territories, territorialization and deterritorialization occurred with transformative consequences for the political and social organization of these indigenous peoples (Oliveira, 1998). In order for these peoples to obtain state recognition of their ethnic identities,

4 | At the time of writing the article, the Kiriri were still in Caldas. However, in April 2018, they left the area towards Pato de Minas to settle in a land administered by the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA) and occupied by quilombolas, indigenous peoples and rural workers of the Movement of Landless (MST). They decided to leave Caldas/MG after the end of the period of validity of the court injunction which had overturned, in 2017, the reinstatement order of possession. This is another chapter in the development of processes that we presented, which now has the return of these families to the southern city of Minas Gerais.

spatially objectified in the form of indigenous land, they would have been forced to assume certain cultural and social traits considered as typically "indigenous", such as ritual, chief and shaman (Grünewald, 2005). In other words, "indigenous of the Northeast" is an anthropological category that would concern indigenous peoples whose current social organizations elapse from historical processes of relationship with politically favored subjects to recognize and define indigenous identities and territories. That is, the category "indigenous of the Northeast" refers, in general, to this epistemological bias that considers that the understanding of indigenous populations must turn to the historicity of ethnic classifications and social morphologies. Therefore, it is not just an ethnological classification based on geographic location, it includes a perspective on anthropological practice.

Although they say that they are peoples who are historically associated with advances in pastoral and missionary fronts in the 17th and 18th centuries, Dantas, Sampaio and Carvalho (1992) define the "indigenous of the Northeast" in a different way. Even because the scope of the authors' analysis encompasses historical periods prior to the arrival of the Europeans.

They attest to a wide diversity of indigenous peoples in Northeastern Brazil before, during and after the colonial period and conceptualize the peoples of the region, particularly in the earlier and primordial times of the colony, as an ethnographic and historical unit contrasting with the Tupi and the Jê, respectively, inhabitants to the east and west. However, they apparently bring to the ethnological definition of the indigenous peoples of the Northeast one more element in relation to Oliveira's definition (1998). They claim that they are unquestionably peoples adaptively related to the natural environment of the Caatinga. The information is relevant as, more recently, we have observed Xucuru-Kariri and Kiriri families seeking to inhabit Minas Gerais also due to their morphoclimatic and environmental characteristics, which differ from those of the northeastern semiarid⁵.

In the case of the Kiriri, as shown by Henrique (2019), it was the sensitive qualities perceived in the center-south environment of Minas Gerais, together with the experiences lived in the village in the west of Bahia, that led them to seek land in Caldas. With regard to the Xucuru-Kariri, Parisi (2008) and Franco (2013) are the first authors to provide records that allow us to note that conflicts (Martins, 1994) are not the only ones to have conditioned these indigenous people's desire for a home outside Bahia. They bring information about the considerations that the Xucuru-Kariri made, for example, sometimes about the abundance, sometimes about the scarcity of water in the inhabited reserves in that state. In this context of displacements, the so-called natural aspects do not seem to be ignored in the understanding of social processes related to these collectivities, as well as temporally diverse events are not expendable in our understanding. So, we don't have any essentializing pretense in stating that they are indigenous for this or that. We just want to incorporate aspects that stand

5 | The theme of peoples' environmental relations indigenous peoples with the semiarid have yielded investigations very contemporary (Santos, Silva and Oliveira, 2018).

out in perspectives, at the same time distinct and complementary, in our ethnographic description.

If, on the one hand, political and historical anthropology (Oliveira, 1998) does not seem to account for other dynamics that permeate the lives of indigenous peoples, namely, those that can be observed according to an approach to sociality, such as, for example, the kinship (Viegas, 2007), on the other hand, its historical angle points to a diachronic dimension of the relationships in which they are located, enabling the search in the past for explanatory keys of current relationships. Although it encourages searching in history for understandings about the present, it is now a question of looking less intensely at the relations with actors of the Brazilian State and colonization, that is, with non-indigenous subjects, and more towards inter-indigenous relations. This is not to say that we focus exclusively our analysis on indigenous social networks, much less on the exchange of ritual knowledge between peoples as part of processes of ethnogenesis, as done by Arruti (1999) when seeking to reveal *toré*⁶ circulations between groups. We intend to return our understanding to Xucuru-Kariri and Kiriri cosmopolitics to rehearse understandings – at least to initiate them – about the past and recent development of their interactions, respectively, in Bahia and Minas Gerais and, consequently, we aim to raise hypotheses about the constitution of territorial domains in these two federal states. Amerindian sociopolitics interpenetrate their cosmological regimes (Sztutman, 2012: 101). As in this case, indigenous politics includes non-human ontologies (spiritual beings and animal abilities). Or still, it is about understanding how politics is postulated by them, taking into account their relationship regimes with other human beings and other beings that inhabit their cosmos. Historical exchanges between Xucuru-Kariri and Kiriri families and the way that they admit their relations with cosmological beings, according to the suggested hypothesis, are elements of the political and territorial economy that involve them, particularly today, in Caldas. For example, we find, among the Kiriri, negotiations with the dead as premises related to obtaining the right of possession of the land, which they started to occupy in March 2017, and, among the Xucuru-Kariri, presuppositions of animal existences in the chiefs' ways of acting.

We will point out that in the ethnographies about these peoples – which at first seemed to be potential sources of observation of historical relations between these indigenous peoples – it was not written about Xucuru-Kariri/Kiriri exchanges or, when reported, appear as secondary ethnographic data in relation to interactions with others actors. In addition, we will demonstrate the alliance that resulted from the exchange in the hinterland of Bahia – responsible in part for the Kiriri choice for Caldas as a place of life – is currently undergoing a reconfiguration, as no more goods are exchanged as a sign of political complicity, but disaffection is exchanged, accusations of witchcraft and indifference.

6 | We will use italics for native speeches and categories, as well as for titles of works, leaving quotation marks for analytical notions.

ALLIANCE BETWEEN CHIEFS

As reported in the book *Nosso Povo: Leituras Kiriri*, produced by indigenous teachers, one of the first split movements took place in the middle of 1986 in the Lagoa Grande village, in Bahia. After this event, a group of Kiriri approached the Xucuru-Kariri who had moved to that state in 1987. However, little or no academic material can be found reporting this dissension in Lagoa Grande. Thus, we know from fieldwork carried out in the villages in Caldas, since August 2017⁷, that some Kiriri families led by a well-known leadership⁸ left the locality towards the western region of Bahia due to conflicts, where they were welcomed by the chief of the Pankaru people. They remained together until this Kiriri chief, father of the current Kiriri chief of Rio Verde⁹, met the leader of the Xucuru-Kariri of Bahia in the capital of Brazil. The latter told the old Kiriri chief about the land that his people owned in the municipality of Muquém de São Francisco/BA and about his desire to move there.

