

Copyright

by

John Dusty Rovin

2021

**Healing Covid-19 in the Brazilian Northwest Amazon:
A discourse-centered exploration of Indigenous peoples' perspectives**

John Dusty Rovin

ANT 679HB
Special Honors in the Department of Anthropology
The University of Texas at Austin
May 2021

Patience L. Epps
Department of Linguistics
Supervising Professor

Anthony K. Webster
Department of Anthropology
Second Reader

Acknowledgements

First, I thank Patience L. Epps, my first reader, for her brilliant insights, constant support, and invaluable comments. Next, I thank Anthony K. Webster, my second reader, for introducing me to ethnopoetics, verbal art, and a discourse-centered approach to language, and, of course, for his comments on this paper. I also want to thank Louis C. Forline and Karolin Obert for speaking with me about their work; their thoughts affected my research in lasting ways. I also thank James Slotta and the other students working on their own theses for Honors in Anthropology, McKenzie Kotara, Tanner Krause, Sophia Luongo, and Julia Stone; their words were often my greatest motivation. Finally, I want to thank the scholars of the Center for Studies of Indigenous Amazonia (NEAI) at the Federal University of Amazonas in Manaus, namely João Paulo Lima Barreto, Silvio S. Barreto, Jaime Diakara, Dagoberto Lima Azevedo, and Justino Sarmento Rezende. Their work made this paper possible.

**Healing Covid-19 in the Brazilian Northwest Amazon:
A discourse-centered exploration of Indigenous peoples' perspectives**

by

John Dusty Rovin, BA

The University of Texas at Austin, 2021

SUPERVISOR: Patience L. Epps

Of the many questions which the Covid-19 pandemic has provoked, one of the biggest is “When will life be normal again?” On top of assuming that the pre-pandemic status quo has no challengers, it begs the question of who might want to forge a new normal on their own terms. Building off of that question, this paper embarks on a case study of how Indigenous peoples in the Upper Rio Negro of the Northwest Amazon have drawn upon shamanism and also reaffirmed its validity alongside “Western medicine” during the pandemic. To this end, I use a discourse-centered approach to analyze how incantations, a genre of shamanic discourse unique to the Upper Rio Negro, have not only been used to treat Covid-19 but also made numerous appearances in digital media/journalistic coverage of the pandemic. Ultimately, I argue that the both subtle and overt references to incantations made by many Indigenous scholars and shamans in the Upper Rio Negro reflect how shamanism in the region involves myriad socio-political obligations, which may be invoked to forward self-determination.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2: A Panorama of the Pandemic in Brazil	6
Chapter 3: Upper Rio Negro and Discourse of Healing.....	16
Chapter 4: Tapping into Incantations.....	22
Section 1: “Esse vírus me atacou”.....	25
Section 2: “O coronavírus me faz lembrar!”.....	30
Section 3: Azevedo, Barreto, and Barreto.....	33
Section 4: Seu Ercolino and Damião Barbosa.....	39
Section 5: Encontros.....	41
Chapter 5: Conclusions.....	45
Appendix A: “Esse vírus me atacou: uma perspectiva Desana em imagens sobre o Covid-19”....	48
Appendix B: “O coronavírus me faz lembrar!”.....	52
References.....	54

Introduction

During the late spring and early summer of 2020, several questions circulated repeatedly in the media. One of the biggest was, “What’s the new normal under Covid-19?” Forecasts were prevalent and ranged from brief articles predicting how air travel would change to enormous virtual conferences on public policy solutions.¹ As soon as such conversation swayed into view, so too did it give way to another, more pressing question: “When will life be normal again?”² For all the discussion which the latter question has provoked, a few things are clear: does it make sense to talk about returning to the pre-pandemic normal? What are we assuming when we break history into pre- and post-pandemic epochs? As Lilia Schwarcz (2020) points out, debates about the so-called new normal are shot through with issues of hegemony: if the pandemic threatens to destabilize structures of privilege and power, then which visions of the future are genuinely revolutionary, and which are merely recastings of the old normal? By extension, questions about returning to normal similarly obviate engaging with challenges to the status quo. The above questions are not an end unto themselves. Rather, they point us to important work to be done and other questions to be asked.

Among them, who might want to challenge the pre-pandemic normal? In the Brazilian Amazon, Indigenous peoples have long resisted settler-colonial attempts to erase and eliminate them; attempts which have manifested during the pandemic, for example, as the acceleration of illegal mining on their lands and the failure of government to collect accurate statistics of their mortalities. Taking into account the diversity and uniqueness of Indigenous ways of being and thinking, not to mention how such frameworks have weathered epidemic diseases going on 500 years, how do Indigenous peoples view the pandemic differently from non-Indigenous peoples in

¹ See, for example, CNN, 2020.

² See, for example, Pinkser, 2021.

Brazil? How have they integrated Covid-19 into their own cultural frameworks, dealt with it on their own terms? In answering these questions, it is tempting to focus on the hyper-visible, often explicitly political actions of Indigenous peoples during the pandemic: the barriers prohibiting outsiders from entering communities; the enforcement of social distancing in societies which frequently embrace communal living; the food drives, anti-disinformation campaigns, judicial action, and so on. By only attending to such evidence, it is easy to conclude that the pandemic represents a pivotal moment in history. What this paper proposes is that scholars also situate the pandemic within time and space, in spite of the centrality which its immediacy, horror, and omnipresence have imposed upon us. For example, how has the pandemic been used by Indigenous peoples to achieve particular, pre-existing goals? How have old patterns endured, or been revitalized, in the pandemic? In sum, this paper is not about the pandemic, per se; it is concerned with Indigenous peoples of the Brazilian Amazon and how their strategies for (re)asserting traditional beliefs and practices have manifested in the Covid-19 pandemic.

This paper follows the lead taken by many scholars in examining the reassertion of Indigeneity in the pandemic, both in the Amazon and globally (for example, Bogdanova, 2020; Escudero, 2020; Lagrou, 2020; Leite da Silva et al., 2021; Menton et al., 2020; Neeganagwedgin, 2020). Where this paper differs is in its discourse-centered approach, primarily as articulated by Joel Sherzer (1987a, 1987b; Urrutia and Sherzer, 1998). A discourse-centered approach to language provides opportunities to analyze how Indigenous peoples are variously conceiving the pandemic and confronting it, in addition to providing tools for understanding how such strategies draw upon particular sets of culturally defined practices and contexts. If discourse is “the concrete expression of language-culture relationships,” functioning as “an embodiment, a filter, a creator and recreator, and a transmitter of culture,” then an attempt to understand how

Indigenous peoples' culture, language, and creativity have been mobilized in response to the pandemic will be particularly available in discourse (Sherzer, 1987a: 295). Furthermore, it is useful to focus on those kinds of discourse "in which speech play and verbal art are heightened," such as shamanic discourse, which "offers a particularly clear view [of discourse's embodiment of language-culture relationships], as the shaman carefully selects and hones his or her linguistic tools in the interest of exhibiting and enacting a crucial cultural endeavor" (Epps and Ramos, 2019: 205).

Specifically, I focus on how a genre of shamanic discourse known as incantations has been applied to treat Covid-19. Incantations, locally referred to as "benzimentos" in the Upper Rio Negro region of the Northwest Amazon, are best understood as a widespread and variegated genre, which stands as only one of myriad traditions of shamanic language use throughout Brazil and lowland South America (Beier et al., 2002). Because incantations are well-represented in the anthropological literature, and are also widely used in the Upper Rio Negro today to protect people from harm and cure various diseases, they form an excellent vantage point for observing how shamanic practice has responded to the Covid-19 pandemic in one region. With respect to the Upper Rio Negro, journalistic coverage of the pandemic has accumulated digitally in blogs, news feeds, and academic spaces. Indigenous anthropologists from the region have been especially productive in this regard, revisiting and reinterpreting Indigenous traditions, incantations among them, in order to self-reflexively engage with the pandemic. In summary, this paper applies a discourse-centered approach to shamanic practice in the Upper Rio Negro in order to argue that the both subtle and overt references to incantations made by many Indigenous scholars and shamans reflect how shamanism in the region involves multiple socio-political obligations, which may be invoked to forward self-determination.

The above argument is certainly motivated by a desire to offer a new take on our moment, but above all I am concerned with efforts in anthropology to refocus on Indigenous peoples' successes, instead of their perceived failures. In essence, I want to add my voice to the larger movement, well under way, to valorize and respect Indigenous traditions in their own right. This movement seeks to seriously reckon with critiques of anthropology, and refutes earlier characterizations of Indigenous knowledges as somehow "pre-scientific" or unenlightened in comparison to "modern science" (see, for example, Smith, 1999). Moreover, scholars play a pivotal role in raising awareness about Indigenous experiences of Covid-19. In Brazil, such work targets the vanishing logic of settler-colonialism and "necropolitics:" a concept which Indigenous activist and writer Ailton Krenak articulates as the annihilation of Indigenous peoples that is implied by free market forces (Krenak, 2020).

Data gathering for this study was observational, mostly text-based and limited to digitally and publicly available journalistic coverage of the pandemic in the Upper Rio Negro. In a word, the pandemic itself has made several research methods unfeasible. As a result, this paper draws upon the massive amount of news coverage of the pandemic, which variously spread via news articles, newsletters, academic papers, "lives" or webinars, video platforms, radio, podcasts, and social media (especially WhatsApp). Out of this combination of media, this paper focuses on textual representations of shamanic practice in the Upper Rio Negro. The embrace of news coverage, mostly in the form of news articles and blogposts drawn from the websites of universities, newspapers, and NGOs, by no means implies an uncritical usage of news coverage as a transparent window onto shamanic practice. Rather, such material obligates one to study how the news, whether it comes from a mainstream outlet or a NGO, is neither straightforward nor value neutral, particularly when considering Indigenous peoples in a Brazilian context

(Graham, 2011; Ramos, 1994). Therefore, this paper will look at the intended (and possible) audiences of the texts under consideration, the textual techniques employed to achieve certain political and rhetorical work with those audiences, and particularly how Indigenous authors tap into incantations to do that work.

This paper will begin by laying out the circumstances Indigenous peoples are confronted with in the Upper Rio Negro and Brazil. In particular, I will focus on how the “context of violence” afflicting Indigenous peoples is both a structural issue and a product of the genocidal negligence which Brazil’s federal government is accused of (Apib, 2020; Menton et al., 2020: 2). From there, I will analyze the application of incantations within the Upper Rio Negro by looking first at two articles written by two Indigenous scholars as part of a project based at the University of Manaus. More than the other texts examined in this paper, both articles share a remarkable amount of structural and symbolic features with incantations. Importantly for my argument, the explicit and implicit references to incantations in both articles illustrate how Indigenous peoples themselves creatively (re)interpret and translate their own traditions in ways that are consistent with regional norms of shamanic practice. Next, I examine the work of several other Indigenous scholars from the Upper Rio Negro, all of whom are in close contact with the authors of the above pieces. Then, I look beyond academia to two interviews with shamans. Finally, I conclude the chapter on the Upper Rio Negro with a discussion of the meetings (“encontros”) which have been held to promote the exchange of traditional remedies for Covid-19 between shamans. Incantations make an appearance in the meetings as well, filling in a picture of their emergent, collective use. Next, I conclude the paper by briefly examining several other regions of Brazil and the broader implications of shamans and scholars’ rhetoric.

2. A Panorama of the Pandemic in Brazil

It cannot be overemphasized that the Covid-19 pandemic has had widespread and devastating effects for Indigenous peoples in Brazil. As of December 5th, 2020, there were more than 40,000 Indigenous peoples infected, and almost 900 deaths, affecting 161 groups nationwide (or more than half of the officially recognized ethnic groups in Brazil) (Apib, 2020). To make sense of the numbers and understand what exactly Indigenous peoples in the region are up against and how they have reacted, it is necessary to provide a history of Covid-19 in Brazil which is attentive to the structural issues aggravating the pandemic for Indigenous peoples.

Such an account of events centers the “context of violence [against Indigenous peoples]” in Brazil: it is a context in which President Jair Bolsonaro’s administration is only the latest manifestation of the ways in which Indigenous peoples both confront and are confronted by settler colonialism (Menton et al., 2020: 2). Recently, the Articulation of the Indigenous Peoples of Brazil (Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil, Apib) denounced Bolsonaro for inciting violence against Indigenous peoples and attempting to take advantage of the pandemic to advance his own agenda, among other charges (Apib, 2020). Bolsonaro has long assumed a position which is openly hostile to Indigenous peoples, for example, calling for the diminution of their lands and their swift assimilation into the national economy (Globo, 2020a; Soares, 2020).

In this way, the pandemic has only heightened the confrontation highlighted by several authors: on one side, there is the Indigenous movement organized around Apib and composed of Indigenous-led organizations and their allies; on the other side, there are the Bolsonaro government and its beneficiaries, e.g. agribusiness and mining (Menton et al. 2020). Because the role of Bolsonaro in exacerbating the pandemic has already been well described by others (for example, Daniels, 2021; Hatzikidi, 2020; Menton et al. 2020; Ortega and Orsini, 2020), this

paper will therefore focus on the impacts of the virus on Indigenous peoples, particularly in the Upper Rio Negro.

Soon after the first case of Covid-19 was identified in a resident of São Paulo (February 26, 2020), in early April Amazonas became the state with the first confirmed diagnosis of Covid-19 among Indigenous peoples: a young Kokama woman in the Alto Solimões, located on the state's border with Columbia and Peru (DW News, 2020; UOL, 2020). An Indigenous Agent of Health, she was infected by a doctor who had recently returned from vacation, setting a lethal precedent of healthcare professionals as a vector for Covid-19. This was soon followed up by the first Indigenous death due to the virus, a Yanomami teenager from the community of Helepe, in Roraima (Globo, 2020b; Terra and Paixão, 2020).

Ever since these first cases, Amazonas has been one of the worst-hit states. At the moment, Amazonas is the Brazilian state with the greatest number of Indigenous peoples lost to Covid-19 (253 as of May 2021). Complicating this number are the hundreds of deaths (468 as of May 2021) which still lack a group affiliation. The failure to properly record ethnicity is only one of the many issues of transparency attributed to the Special Secretariat of Indigenous Health (Secretaria Especial de Saúde Indígena, Sesai), the governmental agency tasked with providing Indigenous peoples with healthcare in Brazil (Apib, 2021).

In the Upper Rio Negro, the month of April represents a first acquaintance with the disease through educational materials and firsthand experience, with the first cases appearing in São Gabriel da Cachoeira between April 26th and 28th (Handam and Radler, 2020a). The municipal reaction to the pandemic was strong, with several measures taken to protect Indigenous peoples' health early on, such as the creation of the "Committee for the Prevention and Confrontation of Coronavirus" (Comitê de Prevenção e Enfrentamento ao novo

Coronavírus) (Handam and Radler, 2020a). Around the same time, multiple Indigenous-led organizations and advocacy groups offered their help. For example, the NGO Instituto Socioambiental (ISA) created several pamphlets about Covid-19 in the Baniwa, Dâw, Nheengatú, and Tukano languages (Radler, 2020). These were distributed along with other educational materials by healthcare workers attached to the region's Special Indigenous health district (Distrito Sanitário Especial Indígena do Alto Rio Negro, Dsei-ARN).

Briefly, the Special Indigenous health districts, or Dseis, are the main “management units” of Brazil's public healthcare subsystem for Indigenous peoples (Sesai), and often include multiple ethnic groups, cross municipal or state boundaries, and contract an assortment of different providers (Shankland and Athias, 2007). The Dsei-ARN is composed of 25 pólos-base (sing. pólo-base), which are the smallest basic unit in the very decentralized network of Indigenous health care. The Dsei-ARN stretches from Barcelos in the east to São Gabriel da Cachoeira and all the way to the western border with Columbia. In a reconstruction of the Upper Rio Negro's experience of the pandemic, the Dsei-ARN and an alphabet soup of other government institutions and departments are all relevant, because the Upper Rio Negro has uniquely been able to coordinate these entities to its benefit.

Such coordination was visible in June of 2020, a month coming off of the national record of half a million confirmed cases. The Committee for the Prevention and Confrontation of Coronavirus in São Gabriel da Cachoeira was working with the military, NGOs, Indigenous leaders, state government, and segments of civil society in order to educate and protect Indigenous peoples throughout the region, whether they were located in the city or one of the hard-to-reach villages only accessible by boat. Among various measures, the Committee raised money for units of primary Indigenous health care (Unidades de Atenção Primeira Indígena,

Uapis), as well as oxygen concentrators, an alternative to the quickly disappearing tanks of oxygen necessary for serious cases (Handam and Radler, 2020b).

