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## Abstract

The article reconsiders the concept of ecumene in anthropology, through a focus on Panoan language speaking indigenous peoples in Brazil. It explores the notion that ecumenes are inter-subjectively forged space-times and critiques culturalist and evolutionist approaches to the notion. Drawing on ethnography of Yawanawá and Cashinahua, analysis treats ecumene as dynamic space-times within which amity and enmity arise and identity politics are forged or falter. These arise phenomenologically over time as bodies acquire knowledge, capacity, creativity and agency, resulting in the sedimentation and fixation of humanness, seen as contingent and temporary in nature. It is argued that if ecumene is to be a useful category of analysis, heuristic divisions between indigenous and anthropological conceptual and theoretical framing of global historical processes must be put aside. Ecumene needs be framed with respect to an analysis of graduated sovereignty, predatory capitalism and institutionalized racism, as Amerindians experience and frame these historically.

In 1985 I had a conversation about homesickness with a young man from Acre state in Brazilian Amazonia. We spoke in Portuguese. The context was a party at the home of a mutual friend in Rio Branco, capital of this frontier state located north of Bolivia and east of Peru. The young man, whose mother tongue was Yawanawa, a language belonging to the Panoan family, spoke about a recent trip to Canada for a conference of indigenous leaders from different countries of the Americas. It was the first time that he had traveled internationally. He had been happy to go, but, once there, everything made him feel out of place. One day he spoke a few words of Yawanawa to another participant, who replied in his own mother tongue. He was amazed to find that he could understand. His new acquaintance was from Pucallpa in the Peruvian Amazon and spoke Shipibo, another Panoan language. As they conversed in Yawanawa and Shipibo, they forged a bond. And the young man, whose is known as Bira, experienced a strong wave of homesickness, which he described to me as a mixture of anguish and happiness.

In this article I ask - what are the historical and micro-historical contours of this sudden connection between the two men? To answer this interactions between Amerindians and also between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples come under scrutiny. Looking back from 2019, I consider the larger long-term consequences of such events, multiplied over time and place. Analysis focuses on modes of making meaning and constituting relatedness during interactions often described as inter-cultural or inter-ethnic. Rather than treating such phenomena in terms of 'ethnicity', it uses the concept of 'ecumene', that is, a space of human communication socially constituted in time. I understand 'ecumene' as a moving conjuncture of relational processes, the potentiality or outcome of which may be an historically constituted space-time, in the sense suggested by João Pina-Cabral (2010, 2017). This approach signals the relational, temporal and emergent nature of ecumene. Thus, the discussion below undertakes ethnographic

analysis of Amerindian experiences of so-called inter-cultural or inter-ethnic relations in order to explore how ecumene emerges.

A key tenet of my argument is that an attention to the phenomenological aspects of relationality should be read neither as an obviation of macro-historical analysis nor as a substitution for exploration of power relations such as those involved in internal colonialization and ethnic cleansing. When deployed as an analytical concept that focuses on the inter-subjective and experiential constitution of zones of relatedness, ecumene might be read as diverting attention away from colonial processes and structures of inequality, thus rendering analysis of relational dynamics between autochthonous peoples and encroaching land-grabbers bland and apolitical. Such a reading would miss the potential of a sensitive account of ecumene to situate analysis with respect to indigenous apprehensions of exactly these phenomena. It should also make it possible to name and make visible the specificity of Amerindian agencies that engage or defy them.

As I finish writing the article, indigenous people in Brazil face a dark future. The president who took office in January 2019 has vowed to restrict the indigenous population's access to land. 'Not one more centimeter' he has sworn<sup>1</sup>. The statement reflects his regime's extreme rightwing political views. Many newly elected congressmen support his hostile pledge, which favors the interests of white ranchers, industrial scale agriculturalist groups who insistently lay claim to indigenous territories and mining corporations. Some of these groups are involved in repeated attempts to use violent means to expel indigenous peoples from disputed land, notoriously, the Guarani Kaiowa of Mato Grosso do Sul state (but also many other lesser known peoples)<sup>2</sup>. The violence is so extensive and systematic that important outside observers, as well as activists, label it genocide<sup>3</sup>. Habituated to fighting for their rights to land (and for other forms of state support guaranteed by the constitution, such as education and health care), indigenous

people are also accustomed to widespread indifference to their plight. They face powerful enemies in the congress, executive and judiciary, though there are exceptions; they find invaluable support in some state institutions such as the Ministério Público Federal (Federal Public Prosecutor's Office). Assassinations of indigenous leaders and their relatives, which occur on a regular basis, are rarely commented in the national media. Even those Brazilians sympathetic to indigenous people's plight devote little time to the issue. In the innumerable regions where land conflict is ongoing, non-indigenous locals tend to be hostile to the indigenous peoples. Indeed, in the October 2018 election, Acre state, home to the Panoan speaking peoples discussed in this article, voted overwhelmingly for the extreme right-wing candidate.

I cite the dire political and human rights situation of indigenous peoples in Brazil to make clear that a useful notion of ecumene with respect to contemporary Amerindians needs encompass their experiences of violence and repression, as well as of participation in social networks linking groups and peoples who confront it. Decades after Kroeber suggested applying the Greek concept of *oikoumenê* – referring to human space, or the part of the earth inhabited by humans – to frame the results of cultural diffusion through acts of communication, Ulf Hannerz proposed understanding the contemporary world as an ecumene, a network of networks (1991). Sidney Mintz (1996) emphasized the need to focus on the historical specificity and socially constituted nature of ecumenes, taking as his example the Caribbean world that emerged in post-Colombian times out of global movements of people and goods. This world, like contemporary indigenous America, was shaped by violence and relations of power. For Mintz the concept of 'ecumene' is not a synonym for 'cultural region' in the sense of a geographically contiguous area consisting of distinct 'cultures' that share traits and a common origin. In his account of the historical formation of the Caribbean ecumene, people of different geographical and cultural

backgrounds, forced to live together and to enter into new social relations, created unprecedented world views and forged unique forms of sociability ('new lifeways') as part of a process of territorial occupation, genocide and forced submission of non-European peoples to the dictates of colonial regimes<sup>4</sup>.

