

Tikmũ'ũn's Caterpillar-Cinema: Off-Screen Space and Cosmopolitics in Amerindian Film

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In 2007, the Festival Internacional do Filme Documentário e Etnográfico (International Festival of Documentary and Ethnographic Film) showcased a film that was as incisive as it was enigmatic. Made by Isael Maxakali from the Tikmũ'ũn¹ community of Aldeia Verde (Apné Iyxux), *Tatakox* follows the ritual of child initiation through long shots with commentary, from time to time, by the filmmaker. Two years later, another film about the same ritual was made. Produced by members of the community of Vila Nova do Pradinho and also composed of long shots and an emphatic soundscape, this film was as disconcerting as the first one. The release of a third work by Isael Maxakali about the same ritual in 2015 has led us to consider whether the films made up a sort of “series”, in which one rebounded on the other, sheltering reiterations, variations, and refractions. Among the various intriguing aspects of these films is a direct dialogue with the themes of space and subjectivity: the dynamics of a sudden populating and emptying of the space that

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acquires a relational and transformational hue. This aspect has its filmic translation in the interchanges between the screen and the off-screen spaces. This chapter aims to demonstrate how this dynamic is linked to other aesthetic and cosmological manifestations of the Tikmũ'ũn people. As characterized by Rosângela Tugny, while delineating a space—of a house, a village, a body, or a river—the Tikmũ'ũn trace nothing more than a thin and delicate line: “Something that could witness, from the encounter, its movement: its proximity and its distance. Above all, the limits must be permeable. They must be just contours”² (“Um fio para o ãnmõxã” 65).

THE HYPOTHESIS OF A “SHAMANIC CRITIQUE”

My interest in this set of films by the Tikmũ'ũn people is part of wider comparative research dedicated to Amerindian cinema in Brazil. This prolific and stimulating production imposes a difficulty: having begun in 1986, the work of *Video nas Aldeias* (*Video in the Villages*) has contributed to an extraordinary increase in the number of films by indigenous filmmakers and collectives. Currently, there are filmographies closely linked to the specific demands of each ethnic group. Some of the filmmakers and collectives have acquired more and more autonomy to produce films which are increasingly making their way into festivals and showcases in Brazil and abroad (for example, Divino Tserewahú, Zezinho Yube, Ariel Ortega and Patrícia Ferreira, Takuma Kuikuro, Isael and Sueli Maxakali, among many others).³ Recently, the production of films by Amerindian groups has proliferated, either connected with or moving beyond the experience of *Video nas Aldeias*. Ritual-films, fictions created from mythic narratives, activist documentaries, and records of situations of vulnerability: all of those images compose a diffuse and heterogeneous collection that contributes to the affirmation of the historical and cultural experience of Amerindians in Brazil.

This research is based on the hypothesis that, each one in its own manner, the films open a space for a “shamanic critique of the political economy of images”.⁴ This hypothesis derived from the formulation put forward by the anthropologist Bruce Albert whose experience of research, militancy, and translation with the Yanomami people—particularly with the shaman Davi Kopenawa—has led him to develop the proposal of a “shamanic critique of the political economy of nature” (Albert, “O ouro canibal”).

For this reason, a dialogue with the larger ethnological tradition dedicated to Amerindian art has been maintained. Based on the authors' thesis, it could be argued that shamanism manifests itself in images through its indexical dimension, constituting what Alfred Gell calls "abduction of agency". Participating in cosmologies in which the transformational and relational dynamics hold centrality, the images (graphisms, chants, or statuettes) not only represent objects, events, and experiences, but also act in intricate interspecific relations. Within this inconstant system, the images are a complex mnemonic apparatus (Severi) that is able to expose, not facts or objects, but mainly relations (Déléage); they manage the passage between human and spirit worlds; they function as traps that capture the gaze and the thinking, insinuating the paths of the shamanic experience (Lagrou; Fausto). More widely, the images integrate processes of sociality and personhood in cosmologies that are not founded on the distinction between being and appearing.⁵

In this context, cinema appears in a very peculiar mode. Maybe, it would be far-fetched to claim that cinema—quite a recent practice among the indigenous groups—would have been incorporated into the intersemiotic devices of shamanism, in such a way that, similarly to the chants and the graphisms, one could find there formal actualizations of a "virtual and mythological system" (Manglier, qtd. in Cesarino 2). In any case, as indigenous peoples produce their films, cinema starts to mingle and combine itself with other practices, not only with the aim of recording or preserving them, but also participating, to a greater or lesser extent, as an agency, in their constitution.

