

## **The contemporary technized barbarian: submerged rivers of anthropophagy**

### ***O bárbaro tecnizado contemporâneo: rios submersos da antropofagia***

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**Abstract:** The purpose of this paper is to build a brief archaeological analysis of the notion of Brazilian modernist anthropophagy, based on the methodology of Michel Foucault. We depart from the publication of Oswald de Andrade's manifesto in 1928, considering its redefinition in tropicalism in the late 1960s until it reached the contemporary. The archaeological path of anthropophagic thinking in the Brazilian cultural field demonstrates different appropriations, sometimes serving the interests of capital, in the form of an uncritical flexible subjectivity, as pointed out by Suely Rolnik. The contemporary crisis of the Anthropocene, aggravated by the covid 19 pandemic, created, however, new conditions of listening and visibility for the indigenous discourse, giving new meaning to the figure of the technized barbarian alluded to by Oswald in his manifesto. The space for the ontologies of indigenous matrix resonates with a popular mixed Brazilianity of the quilombola nuclei, of non-domesticated forms of existence, which are placed as political resistance, even if this occurs on the increase of violence against these populations. We try to think about the interdiscursive presence of anthropophagy in these practices and discourses of resistance, including from past errors.

**Keywords:** Archaeology; Anthropophagous manifesto; Tropicalism; Indigenous ontologies

**Resumo:** A proposta do artigo é construir uma breve análise arqueológica da noção da antropofagia modernista brasileira, baseada na metodologia de Michel Foucault. Parte-se da publicação do manifesto de Oswald de Andrade, em 1928, considerando sua ressignificação no tropicalismo no final dos anos 1960 até chegar ao contemporâneo. O percurso arqueológico do pensamento antropofágico no campo cultural brasileiro demonstra diferentes apropriações, por vezes servindo aos interesses do capital, na forma de uma subjetividade flexível acrítica, tal como apontada por Suely Rolnik. A crise contemporânea do antropoceno, agravada pela pandemia da covid 19, criou, entretanto, novas condições de escuta e visibilidade para o discurso indígena, fazendo ressignificar a figura do bárbaro tecnizado aludida por Oswald em seu manifesto. O espaço para as ontologias de matriz indígena ressoa uma brasilidade popular mestiça dos núcleos quilombolas, de formas de existência não domesticadas, que se colocam como resistência política, ainda que isso se dê sobre o recrudescimento da violência contra essas populações. Procuramos pensar a presença interdiscursiva da antropofagia nessas práticas e discursos de resistência, inclusive a partir dos erros passados.

**Palavras-chave:** Arqueologia; Manifesto antropofágico; Tropicalismo; Ontologias indígenas



## **1 Introduction**

The Anthropophagous Manifesto, published by the Brazilian writer Oswald de Andrade (2011) in 1928, is one of the most powerful signs of Brazilian literary modernism and has mobilized a cultural praxis with contributions to the contemporaneity. The different interpretations of the manifesto go beyond the literary field and concern a decolonial reflection *avant la lettre*, anticipating issues that arise as political resistance today. The intensification of symbolic and territorial flows accentuated the relevance of the anthropophagic concept to thinking about fluid identities in the process. The trivialization of the idea of anthropophagy as synonymous with every kind of mixture also justified, over time, appropriations for the interests of predatory capitalism. These brief notes emphasize the polyphonic character of anthropophagy that justify here an archaeological approach, in the sense attributed by Michel Foucault (2008). The proposal is to go through discursive regularities around Oswald de Andrade's anthropophagic manifesto during the twentieth century to reach a central issue in contemporaneity: the relationship of power/knowledge articulated with the forms of discursive circulation, considering the communication technologies. In the text of the manifesto, there is the search for an enunciative position of an indigenous subject, synthesized by the legitimation of a non-hegemonic knowledge that emerges in the current context as resistance to the health, environmental and humanistic crisis caused by the covid 19 pandemic. New forms of circulation and listening provide the diffusion of indigenous ontologies that can signal the political struggles of the 21st century and are related, as we intend to demonstrate, to the resumption of the vital power of anthropophagy.

The anthropophagic issue, despite the different appropriations of its conceptual basis for different interests, can be taken, in the discursive dimension, as a space of resistance to the established order, given the possibilities of the subject to "filter" the impositions that fall on themselves and subvert them. Despite a certain trivialization of the concept as a legitimization of any form of a mixture, it is possible to perceive in Oswald's writing the characterization of a "low anthropophagy" as a need to adhere to the quality of the cultural hybridisms proposed in the manifesto. It is not any anthropophagy that matters, but that which restores to the indigenous subject an enunciative position in

the presence of colonialism, but also of Christian values and Western rationalism. The idea of low anthropophagy – "the sins of the catechism – envy, usury, slander, murder" (ANDRADE, 2011, p. 31) – indicates that the issue is not the uncritical mixture of references for the reproduction of old models. Low anthropophagy presupposes mimetic import instead of subversive export (CASTRO, 2018), resulting in the predatory action of markets on imaginary and territorial reserves (environmental protection areas, indigenous and quilombola territories) in the presence of a neoliberal model that seeks to impose itself in the globalized order.