Mintz builds his concept of ecumene from Caribbean history. In this world of islands embraced by two continents, cultural fragmentation preceded by the genocide of native peoples and the forced migration of people from many different backgrounds gave rise to a world made of stitching and seams. The Caribbean ecumene does not refer to a single tradition or unifying language, but to shared experiences, over centuries, of disintegration, dispossession and exploitation - and then of repossession. Out of this environment came a forced creativity, a need to build new forms of survival, sociability and communication. Social networks and the economic and political structures that emerged framed new experiences and responses and, according to Mintz, gave rise to some contemporary homogeneity:

Caribbean people, having taken on identities radically different from those they had as newly-impressed, newly-enslaved or newly-transported persons, had been building ways of life of their own. I contend that they were incorporating into those new lifeways attitudes about individuality, about the nature of human relations and about the significance of cultural differences that marked them off, and still mark them off, from their contemporaries elsewhere. A *'particular combination of processes', 'an interwoven set of happenings and products'*, to use the words of Kroeber I quoted earlier, were indeed achieving certain unique results. (Mintz 1996:297) (italics added)

Similar historical processes inform the shaping of modern lifeways in Lowland South America. The forces unleashed by colonialism fuse into and modify pre-Colombian processes and practices. Elsewhere in Americanist studies, scholars looked for analytical inspiration in the models created by students of globalization and cosmopolitanism such as Appadurai (1996); Beck (2006) and Bauman (2000). A growing literature on ‘indigenous cosmopolitanism’, for example, seeks to explore that which is novel in the lifeworlds of contemporary indigenous Americans, using a theoretical prism attentive to that which is specific to ‘modernity’ (Forte 2010; Biolsi 2005; Delugan 2010). From this angle, the unexpected and emotionally charged connection between the two indigenous leaders in Canada might appear as a uniquely modern event made possible by the intensification of communication characteristic of globalization. However, I prefer not to treat current global processes as historically unique, to avoid ceding to the rhetorical power of ‘modernity’, which all too easily leads to an overarching evolutionist paradigm.

Pina-Cabral’s (2017) account of ‘*ecumene*’ provides an alternative analytical path. He approaches it as ‘areas of density of intercommunication’ that define humanity as historically constructed. Taking Hannerz’s (1991) notion of an ‘undivided space of human intercommunication, a network of networks’, as a starting point, Pina-Cabral reminds us that *oikoumenê* derives from the Greek verb ‘to dwell’.

The word *oikoumenê* derives from a verb meaning ‘to inhabit.’ It was used literally to describe the part of the earth inhabited by humans. The radical *oikos* refers to household (and specially the large room in ancient Greek homes where the women lived) and points to the element of human fostering. The usage of *ecumene* to mean the part of the world known to a civilization, which Kroeber espoused, further captures the Christian sense that the word has acquired since then, when

used to describe the whole and most widely defined community of the Christians (as in the adjective *ecumenical*). (Pina-Cabral 2017:249)

Developing the concept further, Pina-Cabral draws on Tolkien's notion of middle-earth as 'the abiding place of men:' 'the physical world in which man lives out his life and destiny, as opposed to the unseen worlds, like Heaven or Hell.' (Pina-Cabral 2017:249) The concept 'ecumene' thus reconfigured is cut away from a sociocentric reading or affiliation to a reductionist concept of 'culture'. Stressing the dividual nature of human beings, that is, the way in which sociality is part and pre-condition of humanity, Pina-Cabral centres inter-subjectivity and its effects and thus obviates the temptation to objectify individuals, groups, cultures, societies or nations - or indeed the 'flows' that pass between entities thus postulated (Rockefeller 2011). Ecumene is constituted as an emergent space-time within which a shared humanity is to some degree recognized or refuted. To be sure, it might emerge through sharing 'language, cultural codes, or political and civic institutions' but it is not limited to such circumstances. Equally it arises out of the less visible aspects of human life, within the ontogenetic life of subjects, that is, during the inter-subjective (and intra-subjective) processes through which people, throughout their lives, make sense of the surrounding world, in a micro-historical sense (Toren 1999, 2002, 2012).

Like Mintz, Pina-Cabral substantiates his approach, focusing on ecumene resulting from the historical expansion of the Portuguese, dubbed 'Lusotopy'. The core seed for ecumene as an intensification of inter-communication is 'sharing a common past' which 'acts as a catalyst for amity', a feeling or expression of solidarity, (after Fortes's original formulation):



..., the very choice of the concept of “amity” to characterize what makes Lusotopy emerge is meant to highlight the fact that, over and above these more perceptible features, less immediately visible features can be found, such as kinship networks, family histories, friendships, relations of homonymy (Pina-Cabral 2017:241)

This formulation of ecumene, which highlights how lived relatedness is integral to its production, stresses the semiotic and emotional aspects of communication within the micro-historical constitution of sociality. Ecumene emerges in mundane encounters and in particular contexts. A linguistic connection is not a necessary condition, since what matters is mutual recognition, based on any number of factors. Recognition triggers connection, for which context can be decisive. The context shapes the space-time of the encounter where specific exchanges might engender ecumene – or not. In short, subjects bring with them modes of mutual recognition leading to approximation and the possibility of a reflexive enactment of ecumene<sup>5</sup>

This article takes as a starting point recognition that Bira Yawanawa’s story of his meeting with a Shipibo in Canada describes a spark of mutual recognition of the sort that contributes to creation of ecumene. The argument is developed in the three sections that follow. Firstly, the emergence of ecumene is described from an inter-subjective and biographical perspective, through an account of Bira’s emergence as an indigenous leader known to other indigenous people, including Panoan-speakers, to non-indigenous Brazilians and also internationally. After a description of the historical context, this section pays particular attention to the manner in which he communicates with non-indigenous listeners, to make the point that subjects moving in such ‘inter-ethnic’ spheres make sense of the world both for themselves as well as others. I suggest that analysis should look beyond an interpretation of contemporary indigenous discourses addressed

to ‘whites’ as merely strategic, tailored to serve narrow political purposes, Rather, I argue, as well as communicative savvy, Yawanawa ontology informs Bira’s communicative performance. Positioning itself within anthropological debates on ontological pluralism, the argument builds on the view that ‘a workable notion of ontology needs to refer to the historically situated, dynamic, and structured conceptualizations of being and becoming that people summon up and test in practice as they constitute the world’ (McCallum 2014: 506). The second section of the article posits ‘Panotopy’ as a space-time constituted in practice, over time, by Panoan language speakers, in the light of Pina-Cabral’s discussion of Lusotopy. I approach Panotopy as a potential carried by subjects able to elicit particular forms of social engagement in situations of mutual recognition, such as that in the opening vignette. This approach avoids the reification of culture that bedevils the notion of ‘cultural region’. Here, emphasis lies on the creation of the present out of the past - ecumene emerges out of inherited skills, tastes and practices. In the third section, I examine another Panoan-speaking people’s understanding of humanity and difference as embodied and processual to explore how a common past might be activated to constitute ecumene (or not). This discussion is based on extensive fieldwork with the Cashinahua, or Huni Kuin (their auto-denomination). Between 1984 and 1985, for 18 months, I lived in a Huni Kuin community on the Purus river and visited others, during doctoral research. I returned a number of times between 1986 and 1991 for further fieldwork. Over the ensuing decades, as a professor and resident in Brazil, I researched with other indigenous groups, taught indigenous students at university, participated in events and accompanied political and cultural movements, both locally and online in social media.