What happens when the phenomenological machine of cinema meets the shamanic machine of specific Amerindian groups? In the face of this wide and abstract question, we should turn our attention not only to what is framed, becoming visible, but also to what keeps the relationship with an invisible outside that also constitutes the image. Still considering the phenomenological dimension of cinema, we should risk the hypothesis that it is also a cosmological machine, whose matter is, to a great extent, invisible: cognitive maps, mythical gradients; sociability relations between human beings, animals, and spirits; crossings of the historical experience.

The encounter between phenomenology and cosmology is portrayed by the filmic relation between screen and off-screen space, between what is concretely visible in the scene and what is invisible but affects and operates within the scene. In a kind of cinematic translation of

“multinaturalism” (Viveiros de Castro), the relationship with the off-screen space will be precisely what allows the passage, in the films, between contiguous worlds, but also disparate and incommensurable ones. If the framed (screen) space is mainly phenomenological—where the visible inscribes itself in its duration—the off-screen is thus a cosmological space, or even a cosmopolitical one, in which interspecific relations—not always visible (or barely glimpsed) in the scene (between humans, animals, and spirits)—are established.

THE *TATAKOX* SERIES: FROM ONE OPACITY TO ANOTHER

Participating obliquely in the aesthetic manifestations and cultural practices of the Tikmũ’ũn people, the films in the *Tatakox* series are prolific and unsettling. With increasing prominence, the films are linked with the experience of a multiple shamanism, thereby integrating its protocols and virtualities: within the filmmaking practice, the Tikmũ’ũn find an important space of affirmation, habitation, and experience.

As is the case with other Amerindian films, *Tatakox* (2007), *Tatakux Vila Nova* (2009), and *Kakxop pit hãmkoxuk xop te yũmũgãhã* (*Iniciação dos filhos dos espíritos da terra*/Initiation of the Sons of Earth’s Spirits, 2015) were directed by members of the villages with the collaboration of non-native researchers and technicians in a context of sharing, alliance, negotiation, and also conflict.⁶ The films are economic and concise, opaque and dense: they do not allow the visible domain to move onto the invisible one. At the same time, their precariousness and openness lead us to an unheard-of region of the sensory. Each film, in its own manner, portrays the ritual and participates in its constitution. The films are composed of long shots that follow the events in a kind of “internal gaze” in which the filmmaker alternates between participating in the experience and distancing himself in order to record it.

The initial sequence of *Tatakox* (2007) shows a group of four children painted in red, their faces covered with white cloths and cotton flakes, lying on a straw bed. Also body-painted and covered with leaves and masks made from cloth, the *yãmũyxop* carry the children to the village. The *yãmũyxop* are spirit-people or human-animals with which the Tikmũ’ũn maintain relations of alliance and reciprocal adoption. Often, they visit the village participating in extensive rituals or in brief healing sessions.

Haphazardly crossing the frame and jumping in front of the camera, the spirits of the caterpillar—*tatakox*—play their aerophones: one

Fig. 2.1 *Tatakox*
(2007)



producing a shrill and intermittent sound and another bass, rough, and continuous, as they make their way across the village. The voice-over commentary by Isael Maxakali seems to have been recorded at the same time as the shot, in a partial and intimate description. In the beginning of his narration, the filmmaker stops and moves a slight distance from the group, the collective of children and spirits, that enters the village (see Fig. 2.1).

In the background of the courtyard, the women wait for the children to be brought in by the *yãmĩyxop*; they will cry while touching the youngsters. Another group of children will be taken to the *kuxex*, the house of the chants, to learn and to be initiated into adult life. Isael Maxakali comments in regard to his relatives: “Tatakox have taken my nephew Xauã...they’ve also taken Mariano... and Caíque, Mariano’s brother.” The group takes shelter in the *kuxex*, but the film will not show what happens inside. The camera films the empty village, plunged again into silence (a soft sound of flutes is heard far away). A pan shot shows people resuming, slowly, their daily activities. The sequence returns to the *kuxex* and lasts a few more moments while framing the empty forest in the background: at a distance, we can only glimpse the *tatakox*, until they are finally lost from sight.