It is in this game between high and low anthropophagy that the spaces of resistance are delineated, here thought from the perspective of archaeological methodology, that is, in the history of knowledge in specific time frames. The utterances emerge, according to Foucault (2008), in a field of forces, they are produced by a subject, articulate with memories, and work in a field associated with other utterances by affinities, but also divergences. The archaeological work does not presuppose a historical approach of a linear nature; for our purposes, it concerns how modernist anthropophagy defines different wills of truth in historical times and sociocultural realities. "The anthropophagic mode of production of subjectivity and culture in itself is no guarantee of anything: what characterizes it can be invested with different micropolitics, from the most active to the most reactive ones" (ROLNIK, 2021, p. 68). Each context has its discursive regimes that allow certain sayings and not others. The emergency conditions of the anthropophagous manifesto complement each other in the temporalities in which this power/knowledge was mobilized to account for different demands of the historical reality.

The brief space of a paper does not allow a deepening of each of the threads of this discursive network around anthropophagy, so we would like to circumscribe our proposal to the cartography of the mutations of this discourse having as its epicenter the publication of the manifesto in 1928. From it, new interpretations are opened both about the colonial past and the future. Revisiting the manifesto implies, therefore, traversing discontinuous lines that connect us to the representations of the new land on the European continent and the importance given to the Tupinambá anthropophagic ritual in travel narratives. Oswald de Andrade shifts the original sense by articulating anthropophagy with the cultural and philosophical field, a thought that becomes a tropicalist driving force from the late 1960s and is present today, albeit not literally, in the space for the discursive

manifestation of indigenous matrix ontologies in the face of the Anthropocene crisis and the new sensitivities potentialized in the context of the Covid 19 pandemic. It is as if the collective symbolic indigenous enunciator of the manifesto acquired materiality in the reality of history, in times of violence and death, but also of insurgencies.

The presence of anthropophagy, in this context, occurs as traces, or interdiscursive marks, as if in a process opposite to tropicalism. There is, predominantly, no resumption of the manifesto in the plan of the literality of the utterances (except in the different mobilizations on the modernist heritage on the 100th anniversary of the 1922 Modern Art Week). But it is as if the poetic and visionary character of the text produced in the late 1920s anticipated the bankruptcy of a certain conception of cumulative progress, founded on the idea of a linear history around an extractive model that calls natural resources into question. Through a contemporary look, it is possible to identify these marks in Oswald's text. "The individual victim of the system [...] against the dressed and oppressive social reality." (ANDRADE, 2011, p. 28-30).

The planetary-scale coronavirus pandemic creates conditions for listening to other ontologies, a call to people who support different conceptions of the world, despite the radical violence that is radicalized over them, as in Brazil. There are two macro conceptions of society at stake: extractivism as a political model that goes from the exhaustion of natural reserves to the manipulation of personal data on connected platforms and the search for other possibilities of collective and community existence inspired by silenced sectors in the historical process; extractivism as a metaphor for exhaustion: from fossil fuels to vital energy and, on the other hand, the willingness to listen to those who were not heard, a new place of listening as a political dimension, somehow anticipated in the anthropophagous manifesto. The proposed look goes beyond the literary reference to Oswald de Andrade's text. We try to think of anthropophagy as a practice or, in a certain aspect, as an interdiscourse (COURTINE, 2009) of resistance manifestations over almost a century. We seek, in this sense, a reflection on the power and timeliness of anthropophagic thinking in its relationship with Brazilian popular culture as a capacity for the maintenance and re-signification of non-hegemonic knowledge.

In the Brazilianness archive, it is possible to identify (CARVALHO, 2015) discursive practices articulated with a philosophy based on popular knowledge, on the

spirituality of an indigenous-African matrix, as present as silenced in the daily life of significant portions of the Brazilian population. The idea of this popular philosophy, a street culture originating from the quilombola nuclei, from the territories of an indigenous matrix, spaces of resistance to the market order of neoliberalism, is thought by Luiz Antônio Simas, Rafael Haddock-Lobo and Luiz Rufino (2020). The amalgam resulting from the mixture of cultures that formed us is the Brazilian experience as a civilizing enterprise of associative networks, sociability, and community culture as an alternative to precariousness, a result of the African diaspora and Amerindian rituals. If the anthropophagic assumption does not cease to be what one chooses, devours, eliminates, rather than nourishes oneself, it is possible to perceive in this movement indications of an exercise of appreciation of alterity, an identity affirmed in difference.