It is interesting to note that in the ethnographies (e.g. Martins, 1994), contrary to what the Kiriri indigenous people report, there are no references to a Xucuru-Kariri village in Muquém de São Francisco. It only appears that they were allocated to Ibotirama, a municipality adjacent to this one, which makes us think there is not an exact reference to the places where the Xucuru-Kariri lived before moving to Nova Glória. Perhaps this stems from the way the Xucuru-Kariri narrate their own history to researchers (Martins, 1994, 1999; Parisi, 2008; Silva, 2010). As stated by the Xucuru-Kariri in Caldas, they inhabited Ibotirama, although they claim they agreed the Kiriri chief could take the land after their departure. Therefore, both groups recognize the village of Muquém de São Francisco was home of the Xucuru-Kariri. The imprecision is most likely due to the fact that this village is on the left bank of the São Francisco River, belonging to Muquém de São Francisco, and the right bank behooves the municipality of Ibotirama.

The area where the Xucuru-Kariri lived on the banks of the São Francisco River was acquired by FUNAI in order to avoid the conflicts in which their families were involved, as mentioned above. But, due to difficulties in "adaptation" to the region¹⁰, the Xucuru-Kariri were relocated by the agency to the village of Quixaba, in Nova Glória, Bahia. As a result, the Xucuru-Kariri chief signaled to the chief of the Kiriri the idea of taking over their lands in Muquém de São Francisco, since the latter leadership was living with the Pankaru:

As the Xucuru Kariri indigenous did not adapt to this region, they decided to transfer the land and houses of the village called Passagem to the Kiriri indigenous and returned to Paulo Afonso, headquarters of FUNAI Regional, housing its people in new lands acquired by FUNAI in the village of Quixabá, in Nova Glória, here in Bahia (Kiriri teachers, 2005: 22, translated by us).

7 | Since August 2017, Bort Jr. and Henrique are divided into monthly fieldwork, respectively, in the Xucuru-Kariri and kiriri villages. Although it was the initial idea, it has not been prudent to carry out joint entries in the villages due to the configuration of relationships between peoples. This reflection that we publish is a result sharing data, impressions, readings and situations.

8 | We will keep the indigenous names always in anonymity. Eventually, we will make explicit those that anthropological literature has made public.

9 | Kiriri of Rio Verde and Xucuru-Kariri of Caldas are the ways in which indigenous families in Caldas call themselves.

10 | The perception of the high level of violence and the excessive proximity to the city were some of the reasons invoked by the indigenous people without giving further details about the attacks suffered.

It is at this moment that threads of their histories begin their intertwining, whose duration is remarkably longer when we realize that, recently, both began to inhabit the same municipality in the south of Minas Gerais. We affirm the threads of this history intersect at that moment, as Martins (1999) presents a fact that induces us to think about other relationships maintained by the old Xucuru-Kariri chief with the Kiriri. She says:

I noticed that Zezinho [Xucuru-Kariri leadership] maintained good relationships with other indigenous ethnic groups in the region. The closest contacts were with the Pankararé and Tuxá. He told me that when he was looking for a resettlement site [from Ibotirama/BA to Nova Glória/BA], he had received an invitation from the Kiriri of Mirandela to live in their area. He refused because he didn't want to live in any other group's area. He claimed that with time there could be problems and that "the best is each one in their own place" (Ibid.: 223, translated by us).

Thus, old Sátiro does not seem to have interacted exclusively with the Kiriri chief who lived among the Pankaru, because the above extract demonstrates relationships with other Kiriri who lived in the village of Mirandela, in Banzaê. We are either dealing with the relationships of the Xucuru-Kariri chief with distinct Kiriri chiefs, or, hypothetically, we are dealing with a single Kiriri leadership, considering that indigenous mobility among the many regions they inhabit is enormously known. The author does not bring other elements in her text that aid to reveal in more detail how this "good relationship" began with the Kiriri of Mirandela. If the passage of her text does not allow us to understand who the old Xucuru-Kariri interacted within this location, it does not even aid to reveal some complexity of the circulations of these Xucuru-Kariri families, since they are not so unidirectional when viewed from the information in the Kiriri teachers' book. The author speaks of a move by the Xucuru-Kariri from Ibotirama to Nova Glória; the Kiriri report a "return" to Paulo Afonso, a region in the latter municipality. The Xucuru-Kariri who are in Caldas allow us to support the information that they have permanently moved from Muquém de São Francisco.

There is still no precise information about when, where or even how the invitation of the Kiriri of Mirandela to cohabit was made. Had the Xucuru-Kariri chief talked about the difficulties in adapting to the land of Ibotirama and, therefore, the Kiriri leadership opened up to the other by making the invitation? Despite this, the Xucuru-Kariri alliance through the offer of the land was consolidated with those Kiriri who lived among the Pankaru, considering the son of this Kiriri among the Pankaru and the son of that Xucuru-Kariri chief continued relating in Caldas. That is, seeing that other exchanges repeated in the generation below these leaders, we

assume that the exchange between the Xucuru-Kariri and Kiriri chiefs in Muquém de São Francisco was more successful in instituting the alliance. This offer of land by the former Xucuru-Kariri leadership is certainly – as Lévi-Strauss (2009 [1949]) teaches – a manifest form of gift that could establish a favorable alliance to the efforts to continue producing their lives, found again today in Caldas.

Undoubtedly, the Xucuru-Kariri alliance with other peoples is sensitive in ethnography (Martins, 1999), although the author have not dedicated the necessary analytical depth to it as part of indigenous agencies in shaping territorial domains. Clarifications of this indigenous history would provide numerous insights into the ethnology of the peoples of the region. It is only with the Kiriri search for a place to live in Caldas – as the Xucuru-Kariri had already done seventeen years earlier through the strategy of inhabiting the FUNAI's offices, still according to the Xucuru-Kariri, they do not occupy state lands as the Kiriri do in Caldas – that the alliance between the old chiefs was deciphered as one of the keys to understanding indigenous lands in the present and in the past. The formations of the villages would be explained only partially without the attention to this alliance, which, it must be said, was established according to the actions of their chiefs.

We suggest that the relationships of leaders in the constitution of their living spaces can be analyzed, to some extent, in the light of an approximation with the cosmological notion of "owner", verified among Amazonian amerindians (Fausto, 2008). The data produced from our insertion among the Xucuru-Kariri in Caldas authorize this inspiration in our ethnographic interpretation¹¹. The first information to consider is that the village chief in Caldas claims to be exactly a village *owner*. For example, this notion caused the director of the Poços de Caldas Regional Teaching Superintendence strangeness during one of the pedagogical-administrative follow-up visits of the indigenous school. The chief's statement at the time (father of the current one) that he *owned everything*, even referring to the school that is institutionally subordinated to the government of Minas Gerais, caused astonishment, but resolved over the years on account of the willingness of the servant, as she told us, in trying to understand him. The other ethnographic information to take into account is the ideal of living together and having everyone *under control*¹², elucidating a relationship between the chief and the lead families – described below – that seems to be close to the concept of "mastery" that is verified for "owners" in the Amazon. We have a theoretical perspective precisely that control is one of the capacities of chiefs, masters or owners in relation to collectivities of beings, places or things (Fausto, 2008).