This life lived in Brazil and in connection with Amerindian peoples has shaped the story that I tell in this article. In its final, concluding section, I argue that ecumene must be approached as a phenomenon that involves multiple temporalities. The people

who generate it conjugate not only the past, but also the future, to make sense of the present. In a situation of ongoing colonization and repression, this ontological work is intensely political. Individuals constitute the social worlds that emerge out of them by bringing to bear particular modes of making sense of the world. These are not simply inherited; rather, they are developed and embodied over time in ceaseless ontogenetic process. Orientation to the future in this semiotic sense marks – indeed it enables – practical, political intervention in an unsettled world.

My aim in this article, in short, is to build an analytic concept of the space-time of so-called ‘inter-cultural’ and ‘inter-ethnic’ phenomena that puts indigenous signifying work at the centre. To do this, the concept of ecumene is developed through the prism of Yawanawá and Cashinahua approaches to sociality, humanity, temporality and the geopolitics of the ongoing colonial frontier. This approach, I hope, does justice to Amerindian approaches to the political and economic processes that threaten their very existence.

### **The Yawanawa Production of Ecumene(s)**

This section approaches the emergence of ecumene from an inter-subjective and biographical perspective, taking Bira’s story up to the 2010s. It describes his active role as a Yawanawá leader at home and as an ambassador who moves between indigenous and non-indigenous worlds. A shaper of cultural politics at the colonialist frontier in the Western Brazilian Amazon, and a master of communication with non-indigenous peoples, when Bira speaks to non-Yawanawa audiences he brings to bear a distinctly indigenous ontology. Also notable is his knowledge of the discourses, tropes and values that are significant to non-indigenous listeners. When his audience are favorably disposed, the

resulting equivocation of meanings contributes to the making of an ecumene centered on a positive valuation of indigeneity. I describe such an interaction below.

The context for Bira's encounter with a Shipibo in Canada was multi-layered, encompassing the personal trajectories of both young men and the budding social movements of the period. In 1985, the pro-indigenous camp in Brazil still operated in the shadow of the military dictatorship and the indigenous movement in defense of land rights and citizenship was incipient. It was not until the approval of the constitution in 1988 that indigenous rights obtained a more solid legislative platform. In the ensuing decades, leaders such as Bira fought for the legal demarcation of indigenous land and for social services and economic support from the state and NGOs. Currently, in 2019, Yawanawa are leading protagonists in a cultural revival movement amongst the indigenous peoples in Acre state,<sup>6</sup>. Bira has become an expert communicator with non-indigenous people. Annually Yawanawá host a festival to which outsiders are invited and which has become emblematic of Yawanawá culture and 'tradition'<sup>7</sup>. Nahoum 2013:109 notes that they append the expression 'from time immemorial' to all descriptions of their cultural practices, thus conforming to romantic images of indigeneity that portray certain cultures as somehow surviving withdrawn from time and history' (citing Comaroff and Comaroff 2009). Nahoum also insists that the ideology of solidarity and unity that the leaders promulgate rebounds upon internal political processes, promoting unity and acting against the tendency to fission.

Other Yawanawa leaders emerged, notable amongst whom is Tashka, Bira's brother-in-law, the grandson and son of two well-known leaders, Antonio and Raimundo Luiz Tuinkuru (now deceased). Tashka, who is fluent in English and Portuguese, is a social entrepreneur and Ashoka fellow and has an international public profile. He gave a TED lecture in 2014<sup>8</sup>. His trajectory is one of early childhood in the Gregório river area

with his family, a departure for urban Brazil and later the USA and Mexico, and from 2001, a return to Acre state where he resides alternately in the capital and the Gregorio River Indigenous Territory. As a result of childhood illness, Tashka lived much of his youth outside the indigenous area and in 1990 went to study computer science in UFF, Fluminense Federal University, in Rio de Janeiro. That year, with the help of the Pro-Indian Commission in Acre, he obtained a six-month scholarship from Aveda to study English in San Francisco and completed his university studies in San Francisco. The Ashoka website tells us that, when living in the USA,

.. he became involved with the North American indigenous movement. Recognizing the commonalities in their interests, he began to develop various projects with COs in the U.S. He was directly involved in the creation of the Indigenous Lawyers Association and co-founded the Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Youth Alliance, through which he shares the experiences and knowledge of the Yawanawá with youth around the world, and works with projects that guarantee the preservation of different indigenous cultures. From the U.S., Tashka took the opportunity to visit other indigenous peoples in Mexico and Central and South America, with his wife, an indigenous Mexican.<sup>9</sup>

After he traveled to Canada as a young man, Tashka's brother-in-law, Bira, became a prominent Yawanawa leader in the indigenous movement in Brazil. Bira is skilled in cultural politics, A fortuitous meeting with the founder and owner of a cosmetics company, Aveda, in New York in 1992, led to a commercial deal between the Yawanawa planted and produced urucum (a bright orange-red vegetable paste used for lipstick) and Aveda marketed their products with the aid of images of the indians<sup>10</sup>. Later, in 2008, Bira retired from his role as chief mediator with external partners and director of annatto

production to concentrate on promoting cultural and spiritual activities and Tashka took over the running of commercial transactions between the Yawanawa and Aveda (Nahoum 2013:105-106).

In an interview with Yoga TV in São Paulo, Brazil, published on youtube in 2014, Bira explains to his audience the spiritual dimensions of what he describes as the failure of ‘Western man’s’ project of civilization<sup>11</sup>. Talking in Portuguese he ably communicates with his audience. He uses the trope of nature as a foil and appeals to a moral dimension of human interaction – cast as a universal value. Respect towards nature and others is natural to the Yawanawa, while lost to non-indigenous Brazilians. Towards the end of this short film he speaks of the compassionate sociality characteristic of ‘my people’: No child is left to cry uncomforted, no old person is sidelined as an *ancião*<sup>12</sup> – he says - rather, they are first and foremost respected kin. Bira uses these examples comparatively, to highlight the *desconexão humana* (human disconnection) that lies behind both the social ineptness of non-indigenous Brazilians but also their flagrant mistreatment of rivers and waterways. The film ends with a lament about the malodourous deadness of São Paulo’s river, the Tietê, and Rio de Janeiro’s famous Bay of Guanabara.