The Upper Rio Negro's situation in the summer of 2020 was therefore a massive exception to the rest of Brazil, even the rest of Amazonas. Early in May of 2020 the state capital, Manaus, had been overwhelmed by Covid-19 and quickly saw the collapse of its health care system. In the Yanomami territory (Território Indígena Yanomami, TIY), the disease had arrived via health care workers from Sesai and illegal miners, and its rapid spread was met by a massive campaign, #MinersOutCovidOut, which denounces the illegal miners and demands governmental action. By July, the Yanomami had 80 infections spread across their territory in the states of Roraima and Amazonas (Dama, 2020). In February of 2021, a similar campaign was launched to assist the Middle Xingu in the state of Pará, #RespiraXingu. In the Vale do Javari Indigenous Territory (Território Indígena Vale do Javari), the first infections arrived in June via contaminated Sesai agents and, later, evangelical missionaries (Farias, 2020; Picq, 2020). The Xingu Indigenous Territory (Território Indígena Xingu, TIX) also reported its first cases in June: self-imposed quarantines and blockades were not enough to keep out the disease, which had by then become widespread throughout the Xingu river basin, for example, arriving in the more northern Kayapó and Marãiwatsédé Indigenous Territories in May (Harari, 2020).

On the federal scene, the Supreme Court of Brazil was clashing with the federal agency tasked with serving Indigenous peoples, Funai (Fundação Nacional do Índio). The battle began with an order released by Funai in April of 2020 which established new rules about landed properties existing in several types of Indigenous lands (MPF, 2020a). Although the order was ostensibly written to guarantee “the respect of the right to property of every citizen, Indigenous and non-Indigenous,” many soon decried it as incentivizing land grabbing (Funai, 2020;

Indigenistas Associados, 2020). In early July, the Supreme Court ruled that the order was unconstitutional for prioritizing private property over Indigenous lands (MPF, 2020a). The threat to the sovereignty of Indigenous lands could not have come at a worse time, as communities and territories already struggle to enforce blockades and/or quarantines. Contemporaneously, Bolsonaro approved Law 14.021, which was designed to implement protective measures for Indigenous peoples during the pandemic. His approval, however, included vetoes for measures which would have ensured access to potable water, provided disinfectant and hygienic supplies, and facilitated stimulus payments (auxílio emergencial) to Indigenous peoples (Agência Senado, 2020)

In a not unfamiliar turn of events, reopening efforts in fall of 2020 prompted warnings of a second wave. It did not help, of course, that the federal government continued to neglect Indigenous peoples, exclude them from planning efforts, and offer measures contrary to health guidance. For example, when emergency stimulus payments were being disbursed, the federal government required people to come to large cities, such as São Gabriel da Cachoeira, to receive their payments. In Amazonas, this prompted the relevant federal court (the Tribunal Regional Federal da 1ª Região) to give the agency in charge of disbursement five days in order to implement a plan which would preserve social distancing (MPF, 2020b).

By November, events had culminated in Apib's publishing of "Nossa Luta É Pela Vida," a "manifesto" which underlines the scope and magnitude of the pandemic for Indigenous peoples in Brazil and a plan of action (Apib, 2020). A cornerstone of Apib's plan is the fight to obtain accurate statistics about the pandemic's effect on Indigenous peoples, for whom the mortality rate due to Covid-19 is more than 150% the national average (Conselho Nacional de Saúde, 2020). The problem is essentially one of underreporting and lack of transparency, and is

exacerbated by several scandals involving the Ministry of Health and censored numbers in general (CONASS, 2020; MPF, 2020c; Phillips, 2020). One reason why data is inaccurate is because the government, particularly Funai, only attends to Indigenous peoples residing in federally recognized Indigenous Territories, to the exclusion of Indigenous peoples in urban and semi-urban contexts. Similarly, when plans were released for the government's mass vaccination program, activists decried the fact that the plan underestimated the Indigenous population by half—a discrepancy again justified by the specification that Funai is not responsible for all Indigenous peoples in Brazil (Lacerda, 2021).

In 2021, the situation remains dire for Indigenous peoples, including the Upper Rio Negro. As of February, the total number of Indigenous peoples due to Covid-19 was equal to the total number of deaths due to Covid-19 in Norway (Gorziza and Buono, 2021). In January, Funai altered the legal criteria for who does and does not count as Indigenous, throwing the rights of many into question (Campbell, 2021; Funai, 2021). Extractive industries are only increasing their forays into Indigenous lands, failing to bring development and instead causing environmental degradation, in addition to spreading Covid-19 (Anderson, 2020; Angelo, 2020; Angelo, 2021). In the Upper Rio Negro, the second wave hit São Gabriel da Cachoeira in early January of 2021: on the 7th of the month, 100% of the beds in the city's only hospital were occupied, and by the end of the month, the city had reported 18 deaths and 1,121 infected, compared to 59 deaths and 5,029 infected from the beginning of the pandemic in April to first of January, 2021. In addition to this, frequent power outages in the city have hampered the effectiveness of oxygen concentrators (ISA, 2021a; Portal Amazônia, 2021; Radler, 2021). According to the coordinator of the Coordination of Indigenous organizations of the Brazilian Amazon, in 2021 Indigenous peoples live in a “war zone” (cenário de guerra) as they still struggle to obtain basic resources

(e.g. face masks and cleaning supplies), hospital beds, health professionals, and oxygen, all in the face of new challenges such as the new P.1 variant identified in Manaus and the manipulation of statistics (ISA, 2020b).

The arrival of vaccines in 2021 has been no panacea either, primarily due to mis/disinformation and incomplete vaccination of the entire Indigenous population. São Gabriel da Cachoeira, whose population is slowly being vaccinated by the combined forces of its Municipal Secretariat of Health (Secretaria Municipal de Saúde, Sesma) and Sesai, represents an exception to the quickly unfolding reality. Nationally, vaccination has been hampered by a lack of doses for prioritized groups, shortages of raw materials for vaccine production, and other irregularities. For Indigenous peoples, the rollout of vaccines has generally been more uneven, and where the vaccine does arrive, many are resistant to accept it (Pontes, 2021; Vick, 2021; Weinman, 2021). For example, in the Vale do Javari, many Indigenous peoples have resisted vaccination due to disinformation mostly spread by evangelical missionaries and ministers that the vaccine will harm recipients or implant a “malignant” microchip (Neto, 2021). Although many are excited to proclaim, for example, that nationwide “60% of Indigenous peoples over the age of 18 have been vaccinated,” such celebrations conceal the fact that the federal government is only vaccinating those residing in Indigenous Territories. Hence, only 410 thousand doses were reserved (in addition to 20 thousand for health professionals), despite the fact that Indigenous organizations contend that there are around a million Indigenous peoples in Brazil today (Gandra, 2021; Vick, 2021).

Many have been quick to point out that the severity of the pandemic in Brazil represents a disappointing break with the country’s prior successes during the HIV/AIDS crisis, and was simply avoidable considering that Brazil possesses the world’s largest public healthcare system,

the Unified Health System (Sistema Único de Saúde, SUS). Thus, much scholarship aimed at understanding the causes of the catastrophe focuses on the federal government's negligence (for example Ferrigato et al., 2020; Menton et al., 2020; Ribeiro, 2020). One study even goes beyond negligence and accuses the Bolsonaro administration of deliberately spreading the virus in order to achieve herd immunity (Ventura and Reis, 2021). Although much of the onus is certainly on Bolsonaro, many Indigenous activists and allies rightly assert that settler colonialism and structural racism contribute to the aggravated impact of the virus on Indigenous peoples (for example Basta, 2020; Bensusan, 2020).

Examples of the government's negligence and the disastrous effects of structural racism abound. In the Xingu Indigenous Territory (TIX), the village of Ipatse (Kuikuro) has garnered massive attention because it has not suffered a single death due to Covid-19. In March of 2020, Ipatse raised the funds necessary to build a small hospital and employ its own medical team, in cooperation with Indigenous Agents of Health under the local Dsei (Dantas, 2020; Stropasolas 2020). When the virus arrived in the TIX in June, Ipatse was also equipped with a contact-tracing survey phone app created using technology with which the village was already familiar (Dias, 2020; Jucá, 2020a, 2020b). The sheer amount of articles generated by the village's success is a testament to the Brazilian media's interest in Indigenous peoples' success during the pandemic, nearly ten in all.

However, where these articles inevitably conclude is with the fact that such success is made necessary by a situation of extreme precarity and inequality due to settler colonialism. As one executive director of Apib says, “[w]ith the arrival of the coronavirus we perceived that the State was de-structuring with regards to Indigenous policy, principally in the question of Indigenous health” (Stropasolas, 2020). On another level, the TIX is one of the oldest TIs in

Brazil, tracing its origins to the “Xingu National Park” (Parque Nacional do Xingu) which was created in 1961 and molded to its current borders by 1978 (Harari, 2018). Despite its age and prominence in the national culture, the TIX has long been the target of forced development, for example with the Belo Monte Dam, and itself is bordered by two major highways, BR-163 and BR-158, which serve as two major “axes of occupation” (Villas-Bôas et al., 2002). One individual who had organized much of the village’s response, Yanama Kuikuro, often relates that the village must also grapple with the smoke caused by nearby forest fires (Dantas, 2020; Stropasolas, 2020). During the pandemic, filmmaker Takumã Kuikuro chooses to film Indigenous volunteer firefighters, because, as he says, forest fires are a “big problem” which inhibit the breathing and burn the eyes of everyone in an area, most severely for Covid-19 patients (Berman, 2020). The fires are not just caused by climate change, but are a result of the penetration of highways and subsequent rampant deforestation for opening up land to illegal mining and agribusiness.

Another example comes from the Yanomami Indigenous Territory (TIY), one of the largest in Brazil with 26,000 inhabitants. Besides the eight divisions of the Yanomami, it is also home to the Ye’kwana (Carib) (ISA, 2020). The experience of Covid-19 in the Yanomami Indigenous Territory has been, in a word, horrific (see, for example, Albert, 2020; Terra and Paixão, 2020). Stories of babies being separated from their mothers, stories of people not being allowed to bury the dead according to their norms, and stories of an ineffectual federal response will be the permanent scar of the pandemic (Brum, 2020; Rezende, 2020b). As of November, 2020, the TIY had 1,202 confirmed cases of Covid-19 and 10 confirmed deaths (ISA, 2020). According to the Indigenous-led Yanomami and Ye’kwana Leadership Forum (Fórum de Lideranças Yanomami e Ye’kwana), illegal mining in the TIY shares a large part of the

responsibility for the crisis: “It is illegal mining that is bringing this new *xawara* (epidemic) into the forest” (ISA, 2020). Illegal mining has long played a part in perpetuating a “permanent state of pandemic” in the TIY, with miners representing a constant source of contagion, contributing to epidemics of malaria, tuberculosis, Onchocerciasis (river blindness), Trachoma, viral hepatitis, and STIs (Basta, 2020).

Fortunately, the #MinersOutCovidOut campaign and petition have had positive results, with Alexandre de Moraes, minister of Brazil’s Supreme Court, ordering the suspension of a law which authorizes the use of mercury in mining (STF, 2021). Mercury contamination is just one of the ways in which mining has indirectly affected the TIY, with the regions of Papiu and Waikás specifically affected (Vega et al., 2018). Most recently, the Federal Justice (Justiça Federal) ruled that several governmental organizations, including Funai, have ten days to begin operations to eliminate illegal miners, with a daily fee of one million Reais (\$181,000) applied to each organization thereafter (Araújo, 2021).

In conclusion, there are many problems confronting Indigenous peoples in the Upper Rio Negro and Brazil during the pandemic: the healthcare system’s uneven and unreliable fulfillment of Indigenous peoples’ needs, the constant invasion of Indigenous territories throughout Brazil, the environmental degradation which affects Indigenous peoples’ health and livelihoods, and the persistent legislative and judicial attacks Indigenous peoples’ human rights. The above problems are not discrete phenomena; but neither are they always and everywhere the same. Instead, such problems must be read as the intricate, interlocking expressions of settler colonialism in Brazil. With this context in mind, I turn to the Upper Rio Negro and incantations in particular.

3. Upper Rio Negro and Discourse of Healing

Pushing up on the northwestern border with Columbia and Venezuela, the Upper Rio Negro region (which includes the Vaupés/Uaupés river basin) contains 23 officially recognized Indigenous peoples numbering around 26,000. Many reside in one of the 750 autonomous communities in the legally demarcated Upper Rio Negro Indigenous Territory (Terra Indígena Alto Rio Negro) (ISA, n.d.). The Indigenous linguistic families of the region include Arawak, Eastern Tukano, and Naduhup (Kakua-Nukak and Carib are also represented). Nheengatú, a Tupi-Guarani language, arrived in the region in the colonial era; Nheengatú has long been a lingua franca, a role increasingly shared with Tukano (Epps, 2018). Tukanoan and Arawak-speaking groups have traditionally lived in the riverine zones (e.g. the Tiquié and Vaupés rivers). They share a reliance on manioc agriculture, fishing, hunting and gathering, and an “open-ended social system based on the exchange of women between exogamous patrilineal descent groups” (Hugh-Jones, 1979). In contrast, the Naduhup-speaking groups, whose historical occupation of the areas beyond rivers earned them the label “forest dwellers,” concentrate on hunting and gathering and practice linguistic endogamy with clan exogamy (Epps, 2018).

All groups interact extensively with one another, in an economic as well as a ritual capacity; as Epps notes, “ritual specialists tend to circulate widely, and groups come together regularly to participate in ritual and festive events,” such as the *dabucuri* (Epps, 2005, 2018). Such interaction increasingly takes place in an urban context, for example, in the nearby municipality of São Gabriel da Cachoeira, superlatively called the ‘the most Indigenous city’ of Brazil. Importantly for this paper, there are several regional organizations and NGOs which also serve as the medium for this interaction, primary among them Foirn, the Federation of Indigenous Organizations of the Rio Negro [Federação das Organizações Indígenas do Rio

Negro]. Founded in 1987, Foirn explicitly resists the ethnocide committed by missionaries and the Brazilian State, and pledges itself to a dual mission of valorizing Indigenous culture and defending Indigenous peoples' legal rights (Equipe FOIRN, 2016). Indigenous-led organizations such as Foirn, working in conjunction with other segments of civil society, have been integral to the success of the Upper Rio Negro's response to the pandemic. In sum, this paper first focuses on the Upper Rio Negro due to its considerable relations of exchange and interaction, which have generated a sizeable anthropological literature. Additionally, the widespread and well-documented reliance on shamanism, both before and during the pandemic, coupled with the massive role played by civil society, make the region a particularly interesting context for examining the leveraging of shamanic practice in the pandemic.

This paper specifically focuses on those linguistic relations of exchange and interaction unique to the Upper Rio Negro, which has been proposed as a linguistic area for several reasons, first among them intense multilingualism and patterns of linguistic contact (Aikhenvald, 2002; Chernela, 1993; Sorenson, 1967). As Stenzel remarks, within the Upper Rio Negro, frequent linguistic exogamy coupled with stringent linguistic ideologies and a particular experience of colonization have engendered a population which can typically speak four or five languages (Stenzel, 2005). Beyond typological/areal studies of how linguistic contact affects the grammars of languages in the Upper Rio Negro, several scholars have also focused on discourse forms in the region, especially because they act as matrices of linguistic diffusion in lowland South America (Beier et al., 2002). One such discourse form is shamanic discourse, which Beier et al. describe as the numerous traditions deployed by a variety of ritual specialists, or "shamans," to intercede with the spiritual world on behalf of the physical world (Beier et al, 2002: 136).

In the Upper Rio Negro, the genre of shamanic discourse known as incantations have recently benefitted from enhanced study. Following several scholars (Buchillet, 1992; Epps and Ramos, 2019, 2020), I favor the word ‘incantations’ over the regional Portuguese word, *benzimentos*, which literally translates as ‘blessings.’ Beyond the religio-spiritual connotations which the word ‘blessings’ has in English, the meaning of *benzimento* also does not map onto the standard Brazilian Portuguese definition. Truly, incantations are particular to each group which practices them, and the genre is characterized as much by its difference as its similarity. For example, there are the *málikai* of the Wakuénai (Hill, 1989, 1993), the *bayri* of the Desana (Buchillet, 1983; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1968), the *bi'id* of the Hupd’äh (Epps, 2008; Ramos, 2013), and the *bahsese* of the Yepa Mahsã (Tukano) (Barreto, 2018, 2021; Fernandes et al., 2020).