There are some Xucuru-Kariri who question the idea of the chief being the sole owner, justifying that the possession of the land was achieved because the families of brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law kept at his invitation living nearby even when he co-resided with his sons, daughters-in-law and grandchildren in the middle of the

¹¹ | We have been carrying out fieldwork in the Xucuru-Kariri village in Caldas since 2017. In this text, we try to incorporate the maximum of information obtained from the relationship with the indigenous people, but the research remains in development.

¹² | Available at: <http://g1.globo.com/mg/sul-de-minas/newspaper-eptv/videos/v/reportage-special-shows-how-the-indigenous-tribe-xucuru-kariri-emcaldas-g/4512635/live>. Accessed April 27, 2018.

São Gotardo City. In this sense, the evidence of alliances as premises of leadership in obtaining land tenure multiplies the number of existing people in what appears as one in the relationship. We have known for some time that indigenous societies produce mechanisms against the centralization of power (Clastres, 2003 [1974]), but until now we were not aware of this Xucuru-Kariri way of preventing the chief from being a sole owner. And, in fact, he is not, but the part of possession he is entitled to must be specific.

In Caldas, the houses and their surrounding areas belong to those who built them, who care for (*cuidam*) or watch over (*zalam*) them. The use of the term allows us to think that the chief has the village in the same way that a father has segments of it (the house, the garden, the yard). The relative equivalence is the conclusion we reached from the argumentation of the chief during a recent meeting with the community, in which he said that the posture in preserving the houses from their deterioration should be the same with the village. So, he kept saying, each one is a little chief. The difference is he is not a potential chief; he actually occupies the position, so he feels free to frequently request the presence of other *chiefs*, those of *families*, at meetings of general interest or to list, among these, who will have access to vacancies employment at school or at the health center in view of their knowledge and occasional needs. We remember the time he asked us to put or remove names from a list of men who will be part of a beekeeping project of the City Hall. The metaphorical comparison by which he makes us understand that to be a chief is to be a father analogous to the jaguar that hunts to feed its cubs. We do not encourage ourselves to number the times he claimed to be a *hunter of the people*. Well, there is something predatory about this father, who is at the same time the chief of *the chiefs*, who, because they are *of family*, are *fathers*. We would need to question, based on Fausto (2008) and Sztutman (2012), whether the problem is the scale of people.

Although the Xucuru-Kariri chief does not turn into his own jaguar, he takes the principles for his own leadership action from an animal way of being, also because, as several indigenous people have reported, they used to reproduce feline skin balls on their bodies¹³. It is more this sense that we must consider in order to draw proximity between leaderships and domains that seem to meet, despite the differences of being there or there, in the Lowlands of South America. A reflective exercise, done elsewhere (Bort Jr., 2018), seems to have revealed hostile dimensions of the Xucuru-Kariri politic based on this being that almost does not exist in the village's woods, but, it certainly lives in cosmology. Now, beyond the reiteration that Amerindian politics are associated with nature, hence a cosmopolitics (Sztutman, 2012), we are underlining there is a conception of affiliation that is specifically supported by the search (*hunting*) that the chief, in his words, do *well-being* and *sustainability* for the families that live in the territory for which he presents himself as an *owner*. This information from fieldwork leads us to put into theory whether this is not another one of those "certain cases" in which leadership imposes itself as a "great father, (...)

13 | Change is inherent to the Xucuru-Kariri painting of Caldas, even though we do not believe in changing its warrior foundation: black and red colors always remain meaning, respectively, mourning and bloodshed and there is an ongoing war. The question was initially raised by Bort Jr. (2018).

because he assumes for his followers a kind of paternal role" (Sztutman, 2012: 319, translated by us).

In dialogues with the Xucuru-Kariri, the chief does not always appear as an essential mediator in obtaining parts of the village's territory. An old lady pointed us out that cleaning an area of the village is the way to take care of (*tomar de conta*) and build a house or garden. At other times, conversations with the Xucuru-Kariri indicated that the chief becomes elementary. Two young Xucuru-Kariri men explained that places beyond the region of residences are possible to be obtained for cultivation or raising animals upon requests made to the chief. These places are normally used as pasture for the small herd of cattle that he has.

We understand that the negotiation with the chief will be all the more necessary the larger the size of the area, after all the same old lady who told about the preparation of the piece as a possession action said that the significant part used by her son was decided with the old chief. She did not mention the chief's participation when we asked about how an area could come to belong to someone, however we had conditioned the question to the example of a very small portion in front of her house. It is totally remarkable, finally, that the position of *owner of the village* presupposes the same zeal that a person must reserve for his house, but also the control and distribution of the conquered land, or of the production of food, as was done when they made the collective garden of corn and beans from agricultural inputs from FUNAI¹⁴. Perhaps it is more appropriate to say that the Xucuru-Kariri chief has some kind of anteriority in relation to the village, which, indeed, is expressed in its ceremonial function.

14 | They present the climate and rainfall regimes of the southern Minas Gerais as difficulties for the continuation of planting.

We think about the time when he, while speaking in front of another servant in the state of Minas Gerais, turned to the other indigenous people and asked them to stay closer than they already were, as he needed *strength* (*força*). That is, he is not a chief by himself, he is composed as such asking people to beave in the way that allows him to act politically. Perhaps not even the chief would say that the strength he receives in exchange for the sustenance he provides is indispensable. It should be noted that we are describing the meanings of the chief's relationship with his.

In these situations, which are quite entangled with dancing and singing, he, first of all, shakes his rattle called *maracá* to call people to listen for directions, which in turn are only audible to those around him. Soon after, he steps forward shaking the instrument, looking back to see if the line of indigenous was properly done, and goes to meet the visitors to whom he usually makes a long speech, which in large part touches – when it does not start there – the conquest of the land as an obvious reason for the recognition that would continue deserving his late father.