For the Tupinambás worlds, the enemy is a constituent of being. If we need the other to be, it is absurd, therefore, to annihilate it. The one who kills me eats me and will carry me in his stomach made of tomb and warmth. In a sense, it will be me (SIMAS; LOBO, RUFINO, 2020, p. 19).

The proposal, therefore, is to return to the manifesto not to discuss its literary heritage or even the contradictions of the writer's history – without disregarding the importance of studies for this purpose – but to briefly walk the path of anthropophagic power in Brazilian cultural life. Oswald's text can be read as a set of philosophical aphorisms constructed in an imaginative, if not ironic, way, inviting us to a radical and critical look at the rational patriarchy of Enlightenment inspiration, but also at the power games around religion. This power, from an Aristotelian point of view, has been seen in acts in Brazilian cultural life that make us perceive the signs of an anthropophagic practice to permeate the archive of Brazilianness (CARVALHO, 2015). Anthropophagy has been a mirror through which we recognize ourselves and to whose center we still turn, in the measure of the search for the senses by events.

## **2 The technized barbarian**

An archaeological reading of anthropophagy concerns, fundamentally, the way Oswald's text establishes temporal cuts suggesting the coexistence between the primitive and the technological. The figure of the “technized barbarian”, presented in one of the aphorisms,

allows a synthesis capable of guiding the connections with other historical times, such as the cultural movements of the 1960s and the contemporaneity. The expression arises amid references from European culture: Montaigne, Rousseau, Keyserling.

Filiation. The contact with the Brazilian Cariba Indians. Où Villegaignon print terre. Montaigne. Natural man. Rousseau. From the French Revolution to Romanticism, to the Bolshevik Revolution, to the Surrealist Revolution, and the technological barbarity of Keyserling. We're moving right along. (ANDRADE, 2011, p. 28)

The fusion effect of temporalities appears in a synchronous perspective with the great events of European history (French and Bolshevik revolutions) in conjunction with cultural movements (romanticism and surrealism). There is also the quote to the French knight, Villegaignon, who commanded an occupation of the Brazilian coast in the colonial period, eradicated by Portuguese forces. To these past references, the final expression of aphorism opposes the verbal conjugation capable of shifting temporality to the present/future: "we're moving." (ANDRADE, 2011, p. 28). The collective subject that guides the manifesto had already announced, in the previous aphorism, the desire that emerged from this trans-historical movement: "we want the Caraíba revolution" (Ibidem, p. 28), as an inevitable consequence of a new order, of new knowledge relations and power beyond the logical rational European aspect.

The references are open, in the manifesto, to a semantic plurality capable of challenging the most superficial interpretations, making it possible to find new meanings in the returns to the text of Oswald de Andrade. It is possible to think of the idea of low anthropophagy from the distinction made by Montaigne between cannibalism and anthropophagy, in "O cannibal", a 1580 publication in which the French author analyzes the culture of the Tupinambás Indians. Cannibals feed on human flesh, anthropophagi do it for revenge. There is a central anthropophagic ritualistic aspect in the Tupinambá culture highlighted in the studies of anthropologist Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (1990). Low anthropophagy would be the metaphor for cannibalism. The transposition to the symbolic plane allows us to think, in anthropophagy, the conscious appropriation of the transformed alterity, and, in cannibalism, the annihilation of difference. This difference is exemplified by the classic story reported by Hans Staden, a German adventurer, imprisoned by the Tupinambás Indians in Colonial Brazil, subjected to all rituals, but not

devoured because "they feel that that flesh lacked the flavors of a haughty spirit" (ROLNIK, 2021, p. 16)

It is in this context that the "technized barbarian of Keyserling" (ANDRADE, 2011, p. 28) brings us closer to the relationship between primitive and technological, the forms of production and discursive circulation that would define the cultural industry of the twentieth-century (cinema, television). Daniel Faria (2013) recalls the recurrent use of irony in Oswald de Andrade as a condition for interpreting this statement. Keyserling, the analyzed character, a German aristocrat philosopher, proposed a thought imbued with a pacifist cosmopolitanism and a centralized and anti-democratic global governance by the European elite<sup>1</sup>. The image of the "technized barbarian" seems to have a dual function: the displacement of a possible character of the romanticized and isolated indigenous and the semantic inversion that gives the European a foreign, different character. It is both the other (the European) and the possibility of technique (the cinema and the cultural industry) as an insurgency of the Caraíba revolution. The second aspect becomes more noticeable, as we shall see, with tropicalism, as well as regarding new production conditions for the contemporary indigenous matrix discourse.