Incantations are, first and foremost, generally used to cure illness or protect one from harm, with an incantation ‘text’ designated by the name of the ailment. Similar to a biopsychosocial model of health which sees health as a holistic phenomenon, incantations in the Upper Rio Negro reflect an expansive notion of protection from harm and of health in general. For example, as João Paulo Lima Barreto et al. explain, one type of Yepa Mahsã *bahsese* make food suitable for human consumption (2018: 24). In addition to their protective function, incantations transmit cultural and ecological knowledge while enacting important social action, such as fostering social relations (Epps and Ramos, 2019; Fernandes et al., 2020; Hill, 1993, 1996; Hugh-Jones, 2012; Ramos, 2015). The practice of incantations is often the domain of older male ritual specialists, who may either be full-fledged shamans, i.e. “pajés,” or lower-level “benzedeiros” or “kumuã” (from Tukano, sing. kumu). Many older men possess a small repertoire of incantations. Among the Desana, for example, such repertoires are conceived of as

an individual's "weapons" with which he is "armed" against danger (Ramos, 2019; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1976: 164). In sum, while the shaman or ritual specialist in a particular community is sometimes a single individual, the shaman is also just as likely to be a group of knowledgeable people.

The delivery of an incantation often proceeds as follows: the ritual specialist whispers the text of the incantation into an object (e.g. a liquid, a plant, or a cigar); next, the incantation is transferred to the recipient through the object (e.g. in the case of a liquid, via ingestion) (Buchillet, 1992; Epps 2020). As I will discuss below, medicinal plants and teas made from them often act as the mediating object in incantations for Covid-19. Though the incantation is often rarely audible at the time of delivery (which varies from group to group), the texts of incantations often later find an audience in "coca circles" (Epps and Ramos 2019; Ramos, 2003, 2019). Coca circles are nightly meetings attended by ritual specialists and men who wish to learn more about shamanic practice. They are accompanied by the ingestion of coca and possibly tobacco, and include the collaborative sharing of incantations (albeit, in redacted, exegetic forms). Not only do coca circles form an integral part of the intergenerational transfer of incantations, they also frequently foster relationships between participants and the society to which they belong (see, especially, Ramos 2013). The nature of the delivery of incantations has widespread implications for the study of verbal art. As Epps and Ramos argue in the case of Hup incantations, "performance is a multifaceted set of events, audiences and performers," drawing upon different intuitions, working to carry out many obligations and to fulfill multiple expectations, among other things (Epps and Ramos, 2019).

Of course, even in this extremely generalized description of incantations, there are exceptions and caveats. For example, while many incantations are delivered in private and

inaudibly, who may attend such a session and whether the recipient may hear the incantation seem to vary (Buchillet, 1992; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1976; Epps and Ramos, 2019, 2020). For several reasons, many groups do not share incantations in their original form, and informants often re-present the texts in redacted or modified forms. For example, in Reichel-Dolmatoff's analysis of Desana incantations, he notes that informants used the third person in place of the first person in order to avoid summoning "spirit-helpers" or attracting "the attention of some malevolent forces" (1976:164). Similarly, as Epps and Ramos describe in their study of Hup incantations, incantations texts are always shared in a redacted, exegetic form, because "the text in its entirety is too powerful and too dangerous to be spoken aloud" (2019, 2020: 5). Another example of the diversity of incantations pertains to metaphor, which is used extensively in Hup incantations, though it does not replace everyday vocabulary as is the case with the *málikai* of the Wakuénai (Epps and Ramos, 2020; Hill, 1993).

Metaphor, of course, brings us to the topic of incantations as works of verbal art. In their structure, incantations are typically "long enumeration[s] of names of spirits, animals, plants, and substances having direct connection with the source of the sickness, or with the restoring aspect of the cure" (Buchillet, 1992: 220). They may be divided at the macro-level into sections which, as Epps and Ramos note, split into two sections focused on "neutralizing and appropriation" across several groups, though this is by no means uniform across all incantations or all groups in the region (2019: 11). That is, the first section is basically focused on "engaging and subduing" the powers of a malignant entity (or entities), and the second section is focused on "engaging and embodying" the powers of another entity (or entities) (Epps and Ramos, 2019). Subduing is understood, for example, through the type of Hup incantation known as *ta'bi'id*, or "surround incantation" (Epps and Ramos, 2020; Ramos, 2019). In *ta'bi'id*, the speaker surrounds a

malignant entity, hindering its mobility and neutralizing its harmful power. Such examples illustrate how incantations As Buchillet describes in the case of Desana incantations, the form of the incantation is intimately related to its shamanic content, on various grammatical, structural, and metaphorical levels: “The verbs of the incantation offer a detailed account of the *kūbū*’s activities toward each part of the animal’s body, or of the plants that can be dangerous for the person. The *kūbū* “tears out,” “breaks,” “pulls to pieces,” “chews,” “washes,” and “cools down” (1992:221). Moreover, incantations possess extensive parallelism based on the repetition of identical lines or lines with minor variations.

Within this formulaic structure, there is room for creative, artistic innovation. As Ramos observes, the numerous categories of flora and fauna in Tukano and Hup incantations are not entirely explained by necessity but also reflect the aesthetic principles of the genre (2019: 199). For the Hup people, mastering the genre of incantations draws upon a wide skill set and a deep understanding of the natural world, as well as of Hup conceptions of poetics, cosmology, health, and society (Epps and Ramos, 2020). Across the region, an individual speaker’s ability to creatively draw upon mythic narratives, metaphor, and encyclopedic knowledge about animals, their habitats, behaviors, relationships to other animals, and so on is vital to the success of shamanic practice (Buchillet, 1992; Epps and Ramos, 2019, 2020; Hill 1996)

4. Tapping into Incantations

It is with the above in mind that I turn to the “Amerindian Reflections in times of pandemic” (*Reflexões Ameríndias em tempos de pandemia*), an academic project completed in March of 2020 and consisting of ten articles written by members of the University of Manaus’s center for Indigenous Amazonian studies, the NEAI.³ I choose as my starting place the accounts (*relatos*) contained in the *Reflexões* for several reasons. First, many of these scholars are specialists in shamanic knowledge and traditional medicine, and the project thus furnishes an exciting entry point into the reinterpretation of incantations by Indigenous scholars in Brazil. Second, the form of various *relatos* shows clearly how this interpretative work takes place and which audiences it works on. Not only are incantations being used to treat Covid-19 in the Upper Rio Negro, they are also one means of asserting agency and solidifying self-determination.

The *Reflexões* project is the first of several regarding Covid-19 which have been produced by the NEAI, and is spearheaded by a group of Indigenous doctoral students and candidates in UFAM’s Anthropology program (Programa de Pós-Graduação em Antropologia Social, PPGAS). Many of these scholars also made up the first wave of Indigenous Masters students at UFAM. The cohort traces its origins to João Rivelino Rezende Barreto, who, in 2009, was the first Indigenous student to begin the Master’s program in PPGAS at UFAM (Barreto would go on to obtain his PhD at the Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, UFSC, the first Indigenous person to do so). One of the NEAI’s members is also João Paulo Lima Barreto (Yepa Mahsã/Tukano), who defended his doctoral thesis in February of this year, making him the first Indigenous person in UFAM’s PPGAS to do so (Coelho, 2021). Hence, this group of scholars constitutes part of a burgeoning tradition of Indigenous Anthropology in Amazonia, what UFAM

³ Núcleo de Estudos da Amazônia Indígena (NEAI), at the Universidade Federal do Amazonas (UFAM)

faculty member Gilton Mendes dos Santos describes as an “other anthropology” which might invert the “‘classic’ proceedings (in terms of theory and method) (Mendes, 2018: 1).

However, the *Reflexões* plays only a single part in a larger collaborative endeavor which proposes to examine the pandemic using Indigenous epistemologies: the project “seeks an articulation with the strategies which groups adopted in the past and that are able to be adopted in the present” (NEAI, 2020).⁴ Thus, one audience for the *Reflexões* is certainly Indigenous peoples in need of strategies for dealing with Covid-19, as well as healthcare workers and others, Indigenous or no, who find themselves treating Covid-19 in the region. The NEAI’s desires to seek new “notions of sickness, health, and of body” are reiterated in its collaborative project with Brazilian-based media outlet, InfoAmazonia, called *Pandemias na Amazônia*. The project presents many of the articles from the *Reflexões* in their original Portuguese alongside other Indigenous-authored essays about the Covid-19 pandemic. Additionally, as the pluralizing of word ‘pandemic’ shows, the project explicitly broadens the word to include all forms of contamination which have impacts on the lives and bodies of Indigenous peoples, among other groups (InfoAmazonia, 2020).

By enlarging the scope of analysis, both the *Reflexões* and *Pandemias na Amazônia* projects embrace a range of topics which would not otherwise be included in a story about Covid-19, such as alcoholism and funerary rites. In this way, both projects also engage with the pandemic in terms not unfamiliar to Indigenous Amazonians, for whom theories of health often emphasize the obligations of individuals to the natural environment, particular dietary and other ritual restrictions, and more holistic definitions of disease (see, for example, Fernandes et al. 2020). Briefly, it is crucial to be attentive to how relationality specifically surfaces in local

⁴ “busca-se uma articulação com as estratégias que os grupos adotavam no passado e que podem ser adotadas no presente.”

ontologies of health and disease during the Covid-19 pandemic. As Blaser et al. argue, relationality is an integral concept for appreciating ontologies of Indigenous peoples in the Americas, and should further be centered in any analysis of Indigenous mass movements for autonomy, be they in relation to the international entities which offer medical care (e.g. Doctors without Borders) or the local, municipal department of health charged with caring for Covid-19 patients (Blaser et al., 2010: 9).

The authors of the *Reflexões* thus represent a range of interests and approaches: some study Tukano-speaking peoples, others Naduhup speakers; some focus on shamanic practice, others do not. The Upper Rio Negro is well-represented, with only one author (Alexandre Aniceto de Souza, Waiwai) not hailing from the region. Many of the authors are engaged in fervent discussion and collaboration with each other: for example, in an obituary separate from the *Reflexões*, the list of authors includes many contributors to the project: Justino Sarmento Rezende (Tuyuka), João Paulo Lima Barreto, Jaime Diakara (Desana), Silvio Sanches Barreto (Bará), and Dagoberto Lima Azevedo (Tukano). Moreover, all four have been extremely active, publishing their own pieces and frequently citing each other. In this regard, the authors considered below write and think as academics: they write for members of NEAI, for UFAM, for other Indigenous studies departments in Brazil, and for Brazilian academia as a whole.⁵ This is not to settle the question of audience(s), however. Rather, questions of what work each author hopes to enact through their writing and what kinds of audiences they hope to reach are in many respects distinct to the individual author and the textual techniques they make use of.

Before an analysis of the texts can begin, it is necessary to speak about their translation. According to a discourse-centered approach to language (Sherzer, 1987a, 1987b; Urrutia and

⁵ Briefly, the question of whether such authors write *primarily* or *first and foremost* as academics would be, in a word, inappropriate. Such language implies that Indigenous peoples must put something aside in order to write academically, an assumption which further relies on faulty logic. For more, see, for example, Fabian, 1983.

Sherzer, 1998), translation is not a straightforward task which can be accomplished with a grammar and a dictionary alone. Instead, translation involves “culture, especially the unstated or understated assumptions and presuppositions which hearers or readers of native performances and texts take for granted and which readers of translations typically are unaware of” (Urrutia and Sherzer, 1998: 362). Indeed, although this paper does not deal primarily with the oral performances which engendered the discussion and debate that drove much scholarship in ethnopoetics, the lessons learned from those conversations do inform analysis across discourse forms and mediums, such as the prose elaborated in academic and journalistic articles. Moreover, given that journalistic material forms the bulk of my data, I try to be sensitive to the fact that “[q]uoting and printing are political acts that are saturated with power,” and that this power may often be used by writers and/or editors to represent Indigenous Brazilians speech in particular ways (Graham, 2011: 165). Going forward, I will explain the details of translating each text as they are discussed, a process which is complicated by the fact that many texts include multiple languages. For example, the first text considered below was actually written in Desana then translated to Portuguese by a scholar in NEAI. In general, I strive for literal translations of the Portuguese, with brackets used to explain metaphors and more esoteric vocabulary, following Urrutia and Sherzer (1998).

1. “Esse vírus me atacou”

The first account I examine is an article titled, “This virus attacked me: a Desana perspective in images about Covid-19” [Esse vírus me atacou: uma perspectiva Desana em imagens sobre o Covid-19]. The author, Jaime Diakara, describes how he treated himself for Covid-19 using *bahsese*, which is glossed as benzimento.⁶ The account was written in the

⁶ Diakara’s self-application of an incantation is anomalous: in the literature, incantations are typically administered by one person to another.

Desana language and translated into Portuguese by Justino S. Rezende. Diakara holds a master's degree in Social Anthropology from UFAM and has extensive knowledge of Desana cosmology which he has applied in his work as an illustrator, accompanying his text with several pictures, in color (Grupo Autêntico, n.d.). Readers are encouraged to refer to the text in its entirety, with illustrations, in appendix A.

The translator, Justino S. Rezende, possesses a background in education, for example, proposing the creation of an Indigenous University of the Rio Negro (Universidade Indígena do Rio Negro, UIRN) (Ventura dos Santos, n.d.). Rezende is also the director of the Salesian mission in the city of Iaraúeté, graduating from a prominent Catholic university. First, Diakara's text forms my starting point because he chose to write entirely in his native language (though many other authors include words and phrases from their Indigenous languages). More importantly, however, Diakara's account stands out among the rest of the *Reflexões* because the way that he taps into the genre of incantations and shamanic practice implies the importance of engaging with Sherzer's ideas about translation, verbal art, and discourse.

The structure of the article is as follows: one prefacing paragraph in Portuguese, then four pages of an illustration, a paragraph of Desana, and finally a paragraph of Portuguese. In his prefacing paragraph, Diakara begins by offering an alternative origin for the disease, attributing Covid-19 not to bats (as the "whites" do), but to "blood poisoned by the Being of the night of moonlight [o Ser da noite de luar], which spreads itself throughout the outside world attacking people." In the first paragraph, "To become ill," Diakara lists his symptoms and explains his decision to perform the *bahsese* on himself. In the second paragraph, "Liquid for the Bahsese," Diakara explains how he prepared a tea appropriate for his symptoms, which became the mediating object into which he delivered the *bahsese*. In the third paragraph, "The Protection,"

Diakara explains in greater detail the *bahsese* for protection, their types, and how he used a mythic narrative in order to “kill the virus” inside of him. Finally, in the fourth paragraph, “Strong Caapi,” Diakara explains the importance of *Caapi*, or ayahuasca.⁷

Diakara’s description of benzimentos throughout the second paragraph includes several features of their delivery. First, Diakara states that his mediating object is a liquid or tea made from the leaves, fruits, and climbing shrubs of various astringent (travo, “sabor travoso”) local plants. In Amazonia, teas have been especially common in accounts of Covid-19 among Indigenous peoples (see, for example, ISA 2021c). Moreover, as this paper will illustrate, within the Upper Rio Negro, bitterness is often singled out as the property in common among the ingredients for a tea to prevent/treat Covid-19. One such tea includes familiar ingredients such as ginger, lime, and sugar, as well as the bark of the *sucuuba* tree (*Himatanthus sucuuba*), the bark of the *carapanaúba* tree (*Aspidosperma excelsum*), and the bile of the *paca* (*Cuniculus paca*), a large rodent (ISA, 2021c).

In the third paragraph, “The Protection,” Diakara elaborates further on Desana benzimentos for protection and their formulation:

We, descendants of the Desana people, have 3 types of protection. For the protection from disease, we use the *breu* [resin of the tree *Protium heptaphyllum*], cigars, and liquid. It was my father who taught me this. For those who have never heard of [benzimentos for protection], it should be difficult. I remember the myth of the *Diroá* who wanted to kill the great hawks. I used it in order to ‘kill the virus.’ I used this formula of protection. In order to kill it I circled it with the powers of the word, I placed it in a net in the door of the rising sun, of the setting [sun], in the doors of the heights [heavens], in the clouds, since I imagined that the virus would attack from the sky and from the earth. Coming in my direction it would become trapped in the net, entangled there until it died.

Although the parallelism and structural form of the genre are nearly absent in this prose text, the symbolic content is rich and the text reproduces several important tropes (see above).