We retain, then, that the Xucuru-Kariri chief is the one who manages to move people (*and their strength*) in an organized way. He often says, often in meetings with the other Xucuru-Kariri, that *people don't go anywhere alone*. We think that the

relational foundation of the position of owner in this. He does not own the land, but he is the one who has prior control of it due to having obtained it for the group in relation to which he is in the lead, giving it political-ritual directions. Control, in the sense that the notion of "mastery" gives the word, is relative, first of all, to people. The proof in short is the chief's *maracá*: the object that makes him literally followed. It is possible to demonstrate that the movements in the *toré* chant-dance are produced from the same instrument. For example, the men side by side with men and women side by side with women advance towards the audience that watches them only after lowering the chief's rattle. Among the Xucuru-Kariri in Caldas, whoever *pulls the toré* – the concept of pulling is central – is invariably the chief or someone who he asks for a chant. The fact is that these ceremonies known as *toré presentations* (*apresentações de toré*) are defined at the same time as *moments to do politics* and *welcome*, it drives us to rethink how it would also be logical to interpret the notion of the xucuru-kariri chief from the relational matrix of the party. For Perrone-Moisés (2015), the chief does not represent, because he exists before the group as the host who invites people. Writes the author:

Instead of seeing the chief variant of owner or father-in-law, for example, here it is proposed that owners, fathers-in-law, war chiefs, hunt leaders, village owners, etc. they are variants of a relationship between those who give existence (in the sense of originating and nurturing) subjects who make them who they are. Puller and followers. All would be, in a way, variants of the Host-Guest relationship (Perrone-Moisés, 2015: 7, translated by us).

It is the second generation of chiefs in Caldas who frequently use concepts of movement to guide converging actions, as seen when they say that *where one steps, everyone steps too*. What is significant for ethnography is that *stepping* for the Xucuru-Kariri can also have the meaning of dancing. That is, if everyone must perform the same actions and if *stepping* is semantically equivalent to *dancing*, which is an action pulled by the chief, we conclude that living in a controlled manner is an effect of leadership. This includes the care for the collectivity to perpetuate itself, as the observations of the daily life of the village suggest.

For example, when fights over adultery extend from domestic nuclei, adding other family units to the problem, making disagreements a socially broad issue, the chief's mother tends to debate the issue by circulating between the houses to avoid escalation of conflicts and, as a result, a greater chance of splits. We believe that this and other women are ahead of the resolution, because, as we have heard them ponder, they fear the aggressive manner of men.

It is precisely because of these field records, which point us to reverberating meanings between the ethnographic contexts of South American Lowlands, that the presence of theoretical debates forged from Amazonian cases must be understood.

We wanted to *start* a dialogue. If it was not evident, we should have been clearer in stating that it is not a categorical conclusion that the Xucuru-kariri chief establishes, with the people in his territorial domains, a relationship of adoptive affiliation¹⁵ or host hospitality. Our primary concern has been to describe relational dimensions of both kinship and ritual and the plane of nature to show its interconnections with Xucuru-Kariri politics. And what is the relevance of this for the argument developed here? It starts to illuminate what it would mean, for the Xucuru-Kariri, to accept the invitation of another chief. The old Xucuru-Kariri chief, who taught his son to lead, conceived the people living in the village in comparison to the hungry cubs of the jaguar, an animal that was thought of, as we said, and that was the translation of his name, according to reports from the current chief.

The scope of the article is not wide enough for us to detail the situations in which we have still seen him put himself as a lion, wolf, serpent and eagle. We believe, however, that this is enough to also point out the priority he gives to carnivorous animals in his thinking. When he chose a living being with a different food disposition to compare himself with, he thought of the canary, which, according to his idea, is highly aggressive in defending the territory. Indeed, in order to understand how the Xucuru-Kariri perceive these birds, we once called attention to two of them fighting as they flew. The men who were close by replied that the canaries are very brave, in addition to having added information about the fights of these birds in the Brazilian Northeast.

In this sense, the alliance and reconfiguration of the territorial domains of the Xucuru-Kariri and Kiriri chiefs can only be understood as products constituted in these interactions in which they are guided by cosmopolitical principles such as those. This the reason that the old Xucuru-Kariri chief was able to transfer the lands in Muquém de São Francisco to the Kiriri, as the village and all those contained in it were his domain. And in doing so, he did not fail to comply with the ethics expected by those he controls, because he himself longed to be able to produce better the lives of everyone out there; far, for example, from the violence of farmers, in the new village of Fazenda Pedrosa, in Nova Glória/BA (Martins, 1994). With regard to the constitution of territorial domains from the kiriri cosmological perspective, relationships with the dead seem to be more elementary to understanding the land tenure regime. We will return to that later.

As Fausto (2008) explains about some Amazonian peoples, the owner or the chief always shows himself with two faces: a protective one, as a father to his son, and a voracious and cannibal one that annihilates otherness through transformation. In the Xingu, this logic of predation is expressed in the ways in which chief-masters present themselves to others: covered with claws and leather in the manner of a jaguar. In the case of the Xucuru-Kariri chief, the necklaces made of bones, beads or seeds have a rattlesnake's tail and eagle heads also represented in bone pieces. It forms, in harmony with the enormous fangs made to put in the ear lobes, a body aesthetic that

¹⁵ | For indigenous peoples in Northeast Brazil, the cosmos is inhabited by masters. There is therefore some talk possible with the Amazonian cosmological notion of "mastery" also on other relational planes, since Fausto (2008) affirms that this is a conceived way relationship between different entities in different spheres.

is no less tough, strong or warrior. The warrior's face does not undergo unnoticed, for there are still in its nostril and lips many skewers of bones crossed, the points of which are very sharp. For this same reason, we believe that the former Xucuru-Kariri chief, recognized for his remarkable posture, has rejected the invitation of the Kiriri of Mirandela to cohabit¹⁶. Accepting, we suppose based on this warrior corporeality, would be to give in to oneself and his family to the virtual dissolution of what they are in the domains of the Other: it would mean being taken by the Other, being encompassed by Him, which seems hardly possible for Xucuru-Kariri chiefs who show themselves through aggressive capabilities. In this sense, the best thing was "each one in their own place".

It now proceeds to explain how the specific cosmopolitical notions of each of the two indigenous peoples bring revelations about the situation that develops between chiefs and families in southern Minas Gerais. This logic should favor the understanding of the why interethnic relations, in contrast to the alliance established between the former Xucuru-Kariri and Kiriri leaders, have turned from complicity in conflict, or even moved from the exchange of land to the exchange of bad affection, accusations and indifference, as well as helping raise hypotheses about the territorial domains that were constituted in Caldas.

THE ARRIVALS OF INDIGENOUS FAMILIES IN CALDAS/MG

After a long period amidst droughts in the Bahian hinterland and floods in the São Francisco River, added to conflicts with farmers and police officers around Fazenda Pedrosa, in Nova Glória, Xucuru-Kariri families claimed a new land. They were temporarily taken by the indigenous agency to São Gotardo, where they lived for an average of three years (Parisi, 2008). Later, in 2001, they officially moved to the former Agricultural Post in the municipality of Caldas¹⁷, which became the current settlement of Xucuru-Kariri families known as Fazenda Boa Vista.