It is also possible to glimpse in the reference to Keyserling, in addition to the irony, the consideration of contemporary experience as marked by different temporalities and spatialities: Stationary East, telluric America, and decadent Europe (FARIA, 2013). Oswald divided time into two major cultural hemispheres: the matriarchate and the patriarchate. The first is primitive and anthropophagic, the second is civilized and messianic. Oswald's utopia is in a new matriarchy arising from the technique that would lead us to liberation from work and a new world of idleness. Beatriz Azevedo and Laura Francis (2021) draw attention to the fact that the poet invented a "utopian, myth-poetic territory: the matriarchy of pindorama" (AZEVEDO; FRANCIS, 2021, p. 117). This is a discontinuous historical view that can be thought of by the recognition of knowledge lost in time and the power relations arising from the colonial process. The future would be, paradoxically, in this past, as in the image of the contemporary poet described by Agamben (2009), dissociated from time itself to see in it not the lights but the darkness.

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<sup>1</sup> Keyserling was in Brazil in 1929, on a trip that featured interlocutions with the modernists. Mário de Andrade even said that his work was the key to Macunaíma's interpretation. In this regard see Daniel Faria, Keyserling's American meditations. Available at <https://repositorio.unb.br/handle/10482/28877?locale=en>

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Finding the Manifesto's enunciator subject is to find some central elements: the intellectual motivated by the search for the Brazilian singularity as the driving force of modernism; the poet who finds in the figure of the timeless indigenous the link between the past and the future, passing through the present; an original philosopher basing his thought on the relationship between the imperatives of patriarchy and capitalism and other forms of sensitivity, the anthropological perception of spaces of resistance of Brazilian popular culture, the dialogue with technology. Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2018) qualifies Oswald de Andrade's relationship with the cultural industry of the 20th century as techno-primitivism, pointing to an aspect we would like to highlight in the manifesto: the relationship between the conditions of enunciability of the subjects conditioned by a colonial context (still giving the cards in the macropolitics games) and the possibilities of subversion. It makes the technique, or its contemporary expression, the technology, the anthropophagic nodal point.

His admiration for North America (the US) is unequivocal, focusing on “cinema, divorce, box office, credit and especially appetite”. And the girls..., but this hypertechnical America (notice the odd examples) is at the same time given as an example of the invincibility of the “primitivist cycle”. The Americans are the technical barbarians. Anthropophagy is what only lacks them, and the lack is crucial – they lack a philosophy of life that is compatible with techno primitivism (CASTRO, 2018, p. 13)

It is precisely the encounter between technique and media enunciative spaces that constitutes one of the main lines of force of anthropophagy, potentiated in the tropicalist event and using, at the same time, the new forms of production and circulation in the digital order. We propose here to travel briefly through this archaeological path. We depart from the modernism of the late 1920s and arrive at the tropicalist event, forty years later, with its broad spectrum of dialogues with a new cinema, theater, and literature. The revolutionary Brazilianness (RIDENTI, 2010) in the cultural field amid the political experience of resistance to the military-civil dictatorship. The power of insurgency of these manifestations justified, throughout history, the choice of signifiers that translate into the aura of the marginal, the rogue, the accursed, the clandestine, the baseless; a history of sensibilities is also made in resistance to disciplinary society and finds association with Oswald's mythical-poetic utopia. They are images of the technical barbarians that go through a history of resistance.



At a time when conservative radicalization and fascist practices appear as a limiting expression of neoliberal subjectivity, resistance is made following the traces of the cartography of high anthropophagy, the search for the utopia of matriarchy, against catecheses, the caraíba revolution, “against the reversible world and objectified ideas”. Faced with the growing domination of imaginary and territories by the logic of latifundium and agribusiness, the space of resistance of indigenous ontologies is now mediatized. New subjects start to occupy the spaces of the Universities, making cinema, literature, and journalism. Anthropophagy inside out, from where it is possible to glimpse the other of the wild thought, not as the belated in a technocratic view, but the one that is not dominated by the neoliberal global order.

A kind of return to the premises of Oswaldian anthropophagy is, therefore, the key to the search for other worldviews against the crisis of the Anthropocene and, for what matters here, concerning the forms of subjectivation in the Brazilian cultural field. Although struggling in unequal terrain, there are new forms of listening, conditions of production, and circulation of resistance discourses. From these problematizations, we will briefly map three moments of the emergence of the anthropophagic discourse: its constitution in the late 1920s in Brazil and the tropicalist resignification to reach the contemporary experience, especially in the face of the impacts of Covid 19. It is an approach based on the Foucaultian archive (2008) and its emphasis on enunciability and functioning as premises of a view of historical discontinuity. Anthropophagy returns differently in different contexts.