⁷ “Duhti Mahsu ye doâtise” (Ficar doente), “Bahseriko ahpose” (Líquido para o bahsese), “Wehtidare komūtase - Dirioâ Wëkü” (A Proteção), “Gahpi Mahsu Suhtiro,” (Caapi Forte),

For example, there is the specific taxonomy of incantations, which directly draws upon Desana mythology and cosmology (Diakara, 2018; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1976). Second, there is the application of a mythic narrative within the incantation (the myth of the *Diroá*), which is common among incantations (D'Angelo, 2016; Ramos, 2019). Third, there is the trope of encircling, which manifests in the form of a net (*puçá*) which Diakara deploys against the disease. Encircling, of course, besides Desana incantations, occurs in Hup incantations as well (Epps and Ramos, 2020; Ramos, 2019). Finally, the concluding lines of the paragraph, “In order to kill it... until it died,” closely mirror the structure of an incantation itself, as the shaman describes, in the first person, how he picks out a tool with which he then subdues the malignant entity.

Finally, Diakara's description of *Caapi* reflects a leveraging of the genre of incantations, where the ritual substance is a principle tool with complex metaphorical significance (see, especially, Diakara, 2018). Diakara has engaged in serious scholarly work about the ritual substance, namely, through his Master's dissertation (also written in Desana), “Gaapi: elemento fundamental de acesso aos conhecimentos sobre esse mundo e de outros mundos.” In a similar paper, Diakara describes the cosmological origins of *Caapi*, thus reinforcing *Caapi's* importance in Desana shamanic practice in as well as its legitimacy: “Our elders said that it is the food of the *kumuã* [shamans]” (Diakara, 2019). In conclusion, Diakara affirms the ability of shamanic medicine to treat Covid-19 when he says, “Caapi carries the force of wellness, to cure the illnesses of the world.”

Diakara uses several rhetorical techniques to reinforce his authority as a ritual specialist and a scholar. Throughout the text, there are frequent references to the author's father, who passed away “well into old age last year:” for example, “I remember that which my father taught

me,” “I learned to do bahsese with my father Diakaru,” and “My father told me that [...]”

Diakara explicitly credits his father in all but one paragraph, repeating the specific phrase “that my father taught me” (*que o meu pai me ensinou*) twice. In a mundane sense, this is consistent with the regional patrilineal transmission of shamanic knowledge (D’Angelo, 2016; Diakara, Rezende 2020). On another level, however, it is also a subtle appeal to authority (D’Angelo, 2016). Diakara can speak about *bahsese*, cosmology, and the like because he has learned these things in a traditional manner.

Diakara makes such an appeal at an important time, when misinformation about the coronavirus is widespread, and many people in the Upper Rio Negro are afraid that they and their whole family will be struck down by the disease it causes. The appeal to authority is therefore crucial to the success of Diakara’s attempts to render Covid-19 treatable for other Indigenous peoples, and it is achieved first, by offering an alternative origin theory and, second, by reaffirming the strength of shamanic tools, such as incantations and caapi.

Such a reading is rounded out, I argue, when we consider Diakara’s choice of the Tukano word for incantations, *bahsese*, over the Desana word, *bayiri* (Buchillet, 1992; D’Angelo, 2016; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1976). Such a difference, of course, is far from being an “error” or an intervention by the translator, Rezende. First, although the original Desana is inaccessible to me, *bahsese* seems to make several appearances in the text, for example, “Ba’ase üsatiro” in the first paragraph and “basese” in the fourth paragraph. Tukano is a lingua franca in the Upper Rio Negro, specifically the Uaupés basin, and is the third coofficial Indigenous language of São Gabriel da Cachoeira, along with Nheengatú and Baniwa (Sarges da Silva, 2013). However, code switching or mixing of Indigenous languages in the Upper Rio Negro is largely discouraged as per regional linguistic ideologies (see, for example, Stenzel, 2005), making the inclusion of a

Tukano word in a Desana-language text remarkable. Considering the fact that many other pieces in the *Reflexões* include Tukano words and phrases such as *bahsese*, Diakara's use of *bahsese* over *bayiri* indexes academic collaboration and discussion. What is debatable, however, is whether Diakara's use of *bahsese* reflects the growing prominence of Tukano as a lingua franca or rather a deliberate decision to present a single, unified tradition of incantations to non-Indigenous readers.

2. "O coronavírus me faz lembrar!"

Justino Sarmiento Rezende (Tuyuka), translator of Diakara's piece, is a doctoral student in Antropologia Social at UFAM and a member of NEAI who has also been active in publishing about the local impact of Covid-19. In an article about his own experience surviving Covid-19, he has been dedicated to informing Indigenous peoples of the Rio Negro about the disease since March of 2020 (Rezende, 2020c). One of the forms this has taken includes the *Reflexões* project; in one of his more brief articles for the project, "O coronavírus me faz lembrar!," Rezende reflects on how his elders dealt with epidemic diseases in the past. "O coronavírus me faz lembrar!" builds upon many of the themes present in Diakara's piece, such as translation, the reaffirmation of tradition, and the discursive work accomplished with incantations. Readers are encouraged to refer to appendix B for the full text of Rezende's article.

According to Rezende, whenever an epidemic swept through his home village, the "group of wise [elders]" would gather daily and perform rituals in order to protect their village from epidemic disease. Rezende says this group used *breu branco* (the resin of the tree *Protium heptaphyllum*) to create smoke, and would also smoke cigars and discuss their dreams in order to discover the correct "formula of protection." The repetitive nature of the gatherings, the items mentioned, and the familiar phrase "formula of protection" all allude to the coca circles where

incantations are engaged with and collaboratively refined. In his allusions to coca circles, Rezende highlights the importance of dreams in driving innovation and interpretation: “Daily the group of wise [elders] conversed about what they had seen in their dreams, which formula of protection had created in their nocturnal meditation, each wise [elder] presented some solution.” Though it is beyond the scope of this paper to explore the importance of dreams in shamanic practice in the Upper Rio Negro, it is worthwhile to note that through dreams, Rezende brings together coca circles, incantations, and shamanic practice (Epps and Ramos, 2020; Ramos, 2019).

In the middle of this reminiscence, Rezende switches from his prose to a more poetic style as he describes how the shamans would protect their village from a disease:

With their senses purified [they] diverted the course of the diseases for them not to reach as far as us.

With the ceremonial forces [they] in-utilized [made useless] the aggressiveness of the beings of the diseases.

Imagining that they had teeth [they] broke their teeth for them not to bite us [in order] to transmit the diseases.

Imagining that [they] were able to transmit the disease [by] licking us, [they] tore out their tongues.

Imagining that [they] were able to transmit the disease by the look [by sight], they blinded the eyes of the beings of the diseases.

On the other hand, [they] transformed the human being, the environment, and the beings of esteem [esteemed beings, prized beings = prized animals = pets] into resistant bodies, incandescent, explosive, which give shocks; [they] transformed our bodies into hot bodies, acrid [bodies], astringent [bodies], bitter [bodies], and hard [bodies].

[They] created fences with the same effects for our protection. [They] stored away our lives inside of the lights of the sun, in the clouds...

Here, the structure and metaphorical devices strongly evoke incantations. First, as is common in incantations, there is extensive line-to-line parallelism e.g. “With their senses... With the forces” and “Imagining... Imagining... Imagining.” Each line paraphrases the specific entities which the elders might have called upon as they naturalized entities, listing only the net

effect of the elders' action, for example, they "made useless the aggressiveness." Further, the references to fences (*cercas*) echoes the metaphor of encircling which Diakara drew upon in his text, and which is often used in incantations of protection (see above).

Rezende concludes by repeating, with elaboration, the title of the article: "The present moment with its present viruses, with their own names, make me return to the past and remember the wisdom of my grandparents who helped to defend life." Last, he offers several "techniques of defense," which are to "escape from the enemy, don't expose oneself, but retreat in the place considered safe until the disease passess."

Importantly, there are two things which this last statement accomplishes. First, it wraps up the article with an appeal to authority. If Diakara renders Covid-19 treatable by framing the disease within a Desana theory of health and disease, Rezende leans into a broader appeal to elders and tradition. For example, in the subtitle to his article, Rezende writes, "*We didn't have doctors or nurses to care for our health. But we were accompanied in the day to day by our wise elders who performed their ceremonies of protection.*" The message is clear: where the outside world and non-Indigenous medicine fail Indigenous peoples, they can always fall back on the wisdom of their elders.

Second, the final statement emphasizes social distancing, or more specifically to the Upper Rio Negro, what has also been called "going into the forest [*indo pro mato*]:" retreating from urban centers and villages into the forest or more isolated areas (Rezende, 2020a; Fernandes, 2020). Perhaps a simple proposition, but nevertheless expertly accomplished and subtly different from Diakara's approach. While Diakara focuses on *bahsese* and *Caapi*, Rezende advises the reader to engage in social distancing. Although Rezende certainly knows how to execute *bahsese*, and has performed many for people in his community during the pandemic

(Rezende, 2020c), it must be remembered that the entire *Reflexões* project is set against the backdrop of a global “infodemic,” which most recently manifests in charges that a vaccine could turn people into crocodiles (Silva, 2021). As Rezende writes in another article for the project, he is also committed to raising awareness and dispelling such mis/disinformation: “I perceived that Covid-19 is really a destructive disease. There are people who don’t believe this” (Rezende, 2020n). Altogether, Rezende illustrates how the members of NEAI are apt translators, not just of languages, but of cultures because they are able to use incantations, in addition to an in-depth knowledge of shamanism, to educate Indigenous peoples in the Upper Rio Negro about Covid-19. However, each scholar will do this differently: as Diakara focuses on Desana shamanic practice and cosmology, Rezende weds the treatments prescribed by Western medicine with the insights of Indigenous medicine.

3. Azevedo, Barreto, and Barreto

Diakara and Rezende’s two pieces merit an especially close reading because they reproduce incantations in their structure and metaphorical language. In those texts, the immense importance of incantations expresses itself in the fact that such aspects of the genre carry over into the digital medium, into the discourse of the academic essay. However, their work is far from being the only pieces to discuss incantations, or shamanic practice in general: several other contributors to the *Reflexões* engage with incantations (*benzimentos*, *bahsese* in Tukano) and the experiences of shamans in the pandemic (*conhecedores*, *benzedores*, or *kumuã* and *baserã* in Tukano). In order to round out a discussion of the NEAI scholars and their work, I turn to the contributions of three more Tukanoan scholars.

First, there is Dagoberto Lima Azevedo (Tukano/Yepa Mahsã), who discusses his research surrounding coca circles and, specifically, the production of the *paâtu* (processed coca

in Tukano). In his contribution to the *Reflexões*, Azevedo invokes the language of sterilization, disinfection, sanitization, and cleaning to discuss “traditional Yepa Mahsã sterilization” [purification rituals] during the pandemic. Drawing an explicit parallel between Yepa Mahsã ceremonies and Western medical practice, Azevedo describes the ritual purification which *kumuã* must perform before ingesting coca. Before the *kumuã* begin their meeting, there is the ritual ingestion of pepper and salt, as well as the ritual use of tobacco and *breu*. Participants also bathe in the river and eat *quinhapira* with peppered fish. Further, incantations are performed which help the *kumuã* remain disciplined and focused in their use of coca and tobacco. Incantations for ritual purification are shared all over the region, for example, the “benzimentos da coca” and “benzimentos do tabaco” among the Hup people (Ramos, 2013). The results of these coca circles, in part, are formal recommendations which the *kumuã* offer to their village: “on the following day, after the shared *quinhampira* [traditional dish] of the morning, all of the members of the community are informed about the warnings, the restrictions, observations, orientations, and explanations given by the *kumuã*” (Azevedo, 2020).

Azevedo reads from these nuanced and complex rituals of cleansing and purification a particular lesson for the pandemic: “there is a necessity to conjugate [bring together] the yepamahsã sterilization with the orientations of the sanitary authorities of the non-Indigenous peoples” (Azevedo, 2020). On one level, Azevedo certainly speaks to Yepa Mahsã and other Indigenous readers, offering them concrete advice rooted in tradition. On another level, Azevedo speaks to a non-Indigenous audience with the power to affect change in the healthcare system and/or the local response to the pandemic. The latter rhetorical and political work is made clear by Azevedo’s concluding words: “I have faith that this wave of pandemic will make people reconsider (of course we hope) the importance of the combined work between the knowledges of

non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples” (Azevedo, 2020). In essence, Azevedo’s reinterpretation of Yepa Mahsã rituals of purification (which involve incantations) via medical terminology terminates in the explicit elevation of Indigenous knowledges, of their ability to treat certain diseases with as much, if not more, efficacy than the healthcare system in Brazil. Implicitly, then, the message to a non-Indigenous audience is that what Indigenous peoples require is both access to quality medical care and the ability to determine for themselves how it will be carried out.

The themes of reaffirmation and self-determination continue through the work of Silvio S. Barreto (Bará), who has made two contributions: “Um Começo de Conversa dos Baserã sem Meio e sem Fim” and “Linhas Tortas de Pensamento/Transmutar do Coronavírus em Leite e Espuma de Buiuiu.” Silvio S. Barreto revisits the past and reflects on his Tukanoan heritage in several interesting ways. First, he draws upon the etymology of the novel coronavirus to engage in a exciting reading of Covid-19 as a tyrannical king who values economic growth above all else and steals away for his cause the “best warriors” from Indigenous communities such as leaders, teachers, priests, and notably benzedores, no matter their age. Second, Silvio S. Barreto mourns the losses of many family members, friends, and colleagues. It is clear that the pandemic has had widespread effects on the inhabitants of all of the state of Amazonas, from the smallest communities of the Upper Rio Negro to the capital Manaus.

Silvio S. Barreto also describes his harrowing experience with Covid-19, which he treated with dieting, baths, teas, and Western medicine. Interestingly, he describes in detail how his father-in-law, “senhor Justino Pena,” helped him and his wife get through their illness by performing incantations for them (he uses *bahsese* as well as *benzimentos*). Similar to Diakara and Azevedo, Silvio S. Barreto explicitly examines incantations for Covid-19: “Lately, Senhor

Justino Pena, who is my father-in-law, a simple *basegi*, says that this disease of Coronavirus is a threat to Indigenous health. A worry isn't just to stay at home or to maintain quarantine. But, for him this disease of coronavirus is a challenge of his knowledge of *bahsese*" (Silvio S. Barreto, 2020b).⁸

The challenge, however, is not an existential one which threatens shamanism itself, but one which merely presents itself as a puzzle to be worked out according to the rules and prescriptions of such practice, particularly because a novel disease requires a new incantation. For example, Silvio S. Barreto goes on to describe a conversation between Senhor Justino and another "benzedor," Senhor João Cavaleiro Alcântara, which involved the use of dreams to collaboratively refine incantations for Covid-19: briefly, Senhor João dreamed of a flying cauldron which spreads the virus all over the universe; a virus which is also wild and therefore exceedingly difficult to treat (Silvio S. Barreto, 2020a). From the dream, Pena recommends that bitter ingredients should be used in a tea for an incantation. Silvio S. Barreto adds that exactly which ingredients are constrained, in the very least, by the facts that the virus mutates according to the climate, and that according to Tukano cosmology, the virus would be not be classified as *Waî-masa*, or non-human beings (Silvio S. Barreto, 2020a). Silvio S. Barreto acknowledges that the conversation of the two shamans (*baserã*) possesses neither a middle nor an ending (it is "sem meio e sem fim"): like the coca circles which go on night after night, the shamans' conversation is neither an exhaustive representation of shamanic treatments for Covid-19 nor is it the last time that shamans will gather to discuss "formulas" for treatments according to traditional Tukanoan strategies.

⁸ "Ultimamente, Senhor Justino Pena, que é meu sogro, um simples basegio, fala que, essa doença de Coronavírus é uma ameaça para a saúde indígena. Uma preocupação não só de ficar em casa ou de ficar quarentena. Mas, para ele essa doença de coronavírus é um desafio de seu conhecimento de basesese."