In this same indigenous reserve in Minas Gerais, some Kiriri even spent time helping the Xucuru-Kariri to settle there. The support was offered by the Kiriri in light of the difficulties that arose from the arrival of the Xucuru-Kariri in a region where residents were unaccustomed to the presence of indigenous people. For the rest, the Kiriri chief of Rio Verde stayed over two years. At that time, the chief, who was not yet known by this designation, had an affectionate relationship with one of the daughters of the old Xucuru-Kariri chief, demonstrating that alliances were not formed solely through land exchange. With the end of his marriage in Caldas, he decided to return to the Kiriri village in Muquém de São Francisco, where he shared the leadership with his sister. The return, however, was not definitive. Sometime after so, he moved again to stay with the Xucuru-Kariri in Caldas and work in the surrounding fields, usually potatoes.

16 | Read past events from ethnographic observations of the present is to consider the continuities in the political action of this indigenous people. For more methodological references of the possibilities to read the history from ethnography, see Sztutman (2012).

17 | Recently, employees of Company of Agricultural Research of Minas Gerais (EPAMIG) denied that the current farm settlement Boa Vista was an experimental farm of the company. In the certificate of this land, collected in the Registry of Real Estate in the District of Caldas, it had belonging to the municipality of Caldas and was donated, in 1949, to the Union to build the Agricultural Post there. According to EPAMIG and City Hall of Caldas, Fazenda Boa Vista was under the administration of the Federal University of Lavras which had made the post an advanced research agricultural center, but it was not in operation long before the arrival of the Xucuru-Kariri.

After the death of the well-known Kiriri leadership responsible for establishing the village of Muquém de São Francisco, his son, currently chief of the Kiriri of Rio Verde, went back to his native land in Bahia. His intention to support a mayor of Muquém de São Francisco different of whom his sister-chief intended to support, made him leave the leadership in hopes of finding a land where he could form a new village. Having made the decision, he announced his pertinent desire to locate an area in the south of the state of Minas Gerais for his family and for anyone who wanted to accompany him. He and his wife returned this time to Caldas, apparently even more motivated, with the support of a few more Kiriri families and bringing along a list of others who would like to move to the lands they would find. For this reason, he and his wife, at that time an indigenous of the Pankaru people, went to the Xucuru-Kiriri village in Caldas, intending the support of their former hosts so that they could occupy the land they inhabit today.

In the first moments of their return, the Kiriri decided to rent a small farm in the same municipality where the Xucuru-Kiriri live. The search did not stop until the Kiriri occupied, in early 2017, an area belonging to the government of the state of Minas Gerais, which, since then, they have demanded as land for their families. The Kiriri chief, who became the leader of the group after *facing* the entire process of coming to Caldas, remembers that for many years he has had a desire to find a land for his people in southern Minas Gerais, where there is plenty of water and less violence¹⁸. Obviously, this raises questions about the breakup with his sister-chief of Muquém de São Francisco as a sole reflection of their political differences. These are certainly more superficial reasons than the deeper motivations for searching for places where your family and others can live well.

We knew that the Xucuru-Kiriri chief proposed, in the presence of the support required by the Kiriri, that the two peoples live together in the village, which was rejected by the other in a gesture very similar to what the former Xucuru-Kiriri leadership had done when they received the invitation from the Kiriri to live in Mirandela. Just like the old Xucuru-Kiriri, the young Kiriri chief started from the premise of the potential difficulties of coexistence. From his perspective, the groups behave politically different, as the Kiriri would distribute power more horizontally than the Xucuru-Kiriri. Although the two chiefs understand themselves as providers of well-being to those who inhabit the villages they lead, it is unlikely that the Kiriri chief, like the Xucuru-Kiriri one, will be seen as the *village owner*. So, he came to the conclusion that the best thing is for each people to possess their own land and chief.

Certainly, the Kiriri chief knows from his own experiences that dwelling in the domains of another chief entails the virtual danger of encompassing difference. Regardless of the different forms of organization of power between the Xucuru-Kiriri and the Kiriri, the Kiriri chief's point of view makes his refusal to nullify the otherness that would come to be effected by the Xucuru-Kiriri chief's disposition of

18 | The Xucuru-Kiriri, in turn, reported the opposite. It bothered them, at least in beginning, the lack of a river on the edge of its territory, as in the Northeast, which in the dry season it presented a little stream. They also said about the difficulties they felt facing the cold and the slopes of the mountainous terrain of the region (Parisi, 2008). On the other hand, like the Kiriri, they claim that life in Caldas is calmer because there are not as many conflicts as those narrated when they recall life in Bahia.

hunting welfare and making the people of his domain like his sons and daughters. It is a renunciation of similarity and a reluctance to differentiate by separation of domains. This is what those who live in the village of Caldas and are not genealogically Xucuru-Kariri suggest, but that is how they are produced by living in the territories of Others.

The Others under the Xucuru-Kariri chief know, therefore, his capacity to curb differences: non-indigenous and indigenous people of other ethnicities who live among the Xucuru-Kariri of Caldas also announce themselves as those who welcome them. The examples that support our interpretation are mainly the body aesthetic that assumes a Kiriri teacher living with the Xucuru-Kariri and that was produced by the young Kiriri chief of Rio Verde at the time he also lived in their village. In the case of the teacher, he has the same facial holes as his hosts, uses the same graphics in the painting, publishes on social networks the *pride of being Xucuru-Kariri*, in addition to following the attitudes of *respect* of the kinship system (requests for blessings to all of the above generation), which he did not know, as we saw him comment to the Xucuru-Kariri woman to whom he was married. With regard to the Kiriri chief in Caldas, photographs seen by us showed that he at least adopted body ornamentation in dances equal to that of his co-residents.

This is what the Xucuru-Kariri chief presupposes about the unsuccessful political agreement between the leaders. Kiriri and his wife decided to occupy the land independently of the participation of the young Xucuru-Kariri and this, for the latter, was challenging to his figure as a chief. Therefore, from the notion of Xucuru-Kariri, it is not possible for there to be another chief unless he is oblivious in his domain. And putting another chief under his control is to cancel the difference by incorporation, like they made explicit the statements of the Xucuru-Kariri chief in a recording made by a regional radio station in Poços de Caldas¹⁹. He replied to the reporter, who noted that the painting was the same for everyone, saying that since then they have been *united* and *organized*, and, as we already said based on the speech of a lady, the ideal of living together is to *live in control*. Outside the village, one cannot fully live as an indigenous, who is never the generic indigenous that colonial history has produced to speak of the natives of America, it is what the Xucuru-Kariri themselves think about themselves. And within the village, the difference is transformed into similarity, like whites who marry indigenous people and start doing (dancing *toré* and *respecting*) and having bodies like theirs²⁰.