### **3 Anthropophagic singularity in modernism**

Literary modernism in Brazil is far, as we know, from being a homogeneous block based on the union of writers with the same purpose. Modernism as an experience that emerges from the arts mirroring the social contradiction of modernity is inseparable from the political field. Perry Anderson (1988) notices the latent force of change. “Would a new order be purely and radically capitalist or socialist?” (Anderson, 1988, p. 326). In this restlessness, there is the promise of a new existence beyond individualities. Europe was affected by the first war, with difficulties in seeing another possible equivalent experience in America. In this context, the originality of the contribution of the Anthropophagous

Manifesto is in its potency as another narrative of modernity that involves Spain, Portugal, trade routes, and slavery, paving the way in the opposite direction of the European vanguard, bringing forward the question of the relationship between colony and metropolis. Madureira (2011) sees anthropophagy as an epistemological cut in relation to European scientific thought.

It is a movement that provides the basis for Oswald de Andrade's philosophical concept to become a force line for Brazilian culture in the 20th century, not without contradictions. Oswald de Andrade's starting point was the representations of the new world made by the travel narratives of the pioneers of wild Brazil, seeking to restore an enunciative position to the indigenous people. The tradition of a community culture, now recognized as a distinctive force of tribal organizations, was the vanguard: "We already had communism." (ANDRADE, 2011, p. 29)

Suely Rolnik (2021) understands the articulation of anthropological metaphor with the idea of flexible subjectivity, born in European modernist vanguards and appropriated by world capitalism from the late 1970s. Unlike what happened in Europe, where their other was projected into non-European cultures, Brazilian modernists attributed their reality to the place of the idealized other. The Modern Art Week of 1922 raised different conceptions of national identity in which integralist and nationalist positions coexisted, which cannot be detailed here. Mário de Andrade (2021) undertook his ethnographic trips to deep Brazil seeking the expression of popular culture, while Oswald de Andrade (2011) formulated his manifestos – Pau Brasil Poetry and Anthropophagus - erecting the poetic myth reflection of the matriarchy of pindorama. This movement took place differently from Mario's searches, critically considered as folkloric by Oswald de Andrade. The anthropophagous manifesto thus shifts from the idea of the search for a national identity as the driving force of modernism to the extent that it is inserted as an open thought to alterity, an anti-narcissistic desire to transform itself through the other, as Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2018) shows us, being in this sense one of the most original thoughts of the Brazilian experience, especially for its philosophical aspect.

Finding Brazilianness in the anthropophagic concept of Oswald de Andrade is, paradoxically, the recognition of difference and a non-static model, in practice, as a creative characteristic of the Brazilian experience as a social, cultural, and

anthropological organization. A mixed race country in which indigenous, African and European heritage is transformed and, as such, open to change: "Routes. Routes. Routes. Routes. Routes. Routes. Routes. Routes." (ANDRADE, 2011, p.28), an expression repeated seven times as to demonstrate/anticipate fluid identities.

The possibility of formulating the anthropophagous manifesto, in the context of modernism, points to a discursive strategy of differentiation between two risks to be avoided: folk nationalism and mimetic adhering to the values of the European avant-garde. This displacement proposed by Oswald de Andrade will be decisive for anthropophagic resignification in tropicalism and tension already verified then. The bet on the updating of Brazilian popular culture (in the face of the power of global West languages, such as rock or cinema) in coexistence with the adhering to the bourgeois mechanisms of artistic creation, the cult of celebrity, the spectacularization of private life, reaching its peak in the way of functioning of the narratives of themselves in the transnational platforms of the second decade of the 21st century. In tropicalism, anthropophagy shifts to the forms of circulation in media flows, what to bring, and what to take. That is why we try to think about the tropicalist archive amid political, poetic, and media aspects (CARVALHO, 2015).

#### **4 Tropicalist anthropophagy**

Gilberto Gil's somewhat intuitive understanding of what tropicalism would be in the late 1960s took place in the symbolic meeting imagined by him between Banda de Pifanos de Caruaru and The Beatles (CARVALHO, 2015). It was the sign of vitality, the common point that made us see, above all, a junction where the order of the discourse of the time saw a division: on the one hand, the popular culture, and on the other, the cultural industry and the young language of rock. The moment was popularized by television in Brazil and tropicalist anthropophagy took place as praxis in a subversion of the rites of coexistence, electric guitars, clothes, and hair, signaled with the young revolutions. The dialogues of youngsters from Bahia with the concretist poets and intellectuals of São Paulo contributed to this.

In Gilberto Gil's visionary and poetic aspect, northeastern popular culture operated as the center of this hybridization, a certain order of the gaze that sought to make the

experience also original for foreigners. Another portrait of Brazil appeared in its contradictions and its relationship with the world. The change took place in the displacement of two extremes: not the mere imitation of the models of the young language of rock, universal pop, nor the adhering to the forms of a popular culture idealized to convey revolutionary messages. Oswaldian anthropophagy seemed an appropriate way out of the context of the cultural debates of the period. There would be no tropicalism, if not for anthropophagy, the same way the musical movement led by the Bahians was responsible for a resignification of the anthropophagic point of view as a broad gesture in Brazilian culture. Marília Andrade (2011) demonstrates how the movements from the 1960s had created a new image of her father.