Not fully satisfied with the ritual-film made in the Aldeia Verde, the community of Aldeia Nova do Pradinho decided to make their own version. Like the first one, this is a concise and opaque film. Inside the scene, the shamans and the leaders vary between conducting the ritual and commenting on it for the film and for the community. As Manuel Damasio explains, the audience will be able to see where the *Tatakox* bring the children from; they will unearth them from a hole dug near the

village. The long sequence that discloses a dimension of the myth that was concealed in the previous film paradoxically contributes to making this one yet more enigmatic.

In both works, the frame seems to be overtaken and destabilized by the intensity of the ritual: moved by a centrifugal force, the frame is not able to contain subjects and agencies within its own limits. According to the accurate characterization by Bernard Belisário (*As cosmologias de invenção* 12), it is a “swarm-becoming of the *tatakox* spirits”, considering both its sound and visual dimensions. The ritual crosses the filmic space that becomes saturated and entropic. In the second version, the frame seems to be even more unstable, almost untenable, because of the profusion of bodies, movements, and sounds. The gaze of the camera is submitted to rapid shifts from the wider shots to closer ones (see Fig. 2.2). Constantly engulfed by the event, by its configuration that is at the same time intense and diffuse, the point of view is destabilized and the presentation loses its anchorage.

The third film, also made by Isael Maxakali, is broader and particularly interested in showing other aspects of the initiation of the children. At first, the filmmaker hails the children, their bodies painted in red with little adornments, while waiting with anxiety and curiosity for the arrival of the *yāmĩyoxop*. The images reaffirm, not without differences, the phases of the ritual shown in the first version. But this particular sequence will be condensed because the film is interested in presenting other experiences, carrying on beyond the moments of the arrival and departure of the *tatakox*. Along with the children, we watch the conscientious work of painting the religion bar; a long shot lingers on the *kuxex* that has now been expanded to shelter more children: in the background, we

Fig. 2.2 *Tatakux Vila Nova* (2009)



hear the spirits' chants. We also witness the night-time tour into the forest and, finally, another visit by the *yāmīyoxop*: hidden in the woods, they bring little loincloths made of straw that will be worn by the children on their return from their period of seclusion. Then, the women welcome the children and make a statement to the camera.

Iniciação dos filhos do espírito da terra also preserves a certain opacity. Although it is initially driven by a “didactic” purpose, the camera holds on, approaches, gets involved in the filmed experience, and often lets itself be enmeshed in it. In this sense, there is a remarkable quality to the nocturnal scene that opens with a shot of a tree frog while the chant of the *yāmīyoxop* can be subtly heard in the background. The little amphibian will be the object of the lingering gaze of the camera that demands us to look at its body, its transparency and design, its motionlessness or its minimal movements. The name of the animal, says the narrator, is derived from the sound the tree frog emits: “It seems it will rain. That’s why they are all singing.” A young tree frog jumps over the camera and sticks on the lens. The jump indicates a rupture, as if the distance and the asymmetry between the camera and what it films are being erased. Another tree frog is captured, its small heart is observed; the film suggests similarities to other things—the meow of a cat, the tiny hands similar to a goalkeeper’s gloves. Yet, the camera will also be captured by the nightly world in which it is now immersed. While observing the little animal, we find ourselves immersed in a visual and sound landscape inhabited by other animals, hidden in the dark, whose presence is nonetheless perceived. Once again, the pervasive chant is heard. It helps to take the scene—indeed, a “lesson” about nocturnal animals—into a mythic space, inhabited by ancestral animal-spirits: the darkness, the silence punctuated by the sounds of the forest, the fixed and impassive gaze of the little amphibian, the chant that emerges across the scene. Isael Maxakali’s narration seems to relate to this world, in affinity with it: “It [the frog] is free now and is going to meet its relatives. There will be a big party among them. All the relatives will sing much together” (see Fig. 2.3). In a sharp cut from night to day, the next image will once again depict the house of the chants. It conveys a switch from one opacity to another: from the impassive and hermetic image of the animal to the intense image of the house of the chants (see Fig. 2.4).