Faced with the potential transformation in Xucuru-Kariri domains, the young Kiriri chief consulted the *science*²¹ of his people in order to locate possible spaces to occupy and create a village in Caldas, which he always does when important questions regarding the community arise. He saw through *science* that, exactly where they have been settled since March 2017, lived a Tapuia, the *real owner* of the place that was seized by the government of the state of Minas Gerais. If the Araweté cosmos is

19 | The video was watched during a class at the village school. A Xucuru-Kariri teacher has the full file report.

20 | In turn, the access to the ouricuri ritual, performed in the woods, white people are not allowed, who will be accepted if they are recognized by the community as an equal, that one who knows how to have respect.

21 | Science is an important ritual of this people. For more detailed information, see Henrique (2019).knows how to have respect.

full of ferocious cannibals that the natives don't care much about to carry out their acts of appropriation-predation of the world and in the Parakanã cosmos there is no concern whatsoever with negotiating domains because there are not owners (Fausto, 2008), in the Kiriri cosmos, the ethics of negotiating with the dead indigenous allowed families to occupy the land, what happened initially with canvas tents and later with mud houses.

The Kiriri built nine mud houses in the occupied area, two of which were covered with ceramic tiles donated by residents of the municipality of Caldas. The other seven addresses were covered by canvas, one covered by black canvas and the other four covered by white canvas ²². The Kiriri of Rio Verde also built a space, located in the middle of the dwellings, so that dances and rituals could take place, such as the *toré*. This space, called a *hut*, has a circular shape and is covered with some palm leaves found in the region, which should be modified, since the leaf of Carnaúba (*Copernicia prunifera*), found in the Northeast of the country, would be better. With the leaves of Carnaúba, three spaces would also be built, this time in the middle of the woods, for carrying out the rituals of Kiriri *science*. One of these spaces, called the *science house*, should be used so that the chief's son could be made a shaman. The preparation to become a cosmic mediator involves dietary and sexual restrictions and seclusion in the house of *science* for twenty-one days. The *science house* was listed by the group as the fourth priority in the process of formation of the village: at first, the indigenous people occupied the land, in a second phase, they built their houses, then they built a *hut* where they can dance the *toré*, and the next step, would be the construction of the *science house*. However, the insecurity about territorialization in that land, caused by the uncertainty of an alliance with Xucuru-Kariri indigenous people, local, state and federal public authorities – manifested, for example, by the lack of interest of the State in bringing electricity to them –, caused that the indigenous felt unable to build the *science house* and, consequently, the shaman incapable of performing the rite of obligation to their ancestors.

The Kiriri's *science* is, therefore, the knowledge with which the chief can open the paths of negotiation not only with spiritual beings, such as Tapuia, but it is also the knowledge that allows him to visualize the future negotiations that are essential to the constitution of his territorial domains. *Science* was used so that the indigenous people could predict the progress of the meeting, referring to the group's demands, with FUNAI, the state government (the land belongs to UEMG) and the mayor of Caldas, who was opposed to the permanence of the Kiriri in this municipality. The meetings are specific cosmopolitical encounters because they consist of spaces for negotiations with non-indigenous human leaders. After all, there are more privileged ways to negotiate with other beings. Except for that alliance with Tapuia, the Kiriri chief had not been successful in his attempts to get support until that moment.

Regarding the Xucuru-Kariri/Kiriri alliance in the previous generation, which

22 | The canvas colors used in the context of land occupation may be indicative of what Lygia Sigaud (2000, 2002) considered calling it "camp form". For this author, the "camp form" acts as symbolic language, constituting the appropriate form to demand land from the State in the last 30 years, which may be verified by elements that are repeated with each new occupation such as flags, tarpaulins and tents, being understood by the Brazilian State, movements and by the campers themselves. However, Sigaud refers to the "camp form" as a strategy widely disseminated by the Workers' Movement Landless Rural Areas, the MST. Therefore, we cannot affirm that the use of the "camp form" by the indigenous Kiriri of Rio Verde is identical to the way that social movements demand lands. The occupation of lands by indigenous people has its specificities.

the Kiriri chief used in principle to occupy the ground, it is reconfigured by its opposite – war (Lévi-Strauss, 2009) – in the generation of the current chiefs. In the present, less complicities and support are exchanged. The Kiriri resent the Xucuru-Kariri, while the Xucuru-Kariri, if they are not silent with regard to the situation of the Kiriri, blame them for spells, against which they have the *ouricuri* ceremonies. The divergence between the chiefs comes, as indicated above, from the different perspectives they have on the ethics by which they should be guided in cosmopolitical negotiations – the Xucuru-Kariri consider an occupation in the domains of others to be unethical. Among the latter, the senses of war and aggression, dependent on animal ontologies, seem out of place for aesthetics, as we defend in an analysis about dances, ornaments and chants during *toré presentations*, *spear dance* and soccer matches (Bort Jr., 2019), and have not literally manifested themselves to the residents of Caldas since that these locals learned, as indigenous narrate, to respect them. In addition, the divergence also comes from the disturbance of the proximity of the domains that were constantly being constituted in Caldas. The presence of Other villages, which are too close, means, for the Xucuru-Kariri, that the Others may extend their relationships into the domains of those whites with whom they have stabilized relationships. In our hypothesis, the unfriendly exchanges result from the way in which the Xucuru-Kariri and Kiriri territorial domains are constituted presently and that do not resemble how they conformed in the generations of their parents.

THE ALLIANCE BREAKING

In 2017, another edition of the Minas Gerais Indigenous Games took place in the Xucuru-Kariri village in Caldas/MG, an event in which people living in the state were present, including the Maxakali, the Krenak, the Pataxó, the Xakriabá and the Kaxixó. The indigenous people arrived a day before the beginning of the competition activities and installed themselves in huge tents that, beside the village's soccer field, were set up with the help of the municipal authorities. To feed during every day, the indigenous people had three meals a day, also paid for by the government, but they could also have access to the Xucuru-Kariri's stalls to buy their snacks, ice cream, sandwiches, soft drinks, etc. which, among other handicrafts, were set up with the support of employees of the municipal government or hired by it. For personal hygiene, indigenous groups had makeshift changing rooms available in containers brought to the village, as well as the locker room made of brickwork to serve visitors during the games. All purchased with public funding. The cleaning of the land to create a parking lot for the buses that brought the indigenous groups was also in charge of the machinery of the Caldas City, likewise the garbage collection that had been organized by the municipal servants at the request of the chief. Many humans

and resources so that the indigenous people could articulate with each other with their bodies in fights or competitions with the ball, blowgun and bow.