The third and final author is João Paulo Lima Barreto (Yepa Mahsã), a scholar of Tukanoan ontology and epistemology who has also written extensively on the cosmological and mythological foundations of Yepamahsã incantations, or *bahsese*. According to João Paulo Lima Barreto, *bahsese* is a much more expansive category than incantations, and might be translated as “ancestral therapy” (Zuker, 2019). It is worthwhile, therefore, to reproduce a Yepa Mahsã-specific definition (João Paulo Lima Barreto et al. 2018):

The *bahsese* [sing. bahsero] are a vast repertoire of formulas, words, and special expressions taken from the *kihti ukūse* (mythic narratives) and ritually proffered by yepamahsã specialists. The *bahsese* make possible the communication and interaction between *mahsã* (humans) and the *waimahsã*. It is also a therapeutic practice of prevention, protection, and curing of disease stemming from the ability to verbally activate curative elements and principles, contained in types of plants and animals, and, finally, of cleaning and depotentialization of foods, turning them proper for human consumption.⁹

Such a perspective on incantations guides João Paulo Lima Barreto’s arguments in his submission for the *Reflexões*, in which he discusses the festival of *poose* (*dabucuri*) and the role of incantations in facilitating its successful, safe celebration: “They say that they perform *bahsese* so that all can forget the desire of physical confrontation, so that all disarm themselves, so that all forget prior conflicts, and so that all enter into the mood of the festival of *poose*, focused on the animation, on the games and the happiness” (João Paulo Lima Barreto, 2020).¹⁰ As he explains, the *poose* is a window onto Vapésian social relations and values: it is the backdrop for relations of exchange and reciprocity which reinforce social obligations, redistribute wealth, and contribute to solidarity (cf. Chernela, 1993). What he is arguing, then, is

⁹ “Os *bahseses* são um vasto repertório de fórmulas, palavras e expressões especiais retiradas dos *kihti ukūse* (narrativas míticas) e proferidas ritualmente pelos especialistas yepamahsã. Os *bahsese* possibilitam a comunicação e interação entre os *mahsã* (humanos) e os *waimahsã*. É também uma prática terapêutica de prevenção, proteção e cura de doenças a partir da habilidade de ativar verbalmente elementos e princípios curativos, contidos em tipos de vegetal e de animal e, por fim, de limpeza e despotencialização dos alimentos, tornando-os próprios para consumo humano.”

¹⁰ “Dizem que eles fazem *bahsese* para que todos esqueçam o desejo do confronto físico, para que todos se desarmem, para que todos esqueçam dos conflitos anteriores, e todos entrem no clima da festa de *poose*, focados na animação, nas brincadeiras e na alegria.”

that the performance of incantations before the festivities grows directly out of these values of reciprocity, social obligation, and care.

Thus, Covid-19 enters the picture as an illness which has come about due to the violation of these values, and on a more profound level, the violation of certain laws of nature:

The exacerbated use of natural resources, be they animal or plant, without the proper interaction and communication with those responsible/guardians, from the point of view of the Indigenous specialists, is an evocation of conflict and of environmental disequilibrium without precedent. The manifestation of the disequilibrium comes about in the form of waves of disease, lack of resources, conflict, accidents, among many other abnormalities. The specialists say that it is the vengeance of the *waimahsã*.¹¹

João Paulo Lima Barreto, however, does not conclude on this note. Rather, with reference to an argument that economic relations cannot be reduced to the mere exchange of commodities, he offers the lesson that human beings are circumscribed by a network of human and non-human relationships which imply obligations to these non-human “Others” (João Paulo Lima Barreto, 2020). Such a view is reminiscent of João Paulo Lima Barreto’s prior work in traditional Indigenous medicine, namely, with his creation of Bahserikowi, the Center of Indigenous Medicine. Located in Manaus, the center advocates for a more holistic approach to health which encapsulates the “cosmopolitical” as well as the biological (Silvio S. Barreto, 2019; Menezes, 2020).

In conclusion, João Paulo Lima Barreto is arguing, like the other members of NEAI who contributed to the project *Reflexões*, for the reaffirmation and elevation of traditional medicine in the pandemic. And like all of the other scholars who have explored the ways in which shamanism is tied up in traditional medicine, informs it and determines its methods in the Upper

¹¹ “O usufruto exacerbado dos recursos naturais, seja de natureza animal ou vegetal, sem a devida interação e comunicação com os seus responsáveis/guardiões, do ponto de vistas dos especialistas indígenas, é uma evocação ao conflito e ao desequilíbrio ambiental sem precedente. A manifestação de desequilíbrio se dá nas formas de surtos de doenças, falta de recursos, conflitos, acidentes, entre muitas outras anormalidades. Os especialistas dizem que é a vingança dos waimahsã.”

Rio Negro, João Paulo Lima Barreto brings up the genre of incantations (*bahsese*) as a critical window into understanding these relationships. Moreover, just as these scholars describe the discursive collaboration between shamans as these specialists attempt to create formulas of protection and devise the correct incantations for Covid-19, so too might these scholars' conversation and collaboration with one another count as a kind of discursive engagement with the pandemic and the broader issues it raises which is characteristic of the Upper Rio Negro.

4. Seu Ercolino and Damião Barbosa

Fortunately, the widespread coverage of the pandemic in the Upper Rio Negro shows that Indigenous scholars are not alone in adapting shamanic knowledge and practice to the Covid-19 pandemic. Benzedores and conhedores all over the region are performing incantations in their communities, in addition to providing advice about medicinal plants, teas, baths, and other remedies. This section will draw upon interviews with two ritual specialists, Ercolino Jorge Araujo Alves (Desana) and Damião Amaral Barbosa (Yepa Mahsã/Tukano), in order to argue that the 'on-the-ground' treatment of Covid-19 shares with the work of Indigenous scholars an alternative framing of Covid-19, a concern to adapt the genre of incantations to present needs, and a desire to elevate Indigenous medicine to the level of respect and privilege of Western scientific medicine.

Both benzedores were interviewed by the Instituto Socioambiental (ISA), an NGO which is broadly active in human rights, environmental, and Indigenous issues in Brazil. With respect to Covid-19, ISA has led and contributed to many projects aimed at helping Indigenous peoples, traditional communities, and Quilombos. Some of the biggest examples are the fundraising/awareness campaigns “#ForaGarimpoForaCovid” (Miners out, Covid out) and “#RespiraXingu,” for the Yanomami and Xingu territories, respectively. ISA has also been

dedicated to capturing, through journalism, the various effects which the pandemic has had on Upper Rio Negro, as well as Indigenous peoples of Brazil more broadly.

In September, Seu Ercolino, as he is known in São Gabriel da Cachoeira, was interviewed to discuss his work as a ‘benzedor,’ that is, a kind of shaman. In the article, the author/interviewer briefly describes Seu Ercolino and the situation in São Gabriel da Cachoeira, and then jumps into a question-and-answer style interview with the benzedor. In the article, Seu Ercolino describes how he, in close partnership with his wife Carmem Figueiredo Alves (Wanano), performs incantations for Covid-19, which substances/objects he uses for these incantations, the inheritance of incantations in the region, how Indigenous medicine is perceived by medical professionals, and the tragic losses Covid-19 has perpetrated.

According to Seu Ercolino, the coronavirus “already happened,” during the late 60s when there was an epidemic in the tributary of the Igarapé Arara. Ercolino says, “Over there they had this disease that people call new again currently. The symptoms were the same.” Similar to other benzedores, Ercolino has dreamed about Covid-19 and has also connected the disease to Indigenous theories: “When I saw through the newspaper that this disease came from the bats, my head functioned [i.e. I understood everything perfectly]. My grandparents told me that the house of the bat has the disease most contagious, most wild of all. Nobody can mess in this house.”¹² Interestingly, Ercolino also advocates for the combination of Indigenous and non-Indigenous methods: “When we go hand in hand, the traditional wisdom and the western medicine, things are easier to cure.”

In October, Damião Barbosa was interviewed by ISA. As in the article about Seu Ercolino, exposition gives way to a question-and-answer format, which is appended by a

¹² Quando eu vi pelo jornal que essa doença veio dos morcegos, a minha cabeça funcionou. Os meus avôs me disseram que a casa do morcego tem a doença mais contagiosa, mais brava de tudo. Ninguém pode mexer nessa casa.

description, with pictures, of some of the objects/ingredients Barbosa uses in his shamanic practice. Barbosa is a kumú in training from the Rio Tiquié, a village called Piroperi (São Felipe is the Portuguese name), a village which, like the majority of others in the region, does not have cell service, let alone internet access or television.

Barbosa mainly describes a ceremony which was conducted in late February to protect people from Covid-19. The ceremony brought together Yepamahsã, Tuyuka, and Hup specialists. Similar to João Paulo, Barbosa says that the ritual began very early in the morning with the communal consumption of quinhapira. The shaman (pajé) who conducted the ritual also made use of *paricá*, a powder made from the bark of a tree which possess psychoactive properties. Finally, Barbosa describes the prescription of a tea which is “very bitter.” Moreover, during the benzimento, the shaman performs the following “formulation:” “[he] calls the name of tachi, carapanaúba, these bitter things, and incorporates them into our bodies.”

If scholars such as João Paulo Lima Barreto and Justino Rezende illustrated, with fascinating anthropological reflexivity, how incantations are being deployed to achieve particular political and intellectual goals, then Seu Ercolino’s account of incantations for Covid-19 begins to reveal how the genre is also fulfilling a need that is impossible to overemphasize: the need to make sense of a crisis and confront it in a meaningful way.

5. Encontros

So far, this chapter has explored incantations within two major modalities. First, I argued that NEAI members adapt incantations in their position as cultural-translators: while they offer explicit advice for the treatment of Covid-19, they also subtly aim to conscientize fellow Indigenous peoples about Covid-19, at a time when mis/disinformation is rampant. Importantly, these scholars’ digital presence, which emphasizes collaboration and conversation, reflects their

in-person presence with other shamans in their social networks (who are often also their consanguineal and affinal relatives). Second, I showed that two shamans, when given a platform to talk about their practice during the pandemic, referenced incantations in ways unique to their positionings, demonstrating how incantations, as the actualization of Upper Rio Negro language(s), culture, and society, provide a window onto the region's experience of the pandemic (Sherzer, 1987). Now, I turn my attention to a third modality: the large meetings which have brought together shamans from all over the region to discuss the application of traditional knowledge in the pandemic.

At the moment, these meetings seem unique to the Upper Rio Negro, and if they are happening anywhere else in Brazil, they have either been undiscovered by this paper or gone totally undocumented and undescribed. This section will examine two such events which were coordinated by the Federation of Indigenous Organizations of the Rio Negro (Foirn). The first event was the 15th general ordinary elective assembly of Foirn [15ª Assembleia Geral Ordinária Eletiva da Foirn], and took place in late November of 2020. In addition to the regular election of officers, participants discussed the challenges brought on by the pandemic and the application of traditional medicine. The second event, called the "First Meeting of Traditional Specialists of the Tiquié River" [1º Encontro de Conhecedores Tradicionais do Rio Tiquié], met in December of last year, and was organized with the explicit goal of sharing shamanic methods for treating and preventing Covid-19.

Foirn is an NGO made up entirely of Indigenous leaders which pledges to "defend the rights and the sustainable development of the over 750 Indigenous communities in the most preserved region of Amazonia" (Equipe FOIRN, 2016). Among other objectives, Foirn as a political organization has been an important force for Indigenous sovereignty: in matters of

health, education, economy, infrastructure, and governance, Foirn advocates for the Indigenous peoples of the Upper Rio Negro to assert Indigenous forms, on their own terms. At the November event, members of Foirn re-elected the sitting president and vice-president of the organization (Marivelton Barroso and Nildo Fontes, respectively). The event was unique for its valorization of “traditional remedies and practices:” decorations on tables included ingredients for teas used to treat Covid-19; delegates came and demonstrated treatments they were using in their communities. In a familiar move to join the forces of Indigenous and Western scientific medicine, Barroso said, “There was this incentive and discussion of the valorization of our own traditional medicine, of our own Indigenous knowledge. The homemade remedies, the *benzimentos* saved us, set us free. We are not against Western medicine, but it is also true that traditional medicine counts a lot” (BNC Amazonas, 2020).¹³ Not insignificantly, Barroso singles out incantations, “benzimentos,” as what is saving Indigenous peoples.

Clearly, the comparison of notes encouraged by the events of the 15th assembly, in addition to the widespread leveraging of shamanism in the pandemic, led to the special meeting hosted by Foirn in December, where people came together to talk about using “ancestral wisdom” to combat Covid-19. Nildo Fontes, the vice-president, said that “many cured themselves with these practices [medicinal plants, benzimentos, and rituals for protection], which gave strength to these knowledges” (Foirn, 2020). In the meeting, participants had two main objectives: to organize the ways that people could be treated for Covid-19, and to draw up a letter of demands for government and civil society. The letter which resulted from the meeting contained eight points in all: 1) create programs relating to the valorization and strengthening of traditional knowledge, 2) create mechanisms allowing for the remuneration of *conhecedores*, 3)

¹³ “Houve esse incentivo e discussão da valorização da nossa própria medicina tradicional, do nosso próprio conhecimento indígena. Os remédios caseiros, os benzimentos nos salvaram, nos livraram. A gente não é contra a medicina ocidental, mas também a medicina tradicional vale muito.”

support projects about culture, meetings, ceremonies, and activities in Indigenous villages, 4) support the construction of “houses of knowledge” [casas dos saberes] utilizing modern materials and methods, 5) union of institutions in the process of realizing projects relating to Indigenous peoples’ goals, 6) create mechanisms for the formation and recognition of new *conhecedores*, 7) support the dissemination of work in the meetings, 8) allow Indigenous anthropologists to collaborate in the process of preventing and treating Covid-19 within their communities using traditional medicine.

Thus, similar to the work produced by the members of NEAI, the literature produced by these meetings argues that Indigenous medicine must be elevated to the same level of respect as Western Scientific medicine. Importantly, the meetings depart from the academic work, of course, in two aspects; namely, both demanded substantial material support and underlined the importance of Upper Rio Negro sovereignty in healthcare and other domains. It is almost unsurprising that Dagoberto Lima Azevedo was present at the meeting, among others, or that a shaman who performed a ritual at the meeting mentioned the use of bitter plants (such as *cipó saracura*) to treat Covid-19. Indeed, what the meetings demonstrate more than anything is that the Upper Rio Negro is the site for the widespread, emergent exercise of Indigenous peoples’ agency as they adapt shamanism in ways which are both consistent with pre-existing patterns and nevertheless creative and novel.

5. Conclusions

All in all, NEAI's members' use of metaphor and parallelism evocative of incantations in their academic discourse demonstrates that, on the one hand, incantations are an incredibly rich and important genre in the Upper Rio Negro, and on the other hand, a generation of Tukanoan scholars are positioned as the translators of local (often personal) Tukanoan ontologies and epistemologies to non-Indigenous audiences outside and within the Brazilian Amazon. Such a positioning, heavily inflected by the "infodemic" accompanying the Covid-19 pandemic (see, for example, Cinelli et al., 2020), also reflects pre-pandemic efforts on behalf of Indigenous-led organizations to elevate Indigenous ontologies/theories in a medical context, and, more broadly, to see Indigenous and non-Indigenous ontologies combined, or walk together "hand in hand" as Azevedo puts it (2020).

Importantly, as the testimony of other shamans from the Upper Rio Negro evinces, the adaptation of incantations serves as a window onto the widespread efforts by shamans to respond to the pandemic, to incorporate Covid-19 into Indigenous theories of disease and thereby render it treatable. In this respect, categorization in the region is a complex phenomenon. On the one hand, Covid-19 has been universally understood by Indigenous peoples as a "doença de branco" or non-Indigenous disease. On the other hand, as Renato Athias argues in his description of the Hup system of health and medicine, categorizing disease as "Indigenous" or "non-Indigenous" means different things to different peoples in the Upper Rio Negro, due to the fact that each group possesses their own theories of health and disease which differentially inform treatment (1998). If we compare, for example, Jaime Diakara's Desana-based approach to Covid-19 with João Paulo Lima Barreto's reading from a Yepa Mahsã perspective, there are subtle differences which might be teased out in their classifications and therefore prescribed treatments of the

disease. Moreover, the disproportionate Tukanoan representation should not let us forget that there remains to be explored a whole world of Naduhup and Arawak-speaking perspectives. How might their positioning affect their classification of Covid-19 and their subsequent adaptations of shamanic practice? Further, how might we come full circle and explore the ways in which shamanic discourse, such as incantations, both actualizes and encapsulates these movements of language, culture, and society over the course of the pandemic for peoples beyond those explored in this chapter?

Such questions bring me to Brazil as a whole in the pandemic. Although it was beyond the scope of this paper, it is my hope that future research will be conducted along similar lines in the rest of Brazil and lowland South America. For example, in the Xingu Indigenous Territory, shamanism likely informs the combined use of Indigenous and non-Indigenous medicine in the village of Ipatse and elsewhere. In the Yanomami territory, current political action evokes understandings of shamanism as implicated in various domains of life, beyond the overtly spiritual or medicinal, and as a practice which is continually adapting to the needs of a community (see, especially, Albert, 1993). Finally, in the Alto Solimões, the use of ayahuasca to treat Covid-19 merits further study, not just for ethnobotanists, but perhaps also for those interested in tracing the evolution of the stereotype of the stoic, self-reliant, “hyperreal Indian” in Brazilian news coverage of Indigenous peoples (Ramos, 1994).