The relationship between the aesthetic manifestations of the Tikmū’ūn (the chants, the graphisms, the films) and the architecture of the house that shelters the spirits is remarkable.⁷ The *kuxex* is a straw construction

Fig. 2.3 *Kakxop
pit hāmkoxuk xop te
yūmūgāhā* (2015)

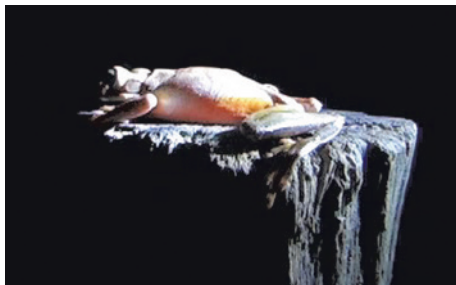


Fig. 2.4 *Kakxop
pit hāmkoxuk xop te
yūmūgāhā* (2015)



precariously lifted at the center of a semicircle in front of the other houses. Turned toward the center of the courtyard, its façade is closed and its back is open to the forest. In the Tikmū’ūn films, this architecture seems to be echoed in the cinematic frame. As in the house of the chants, what is visible—its “façade”—is opaque and thick, while what is invisible—the background, the off-screen space—is turned toward the outside. This architecture brings to the image a double implication. On the one hand, the visible domain struggles to invade the invisible and, on the other, the visible becomes vulnerable to the invisible, ensuring its power of affect and agency.

CHANTS AND FILMS, FILMS-CHANTS

Tikmū’ūn’s shamanic chants seem to lend their structure and their dynamics to the films.⁸ This hypothesis can be demonstrated in at least three aspects. The first one is related to the constitution of the series itself. The chants reveal a reiterative and parallelistic design: a repetitive

background is modulated by sound events, in a series of intensive differences, some of them very minor. In a similar way, in the series, the same ritual will be taken up and this repetition of the “theme” goes through variations and differences film by film. Eduardo Rosse’s statement about the Tikmū’ūn chants is also valid for the films: they “embody a tireless search for repetition, but at the same time they make sure that this is never achieved” (94).

The dynamic of the chants also reverberates in the films’ spatiality. As Tugny has demonstrated, the chants are sensory blocks modulated by “coagulation, densification and dilution” (*Cantos e histórias do Morcego-Espírito* 33). This same movement can be perceived within the filmic space that undergoes processes of sudden populating and emptying: the scene repeatedly shows the meeting of bodies and sounds; it lives its densification and subsequent dispersion, until the frame becomes rarefied.

Finally, both in the chants and in the films the movement and course of the bodies through the territory are emphasized. According to Roberto Romero, the Tikmū’ūn stories are like vestiges of the permanent displacements of these people: in a kind of “chanted landscape”, from each passage, from each course, from each spot, they extract a chant, which is a description of the events in close-up, “like moving images or actions performing themselves” (97). Constituted by ritual-journeys of diffuse contours, movements that densify and disperse themselves over the territory, these films are “on the act”: they are created as the event in which they take part unfolds, following the route of arrival and approximation; the encounter, the dispersion, and the emptying.

In this sense, the films are close to the portrayal of a “happening”: the event emerges and its emergence constitutes (and is constituted by) the aesthetic forms that are engendered. The films not only record the emergence of the event—its course over the space—but also intervene and take part in it. The camera is a participant in these three films. To show this, it is important to first focus on some aspects of that participation, as the following section does by presenting brief comparisons with other films.

INCOMPOSSIBLE SPACES, PEOPLES TO BECOME

Let us start with *Tourou et Bitti, les tambours d'avant*/Tourou and Bitti, the Drums of the Past (Jean Rouch, 1971). In a long take, the filmmaker enters the central court of the Simiri village in Niger, where he starts

shooting a possession rite that is already underway. As the narration tells us, the elder Sambou Albeidou had danced for hours to the sound of the archaic drums and the possession had not yet been unleashed. Rouch's camera steps into the ritual scene. At a given moment, the drums are interrupted. Shrewdly, the cameraman keeps on shooting, which encourages the musicians to resume the performance, thus helping to precipitate the trance. As characterized by Mateus Araújo ("Jean Rouch e Glauber Rocha"), Rouch creates a kind of "ethnographic happening": if, on the one hand, the pro-filmic elements already appear in their theatrical configuration (for instance, the straight division between the participants of the rite and the community of spectators), on the other hand, the filmmaker will be the one who enters the scene, moving through it in a more or less consensual way.