Among the sports activities, the indigenous competed in the modalities, both male and female, such as soccer, *maracá* race, stump felling and archery. Held over four days, the event was opened with the presence of numerous political leaders from Minas Gerais – among them, a deputy and some state secretaries – and political leaders from the city – for instance the mayor, the municipal secretary of sport. Later that day, authorities from the public education system of Minas Gerais and other municipal secretaries, like the municipal secretary of finance (*the chief of the City Hall, according to the Xucuru-Kariri*), also circulated around the soccer field that was recently grassed with state resources. However, before the speeches by politicians and managers, the indigenous games began with the *toré* of the Xucuru-Kariri, responsible for making room for other groups to make their presentations. Only then could the political leaders non-indigenous and indigenous people compose the opening table for the event, which was placed on a large stage set up with the support of the Caldas City. The structure also had a large sound system and lighting that could, in the evenings of the event, to enthuse indigenous people with a lot of forró and funk musics.

After performances of ritual dances by other indigenous peoples and speeches by white political leaders, which signaled unrestricted support for the peoples present, the games were defined by the chiefs as an opportunity to engage in *indigenous politics* and *learn about the reality of each other's villages*. The indigenous speeches during the opening of the event were all aimed at defending their rights with regard to education, health and territory. They announced it was an important moment for building a joint struggle in the state of Minas Gerais. Between moments of the games, the Xucuru-Kariri announced, for example, meetings of chiefs to define more than the schedule of sports activities, they said it was time to unite up politically. The time was not to use knowledge to open communication and negotiation with beings from other cosmic levels, as the Kiriri chief and shaman do to find alliances with the dead. The Xucuru-Kariri leader, during the games, used his negotiating skills to articulate indigenous peoples together and capture what was possible from the authorities. It was a confrontation that would certainly not be an exaggeration to define as war, because the party is itself war, as Perrone-Moisés (2015) reminds us about Amerindian ways of doing politics. Immensely adorned with a huge *cocal* (headdress) and many feathers on the ears and arms, the chief was widely ornamented on the stage. He also carried all those bones we were talking about. Through the microphone, he remarkably commanded the indigenous people to come out in an organized way from the back of the soccer field, which was more of a ritual arena at the time, and to cross it with dancing and chants to impose themselves feathered, painted and armed with bows, arrows and clubs in front of the whites. Promises of support from politicians and managers were obtained. The chiefs seemed to be open to each other; willing to

join together in a fight for rights, resources and living conditions.

It can be seen from this that the game they seemed to be more willing to play was, to a certain extent, the political one, despite the fact that they played it ritually and for sport. They were not athletes competing at that moment, but warriors united in opposition to non-indigenous leaders in a sporting event.

In this sense, the occupation of the Tapuia land, headed by the Kiriri chief, suggests that, by comparison with the Xucuru-Kariri way of doing politics, a negotiation different from that operated by warriors under the command of the opposing chief. The first *invades* others' domains to constitute its own, as the Xucuru-Kariri narrate about the Kiriri struggle, which they themselves consider legitimate since it was authorized by the Tapuia indigenous. The second performs the confrontation through warrior bodies willing to capture things from other domains that have their own leaders. That it means that, on the one hand, if the Xucuru-Kariri chief is a warrior-hunter of Others' things, on the other hand, this capture of what is beyond his domain is provided with ethics according to which prehension must express itself in ceremony, but not that its effects are any less real. The Xucuru-Kariri opposed the Kiriri chief's request to assist in the occupation of the UEMG land, because they are peoples whose ethics of interaction with foreign domains differ in their form. We assume that the Kiriri and the Xucuru-Kariri in Caldas will not support each other, because the cosmological and sociopolitical principles that guide them in their relationship with the place are incompatible.

The Kiriri, who had been allies of the Xucuru-Kariri a generation above, were now beyond the opponents' plan by being totally excluded from the possibility of celebrating with the presence of white people and fighting on the side of the indigenous in this essentially disputed event. The Kiriri were not invited, as well as at no time were remembered by those present, to capture goods from the foreigners' domains. Tell me who you celebrate with and I'll say who you are – would say again Perrone-Moisés (2015). During the four days of the event, they produced, at the same time, alliances, visibilities, indigenous demands to the public power and a silence on the Kiriri's claim to land tenure. Meanwhile, in the rural neighborhood of Rio Verde in Caldas, Kiriri indigenous expressed resentment.

It is essential to clarify an apparent paradox in the described relationships: why did the alliance relationship between the chiefs of the previous generation not replicate in the next generation, involving their children in tension? Why, in Levi-Straussian terms, alliance relations in the hinterland of Bahia passed to an "outcome of unhappy transactions" in the southern region of the Atlantic Forest in Minas Gerais? The first hypothesis, as we imagine we have shown, is that the political action deriving from the Kiriri cosmopolitical perspective differs from that which derives from the Xucuru-Kariri perspective. The second hypothesis, which we are now raising, is that the transaction between the old Xucuru-Kariri chief and the old Kiriri chief in the

hinterland of Bahia did not establish tangent or potentially overlapping territorial domains. The elders did not constitute domains with conflicting interests, given that, after the transfer of the land, the domains of Xucuru-Kariri were too far away to overlap those of Kiriri. The exchange of land between the fathers of the chiefs in Bahia followed with the displacement of the Xucuru-Kariri to Nova Glória, located about a thousand kilometers from the territorial domains of those Kiriri.

Differently from that, with regard to the recent domains that are being created in Caldas, the domain of the Kiriri chief represents for the Xucuru-Kariri chief, who is prestigious in proportion to the number of families he cares for and the resources he obtains for the *well-being of "his" people*, an interference in the territorial domains of the City Hall where this indigenous chief has hunted since his father's death. The Xucuru-Kariri leadership complains that, since the Kiriri arrived in Caldas, some families in their village thought of inhabiting the Kiriri territory in formation and that the government considered giving access to the Xucuru-Kariri post and school also for newcomers. From the Xucuru-Kariri chief's point of view, it is the relations with the City Hall that could be destabilized if it were not possible to annul the disturbing Kiriri otherness.

Territoriality being, before attachment to space, relationships between people (Pietrafesa de Godoi, 2016) and places as creations made through interactions between beings (humans or others) (Coelho de Souza, 2017), then, the proximity of another village would mean, for the Xucuru-Kariri chief, not a danger to his territorial domains, but to the territoriality constituted beyond his domains and to the places made politically by him in Caldas. The city as a hunting place (Tommasino, 2001), which is not fully the domain of the Xucuru-Kariri chief, is a place with which it has some intimacy, because it became part of the Xucuru-Kariri territoriality insofar as it started to respond positively to the continuous production of their lives. In other words, Kiriri's denial of the invitation to cohabit in the Xucuru-Kariri domains prevented their encompassing on account of daily together life, leading, from the perspective of the latter chief, to a situation of interference in their relations with the domains of the white people who live in their cosmos and, consequently, on the places from which he obtains at the same time the resources to care for the village.