Already convinced that my father would forever be a misunderstood genius, it was hard to get used to suddenly hearing his name invoked so often and associated with so many different events. It became fashionable, a fad. Father of tropicalism, inspirer of Caetano, an example of literary critics, an object of study of doctoral theses, unconditional hero of nonconformist young people, a model for beginning writers, the favorite author of amateur theater groups (ANDRADE, 2011, p. 45)

The articulation between tropicalist anthropophagy and communication technologies transposes the technical aspect of cultural mediations. It is not by chance that Gilberto Gil took over the Ministry of Culture of Brazil in 2003 saying that he would have a tropicalist management, proposing the idea of points of culture among other innovative aspects. To provide not only urban peripheries but also smaller Brazilian cities with editing islands, video cameras, and broadband, to transmute passive reception into production (CARVALHO, 2015). The result is the creation “of favorable conditions not only for the tracking of the innumerable and diverse cultural manifestations that bubbled up all over the country, as well as its empowerment.” (ROLNIK, 2021, p. 96).

The conditions of production of the tropicalist event are part of the set of cultural manifestations that erupted in Brazil in the late 1960s, with ramifications in cinema, theater, literature, visual arts, and music, its most known and referenced form. The movement is related to the debates, experiences, and contradictions of a passage from a rural society to the mediatized world, amid questions about the relationship between art and politics, against the backdrop of the guidelines of the Popular Center for Culture, the CPC of UNE, National Student Union.

The so-called revolutionary Brazilianness (RIDENTI, 2010) breaks out in the cultural field in the 1950s under the impact of the country's modernization process; that and its sap are the modernist banners of 1922, although from it integralism and conservatism have also derived. The bossa nova, concrete poetry, and visual arts fostered the very emergence of the idea of engaged art from the CPC. As contextualized by the poet Ferreira Gullar, the coup that implemented the military-civil dictatorship in 1964 was not able to contain the cultural field, whose eloquent proof was the tropicalist event, but also the Cinema Novo, the Teatro Oficina, demonstrations arising on the eve of the Institutional Act no. 5, that would inaugurate the period of greatest repression by state forces.

The river that had been adding up waters and deepening its bed until March 1964, disappeared from our sight. But a river does not end like that. It continues its course, underground, and the ones with a good ear can hear its rumble beneath the earth. (GULLAR, 1967, p. 253)

The rumor of the river is seen in events such as *O rei da vela*, the montage of Teatro Oficina for Oswald de Andrade's play, the cinema of Glauber Rocha and his *Terra em Transe*, in Brazilian music that is reconfigured in the television space with the production of artists such as Chico Buarque, Edu Lobo, Geraldo Vandré and the tropicalistas and their electric guitars: *Alegria, Alegria* and *Domingo no Parque*, Banda de Pífanos de Caruaru, and The Beatles, Mutantes and Tom Zé. The anthropophagic inspiration of tropicalism takes place in the articulation of popular culture with the cultural industry as if the anthropophagous manifesto would jump from the literary pages to the experience and media performance, to the point that Carmem Miranda became a tropicalist symbol image. Mediatizing the popular Brazilianness to take it in the globalization flows, as the pioneers of bossa-nova, had done one decade before. Caetano Veloso recognizes in João Gilberto the full exercise of anthropophagy, by creating on the guitar a new synthesis of samba with an international accent (VELOSO, 1997). The tropicalists surpass the limits of the song, in the field of performance, occupying spaces in the cultural debate, incorporating distinct and antagonistic references. Revisiting anthropophagy as a praxis. The movement was not made without contradictions and divisions, either in the left-wing, in which Marxist-based sectors saw easy adherence to

the symbols of cultural hegemony as a sign of alienation, or in Brazilian music, divided between advocates of rooted purity and market experiments, such as the Jovem Guarda.

Tropicalism finally united Vicente Celestino and John Cage, popular culture and erudite culture, strategically passing through pop culture, which was their great flag. All this came evidently from Oswald's anthropophagy, the most original metacultural reflection produced in Latin America (CASTRO, 2009, p. 81)

The divisions in the left wing lived with other subjectivities, mapped by Suely Rolnik (2010), which become clearer if we think of the contemporary macropolitical retrogression. The author thinks in terms of cartographies, mobile maps of affection and desire that occur in the relations between the vibratable, the visible, and the named. This vision, inspired by the Deleuzian rhizome and the rich dialogue that Rolnik established with Félix Guattari, allows tracing the map of subjectivities in the Brazilian political and cultural environment rooted in the 1960s, resurfacing in the 21st century. Rolnik (2010) suggests categories such as "the militant in us," "the colonel in us," and "the hippie in us." The militant and the colonel settle in opposite symbolic, equally rigid territories. The first one limits the sensitivity of the vibratory body in the face of the class struggle urgency, the second one resorts to the idea of identity, of a world ordered by the dictatorship that defines the order of the sayable and imposes silences and torture on those who do not share beliefs.