Finally, if this paper only adds to the consensus that non-Indigenous scholars must work to understand Indigenous peoples on their own terms and as being contemporary with non-Indigenous peoples, it is also a testament to the work which stills stands to be done that an obituary with the headline “Aruká Juma, Last Man of His Tribe” can be written for the New York Times (Astor, 2021). As real as the existential threat of Covid-19 is, such a headline can

only be interpreted as another iteration of the myth of the Vanishing Indian when one considers the continued endurance and survivance of Indigenous peoples in the face of genocide. Similarly, if the problem with discussion of the post-pandemic world is that it too often reinscribes the pre-pandemic status quo, then the challenge is to parse out what is new and what is old, what is worth centering and what is not. As several scholars have argued, what brought on the pandemic in the first place is a particular way of life, of interacting with nature and of relating to other people, which is inextricably tied up in capitalism and settler colonialism. By centering Indigenous peoples, non-Indigenous peoples gain new perspectives and tools which must be turned to the new responsibilities which accompany such bounties.

Esse vírus me atacou
 uma perspectiva dêsana em imagens sobre o Covid-19

Por: Jaime Diakara
 Tradução: Justino Rezende

Nos pegou, e me pegou, de surpresa, esta doença que causa falta de ar, que dificulta a respiração, causa febre alta, dor no corpo e vários outros sintomas. Segundo os “brancos” ela é causada por um vírus que teve origem nos morcegos. Na visão de nossos avós, ela é um mal provocado pelo sangue envenenado do Ser da noite de luar, que se espalha pelo mundo afora atacando as pessoas. Por isso, eu, filho do povo Desano, com os nossos conhecimentos, recordei aquilo que o meu pai me ensinou, e então decidi expressar os meus pensamentos sobre ela através de alguns desenhos.

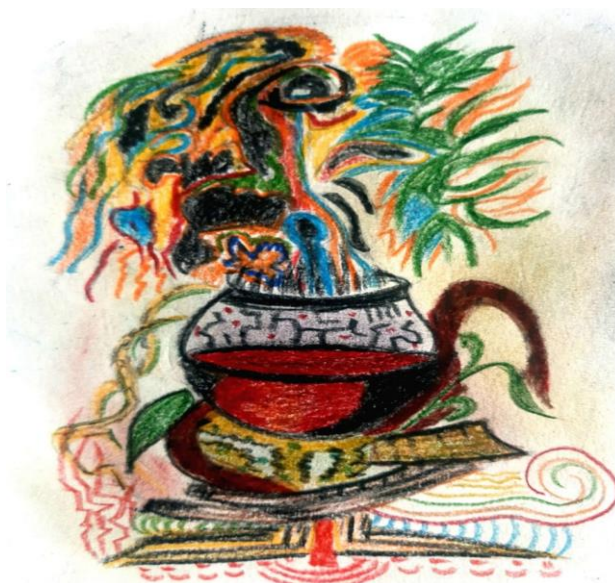


Duhti Mahsu ye doâtise

Arí duhti mahsu mahsa pahti pürê dohkesã nŭkãgŭ, diãkŭ pahtipu heridapŭ dohkesã nŭkãsimi. Tegŭma ahte pehsutinŭkã heãmsami, Düpoa wŭhake niarŏ, Düpoa wŭhake niarŏ, Düpoa wehesüstüaro Ekëbitiro, Kapea, Üsero süerŏ ŭhŭpeharo Ehŏrotiro, Eherimi bokatiro, Eherikŭoro, Ba´ase üsatiro, Wadari hŭpeã wŭhaketiro, Pa´aga wedioro wŭhaketiro, Sukuã pŭriro Öre sŏãse wŭhaketiro, Yobotiro, Ŭhsepekuri pŭrise, Wadari ŭhŭpeharo, uhpŭ tunŭrŭrŏ. Ahtore, yŭü pŭrise tŭoñakãti, tehgŭ dehro arã bŭkŭrãrê, wêê bahsero yŭãmito nŭ tŭoña bahseñawü. Tehgŭ müsare ahte ñêseta nŭisa nŭirŏpea, arã pehkãsapea marŭrê wiose nŭ, perŭse nŭ nŭisere tŭokãrê wionima. Bahseta basiotise tokãma.

Ficar doente

Quando este vírus infecta uma pessoa, ele provoca dores de cabeça, febre, tontura, entupimento de nariz, dores nos olhos, sabor amargo na boca, queimadura, falta de ar, dificuldade para respirar, perda do sabor da comida, queimadura nas veias, febre, aperto na barriga, dores no corpo, urina amarelada diarreia, dores nos joelhos, sensação de queimadura nas veias... uma sensação geral de desespero. Senti tudo isso, e fiquei pensando o que eu deveria fazer para me livrar disso, não ir para um hospital e não morrer. Decidi executar em mim o bahsese, conhecido popularmente como “benzimento”.



Bahseriko ahpose

Arí duhtibüküre duhtirã. Ahte nĩsa mũkũse pũrĩ, mĩsĩda mũkũrĩda, ahte mukóse ohtese, nũkũkãse, diakoekãse, atere merã bahseriko wehê bahsese merã puhtisã bahpati bükürã, wěẽ. Ahteta pehkakoporã yohô herisãpeodiô nũkõ, ahpeturikãrõ merã herisãpeodiose wehse nĩmisata nĩ tũôñawü. Tehgü bahseriko weê yũübase ahtirota nĩse buãrosa nĩwĩ yũü pahkü Diakuru, mĩ nĩgũma yĩbasi weñawü. Tehgü arí duhti mahsü, meõnĩgũ mehta nĩtüsami. Apherã nĩsama heõmeã nĩto nĩ ùkũsama. Neẽ heõbükü mehta, wuãke bübü mehta. Wame dahreta masiotigü buãkü nĩkami. Tehroma ahtere duhti pũrĩsere bahsañatama, ahtiturikü nĩmi nĩ wãmedaro nĩmisa. Arã pehkãsapea nãã üãro wãmedarekãma.

Líquido para o bahsese

Eu aprendi fazer bahsese com meu pai Diakaru, que morreu bem velhinho no ano passado. Os “brancos” nos colocam muito medo com seus discursos sobre certas doenças, o que acaba dificultando a prática dos “benzimentos”. Mas eu fiz e me curei. Para este tipo de bahsese, invocamos as folhas de sabor travoso, cipó de sabor travoso, frutas travosas, frutas travosas da mata virgem e do igapó. Com o líquido travoso dessas plantas fazemos nossa proteção e nossa cura, soprando no líquido os *bahsese*, e chamamos pelo nome o vírus para matá-lo. Esse líquido apaga a chama do fogo na pessoa, devolve a boa respiração. Busca a nova respiração em outros domínios do cosmos. Assim eu pensei e realizei. O meu pai me dizia que eu deveria preparar o líquido para o “benzimento” e pensar como se pode curar uma doença. Pensando nisso eu fiz o “benzimento” em mim mesmo. Esse vírus é, de fato, muito resistente. Não é uma gripezinha nem um resfriadinho. Com o “benzimento” bem sucedido se pode visualizar, na nossa visão, o tipo de “ser” que ele é.



Wehtidare komūtase – Dirioâ Wékü

Üsã wirã porã, itiã turikãkãro keowü wíí duhti kumũta wehtidaro, Ahte merã duhti komũtasama. Ahte ohpe merã bahero, mürõ merã bahsero, bahseriko merã bahsero. Ahte nĩsato mahkũ. Kũũ nĩĩkã tüõküwũ. Wãkũnũrũ wehsetigũma, dehero nĩĩbosarito nĩĩ wãkũwũ. Ahto buãkati, arã Doroã ahã pahkũre naã werãti nãa nĩĩ kohtekaro. Kũũ duhti mahsũ ahti pahti kũmeta buãpĩ nĩĩse wahakati, tehgũ ahtiro bahse komũtasetiro ümiãsa nĩĩ wãkũwũ. Arĩ duhti mahsu, komũtarã, ahte ũkũse merã ahti wékũ hẽõnũkõ, ahti muĩpũ mũãtirisopepe düteñekũ, kũũ sãrĩ sohpepe tüãñenũkõ düteñekũ, õmẽ sãrĩ sohpepa düteñekũ, õmẽ wiari sohpepa düteñekũ wero üãsa kũũ ,ñami omedakũ nĩĩsami, nũkũ mahsu, diã mahsu. suri wẽrĩkã. Yũũ tüõñakaro horiwe, ahtiro bũkũrã merã tuãno ũkũse nũmũrĩ nĩĩrõwe nĩĩgũ ahte ũkũsere mĩĩtiapũ.

A PROTEÇÃO

Nós, descendentes do povo Desano, temos três tipos de proteção. Para a proteção de doença utilizamos o breu, cigarro e líquido. Foi o meu pai que me ensinou isso. Para quem nunca ouviu falar deve ser difícil. Eu me lembrei da narrativa mítica dos Doroá que queriam matar os Gaviões grandes. Eu a utilizei para “matar o vírus”. Utilizei essa fórmula de proteção. Para matá-lo eu o cerquei com os poderes da palavra, estiquei o puçá na porta do sol nascente, do poente, nas portas das alturas, nas nuvens, pois eu imaginei que o vírus pudesse atacar pelos ares e pela terra. Vindo em minha direção ele poderia ficar preso no puçá, enredado aí até morrer.



Gahpi Mahsu Suhtiro

Ahte kahpi, buâke nĩsata, naã tũoñarĩ mahsa, ahpe pahtipe dohkesãnũkã, niãrõ tũõña, kũũ niãse tũñarĩ wahtero ũkũse, basese, bahsamõri, kũĩ mĩñenu heãro Gahpi mahsu, ahpinõ mahsũ nĩsami kũkẽrãta, Niãrĩ mahsu, dũpoã wehtũari mahsu, ũsesori mahsu, tunũrũrĩ mahsu. Añuro tũñakama duhti mahsũ, peãri mahsu nĩgũ wehsami. Tehgũ gahpituri kãse kerã basese nĩbosato, ahte ũmũko pũrĩse, ũmũko peãse, yukũ mahsa turikãse doãtise, waĩ yã turkãse ahte duhti wahro ũmũko mahsã peose wahsa nĩwĩ. Ahte nĩsato makũ tũõmasiãpa, Ahte duhtikãsere ũkũdinañogũ yũũ pahko ahtiro nĩ peowĩ.

CAAPI FORTE

Os especialistas viajam, flanam e flutuam, através do *Caapi*, nesse mundo e no cosmos como um todo. Sob o efeito do *Caapi* fazem discursos, conversas sobre os *bahsese* e executam os cantos e danças. O Ser *Caapi* é o Ser da embriaguez, da tontura, do vômito. Visto dessa maneira, ele é o Ser da doença e da infecção. Eu pensei, também, que o *Caapi* carrega a força do bem, para curar as doenças do mundo, doenças provocadas pelos seres das florestas, doenças provocadas pelos peixes, doenças provocadas pelos seres do cosmo. Eu lembrei daquilo que o meu pai me ensinou...

CORONAVÍRUS ME FAZ LEMBRAR!

J.S.Rezende, 22/03/2020

Eu nasci distante da cidade, Onça-igarapé.

O meu pai ao ouvir dizer que estava aproximando uma doença forte nos levava para um lugar mais isolado, ainda.

Lá passávamos o tempo necessário para que chegasse até nós outra notícia: já passou a doença.

Não tínhamos médicos, enfermeiros, enfermeiras para cuidar de nossa saúde.

Mas estávamos acompanhados no dia a dia por nossos avós sábios que faziam suas cerimônias de proteção utilizando o breu branco que servia para defumação do ambiente, das pessoas e outros seres de estimação.

Diariamente o grupo de sábios fumando os seus cigarros conversavam sobre o que tinham visto em seus sonhos, que fórmula de proteção havia criado em sua meditação noturna, cada sábio apresentava alguma solução.

Com os seus sentidos apurados desviavam a rota das doenças para não chegarem até nós.

Com as forças cerimoniais inutilizavam a agressividade dos seres das doenças.

Imaginando que eles tivessem dentes quebravam seus dentes para não nos morderem para transmitir as doenças. Imaginando que poderiam transmitir a doença lambendo-nos arrancavam suas línguas.

Imaginando que poderiam transmitir a doença pelo olhar, eles cegavam os olhos dos seres das doenças.

Por outra parte transformavam o ser humano, o ambiente e os seres de estimação, em corpos resistentes, incandescentes, explosivos, que deem choques; transformavam nossos corpos em corpos quentes, amargos, travosos, azedos e duros.

Criavam cercas com os mesmos efeitos para a nossa proteção.

Guardavam nossas vidas dentro das luzes do sol, nas nuvens...

O tempo atual com os seus vírus atuais, com nomes próprios me faz voltar ao passado e relembrar as sabedorias de meus avós que ajudavam a defender a vida.

Me fez lembrar das técnicas de defesa: fugir do inimigo, não se expor, mas retirar-se no lugar considerado seguro até a doença passar.

REFERENCES

- Agência Senado. 2020. “Bolsonaro sanciona com vetos lei para proteger indígenas durante pandemia.” Agência Senado, *Senado Notícias* website, July 8. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://www12.senado.leg.br/noticias/materias/2020/07/08/bolsonaro-sanciona-com-vetos-lei-para-protoger-indigenas-durante-pandemia>
- Aikhenvald, A.Y., 2002. *Language Contact in Amazonia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Albert, Bruce. 1993. “L’Or cannibale et la chute du ciel: Une critique chamanique de l’économie politique de la nature (Yanomami, Brésil).” *L’Homme*, 33 (126/128): 349-378.
- Albert, Bruce. 2020. “Covid-19: Lessons From the Yanomami.” *New York Times* website, April 27. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/27/opinion/yanomami-covid-brazil.html>
- Anderson, Mitch. 2020. “‘Go Make Camps Deeper in the Forest.’ How the Amazon's Indigenous People are Handling the Threat of the Coronavirus.” Time Ideas, *Time magazine* website, April 24. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://time.com/5826188/amazons-indigenous-people-coronavirus/>
- Angelo, Maurício. 2020. “Em plena pandemia, extração de ouro aumenta na Amazônia.” *Mongabay* website, July 6. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://brasil.mongabay.com/2020/07/em-plena-pandemia-extracao-de-ouro-aumenta-na-amazonia/>
- Angelo, Maurício. 2021. “Exploração de ouro e diamantes na Amazônia não traz desenvolvimento à região, mostra estudo.” *Mongabay* website, February 1. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://brasil.mongabay.com/2021/02/exploracao-de-ouro-e-diamantes-na-amazonia-nao-traz-desenvolvimento-a-regiao-mostra-estudo/>
- Apib. 2020. “Nossa Luta É Pela Vida.” Comitê Nacional pela Vida e Memória Indígena, *Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil (Apib)* website, November. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://emergenciaindigena.apiboficial.org/relatorio/>
- Apib. 2021. “Dados Covid 19 | Emergência Indígena.” *Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil (Apib)* website. Accessed May 1, 2021. https://emergenciaindigena.apiboficial.org/dados_covid19/
- Araújo, Fabrício. 2021. “Justiça Federal determina multa diária de R\$ 1 milhão à União por não retirar garimpeiros da Terra Yanomami.” G1 RR, *Globo* website, March 17. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://g1.globo.com/rr/roraima/noticia/2021/03/17/justica-federal-determina-multa-diaria-de-r-1-milhao-a-uniao-por-nao-retirar-garimpeiros-da-terra-yanomami.ghtml>

- Astor, Michael. 2021. "Aruká Juma, Last Man of His Tribe, Is Dead." Those We've Lost, *New York Times* website, March 10. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/10/obituaries/aruka-juma-coronavirus-dead.html?action=click&module=RelatedLinks&pgtype=Article>
- Athias, Renato. 1998. "Doença e Cura: Sistema Médico e Representação entre os Hupdë-Maku da Região do Rio Negro, Amazonas." *Horizontes Antropológicos*, 4(9): 237-261.
- Athias, Renato and Alex Shankland. 2007. Decentralisation and Difference: Indigenous Peoples and Health System Reform in the Brazilian Amazon." *IDS Bulletin*, 38 (1): 77-88.
- Azevedo, Dagoberto Lima. 2020. "Esterilização Tradicional Yepamahsa no Rio de Leite." Reflexões Ameríndias em tempos de pandemia, *Pandemia Local*, NEAI.UFAM.edu.br website. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://www.neai.ufam.edu.br/mapa-da-pandemia-local/94-reflexoes-ameri.html>
- Barreto, João Paulo Lima, Dagoberto Lima Azevedo, Gabriel Sodr  Maia, Gilton Mendes dos Santos, Carlos Machado Dias Jr., Ernesto Belo, Jo o Rivelino Rezende Barreto, and Lorena Fran a. 2018. *Omer : constitui o e circula o de conhecimentos Yepamahs  (Tukano)*. Manaus: EDUA.
- Barreto, Jo o Paulo Lima. 2020. "Quarentena: um tempo de remorso de uma experi ncia dolorosa." Reflex es Amer ndias em tempos de pandemia, *Pandemia Local*, NEAI.UFAM.edu.br website. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://www.neai.ufam.edu.br/mapa-da-pandemia-local/94-reflexoes-ameri.html>
- Barreto, Silvio S. 2019. "A compreens o dos antepassados sobre concep o, gesta o e nascimento da crian a." *Cadernos do NEAI* website. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://cadernosdoneai.wordpress.com/2018/08/27/gaapi-a-bebida-cosmica-dos-desana-um-ensaio-desenhistorico-por-jaime-diakara/>
- Barreto, Silvio S. 2020a. "Um come o de conversa dos baser  sem meio e sem fim." Reflex es Amer ndias em tempos de pandemia, *Pandemia Local*, NEAI.UFAM.edu.br website. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://www.neai.ufam.edu.br/mapa-da-pandemia-local/94-reflexoes-ameri.html>
- Barreto, Silvio S. 2020b. "Linhas Tortas de Pensamento: Transmutar do coronav rus em leite e espuma de buiuu." Reflex es Amer ndias em tempos de pandemia, *Pandemia Local*, NEAI.UFAM.edu.br website, March 23. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://www.neai.ufam.edu.br/mapa-da-pandemia-local/94-reflexoes-ameri.html>
- Basta, Paulo Cesar. 2020. "The Covid-19 Pandemic Among the Yanomami and Ye'kwana Peoples: A New Expression of Old Inequalities." In *Xawara: tracing the deadly path of Covid-19 and government negligence in the Yanomami Territory*, 17-21. Translated by Glenn Johnson. S o Paulo: Instituto Socioambiental.