I quote a section from the start of the interview at the point when Bira sets the context by referring to the urban landscape (my translation):

Today I was observing this Paulista Avenue here in São Paulo... I am a member of these Brazilian indigenous movements.... I am of the first wave of indigenous leaders in Brazil who left our villages in order to tell Brazil that we exist and that we want to continue living. We are not against civilization or the development of Western man. But let us live in peace in our forest as well! I began to say this very early. I never I saw the intensity of this civilization. Today after my body has

already begun aging and my spirit maturing I have been seeing many changes, a lot of disconnect with nature, with our spirit, with our **real** spirit. We are dividing our bodies from our minds. Our body on one side, our spirit on the other. I see the white man doing it. (...) [*Then he speaks of the pollution and destruction of the Tiete river in São Paulo and the Bay of Guanabara in Rio de Janeiro*] .... Do not do that!<sup>13</sup> (my translation)

In this interview, Bira appeals to his interlocutors' sensibilities, aided by an evident mastery of the discourse that constructs 'Nature' in opposition to (Western) 'Civilization', connecting straight into an Euro-American philosophical legacy. Following Albert (2005), one could interpret his use of 'imported codes' and 'ethnoecological imaginary' in such discourse as evidence of 'strategic syncretism', structurally dependent and context-generated (Albert 2005: 206). In the author's own words:

Indian leaders have had to learn how to translate their people's demands through imported codes in order to be culturally audible and politically efficacious on two fronts: a local one, where the legalist discourse still prevails (citizenship and collective rights), and a global one, where the ethnoecological imaginary reigns (natural wisdom and 'eco-mysticism'). (Albert 2005:217)

The use of such codes and images can be seen as constitutive of ecumene, if one is willing to see more than cynical manipulation of another episteme's discourse. Bira infuses sincerity into his moral lesson for the whites. One may infer this by noting how he draws on knowledge and memories shaped by the Amerindian philosophical legacy to which his audience does not have access. His words can be read as speaking from his own

domain of truth-telling in the direction of another, alien domain. It is to his own experience of spirit-body integration that he refers, that is, the embodied knowledge of *yuxin* (person, spirit) presence in and around him<sup>14</sup>. The concepts that he sketches so vividly emerge out of his ongoing autopoietic emergence within a Yawanawa - and more broadly, Panoan - world. Yet to Brazilians engaged and captivated by his words, such as the interviewer, it sounds as if he is referring to the Nature with which she is already familiar. He seems to show his audience glimpses of something beyond this, a privileged native knowledge of this magical domain, a vision for which they yearn. This is the discursive and performative territory of ‘controlled equivocation’, as Viveiros de Castro (2004:9) puts it, a concept that is singularly useful in this ecumenical context, if we understand that the ‘perspectival positions’ inhabited by speaker and listener are ontogenetically shaped, avoiding the temptation to imagine them as ontologically given<sup>15</sup>. Rather than dismissing this kind of talk as a strategic showcase, mere ‘putting on a show’ for outsiders (the ‘white men’ in a position of power) in the context of rural people’s struggle against internal colonialism, one might ask whether there are also honest expressions of meaning present in such intentional communication. Each party to the interchange makes sense of what is said out of their own historically shaped perspectives, within an ongoing process of the ontogenesis of meaning. This revolves around the process of making sense of the experienced world, a process that is at once embodied and inter-subjective. It concerns how people make meaning in and of the world (Toren 1999, 2002, 2012) Thus, insofar as Bira is thinking of the *yuxin* and other entities present in the material world, in the lived spaces of human and non-human habitation, he speaks to himself as well as to his interviewer and to the urban Brazilian audience.

The 2014 interview begins with a mention of his early initiation as an indigenous leader and emphasizes the long path he followed to arrive at his current depth of



understanding about the malaise affecting the ‘Western’ world. In the period since my passing acquaintance with him three decades earlier, Bira has engaged in countless such encounters with persons in the indigenous and pro-indigenous movements both in Brazil and beyond its borders. Thinking of these encounters in terms of the making of ecumene, in the sense explored above, is a useful exercise. In this vein, the proliferation of such moments, their embodiment as memories, his own and those of others –whether indigenous or not - has been central to the genesis of a new ecumene centering on the collective creation of a specific Brazilian indigeneity. This particular ‘ecumene’ is shaped in practice and emergent in many distinct contexts, political and otherwise, both within the nation and also trans-nationally.

### **Panotopy: A Panoan Speakers Ecumene?**

Among the myriad encounters that constitute this emergent indigeneity ecumene in Brazil, meetings between Panoan-speakers stimulate the rejuvenation of a yet older one that might be said to exist on the margins of pro-indigenous activities, or perhaps beyond their compass. I refer here to a space that could be considered as a cultural and linguistic region, using a more classical anthropological approach. This section explores this possibility, so as to set out its limits, from both the perspective of sociological analysis and from that of Panoan-speaking people’s ontologies of personhood. That they share a common ancestry serves to seduce the onlooker into use of the expression ‘cultural region’. Writing almost three decades ago, Erikson summed up the results of his extensive readings and ethnographic research on Panoan-speaking peoples:

A unity that is simultaneously linguistic, territorial and cultural is indeed one of the essential characteristics of the Panoan area. It stands out even though the majority of "panological" studies are both recent and monographic. How to

account for such uniformity, which is all the more remarkable because, despite a certain demographic weakness (barely 35,000 speakers), the Panoan family covers an immense geographical area including, in addition to the Ucayali and Javari river basins, the region of the Upper Jurua and Upper Purus ...? <sup>16</sup> (Erikson 1993:45) (my translation)

It is tempting to think of the ‘unity’ identified by Erikson as the result of an infinitude of inter-subjective exchanges that underlie a particular ‘pan-Panoan’ ‘ecumene’. Bira’s encounter with the young Shipibo leader might be interpreted in this key. The two men experienced a mutual recognition, a momentary coevalness. Perhaps further exchanges provoked a deepening sense of connection, the incipient basis for ecumene, The process whereby it is constituted is necessarily multiple: at once conceptual, emotional, corporeal and social. The production of meaning and its ongoing embodiment integrates the forging of new social bonds. The Yawanawá-Shipibo encounter contributed towards creating new sets of meanings that participants carried forward into other contexts; chief among these, those attached to a developing concept of indigeneity. With hindsight we can say that over the years Bira’s singular experience expanded in scope, rebounding first on him as a young Yawanawá and then in time extending to his relatives, as well as to other people in his network of relations, both non-indigenous and indigenous. He incorporated it (and further such experiences) into a constantly transforming habitus constituted within or in relation to other emergent ecumenes, or space-times, concurrent with his life-world, which encompasses the Gregorio river area in Brazil, other Amazonian regions in which he has dwelled, and indeed megalopolises such as São Paulo. There is a gravitational pull at work, however, towards the most intense and the densest fields of interaction. Zones of encompassment might extend outward or retract: From the day-to-day worlds of villages to larger

networks and communities, such as the emergent indigenous/indigenist ecumene, which in its current contours is driven by the conflict-ridden politics of land and ‘development’ and subject to the ‘friction’ attendant on global capitalist predation (Tsing 2005).