Notwithstanding the differences of context, the definition of the ritual-film (as given above) would also fit the *Tatakox* series. Some distinctions, however, grab our attention. In the case of the Tikmũ'ũn's ritual, the scene is diffuse and the place of the participants (spectators, actors, and the film crew) is mobile and interchangeable: shamans and leaders conduct the ritual while simultaneously directing the camera, suggesting this or that shot. The ones who would be spectators, in their turn, move among the *yãmĩyoxop*.

The way in which the filmmaker participates in the scene being shot seems different: in *Tourou et Bitti*, Rouch is a foreigner with a camera attempting to get in tune with the trance whereas the Tikmũ'ũn filmmakers share the ritualistic scene with the filmed characters, thus maintaining a relation of familiarity with it. Even if Rouch can aesthetically revive the trance (becoming Other through the film), he will not get rid of the external perspective to the world he is filming. The opposite could be said about the Tikmũ'ũn films. Although they strive to stand at some distance from the event, the filmmakers will not abandon the internal perspective of their camera which, besides registering the ritual, strongly participates in it, perhaps as one of its agencies.

If we halted our argument at this point, the defense of an internal perspective could seem contradictory after the demonstration of this diffuse, open, and relational scene. In fact, this might not be a contradiction for the Tikmũ'ũn people. After all, among them, an internal perspective is defined and survives by dint of its openness to the outside through the relations, as attentive as they are innumerable, they maintain with the spirits-people. For that reason, what seems opaque to us, closed in its

visible form (the image of a tree frog, the thick front of the house of the chants, the black hole from which the children are taken), under the gaze of the Tikmū'ūn people opens itself as a very concrete web of sociality. It is a kind of settlement of the visible world by beings, events, and agencies coming from other worlds (virtual and invisible ones).

What is the meaning of this populating process? In other words, what is the meaning of “people” that is at stake here? Another comparison can be productive to the discussion of this broad issue. Once again based on Araújo's meticulous work (“Glauber Rocha e os Straub”), we are reminded of the sequence of a “short voyage to the land of the people”,⁹ as it appears in *Claro* (Glauber Rocha, 1975). At the end of this stunning film, Glauber and Juliet Berto visit a Roman slum, whose inhabitants had been threatened of eviction by the police. As a result, the characters launch themselves into an uncontrolled situation with unpredictable consequences unfolding. They are received with a mixture of curiosity, mistrust, and revolt, which is revealed by the way the participants face the camera and call out to it.

Again, it is a happening (a “barbarous” one, according to Araújo, “Glauber Rocha e os Straub”) established by the provocative presence of Glauber and Juliet. Then, a disturbing scene unfolds, which is later intensified by the experimental superposition of layers. The Glauberian trance is thus a cinematic one: his visit to the settlement, the disturbance it produces, all of this happens with a kind of aesthetic intensification that can be seen, for instance, in the soundtrack added to the sequence or in the overlapping of the images, both procedures that stress the disconcerting tone of the scene, as well as its disruptive and dissonant aspect. That is, after all, the aesthetic form of a criticism addressed to capitalism: the past (the Roman Empire) is revisited to question the present (Araújo, “Glauber Rocha e os Straub”).

To some extent, the ritual scene of the Tikmū'ūn also resembles a happening, given its unstable and disturbing character. However, and in a perhaps more pronounced way than in *Claro*, the film formalization is inseparable from the aesthetic configuration of the filmed event itself: the music will not be added a posteriori, since the rough modulation of the aerophones is an aesthetic material constitutive of the ritual. In addition, the centrifugal frame, attracted by the borders, seems also to derive from the ritualistic scene with its frayed margins.