- Bensusan, Nurit. 2020. "A pandemia nossa de cada dia: sabemos para onde vamos?" *ISA* website, June 22. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/blog/blog-do-isa/a-pandemia-nossa-de-cada-dia-sabemos-para-onde-vamos>
- Berman, Yael. 2020. "Indigenous leaders offer collective stories of hope through year of crisis." *Pioneers Post* website, November 27. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://www.pioneerspost.com/news-views/20201127/indigenous-leaders-offer-collective-stories-of-hope-through-year-of-crisis>
- Blaser, Mario, Ravi de Costa, Deborah McGregor, and William D. Coleman. 2010. "Reconfiguring the Web of Life: Indigenous Peoples, Relationality, and Globalization." In *Indigenous Peoples and Autonomy: Insights for a Global Age*, 3-26. Edited by Mario Blaser, Ravi De Costa, Deborah McGregor, and William D. Coleman. Vancouver and Toronto: University of British Columbia Press.
- BNC Amazonas. 2020. "Indígenas do Rio Negro elegem lideranças e debatem o saber tradicional." *BNC Amazonas* website, December 2. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://bncamazonas.com.br/municipios/indigenas-do-rio-negro-elegem-liderancas-e-debtem-o-saber-tradicional/>
- Bogdanova, Elena, Sergei Andronov, Ildiko Asztalos Morell, Kamrul Hossain, Dele Raheem, Praskovia Filant, and Andrey Lobanov. 2020. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 17 (7570):1-17.
- Brum, Eliane. 2020. "Mães Yanomami imploram pelos corpos de seus bebês." *El País Brasil, El País* website, June 24. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2020-06-24/maes-yanomami-imploram-pelos-corpos-de-seus-bebes.html>
- Campbell, Jeremy M. 2021. "SALSA Statement Against Resolution #4 of FUNAI, Brazil's National Indian Foundation." *Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America (SALSA)* website, February 9. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://www.salsa-tipiti.org/piac/action-items/salsa-statement-against-resolution-4-of-funai/>
- Chernela, Janet M. 1993. *The Wanano Indians of the Brazilian Amazon: A Sense of Space*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Christine, Beier, Lev Michael, and Joel Sherzer. 2002. "Discourse Forms and processes in Indigenous Lowland South America: An Areal-Typological Perspective." *Annual Review Anthropology* (31): 121-145.
- CNN. "Our New Normal, In Pictures." *CNN World. CNN*, November 23, 2020.
<https://www.cnn.com/2020/05/20/world/gallery/new-normal-coronavirus/index.html>

- CONASS. 2020. “CONASS repudia acusação de manipulação de dados sobre Covid-19.” *Conselho Nacional de Secretários de Saúde (CONASS)* website, June 6. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://www.conass.org.br/conass-repudia-acusacao-de-manipulacao-de-dados-sobre-covid-19/>
- Conselho de Saúde. 2020. Divergência de dados sobre Covid-19 na população indígena dificulta medidas efetivas de proteção.” *Conselho de Saúde* website, September 3. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<http://conselho.saude.gov.br/ultimas-noticias-cns/1357-divergencia-de-dados-sobre-covid-19-na-populacao-indigena-dificulta-medidas-efetivas-de-protecao>
- Coelho, Irina. 2021. “Primeiro indígena a defender doutorado em Antropologia Social na Ufam, João Paulo Barreto, tem banca marcada para dia 4 de fevereiro.” Últimas Notícias, *UFAM* website, 2 February. Accessed 2021.
<https://ufam.edu.br/ultimas-noticias/2179-primeiro-indigena-a-defender-doutorado-joao-paulo-barreto-tem-banca-marcada-para-dia-4-de-fevereiro.html>
- Dama, Juliana. 2020. “Coronavírus chega à Terra Yanomami em RR e infecta 80 indígenas; ‘garimpeiros levaram’, diz chefe de conselho de Saúde.” G1 RR, *Globo* website, July 10. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://g1.globo.com/rr/roraima/noticia/2020/07/10/coronavirus-chega-a-terra-yanomami-e-infecta-80-indigenas-garimpeiros-levaram-diz-chefe-de-conselho-de-saude-em-roraima.ghtml>
- D’Angelo, Samir R. F. 2016. “Transmissão e Circulação de Conhecimentos e Políticas de Publicação dos Kumua do Noroeste Amazônico.” Doctoral thesis, University of São Paulo.
- Daniels, Joe Parkin. 2021. “Health Experts slam Bolsonaro’s vaccine comments.” *The Lancet*, 397 (10272): 361-361.
- Dantas, Carolina. 2020. “Aldeia do Alto Xingu improvisa hospital, contrata médica e tem mortalidade zero por Covid-19.” G1, *Globo* website, August 29. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://g1.globo.com/bemestar/coronavirus/noticia/2020/08/29/aldeia-do-alto-xingu-improvisa-hospital-contrata-medica-e-tem-mortalidade-zero-por-covid-19.ghtml>
- Diakara, Jaime. 2019. “Wame: Gaapi, a bebida cósmica dos Desana.” *Mundo Amazônico* 10 (1): 13-37.
- Diakara, Jaime. 2018. “Gaapi, a bebida cósmica dos Desana (Um ensaio desenhístico).” *Cadernos do NEAI* website. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://cadernosdoneai.wordpress.com/2018/08/27/gaapi-a-bebida-cosmica-dos-desana-um-ensaio-desenhistico-por-jaime-diakara/>

- Dias, Isabela. 2020. "When COVID-19 Came to the Kuikuro." FutureTense, *Slate* website, August 19. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://slate.com/technology/2020/08/kuikuro-contact-tracing-upper-xingu.html>
- DW News. 2020. "Brasil confirma primeiro caso de coronavírus em indígena." DW Brasil, *DW News* website, April, 1. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://p.dw.com/p/3aKPg>
- Epps, Patience. 2018. "Contrasting linguistic ecologies: Indigenous and colonially mediated language contact in northwest Amazonia." *Language and Communication*, 62: 156-169.
- Epps, Patience L. and Ramos, Danilo Paiva. 2019. "Hup bi'id id: Shamanic Incantation at the Nexus of Language and Culture." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 29 (2): 205-212.
- Epps, Patience L. and Ramos, Danilo Paiva. 2020. "Enactive Aesthetics: The Poetics of Hup Incantation." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 30 (2): 233-257.
- Equipe Foirn. 2016. "FOIRN, a federação que representa 23 povos indígenas no Brasil." *Federação das Organizações Indígenas do Rio Negro (Foirn)* website, April. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://foirn.org.br/saiba-quem-somos-foirn/>
- Escudero, Kevin. 2020. "An Indigenous Futurity Approach to Decolonization: Navigating Imperial Borders and Indigenous Sovereignty during the Emergence of the COVID-19 Pandemic in Guáhan." *Journal of Asian American Studies*, 23 (3):459-474.
- Farias, Elaíze. 2020. "Covid-19 se espalha no Vale do Javari e já são mais de 100 casos positivos." *Amazonia Real* website, July 2. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://amazoniareal.com.br/covid-19-se-espalha-no-vale-do-javari-e-ja-sao-mais-de-100-casos-positivos/>
- Fernandes, Márcia, producer. 2020. "Povos indígenas na pandemia." Aired August 30, on TV Brasil. <https://tvbrasil.etc.com.br/caminhos-da-reportagem/2020/08/povos-indigenas-na-pandemia>
- Ferrigato, Sabrina, Michelle Fernandez, Melania Amorim, Ilana Ambrogi, Luísa M. M. Fernandes, and Rafaela Pacheco. 2020. "The Brazilian Government's mistakes in responding to the COVID-19 pandemic." *The Lancet*, 396: 1636-1636.
- Foirn. 2020. "Conhecimentos ancestrais fortalecidos: Encontro no Tiquié reúne Kumuã para discutir Covid-19 e cria coordenação de saberes tradicionais indígenas." *Federação das Organizações Indígenas do Rio Negro (Foirn)* blog website, December 10. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://foirn.blog/2020/12/10/conhecimentos-ancestrais-fortalecidos-encontro-no-tiquie-reune-kumua-para-discutir-covid-19-e-cria-coordenacao-de-saberes-tradicionais-indigenas/>

- Funai. 2020. “Instrução Normativa nº 9/2020 da Funai promove segurança jurídica e pacificação de conflitos.” Assessoria de Comunicação, *Fundação Nacional do Índio (Funai)* website, September 3. Accessed May 1, 2021.
[http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/comunicacao/noticias/6399-instrucao-normativa-n-9-2020-da-funai-promove-seguranca-juridica-e-pacificacao-de-conflitos#:~:text=A%20Instru%C3%A7%C3%A3o%20Normativa%20\(IN\)%20n%C2%BA.conferir%20seguran%C3%A7a%20jur%C3%ADica%20ao%20trabalho](http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/comunicacao/noticias/6399-instrucao-normativa-n-9-2020-da-funai-promove-seguranca-juridica-e-pacificacao-de-conflitos#:~:text=A%20Instru%C3%A7%C3%A3o%20Normativa%20(IN)%20n%C2%BA.conferir%20seguran%C3%A7a%20jur%C3%ADica%20ao%20trabalho)
- Funai. 2021. “RESOLUÇÃO Nº 4, DE 22 DE JANEIRO DE 2021.” Diário Oficial da União, *Governo do Brasil* website, January 26.
<https://www.in.gov.br/en/web/dou/-/resolucao-n-4-de-22-de-janeiro-de-2021-300748949>
- Gandra, Alana. 2021. “Covid-19: mais de 60% dos indígenas maiores de 18 anos foram vacinados.” *Agência Brasil* website, February 26. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/saude/noticia/2021-02/covid-19-60-dos-indigenas-maiores-de-18-anos-ja-receberam-vacina#:~:text=Cerca%20de%2075%20mil%20ind%C3%ADgenas,DSEI%20tamb%C3%A9m%20receber%C3%A3o%20a%20vacina>
- Globo. 2020a. “‘Cada vez mais, o índio é um ser humano igual a nós’, diz Bolsonaro em transmissão nas redes sociais.” G1, *Globo* website, January, 24. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2020/01/24/cada-vez-mais-o-indio-e-um-ser-human-o-igual-a-nos-diz-bolsonaro-em-transmissao-nas-redes-sociais.ghtml>
- Globo. 2020b. “No AM, primeira indígena infectada por Covid-19 no Brasil está fora do período de transmissão, diz Sesai.” G1 AM, *Globo* website, April 11. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://g1.globo.com/am/amazonas/noticia/2020/04/11/no-am-primeira-indigena-infectada-por-covid-19-no-brasil-esta-fora-do-periodo-de-transmissao-diz-sesai.ghtml>
- Gorziza, Amanda and Renata Buono. 2021. “NO BRASIL, MORTES DE INDÍGENAS PELA COVID SE IGUALAM A TODAS AS MORTES DA NORUEGA.” *piauí revista*, *Folha de São Paulo* website, February 3. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://piaui.folha.uol.com.br/no-brasil-mortes-de-indigenas-pela-covid-se-igualam-todas-as-mortes-da-noruega/>
- Graham, Laura R. 2011. “Quoting Mario Juruna: Linguistic imagery and the transformation of indigenous voices in the Brazilian print press.” *American Ethnologist*, 38 (1): 164-183.
- Grupo Autêntico. n.d. “Jaime Diakara.” Autores, Yellowfante, *Grupo Autêntico* website. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://grupoautentica.com.br/yellowfante/autor/jaime-diakara/1455>
- Handam, Ana Amélia and Juliana Radler. 2020a. Covid-19 chega a São Gabriel da Cachoeira, no Alto Rio Negro.” *ISA* website, April 29. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/noticias-socioambientais/covid-19-chega-a-sao-gabriel-da-cachoeira-no-alto-rio-negro>

- Handam, Ana Amélia and Juliana Radler. 2020b. “Rio Negro combate Covid-19 com cooperação entre autoridades e sociedade civil.” *ISA* website, June 16. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/noticias-socioambientais/rio-negro-combate-covid-19-com-cooperacao-entre-autoridades-e-sociedade-civil>
- Harari, Isabel. 2018. “Parque Indígena do Xingu comemora 57 anos.” *ISA* website, April 13. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/blog/blog-do-xingu/parque-indigena-do-xingu-com-emora-57-anos>
- Harari, Isabel. 2020. “Covid-19: o cerco se fecha sobre o Xingu.” *ISA* website, May 27. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/noticias-socioambientais/covid-19-o-cerco-se-fecha-sobre-o-xingu>
- Harari, Isabel and Sandra Silva. 2021. “Covid-19: vacinação chega ao Território Indígena do Xingu (MT), mas cuidados continuam.” *ISA* website, February 24. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/noticias-socioambientais/covid-19-vacinacao-chega-ao-territorio-indigena-do-xingu-mt-mas-cuidados-continuam>
- Hatzikidi, Katerina. 2020. “The Worst Is Not over Yet: The Lives and Deaths of the ‘Self’ and ‘Others’ in Brazil’s Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic.” *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 39 (1): 71–74.
- Hugh-Jones, Christine. 1979. *From the Milk River: Spatial and temporal processes in Northwest Amazonia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hill, Jonathan D. 1993. *Keepers of the Sacred Chants: The Poetics of Ritual Power in an Amazonian Society*. Tucson and London: The University of Arizona Press.
- Hill, Jonathan D. 1996. “Ethnogenesis in the Northwest Amazon: An Emerging Regional Picture.” In *History, Power, and Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1492-1992*, 142-160. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.
- Indigenistas Associados. 2020. “Nota Técnica: a Instrução Normativa da Funai nº 09/2020 e a gestão de interesses em torno da posse de terras públicas.” *Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil (Apib)* website, April 28. Accessed May 1, 2021. [https://apiboficial.org/2020/04/28/nota-tecnica-a-instrucao-normativa-da-funai-no-092020-e-a-gestao-de-interesses-em-torno-da-posse-de-terras-publicas/#:~:text=A%20Instru%C3%A7%C3%A3o%20Normativa%20n.º%20de%20Terras%20Ind%C3%ADgenas%20\(TIs\),&text=A%20nova%20diretriz%20da%20Funai.%E2%80%9D%2C%20e%20seus%20dois%20relat%C3%B3rios](https://apiboficial.org/2020/04/28/nota-tecnica-a-instrucao-normativa-da-funai-no-092020-e-a-gestao-de-interesses-em-torno-da-posse-de-terras-publicas/#:~:text=A%20Instru%C3%A7%C3%A3o%20Normativa%20n.º%20de%20Terras%20Ind%C3%ADgenas%20(TIs),&text=A%20nova%20diretriz%20da%20Funai.%E2%80%9D%2C%20e%20seus%20dois%20relat%C3%B3rios)