Mintz (1996) taught us that a common history allows ecumene to form. Pina-Cabral’s ‘Lusotopy’ indicates the presence in embodied form of catalysts of amity inherited from a collective past, of Portuguese provenance, such as the shared medium of communication itself, and cuisine, artefacts, architecture, musical styles, rituals and so on (Pina-Cabral 2014, 2017). We could posit ‘Panotopy’ as an ecumene immanent to speakers of the many Panoan languages whose ancestors shared a remote or recent past and whose languages are mutually intelligible (to a certain degree<sup>17</sup>). In this approach, those who dwell in Amazonian Panoan-speaking worlds enact and are subject to similar markers of identification and differentiation: they are bearers of a Panotopic ecumene in virtual form, that is, even if invisible and unspoken, they are yet embodied and available to be enacted as situations arise. Interactions like that between Bira and the young Shipibo have the potential to render concrete this virtual space-time, to expand its scope. However, one must proceed with caution and recall that emergent space-time is substantiated in historical inter-subjectivity, before jumping to sociological or culturalist conclusions. A Panotopic ecumene should not be read either as an objectifiable ‘culture area’ or as a loose social formation based on linguistic relatedness. Indeed, historical and ethnographic evidence point strongly against such readings, as for example in the case of the Panoan speaking Matsés with whom their neighbours have rarely enjoyed peaceful relations over the past centuries (Coutinho Junior 2017).

From a Panoan perspective there are numerous distinctions and nuances internal to this virtual ecumene. In many contexts, when Panoan-speakers meet, differences speak louder than similarities. Often, rather than approximation, distance is maintained or

exacerbated. The dynamics of group formation, disintegration and interaction revolve around concepts of alterity and are simultaneously gradualist and dualist (Lagrou 2007). Many groups of the Panoan family language family call themselves ‘Huni Kuin’ or Real People, They do not form ‘ethnic’ groups in the sense of socially bounded and mutually exclusive units. Scholars concur that Barthian analysis in terms of ‘ethnicity’ or ‘ethnogenesis’ singularly fails to capture their social organizational specificity<sup>18</sup>. Non-indigenous Brazilians erroneously imagine that each name in the long list of ethnonyms used by outsiders refers to separate, bounded ‘tribes’: Sharanawa, Mastanawa, Poyanawa, Shaninawa, Yaminahua, Yawanawá and so on. But social bodies in the Panoan-speaking universe are not uniform, as might be expected given their geographic spread through the Amazonian regions of Western Brazil, Peru and Bolivia. In general, collective living involves constant fission and fusion such that no population group corresponds through history precisely to any imagined bounded ‘ethnic group’, even, in some cases, in a short time-scale of decades. The Yaminahua are perhaps the most prominent example of this. Calavia Saez (2004) shows the Yaminahua to have a loose and fluid form of social organization. They do not practice any major rituals, but rather creatively constitute social bonds in festive gatherings and through relations with outsiders, under the guidance of leaders. ‘Leadership is based both on an outward policy and an inward search for patterned, collective actions that can designate a gathering of kin and followers as an indigenous community.’ (Calavia Saez 2004:157).<sup>19</sup> In a discussion of the history of the Sharanahua, Deléage emphasizes the inappropriateness of the ethnicity paradigm. He writes:

A story of small groups that constitute themselves, disintegrate and reconstitute; (...) insisting on the violence of the conflicts with the mestizos and on the multiple epidemics (...) allows us to trace the “Sharanahua” over time and to situate them

in space. It also shows us that it is somewhat futile to want to reason in terms of ethnic groups in such a complex context. (Deléage 2005: 33)<sup>20</sup> (my translation)

Forms of Panoan social organization vary considerably. The ancestors of the contemporary Cashinahua invented an alternate generation naming system allied to an exogamous moiety system and bilateral cross-cousin marriage. Cashinahua relation terminology is compatible with these integrated practices. The overall system, from the perspective of logical coherence, is particularly elegant. Anthropologists note related but considerably more fluid organizational features among Yawanawa and other Panoan-speakers in Brazil or across the border in the Purus region of Peru<sup>21</sup>. The Cashinahua themselves identify with neighbours such as the Sharanahua and Yaminahua. In general, they say, they are ‘like us’ because they too are *Xutanawa*, ‘Namesake People’; girls are named for their MM, boys for their FF. Namesake people are similar in other ways, for example in modes of bringing up children, domesticating outsiders, organizing marriage or styles of conjugality. Thus, they may be considered *Huni Kuin*, ‘Real Humans’.

However, this recognition of the humanity of other Purus Panoans is provisional and embedded in a gradualist framework. They are attributed a higher degree of humanity, not an absolute status as truly human. Never quite so human as a Cashinahua person, a Panoan outsider must prove himself in practice, otherwise he returns to the default status of *Nawa* (enemy, outsider). Thus, a linguistic practice - in this case onomastic – is a sign of the possibility of rapprochement and identity, but not a guarantor. It is against this ethnography that a notion of Panotopy must stand and it is in this conceptual context that the dynamics of an actualized shared space-time sparked into being through moments of mutual identification take their course. In practice, it expands and contracts continuously.

A Panoan ecumene, if such exists, is first of all an immanent presence, if shared humanity put into practice is its measure.

### **Cashinahua Body Language**

Pina-Cabral (2017) makes a point of stressing that the establishment of ecumene depends on context and the sharing of a common past. I imagine that in the Canadian context of the Yawanawá-Shipibo encounter, the mutual understanding of maternal languages of each was in itself just a trigger to other conjunctions and disjunctions - acting as an index for the possible existence of common habits and skills, tastes, trends, attitudes or philosophies shared or not. Many other signs of possible mutuality, not just language, might function as a 'catalyst of "amity"' (Pina-Cabral 2017: 241) and act to constitute an ecumenical space-time of extended Panotopy. In the Amerindian world, the body is the means *par excellence* of the constitution of sociality, as it is also a means of differentiation. Its appearance is a sign of immanent personhood, not in the sense of an inherited racial 'essence', but as an indicator of habitus, an embodied way of being acquired during a particular body's life (McCallum 1996, 2001; Vilaça 2005; Viveiros de Castro 1996). Here, I turn to the Cashinahua, in order to explore how bodies speak of the possibility of consolidating mutuality (or not) and thus ecumene<sup>22</sup>. I relate an encounter where unfolding interaction centered on the interpretation of a partially legible body, inscribed with dissonant symbols, indexing humanness on the one hand and a less-than-human alterity on the other. The discussion shows how the ongoing inter-subjective constitution of 'ecumenical' space-times is a process that is microscopic in scale and likely to be of uncertain outcome