These nuances lead us to another one: the sequence is inverted if compared to *Claro*. Complementarily inverted, we could say. *Claro* is

Fig. 2.5 *Tatakox*
(2007)



about foreignness and exile: it is a visit of the filmmaker to another country, his foreign presence producing the happening whose emergence will be aesthetically stressed. The Tikmũ'ũn films are about hospitality and alliance: the filmmakers follow, or even bring, the visitants—the spirits-people—who arrive at the village. Often, the camera will wait for them there, in the bordering region itself where the invisible precipitates itself into the visible field, as seen in *Tatakox* (see Fig. 2.5). Or, instead, when the camera follows the spirits departing from the village, we lose sight of them disappearing into the forest.

This is also a virtual forest, home of the *yãmĩyxop*. In cinematic terms, it can be defined as the off-screen space (where the spirits-people head when they leave our visual field). A nuance should be stressed. If usually in cinema the off-screen space is contiguous to the screen space (its non-visible continuity), here the phenomenological contiguity (from the village to the forest) shelters an ontological discontinuity, since it is the passage from one world to another.¹⁰ The shot enables the coexistence of discontinuous, impossible¹¹ and “equivocal” spaces (Viveiros de Castro). In this sense, the empty courtyard should not deceive us: the numerous peoples with whom the Tikmũ'ũn are allied left our view, but they will be back soon to wander the territory, to chant, dance, hunt, and eat with men, women, and children.

Claro could perhaps be approached in the continuity of the Glauberian work of a critical resumption of the myth, as suggested by Gilles Deleuze in his well-known formulation: it is a matter of “connecting the archaic myth to the state of the drives in an absolutely contemporary society: hunger, thirst, sexuality, power, death, worship” (*Cinema 2* 219). In this specific sequence, Glauber—the foreigner, the

exiled—disrupts a given reality in order to actualize the myth, while inventing an anachronistic form to this actualization. In the case of the Tikmū'ūn films, we would venture to say that it has less to do with finding a critical formalization than with looking *through* or even *from* the myth; indeed, in certain moments, it is as though the constitutive distance of the gaze has been undone and the camera has been dragged into the mythical scene, materializing through the bodies, clothes, props, and paintings, like the chants and journeys through the territory. And then, cinema has to struggle to take some distance from the event again.

FLOCK OF SWALLOWS

All of this would lead us to suggest that the Tikmū'ūn cinema constitutes itself as a cosmopolitical “dispositive”¹²: beyond humanity, it participates in an intensive and relational space, which also shelters spirits-people or humans-animals, and which is altered by their agencies and subjectivations. Suddenly populated and depopulated, the space hence shelters a subjectivation mode (a mode of personhood making) in which each person is a people and each people is a “body formed by multiples”.¹³ In this cosmopolitical space, “men, women and children speak for each other” and “the spirits chant by the mouth of the humans” (Tugny, “Filhos-imagens” 174–175). Within the *Tatakox* series, peoples seem to proliferate: among others, countless. It is through the alliance with them that the Tikmū'ūn form of life seems to be constituted. Perhaps this is why the powerful ensemble of the Tikmū'ūn aesthetic forms are marked by this permanent change of places, by this continuous interchange of the subjects of the presentation, in a kind of *free indirect discourse*¹⁴ turned into a form of sociality. Rituals, chants, and cinema are constitutive, according to their openness to the outside, as dispositives of affectation and alteration.

These brief comparisons have the purpose of emphasizing the continuities as well as the differences between modern and “native” cinematic strategies. In doing so, the intention is to avoid a purist definition of “indigenous cinema” (while recognizing that it has been directly or indirectly influenced by a certain modern heritage), not without considering some differences that, in our view, characterize a relative specificity in this cinema. Finally, we hope to have demonstrated some aspects of this specificity, above all cinema's participation in a cosmopolitical space, in which it assumes an agentic and mediating role.

In 2015, the filmmakers Isael and Sueli Maxakali were invited to teach undergraduate students at the Federal University of Minas Gerais.¹⁵ They showed their films, chants, and narratives, intertwining history and myth and bringing another temporality to the sensitive scene of the class. In the beginning, faced with the silence of the students, they started singing the *Chant of Xamoka* (the chant of the swallow). After the chant, the equivocal encounter unfolded into a rich conversation (as if the students' thoughts had been agitated like a flock of birds). The students were impressed by the simplicity and strength of the chant that, as the Maxakalis explained, is usually intoned by the Tikmũ'ũn until dawn in healing rituals. Hearing those narratives, chants, and images, touched by their capacity for acting and altering the sensory experience, César Guimarães would ask if an image could come *as* a dream comes: "Could an image come *within* a dream and intervene in the real, act upon it, without remaining merely as a residue of the imaginary, kept and cultivated apart; a passing or recurrent fantasy concealed in somebody's interiority as his own little secret?"