In summary, it is possible to say that the constitution of the domains in the hinterland of Bahia was favorable to the formation of the alliance, since for the chiefs this would not lead to the inclusion of the difference for any of them and would allow the formation of territorial domains without competition for places. In Caldas, the situation reveals itself differently, because not only the chiefs are in rivalry, but the alliance relationships with the owners of neighboring domains become potentially uncertain, generating tensions and conflict. Let's see how this has been configured.

"EACH ONE IN THEIR OWN PLACE": LAST CONSIDERATIONS

Apparently, if the choice of the Kiriri for the city of Caldas was certainly due to the possibilities opened up by the alliance they had with the Xucuru-Kariri, what has been configured recently is the dispute, accusation or denial of the Other, in such a way that they are no longer considered allies and, therefore, they were not invited to participate in the exchanges, games and the great hunt that took place during the indigenous games. If from the hands of the municipal secretary of sports, the Xucuru-Kariri chief took the ball – metonymic part of the State –, the Kiriri were not on the field with the other warriors who received it through his launch. It is a question of understanding, therefore, the possibilities that are open to the Kiriri chief, beyond the already established complicity with the dead Tapuia. With whom could they get any further recognition of their territorial dominance in south of Minas Gerais? After all, the Kiriri's relationship with their indigenous neighbors proves to be tense and closed and with the domains of public power equally inaccessible.

As the Xucuru-Kariri have built relationships with public authorities in Caldas in a way that have enabled them to acquire the conditions to live, it is remarkable that places in the city are, therefore, domains Others where the Xucuru-Kariri manage to constitute territoriality to incorporate goods and things in their life projects through their leader. The Kiriri, in turn, seem to find a solution precisely where the Xucuru-Kariri have not extended their territoriality through sporting events, such as those of the indigenous games in Minas Gerais. Other forms of alliance, not so explored here, would be marriages with white people and football games on Sundays with teams from the Poços de Caldas region. On the margins of the territoriality created by the Xucuru-Kariri under the leadership of their chief, the Kiriri have established their own places. The form found by the latter seem to be the religious events that bring together residents of the rural areas of Rio Verde, the neighborhood where the land that the indigenous occupy in Caldas is located, possibly extending to the rural community of Laranjeiras.

Residents of the region of Rio Verde very generously received the Kiriri at the mass on Thursday of Holy Week 2018, which celebrated symbolically the day on which Jesus Christ washed the apostles' feet as a sign of humility. The community received the indigenous people with handshakes and led them to the first pew of the church right at the feet of the priest. In the first minutes of the mass, the presence of the Kiriri was thanked by the priest who, at the height of the celebration, washed the feet of the natives with the help of the seminarian. The kindness and washing of feet, which to those present were signs of modesty, seemed to repay the reception they had had the day before in the Kiriri occupation.

The mass on Holy Thursday and the visit of neighbors the day before were moments of a cycle of exchanges that began and continued when the priest

responsible for the parish and rural churches in the municipality invited the indigenous people to be part of the schedule of the next events of the week that precedes Easter and that would take place in the chapel of the Rio Verde community. As agreed between the indigenous people and the priest, the group participated in the celebrations held at the church. Those others held in the *hut*, in turn, were attended by the residents of the surrounding rural community. Also, on Friday of the same week, the Kiriri offered a lunch to all the residents of Rio Verde, in which they served rice, whole beans, string beans—a typical dish from the Northeast and eagerly awaited by the residents of the communities—pasta, *angu* (cornmeal porridge), stew of fish and fried fish. At the end of lunch, they put green corn porridge on the table. They also shared different types of soft drinks, which were brought by the visitors. On Saturday, this time after the celebration that took place in the local chapel, the dinner offered was prepared by people from the community, who often help with the maintenance of the church. On that day, the options for the meal were rice, beans, pork and the *traditional cassava soup of the region*, a dish also eagerly awaited by the Kiriri. Similar to what happened in the village, soft drinks and local wines that accompanied the dinner were offered by community residents. The interactions between indigenous people and Catholics continued until Easter Sunday, when the Kiriri performed a dance *toré* outside the church in the district of Laranjeiras. On this last day of a sequence of visits and celebrations, residents of seven of the rural districts of Caldas were present.

Thus, the events were outlined as an organized succession of interspersed visits by the residents of the Rio Verde community to the Kiriri and the Kiriri to the chapel of Rio Verde and to the church of Laranjeiras. So, a cycle of exchange of parties, pleasantries and food that lasted all week, including Easter Sunday, and through which the alliance between the inhabitants of the rural area of Rio Verde and the Kiriri couple was heading towards its consolidation. The expression of complicity between the indigenous and their neighbors was remarkable in the support that the locals gave to them through a petition for the installation of electricity in Kiriri houses, which circulated during the celebrations and festivities, and would be delivered to the City Hall of Caldas. Equally noticeable, a letter opposing the repossession of land belonging to UEMG returned the Kiriri for their generosity to the residents of the Rio Verde sites.

In short, if the Xucuru-Kariri constituted, under the leadership of their chief, a territoriality that involves those who manage the domains of the urban core, with the City Hall being a place where the chief-hunter circulates—he says that *the doors are opened to him*—, to the Kiriri some possibility of producing the legitimacy of those lands of Rio Verde as their domain were in charge of negotiations with those humans and non-humans with whom the Xucuru-Kariri had no previous agreement, namely, the dead Tapuia and the rural people who live on the opposite side of the

municipality where the Xucuru-Kariri land is located. The Xucuru-Kariri territoriality creates places for itself more on urban soil or is more closely related to agents and urban institutions than the Kiriri territoriality produced in Christian events in the rural communities of Rio Verde. Although the Kiriri understand that without the Others (indigenous people, state officials, neighbors, spirits) they will not be able to create their territorial domains, their actions have not yet resulted in fully positive effects. In mid-April 2018, the Kiriri left the land they occupied in Caldas for the rural area of Pato de Minas, in Minas Gerais, shortly after the end of the court injunction that prevented the land repossession until recently. However, the departure for another place was one more stage in a process of seeking to form a territory. The problem is that, in Patos de Minas, they were not so lucky and the spirit of the *quilombola* (Africans or their descendants who resisted slavery in Brazil) that inhabits the region has not given them permission to hunt animals or build a village, just some time to find another address and some fish from the nearby river to feed. The solution was to return to Caldas, where, despite the enemies, they have support from the people who live in the rural district of Rio Verde and from *the true owner* of the land, the same Tapuia. It is also agencies like these that we must look to if we want to understand the political and territorial processes in which these displaced Amerindians from Northeastern Brazil are involved.

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