For Cashinahua, a person is a cumulative entity, created from her or his immersion since conception and birth in an environment whose effects accumulate materially in the

body as knowledge, gender and embodied skills (McCallum 2013, 2016; Kensinger 1995). These studies make it clear that there are many ways to create such bodies, which are always incomplete. People are human along a scale that attributes the status of true humanity in degrees that depend upon constant reiteration and reenactment of appropriate speech, actions and activities. Appearance is an important signal of true humanity, then, but not definitive proof, Gender is a central aspect of a properly human body. A woman's body becomes more 'truly' human when her face is painted with designs in annatto and genipapo, when she wears bead arm bands and anklets. When I studied with the Cashinahua between 1984 and 1985, I wore such strings of tiny white and turquoise beads wound tightly around my forearms, a reflection both of my desire to transform in some degree into a 'Real Woman' and the efforts of my teachers to make this happen<sup>23</sup>. My wardrobe of cotton dresses had been sewn by my 'sister' in the village in the Alto Purus Indigenous Area where I resided for most of my doctoral field research.

In 1985, as my two years in Brazil were drawing to a close, I visited another Cashinahua region, on the Jordão river, the headwaters of which border Peru, where about a thousand relatives of the Purus river Cashinahua lived. I spent ten days wending my way in a motorized canoe up the Tarauaca river to reach the mouth of the Jordão, spending each night in a *cariu* (non-indigenous) family's house<sup>24</sup>. As I travelled I was aware of recent tensions between the Jordão Cashinahua and their neighbours. The group had recently expelled 'white' settlers from the six main rubber-producing stations along the Jordão river in a difficult but non-violent process that had lasted several years. Many of the families now residing in the Jordão river basin (in 1985) were recent returnees from the distant areas where they had been enslaved for decades as workers in wild rubber extraction. Now reassembled, the Jordão Cashinahua were enjoying strong linguistic and cultural regeneration. I bore witness to the start of this ebullient process. It was taking

place after almost a hundred years of domination, land dispossession, forced migration and linguistic and cultural repression, which had resulted in prolonged separation of relatives. Kinspeople had been living scattered widely, working in rubber extraction areas in the state of Acre under *cariú* rubber bosses. A few had fled to live independently in the headwaters of the Purus River in Peru (McCallum 2001; Aquino 1977; Deléage 2005). My journey up the Tarauacá river towards the Jordão provided ample evidence of the tension in Relations between *caboclos* (the regional expression for indigenous people) and *cariú*. Although there were exceptions, conversations with *cariú* tended to lead to racist declarations about *caboclos*, whom they branded as godless - 'they are like animals or children' - and as thieves and skivers (with certain named exceptions, such as the most prominent leaders who had travelled widely and gained respect along the river). The Cashinahua's success in retaking the land around the Jordão appeared to have increased this generalized hostility, which Aquino (1977) had documented fifteen years earlier.

Once past the mouth of the Jordão River and on the approach to the indigenous area, such unpleasant encounters ceased. It was June, the summer season, and the river was low. I walked upstream along the beaches and waded through the shallow waters ahead of my Cashinahua companions, who followed in a shallow canoe loaded with our bags and supplies, poling it upriver slowly. The first settlement was still a half day's walk upstream. At one point I pulled ahead a little more and so walked alone around one of the many bends in the river's course, Suddenly I came across two Cashinahua women who were fishing. One of them took my arm and, with eyes shining, spoke to her companion: *Ma hawa hawendua* 'How beautiful this is' and she added *Ea inanwe!* 'Give it to me!' She directed herself not to me but to her kinswoman, in rhetorical style, because she never imagined that I, a woman whose appearance (unfortunately) scarcely conformed to that of a 'true human', could understand what she said. When I answered, in Kaxinawá, I



confess that her stunned expression led me to experience some satisfaction. I said that, sadly, I would not be able to give her the bracelets, because I had just received them as gifts from my sister.

In this episode we see that the fisherwomen responded to the aesthetic value attached to my arm bands - but not to my person. These objects are important markers of a gendered humanity, as I noted. They are also a potential means for the creation of relatedness. The imperative phrase *Ea inawe*, 'Give me', is a demand for a gift. Merely to utter it – and to understand it – is an acknowledgment of potential relatedness. However, my physical appearance (white if tanned skin, sun-faded light brown hair, Anglo-European features ...) branded me with otherness - with being a Nawa, a foreigner, enemy, or *cariú*, not a real human. These markers led the women not to expect an answer in the language of humans. They were quite unprepared for a person of my physical appearance to show familiarity with the propriety of their demand to hand over the bracelets. Strictly speaking, as a potential true human and kinsperson, such an order - 'Give me!' – would put me under obligation to give the arm bands to her. However, she would be loathe to put an unknown woman in such a position lightly, without considering the implications of reciprocity attendant on receiving such a valuable gift. Speaking in *Hantxa Kuin* (True Language) and moreover using the old-fashioned style of speakers from the Purus region, I sent a strange, discordant signal: Inexplicably we shared the grounds for the creation of kinship rather than the hostility and incomprehension that my bodily appearance led her to expect. My prowess in the language (limited, in fact) was unusual and inexplicable. I was a walking contradiction, one might say, an ambiguous mix of signifying markers, a concatenation of possible triggers of hostility or distance on the one hand and catalysts of amity and solidarity on the other.

We can conclude that, while of course this episode of inter-communication did not work towards the continued constitution of a Huni Kuin world – a Cashinahua ecumene, one might say – it did contribute to re-signifying its boundaries in some small measure. Because of my efforts to speak Huni Kuin, embody my own real name and interact according to the pre-ordered relationships set by it within the alternate generation naming system, (the Xutanawa universe), I was at least partially human.

At that time many Huni Kuin in the Brazilian Purus area put me in the categories of *haibu* (friend), possible political ally, and even nascent real woman and therefore relative or possible affine – and they took it for granted that I knew the basics of how to act as a human woman (McCallum 2010). *Haibu* is a strange category in this context, a sort of add-on in the world of relatedness. I want to suggest that this category of ‘friend’, which seems to override the categorical imperatives of the neatly ordered imagined universe denoted by the idea of Xutanawa, indicates the possibility of ecumene as a phenomenological time-space forged between humans and less-than-humans. Persons who are not really Real Humans can never finally overcome the distinction, although they can progressively embody humanness over time through dwelling in properly created places and acting in certain ways. When they enact the kinds of relatedness that this notion of friendship suggests, indigenous and non-indigenous people can jointly inhabit a co-created world, the boundaries of which are permeable, moveable and sometimes indistinct, Such is the ecumene that is emerging at the confluence of indigenous and pro-indigenous movements in Brazil and beyond its borders.