The Tikmũ'ũn cinema shows that an image could indeed come *as* and *within* a dream. It has the capacity to bring and shelter images coming from distant lands. The films enable the coexistence of images from ontologically distinct worlds. In this sense, they seem to share the function of the *tatakox* (*tata*, to carry, and *kox*, hole). They carry images and produce alliances between the visible and the invisible. If our hypothesis is plausible, if the films suggest a "shamanic critique of the political economy of images", it is because they assume an important agency within the transitions and interchanges between the visible and the invisible dimensions, contributing to ensuring the multiplicity of the space and its population.

I wish to thank Ana Siqueira for proofreading the chapter.

NOTES

1. The Tikmũ'ũn people, who speak the language Maxakali (macro-jê), constituted in 2013 a population of about 2000 inhabitants who live in indigenous lands at the extreme northeast of the State of Minas Gerais (Brazil). The Tikmũ'ũn people live in a precarious socioenvironmental situation, characterized by diarrhea epidemics, and high levels of child malnutrition, in a devastated territory without potable water.
2. All translations are mine unless stated otherwise.

3. Nowadays, *Vídeo nas Aldeias* amounts to more than 80 films made by several groups: Ashaninka, Hunikui, Ikpeng, Kijédgê, Kuikuro, Maxaxali, Mbyá-Guarani, Nambiquara, Panará, Waiãpi, Waimiri Atroari, Xavante, Yanomami, Zo'é, and many others.
4. The discussion about this topic is based on previous research by Brasil. I take the opportunity to thank my fellow academics and students from the Research Group *Poéticas da Experiência* (*Poetics of the Experience*) at the Federal University of Minas Gerais, with whom I maintain a permanent interchange. I also thank Faye Ginsburg and Margaret Vail for welcoming me as visiting scholar at the Center for Media, Culture and History (New York University).
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5. In his fundamental thesis about the Yanomami, Bruce Albert has suggested, from a detailed characterization, the relations between the images and the making of the personhood. See Albert ("Constituants de la personne").
6. Together with other researchers, ethnomusicologist Rosângela de Tugny has been doing translation and other work with the Tikmũ'ũn people. Aside from the publication of books that provide the translations of chants (with CDs and illustrations), the audiovisual workshops, during which these and other films were created, stand out.
7. Álvares ("Yãmiy, os espíritos do canto") and Tugny ("Um fio para o ñmõxã") previously suggested this relation in their ethnographic works. For a development of this idea in Film Studies, see Belisário (*As hipermulheres*), Guimarães ("A estética por vir").
8. About the relation between Tikmũ'ũn's chants and the films, see also Brasil (*Caçando a capivara*).
9. The expression is lifted from Jacques Rancière's book *Courts voyages au pays du peuple*.
10. Bernard Belisário has put forward this hypothesis in another ethnographic context in his examination of the film *As hipermulheres/The Hyperwomen* (Takumã Kuikuro, Carlos Fausto and Leonardo Sette 2011).
11. As Gilles Deleuze (*The Fold*) would say in his critical reading of Leibniz, the divergent series that belong to two possible worlds are impossible ones. In this sense, it is a relation that is distinct from the impossibility or from the contradiction.
12. Here we decided to keep the term "dispositive" (instead of "apparatus" or "device") to maintain its philosophical meaning.
13. Tugny ("Filhos-imagens") found the expression "body formed by multiples" in Davoine and Gaudilliere.

14. I am well aware of the risk of bringing in the concept of the *free indirect discourse*. We know that it has raised numerous discussions in cinema studies since its redefinition by Pasolini. I use the concept because it seems extremely pertinent to note the constant creation and transformation from one expression to another, from one perspective to another.
15. The classes were part of the “*Programa de Formação Transversal em Saberes Tradicionais*” that, since 2014, has invited masters from popular and traditional communities (indigenous and Afro-descendants) to teach undergraduate students.

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