The countercultural-tropicalist-anthropophagic subjectivity is inscribed as resistance to the post-war Hollywood version of the bourgeois figure while trying to survive the truculence of the military dictatorship. Many succumb to voyages of no return and become somehow trapped in the identity they have built for themselves, a central point in Rolnik's critical theory (2010). Two limits are associated with anthropophagic subjectivity, the overflow excesses, those who did not return from the trip and crystallized a hippie identity, and those who, in the name of a certain trivialization of anthropophagy, easily adhered to the cult of appearances and good bourgeois life via the cultural industry. In a sense, they were devoured, rather than devouring, seduced by the power of capital that glimpsed the ingredient for "a neoliberal anthropophagy" (ROLNIK, 2021, p. 81) in the flexible subjectivity of artistic avant-garde.

The revolutionary power of anthropophagic subjectivity resignified in the 1960s by tropicalism remains<sup>2</sup>. But much of this energy is appropriated and instrumentalized by transnational financial capitalism, especially since the 1980s, with the end of dictatorial regimes in Latin America and Eastern Europe. The result is what Rolnik defines as pimp anthropophagy, a soft adaptation to the neoliberal environment, producing “anthropophagic zombies” (ROLNIK, 2010, p. 22).

Many of the protagonists of the movements of previous decades fell into the trap: dazzled by the celebration and force of creation of their transgressive and experimental posture, hitherto stigmatized and confined to marginality, fascinated by the prestige of their image in the media and their high wages, they indulge in their pimping, becoming, for the most part, the very creators of the worlds manufactured for and by capitalism in their new guise (ROLNIK, 2011, p. 18).

There is the creation of a clone manufactured by post-Fordist capitalism of the flexible subjectivity of the anthropophagic matrix of the 1960s and 1970s. The context was productive for the low reactive anthropophagy. It is no longer the ritualistic act of absorbing the strength of the other to seek a disjunctive synthesis, but of all acritical assimilation in the name of narcissistic success and appearance, of individual worship. A capture of insurgency power, by what Rolnik (2018) calls the capitalistic colonial unconscious. The analogy to which the author resorts is that of the pimp who exploits the prostitute, who is unable to see, under the mask of protection, the dictates of submission. The criterion for guiding the forces of production is no longer ethical – in the sense of the affirmation of life – but moral and narcissistic.

The anthropophagy resurfaced in tropicalism, although it was able to establish the transition between the rural world of popular culture and the new technological mediations – revealing and turning the Brazilianness archive – also points out the co-optation by market forces, emptying its power of insurgency.

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<sup>2</sup>The very trajectory of artists linked to the movement who remained in the field of productive resistance, such as the theater workshop of José Celso Martinez Correa, is illustrative of the Tropicalist power. Some creations of Caetano and Gil, in post-tropicalism, such as "Um índio" (Caetano Veloso) and "Refazenda" (Gilberto Gil), sound modern, concerning today's issues posed by the Anthropocene crisis.

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## **5 Submerged rivers: the insurrections**

Contemporary insurrections occur in articulation with the biosphere, approaching indigenous ontology. The reconfiguration of the force field involves a new political relationship between human and non-human actors, between existences and the planet recovered in its dimension of living and political being. This exercise transcends a possible humanitarian gesture of recognizing the need to contemplate historically silenced voices (although we should not relativize their importance), as it seeks to incorporate these voices as a need to reconfigure forces to build new realities. It is the real history of climate change, of the Anthropocene crisis, aggravated by the pandemic, which demands new dialogues.

Rolnik (2018) uses an example experienced by the Krenak ethnic group in Minas Gerais and reported by its leader and thinker, Ailton Krenak. It is a demonstration of both the regeneration capacity of nature and the symbolic strength of the submerged rivers, captured in the poetry of Ferreira Gullar. But here the event is real. The Doce River, in the city of Esplendor, Minas Gerais, after being practically killed by the predatory action of mining, flows back to the land from the care of the community. It is an example of insurrection as a power of life, of political action in territorial historical realities, and of the emergence of new sensibilities, listening regimes, and the production of subjectivity. For Rolnik (2018), what distinguishes high anthropophagy is the constitution of subjectivity to some extent conscious of the processes in which it is inserted. We could think in terms of an aesthetic and ethics itself proposed by Foucault. It is about using network connections to strengthen practices and spread insurgencies so that the submerged rivers flow again.