### **Conclusion: On Temporalities**

In the version of Panotopy outlined above, (based on Pina-Cabral’s notion of Lusotopy), the movement of people in space triggers ecumene by evoking the past in the

present. However, we may ask whether putting emphasis on the past as primordial in this process is to risk allowing ‘cultural region’ to continue as an invisible partner of the concept of ecumene, even if only implicitly. This would be unfortunate given that the notion is supposed to overcome the epistemological difficulties long recognized as associated with the notion. Therefore, as a necessary step to avoid this outcome, I suggest that it is necessary to give specific attention to the way in which different temporalities inform the ecumenical process.

To explore this point further, I return to Bira and his active participation in distinct ecumenes, notably that inherited along with his mother tongue and that which is emerging in the zone of inter-communication between Yawanawa, other indigenous peoples and pro-indigenous others. Upon considering the interval between Bira’s visit to Canada in 1985 and the current moment in the history of indigenous peoples in Brazil and Acre, it would be possible to trace the ways in which an imagined future contributed inter-subjectively to the consolidation process of both ecumenes. As Nancy Munn (1992) warned us, the activation of the past in the present is only one dimension of the interaction of space-time in inter-subjective processes<sup>25</sup>. Indeed, it is necessary to pay attention to the human impulse to motivate oneself to engage in the future action, starting from the way in which one is positioned with respect to the unknown, undefined, feared, desired and imagined, as Ulturgasheva (2012) shows brilliantly in her ethnography of Siberian Eveny ‘future autobiographies’ How did the chronotopes young Eveny carried - that is, their sense of intrinsic connections between particular orders of time and space<sup>26</sup>- inform these new fields of relatedness? In similar vein, one can ask - What motivated Bira and the others to go to Canada? What kind of consciousness of a possible future - for himself, for his kinspeople, for the forestscape they inhabited? What ambitions and projects were present or nascent? And in what sense the memories and dispositions that the young men

carried with them to the northlands were to prove foundational of new ecumenical processes? My point is simple: seen as emergent from the space-time of inter-communication in the present, ecumene constitutes itself using both past and future tenses.

Nancy Munn's (1992) essay is a classic in the anthropological discussion of temporality and sociality. In her study of the temporalities that infuse reproduction in Vietnam, Gammeltoft (2013) draws inspiration from Munn, and also Jackson (1989) to rethink the Heideggerian theme of potentiality. She says:

'I discuss the possible analytical gains of placing 'potentiality-for-Being' at the center of anthropological studies. ... With Heidegger, we may ... understand human existence as structured through an orientation to the future; possibility is, he suggests, that through which we realize the givenness of our worlds<sup>27</sup>.

The process of ontogenesis that Bira experiences transports him to different worlds, where he participates in the creation of different epistemes that are more or less 'indigenous'. Insofar as he acts within the contexts through which he passes, he also constitutes them. Panotopy is one such ecumene; another, that inhabited by 'cosmopolitan indigenous people' and their non-indigenous partners and allies worldwide; a third, the Brazilian ecumene I invoked above. A fourth could be Lusotopy.

The ecumenes that indigenous leaders experience and co-create are historically contingent and subject to a system in which, according Aihwa Ong (1999), people experience 'graduated sovereignty'. This denotes the condition 'whereby citizens in different zones that are differently articulated to global production and financial circuits are subjected to different sets of civil, political, and economic rights'' (Ong 1999: 215–216).' (apud Biolsi 2005: 240). Bira and his kinspeople have access to the rights supposedly guaranteed to citizens by their nation-state only by degree. They must

articulate politically and fight constantly to achieve recognition as citizens. Indigenous peoples in the Amazon countries, like other so-called ‘traditional people’ in Brazil, suffer an extreme degree of mis- or non-recognition as humans and citizens in this sense. In the inter-indigenous and pro-indigenous ecumenes, whether Brazilian, transnational or ‘cosmopolitan’, much of the creative work of the participants is to challenge and reframe negative values attributed to ‘Indians’ and then to develop counter-discourses intelligible to non-Indians<sup>28</sup>. The discourses created in national and transnational political worlds are full of allusions to the authenticity and legitimacy of each ‘culture’, an example of a classical political maneuver whereby one borrows aspects of the other's discourse to make one's own claims and to challenge imposed meanings (Brown 1993; Albert 2005).

The context for the generation of such politically driven ecumenes is given by economic and geo-political processes of territorial occupation and forced migration to urban areas, suffered by the Brazilian rural population (and the Amazonian one in particular) or indeed by state policy that permits or favours genocide. A possible critique of the notion of ecumene when viewed in phenomenologically informed perspective is that it acts to remove from analytical view the political aspects of human life, the structural effects of power relations, through its theoretical focus on amity and the creation of solidarity in the present. But such a critique can be deflected by giving explicit attention to the relationships between the three temporal dimensions of ecumene - past, present and future. Ecumene emerges in inter-subjectivity as a product of the signs of coevalness carried by and shared between subjects. Such a view suggests the strength and fertility of the human imagination, in all its creative range. It encompasses the dispositions that each of us always bear and that allows us to forge a way through the different temporal dimensions of the inhabited world, in the constitution of possible futures. Amerindian temporalities are forged in the different space-times they move through,

where, through myriad interactions with others, they imagine a future protected from the ravages of predatory capitalism, guaranteed relative autonomy, and thus endowed citizenship. For Amazonian people the fight is hard and long and in this work there is much to do and everything to lose.

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## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> There are many reports in the media. See for example Anna Jean Kaiser in the Guardian of the 12<sup>th</sup> of June 2019. See <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jun/12/jair-bolsonaro-aide-froth-hate-for-indigenous-people-franklimberg-de-freitas>. Accessed 5 august 2019.

<sup>2</sup> See for example Oliveira, Benites & Neto 2016; Urt 2016.

<sup>3</sup> See <http://ajd.org.br/report-about-the-human-rights-situation-of-indigenous-peoples-in-brazil/> (accessed 11 november 2018)

<sup>4</sup> Mintz's discussion of ecumene occurred at the margins of debates on globalization in the social sciences and humanities that tended to view it through the prism of concepts of 'modernity'..