- InfoAmazonia. 2020. “Pandemias na Amazônia.” Pandemias na Amazônia, *InfoAmazonia* website. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://infoamazonia.org/project/pandemias-na-amazonia/>
- ISA. n.d. “Terra Indígena Alto Rio Negro.” Terras Indígenas no Brasil, *ISA* website. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://terrasindigenas.org.br/pt-br/terras-indigenas/4068>
- ISA. 2020. *Xawara: tracing the deadly path of Covid-19 and government negligence in the Yanomami Territory*. Translated by Glenn Johnson. São Paulo: Instituto Socioambiental.
- ISA. 2021a. “Pandemia na Amazônia: São Gabriel da Cachoeira (AM) registra 18 mortes por Covid-19 em janeiro.” *ISA* website, February 2. Accessed May 1, 2021. https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/noticias-socioambientais/pandemia-na-amazonia-sao-gabriel-da-cachoeira-am-registra-18-mortes-por-covid-19-em-janeiro?utm_source=isa&utm_medium=manchetes&utm_campaign=
- ISA. 2021b. “Indígenas vivem ‘cenário de guerra’ com agravamento da pandemia, diz líder da Coiab.” *ISA* website, February 11. Accessed May 1, 2021. https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/noticias-socioambientais/indigenas-vivem-cenario-de-guerra-com-agravamento-da-pandemia-diz-lider-da-coiab?utm_source=isa&utm_medium=manchetes&utm_campaign=
- ISA. 2021c. “Rede de mulheres da Foirn apoia ação de doação de chás medicinais contra a Covid-19.” *ISA* website, March 2. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/noticias-socioambientais/rede-de-mulheres-da-foirn-apoia-acao-de-doacao-de-chas-medicinais-contr-a-covid-19>
- Jucá, Beatriz. 2020a. “Com uso de aplicativo e posto de saúde, aldeia indígena no Xingu registra zero mortes por covid-19.” *El País Brasil*, *El País* website, September 17. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2020-09-17/com-uso-de-aplicativo-e-posto-de-saude-aldeia-indigena-no-xingu-registra-zero-mortes-por-covid-19.html>
- Jucá, Beatriz. 2020b. “‘A aldeia Ipatse ensina como a organização coletiva é potente pra enfrentar o coronavírus.’” *El País Brasil*, *El País* website, September 17. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2020-09-17/a-aldeia-ipatse-ensina-como-a-organizacao-coletiva-e-potente-pra-enfrentar-o-coronavirus.html>
- Lacerda, Nara. 2021. “Governo não tem ações básicas para as aldeias e exclui indígenas urbanos da vacinação.” *Brasil de Fato* website, January 7. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://www.brasildefato.com.br/2021/01/07/governo-nao-tem-aco-es-basicas-para-as-aldeias-e-exclui-indigenas-urbanos-da-vacinacao>

- Lagrou, Els. 2020. “Nisun: A vingança do povo morcego e o que ele pode nos ensinar sobre o novo coronavírus.” *Blog da Biblioteca Virtual do Pensamento Social*, April 16. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://ds.saudeindigena.icict.fiocruz.br/handle/bvs/1963>
- Leite da Silva, Luciana, Patrícia Emanuelle Nascimento, Ordália Cristina Gonçalves Araújo, and Tamiris maia Gonçalves Pereira. 2021. “The Articulation of the Indigenous Peoples of Brazil in Facing the Covid-19 Pandemic.” *Frontiers in Sociology* 6: 1-13.
- Menezes, Débora. 2020. “Shamans in the city: Brazil clinic offers traditional Amazonian treatments.” *Mongabay* website, April 9. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://news.mongabay.com/2020/04/shamans-in-the-city-brazil-clinic-offers-traditional-amazonian-treatments/>
- Menton, Mary, Felipe Milanez, Jurema Machado de Andrade Souza, and Felipe Sotto Maior Cruz. 2020. “The COVID-19 pandemic intensified resource conflicts and indigenous resistance in Brazil.” *World Development* 138 (105222): 1-9.
- MPF. 2020a. “A pedido do MPF, Justiça declara inconstitucional norma que incentiva grilagem em terra indígena.” Assessoria de Comunicação, *MPF* website, February 1. Accessed May 1, 2021. <http://www.mpf.mp.br/ro/sala-de-imprensa/noticias-ro/a-pedido-do-mpf-justica-declara-inconstitucional-norma-que-incentiva-grilagem-em-terra-indigena>
- MPF. 2020b. “Auxílio emergencial: TRF1 determina atendimento exclusivo a indígenas de São Gabriel da Cachoeira (AM).” Assessoria de comunicação, *MPF* website, September 2. Accessed May 1, 2021. <http://www.mpf.mp.br/regiao1/sala-de-imprensa/noticias-r1/auxilio-emergencial-trf1-determina-atendimento-exclusivo-a-indigenas-de-sao-gabriel-da-cachoeira-am>
- MPF. 2020c. “Covid-19: Câmara do MPF instaura procedimento para apurar exclusão de dados divulgados pelo Ministério da Saúde.” Secretaria de Comunicação Social, *MPF* website, June 6. Accessed May 1, 2021. <http://www.mpf.mp.br/pgr/noticias-pgr/covid-19-camara-do-mpf-instaura-procedimento-para-apurar-exclusao-de-dados-divulgados-pelo-ministerio-da-saude>
- NEAI. 2020. “Reflexões Ameríndias em tempos de pandemia.” *Pandemia Local*, *NEAI.UFAM.edu.br* website. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://www.neai.ufam.edu.br/mapa-da-pandemia-local.html>
- Neeganagwedgin, Erica. 2020. “Indigenous ancestral lands and Elders epistemologies in a time of pandemic.” *AlterNative* 16(4): 406-408.
- Neto, Cicero Pedrosa. 2021. “Caos na pandemia: Indígenas viram alvo de fake news antivacina.” *Amazônia Real* website, February 2. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://amazoniareal.com.br/caos-na-pandemia-indigenas-viram-alvo-de-fake-news-antivacina/>

- Ortega, Francisco and Michael Orsini. 2020. "Governing COVID-19 without government in Brazil: Ignorance, neoliberal authoritarianism, and the collapse of public health leadership." *Global Public Health*, 15 (9): 1257-1277.
- Phillips, Dom. 2020. "Brazil stops releasing Covid-19 death toll and wipes data from official site." *The Guardian* website, June 7. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jun/07/brazil-stops-releasing-covid-19-death-toll-and-wipes-data-from-official-site>
- Picq, Manuela Lavinias. 2020. "Uma Conquista Evangélica na Amazônia." *New York Times* website, October 2. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://www.nytimes.com/pt/2020/10/02/opinion/coronavirus-amazonia-evangelicos.html>
- Pinsker, Joe. 2021. "The Most Likely Timeline for Life to Return to Normal." *The Atlantic* website, February 22. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://www.theatlantic.com/family/archive/2021/02/pandemic-daily-life-normal-summer-fall/618108/>
- Pontes, Nadia. 2021. "Pastores afastam indígenas da vacinação, relatam lideranças." DW Brasil, *DW News* website, January 29. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://www.dw.com/pt-br/pastores-afastam-ind%C3%ADgenas-da-vacina%C3%A7%C3%A3o-relatam-lideran%C3%A7as/a-56380498>
- Portal Amazônia. 2021. "Covid-19 avança no AM e São Gabriel da Cachoeira sente impacto da crise em Manaus." *Portal Amazônia* website, January 28. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://portalamazonia.com/noticias/cidades/covid-19-avanca-no-am-e-sao-gabriel-da-cachoeira-sente-impacto-da-crise-em-manaus>
- Radler, Juliana. 2020. "No Alto Rio Negro, cartilha em idiomas indígenas orienta combate à Covid-19." *ISA* website, April 1. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/noticias-socioambientais/no-alto-rio-negro-cartilha-em-idomas-indigenas-orienta-combate-a-covid-19>
- Radler, Juliana. 2021. "Segunda onda: São Gabriel da Cachoeira registra 100% de ocupação nos leitos do único hospital da cidade." *ISA* website, January 8. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/noticias-socioambientais/segunda-onda-sao-gabriel-da-cachoeira-registra-100-de-ocupacao-nos-leitos-do-unico-hospital-da-cidade>
- Ramos, Danilo Paiva. 2015. "A imanência do bicho-do-pé: gestos em rodas de cocas dos Hupd'äh." In *Antropologia e Performance: Ensaio Napedra*, edited by John C. Dawsey, Regina P. Müller, Rose Satiko Gitirana Hikiji, and Marianna F. M. Monteiro, 85-99. São Paulo: Terceiro Nome.
- Ramos, Danilo Paiva. 2019. "Sobre farpas e espinhos: dimensões intensivas de discursos xamânicos hupd'äh e Desana." *Estudos Semióticos* (15): 196-213.

- Reichel-Dolmatoff, Gerardo. 1976. "Dessana Curing Spells: An Analysis of Some Shamanistic Metaphors." *Journal of Latin American Lore* 2: 157-219.
- Rezende, Justino Sarmiento. 2020a. "Coronavírus me faz lembrar!" Reflexões Ameríndias em tempos de pandemia, *Pandemia Local*, *NEAI.UFAM.edu.br* website, March 22. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://www.neai.ufam.edu.br/mapa-da-pandemia-local/94-reflexoes-ameri.html>
- Rezende, Justino Sarmiento. 2020b. "Covid-19: Enterro e cremação dos falecidos indígenas." *ISA* website, April 14. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/blog/blog-do-isa/covid-19-enterro-e-cremacao-dos-falecidos-indigenas>
- Rezende, Justino Sarmiento. 2020c. "Minha experiência em ter contraído a Covid-19: de como cuidei de pessoas e como fui infectado." *Pandemias na Amazônia*, *InfoAmazonia* website, July 9. Accessed January 1, 2021. <https://infoamazonia.org/tag/justino-sarmiento-rezende/>
- Ribeiro, Alessandra. 2020. "Para antropólogo da UFMG, negligência com indígenas na pandemia é política genocida." Notícias, *Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais* website, July 1. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://ufmg.br/comunicacao/noticias/para-antropologo-da-ufmg-negligencia-com-povos-indigenas-na-pandemia-e-politica-de-genocida>
- Santos, Gilton Mendes. 2018. Introduction to *Waimahsã: peixes e humanos*, 6-9, by João Paulo Lima Barreto. Manaus: EDUA.
- Sarges da Silva, Fabiana. 2013. "A Lei de Cooficialização das Línguas Tukano, Nheengatu e Baniwa em São Gabriel da Cachoeira: Questões sobre Política Linguística em Contexto Multilíngue." Masters thesis, Federal University of Amazonas.
- Schwarcz, Lilia Katri Moritz. 2020. "O novo normal é igula ao velho." Youtube. May 28. Video, 6:54. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gYdxifteik4>
- Silva, Rafael. 2021. "De 'jacaré' a 'vacina do Doria': relembre frases de Bolsonaro sobre vacinação." *A Gazeta* website, January 19. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://www.agazeta.com.br/es/politica/de-jacare-a-vacina-do-doria-relembre-frases-de-bolsonaro-sobre-vacinacao-0121>
- Shankland, Alex and Athias, Renato. 2007. "Decentralisation and Difference: Indigenous Peoples and Health System Reform in the Brazilian Amazon." *IDS Bulletin*, 38 (1): 77-88.
- Sherzer, Joel. 1987a. "A Discourse-Centered Approach to Language and Culture." *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 89 (2): 295-309.

- Sherzer, Joel. 1987b. "Strategies in Text and Context: The Hot Pepper Story." In *Recovering the Word: Essays on Native American Literature*, edited by Brian Swann and Arnold Krupat, 151-197. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Sorensen Jr. A.P., 1967. Multilingualism in the northwest Amazon. *Amazonian Anthropology* 69: 670-684.
- Stenzel, Kristine. 2005. "Multilingualism in the Northwest Amazon, Revisited." *Memorias del Congreso de Idiomas Indígenas de Latinoamérica 2*, 27-29.
- STF. 2021. "Decisão do ministro Alexandre de Moraes suspende lei de Roraima que autoriza uso de mercúrio no garimpo." Notícias STF, *Supremo Tribunal Federal* website, February 20. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<http://portal.stf.jus.br/noticias/verNoticiaDetalhe.asp?idConteudo=460859&ori=1>
- Stropasolas, Pedro. 2020. "Os Kuikuro contra o vírus no Alto Xingu: 'não teve mortes graças à nossa organização.'" *Brasil de Fato* website, September 3. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://www.brasildefato.com.br/2020/09/03/os-kuikuro-contr-o-virus-no-alto-xingu-nao-teve-mortes-gracas-a-nossa-organizacao#:~:text=Na%20Aldeia%20da%20etnia%20Kuikuro,Ind%C3%ADgena%20Kuikuro%20do%20Alto%20Xingu.&text=%E2%80%99CN%C3%A3o%20teve%20mortalidade%20no%20povo,em%20cada%20aldeia%20do%20povo>
- Soares, Ingrid. 2020. "Para Bolsonaro, tamanho das terras indígenas no Brasil é 'abusivo.'" *Correio Braziliense* website, February, 11. Accessed May 1, 2021.
https://www.correio braziliense.com.br/app/noticia/politica/2020/02/11/interna_politica.827353/para-bolsonaro-tamanho-das-terras-indigenas-no-brasil-e-abusivo.shtml
- Terra, Marina and Evilene Paixão. 2020. "Tragédia anunciada: contaminações por Covid-19 disparam na Terra Yanomami." *ISA* website, November, 19. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://www.socioambiental.org/pt-br/noticias-socioambientais/tragedia-anunciada-contaminacoes-por-covid-19-disparam-na-terra-yanomami>
- UOL. 2020. "Brasil confirma primeiro caso de coronavírus em indígena." UOL website, April 1. Accessed May 1, 2021.
<https://noticias.uol.com.br/ultimas-noticias/deutschewelle/2020/04/01/brasil-confirma-primeiro-caso-de-coronavirus-em-indigena.htm?cmpid=copiaecola>
- Urrutia, Anselmo and Joel Sherzer. 1998. "Transcreating culture and poetics." In *The Life of Language: Papers in Linguistics in Honor of William Bright*, edited by Jane H. Hill, P.J. Mistry, Lyle Campbell, 355-368. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ventura, Deisy de Freitas Lima and Rossana Rocha Reis. 2021. "An unprecedented attack on human rights in Brazil: the timeline of the federal government's strategy to spread Covid-19." Offprint. Translation by Luis Misiara, revision by Jameson Martins. *Bulletin*

Rights in the Pandemic 10, São Paulo, Brazil, CEPEDISA/USP and Conectas Human Rights, January.

- Vega, Claudia M., Jesem D. Y. Orellana, Marcos W. Oliveira, Sandra S. Hacon, and Paulo C. Basta. 2018. "Human Mercury Exposure in Yanomami Indigenous Villages from the Brazilian Amazon." *International journal of environmental research and public health* 15 (6): 1051-1051.
- Vick, Mariana. 2021. "Os desafios da vacinação de indígenas contra a covid-19." *Nexo Jornal* website, February 5. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://www.nexojournal.com.br/expresso/2021/02/05/Os-desafios-da-vacina%C3%A7%C3%A3o-de-ind%C3%ADgenas-contr-a-covid-19>
- Villas-Bôas, André, Equipe de edição da Enciclopédia Povos Indígenas no Brasil, Equipe de edição da Enciclopédia Povos Indígenas no Brasil e Programa Xingu (ISA), Carmem Junqueira, and Eduardo Viveiros de Castro. 2002. "Xingu." *Povos Indígenas no Brasil* website, December. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://pib.socioambiental.org/pt/Povo:Xingu>
- Ventura dos Santos, Augusto, Guilherme Pinho Meneses, and Leonardo Viana Braga. n.d. "UIRN – Universidade Indígena do Rio Negro." *Ensino Superior Indígena Mapeamento de Controvérsias* website. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://ensinosuperiorindigena.wordpress.com/atores/instituicoes/uirn/>
- Weinman, Claudia. 2021. "Notícias falsas ampliam o genocídio dos povos indígenas, salienta coordenador do Cimi Regional Sul." Entrevistas, *Conselho Indigenista Missionário* website, February 23. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://cimi.org.br/2021/02/noticias-falsas-ampliam-o-genocidio-dos-povos-indigenas-salienta-coordenador-do-cimi-regional-sul/>
- Zuker, Fábio. 2019. "Os Kumuã do Alto Rio Negro: especialistas da cura indígena." *Amazônia Real* website, August 2. Accessed May 1, 2021. <https://amazoniareal.com.br/os-kumua-do-alto-rio-negro-especialistas-da-cura-indigena/>