<sup>5</sup> 'In short, to be part of Lusotopy is to possess the modes of identification/differentiation that are the key for entering into the network of relations that it constitutes. Each one of us that possesses these modes of identification (that carries them in his or her past and signals them in a reified manner by his or her presence) creates a space/time by being part of it. So Lusotopy as a space/time affirms itself in its enactment. This enactment occurs in the moment of recognition—that is, simply put, when two people that possess those modes of identification realize it by experiencing and assuming reflexively the operation of the catalyst for amity.' Pina-Cabral 2017:248

<sup>6</sup> See Bomfim Neto 2016; Nahoum 2013; Carid Naveira 1999. On the cultural movement from the perspective of school education see Weber's 2006 study of the Humaitá Cashinahua. Among studies of similar processes of conscious cultural recuperation elsewhere in the Americas, see for example Ann Fienup-Riordan 2000, 2002 on

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‘conscious culture’ among Yu’pik; and Arthur Mason 2010 on the ‘heritage episteme’ among Kodiak Alutiiq.

<sup>7</sup> See ‘Festival Wana’ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CHVWHbGdsMI>

<sup>8</sup> See <https://www.ashoka.org/fellow/tashka-yawanaw%C3%A1> accessed 26/10//2018.

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.ashoka.org/fellow/tashka-yawanaw%C3%A1> accessed 26/10//2018).

<sup>10</sup> According to the Aveda website, Biraci led the Yawanawa in consolidating claims to their territory (as a titled Indigenous Area under Brazilian law) and also set up the relationship with the cosmetics company Aveda for commercializing urucum for the manufacture of lipstick: ‘Aveda and the Yawanawa first connected through a meeting between Biraci and Horst Rechelbacher, Aveda's founder, at the first United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1992.’ See <https://www.aveda.com/living-aveda/aveda-cares> accessed 26/10//2018.

<sup>11</sup> See ‘Cacique Ubiraci and Yawanawá mission’, Yoga TV on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RoCpJSSGYcM>) accessed 26/10//2018.

<sup>12</sup> Brazilian Portuguese term for ‘elderly person’.

<sup>13</sup> Eu estava vendo hoje essa Avenida Paulista aqui de São Paulo... Eu sou membro desses movimentos indígenas brasileiros. Eu sou da primeira leva dessas lideranças indígenas do Brasil que saíram de nossa aldeia para falar para o Brasil que nos existimos; (que) nos queremos continuar vivendo. Nós não somos contra a civilização nem o desenvolvimento do homem ocidental. Mas nós deixa-nos viver em paz também na nossa floresta. Eu vim muito cedo falar isso. Eu nunca enxerguei a intensidade dessa civilização. Hoje depois de já envelhecendo meu corpo e amadurecendo meu espírito eu vim olhando muitas transformações, muita desconexão com a natureza, com nosso **espírito mesmo**. Nos

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‘tamos dividindo nosso corpo com nosso espirito. Nosso corpo por um canto, nosso espirito por outro. Eu vejo o homem branco fazendo isso. ( ... ) [*Fala então da destruição do rio Tietê, a baía de Guanabara*],... Não faça isso! Transcribed from ‘Cacique Ubiraci and Yawanawá mission’, Yoga TV on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RoCpJSSGYcM> ) accessed 26/10//2018.

<sup>14</sup> On the concept of *yuxin* or *yushi* among the Yawanawa see Pérez Gil 1999. On the Sharanahua view, see Deléage 2005. On the Cashinahua notion, see Kensinger 1995, McCallum 1996, 1999, 2001; and Lagrou 1998, 2007.

<sup>15</sup> Pina-Cabral 2010, 2017 discusses the creative use of equivocation in situations of ontological incompatibility when subjects are under pressure to find a degree of social mutuality. Viveiros de Castro’s 2004 Wagnerian notion of equivocation obviates the concept of ‘cultural translation.’ With respect to the ontological regime of Amazonian perspectivism, Viveiros de Castro identifies ‘controlled equivocation’ as ‘the mode of communication *par excellence* between different perspectival positions’ (2004:5) where difference is rooted in bodies. Controlled equivocation refers to ‘referential alterity between homonymic concepts’ rather than translatability in the representational sense (where synonyms refer to identical objects). (Note 11, McCallum 2014). See also Kelly Luciani 2011.

<sup>16</sup> L’unité à la fois linguistique, territoriale et culturelle constitue en effet une des caractéristiques essentielles de l’aire pano, qui saute aux yeux bien que la majorité des études « panologiques » soient tout à la fois récentes et monographiques. Comment rendre compte d’une telle cohésion, d’autant plus remarquable qu’en dépit d’une certaine faiblesse démographique (à peine 35 000 locuteurs), la famille pano couvre une immense aire géographique comprenant, outre les bassins de l’Ucayali et du Javari, la région du haut Jurua et du haut Purus ...?



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<sup>17</sup> Deléage 2005: 24 discusses the varying degrees of comprehensibility between diverse Panoan languages as part of a discussion of the relations between different Panoan groups.

<sup>18</sup> Barth (1998). For critical discussion of Barthian ethnicity approaches in this ethnographic context, see for example Deleage 2005.

<sup>19</sup> See also Perez Gil & Carid Naveira 2013; Deleage 2005; Townsley 1988.

<sup>20</sup> Une histoire de petits groupes qui se constituent, se désagrègent et se reconstituent; (...) insistant sur la violence des conflits avec les métis et sur les multiples épidémies (...) nous permet de dénombrer les « Sharanahua » à travers le temps et de les situer dans l'espace. Elle nous montre aussi qu'il est un peu vain de vouloir raisonner en termes d'ethnies dans un contexte aussi complexe. (Deléage 2005:33)

<sup>21</sup> Townsley 1988; Calavia Saéz 2005. Deléage 2005.

<sup>22</sup> The Cashinahua prefer to be referred as Huni Kuin, their self-denomination. However, in this article, for purposes of clarity, I use the denomination more widely known in the literature.

<sup>23</sup> I have written about gender, identity and this transformation process in McCallum 2010.

<sup>24</sup> Cariú designates non-indigenous Brazilian immigrants to the region, descendants of recent immigrants, or Brazilianized indigenous people.

<sup>25</sup> Bourdieu (1977) created an apparatus for thinking time and space in human action, and Munn (1992) offers an insightful analysis of the way he deals with time in terms of conscious strategy and with space in terms of habitus as structuring structures. However, she writes, In order to highlight the habitus as internalization of unconscious structures that serve as guides to action, Bourdieu removes from the frame creativity and non-predictability, the unexpected results of inter-subjective encounters.

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<sup>26</sup> See Ulturgasheva (2012) for her use of Bakhtin's (1981:84) notion of chronotope, "the intrinsic connection between time and space". She writes that Eveny youth construct "the forest chronotope within a narrative to map a child's and adolescent's imagined movements beyond present space and time to a better future" (Ulturgasheva 2012:109).

<sup>27</sup> Gammeltoft 2013: S160.

<sup>28</sup> One reading of *La Chute de Ciel* (Kopenawa & Albert 2010) is as a Yanomami contribution to such counter-discourse (though this would be only a partial rendering of this rich and multi-layered work).