What does that question have to say to the present? The acceleration of the ease of access to media production on social networks in which content is linked to the places and times in which it is produced creates a cross-relationship between the culture of sharing and the culture of surveillance (BEIGUELMAN, 2021). The new face of power is algorithmic logic. The anthropologist Hermano Vianna (2017), in a reflection on artificial intelligence, observes the risk of a new form of colonialism dictated by rich countries, where the large corporations that dominate the internet today are. Brazil would have missed the opportunity and becomes a consumer of the news. Vianna analyzes that



the greatest impact would be on the youth of the peripheries of Brazilian cities, given the lack of technical qualifications to deal with an environment dominated by technology.

Hermano (2017) finds a path for the expression of these same young people in the anthropophagic metaphor. “New communicators from the peripheries seem to be the most successful online content creators in the country.” All of this is within the platforms of large corporations. For Hermano, the voice of Brazilianness in a world dominated by artificial intelligence occurs in the creative aspect, in analogical thinking: and multiplicity. Seeking a humanist point of view, Hermano proposes a collaborative project, instead of the domination that characterized the colonialist expansion movement extended until the twentieth century.

The phenomenon is not homogeneous and has several dimensions. From the strength of the thought of leadership such as Ailton Krenak to the reception of the exercise of the self-ethnography present in "The Fall of Heaven", by Davi Kopenawa and Bruce Albert (2015). But it is also noticeable in smaller scales of the general public, in indigenous collectives that articulate themselves through audiovisual and interconnected networks to defend their territories and cultures, as demonstrated by the thesis of Deyse Silva Rubim (2021) of the Kokama ethnicity. The old stigmatizations that imputed the indigenous people the place of backwardness and laziness now shelter new voices in the form of digital cyberactivism, or journalistic spaces such as the investigative journalism agency Real Amazon.

The linguistic markings that corroborate the erasure and silencing of the indigenous people in the discourse are replaced by the taking of the word, the appropriation of the discourses by the indigenous people themselves, specifically the women. They are active voices represented by the alternative press and outside it as well, in the internal organization of indigenous movements and in non-indigenous society (RUBIM, 2021, p. 191).

Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2018), in *Metafísicas Canibais*, outlines this movement, demonstrating the need for an epistemological cut in the field of anthropology, possibly extensible to other domains. Cannibal metaphysics points to a critical exercise of colonial thought, to the same extent that they find dialogues with the poststructuralism of Deleuze and Guattari. Perspectivism, from the perspective of Eduardo Viveiros (CASTRO, 2018), is a critical exercise in relation to anthropology, historically marked by colonialism. Against this heritage, a process of permanent

decolonization is necessary both in theory and in the practice of the subject. Thus, the author proposes a step forward in the already repeated idea that the other is represented or invented according to our lenses. True anthropology would be one that returns an image of ourselves in which we do not recognize ourselves. Castro resorts to the studies of shamans for whom to know is to personify, to take the point of view of what should be known.

Shamanism is a way of acting that implies a way of knowing, or rather, a certain ideal of knowledge. Such an ideal is, in some ways, at the antipodes of the objectivist epistemology favored by Western modernity.” (CASTRO, 2018, p. 50)

Castro's (2018) point of view is aligned with that of Edgar Morin (2020) in the sense of recognizing in the mystical – but also social – an experience of shamanism other possibilities beyond the scientific objectivist model. The new forms of circulation give rise to this thought that disputes space in discursive clashes and poses itself as resistance. The perception of an outdated extractive model, in the midst of an unprecedented health crisis opened up by the Covid 19 pandemic, creates an environment conducive to the review of traditional political forms. If discourse is what one fights for, according to Foucault (2000), new enunciative possibilities are coming from the dimension of the experience of the peripheries, the indigenous, the blacks, and the women. It is a breath of hope that must be recognized and interpreted by critical thinking, considering, especially in the case of the Brazilian experience, the historical factors that cross it. These are the spaces of an anthropophagic mutation in which Oswald de Andrade's manifesto (2011) does not appear literally, but operates as a kind of interdiscursive mark, signaling, at the limit, another experience of ways of living.

The perspectivism of Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2018) can be thought of, therefore, from the point of view of a mutation of cultural anthropophagy inaugurated by Oswald de Andrade in his manifesto. This mutation concerns the anthropophagic subject, no longer the one who, from a center, chooses and devours the references, but being able to challenge his own conception of identity, not shying away from transforming him/herself. It is as if the possibility of a new listening shifted the anthropophagic subjectivity to its original locus, from which we would have new lenses for contemporary social and political relations. It is as if the possibility of a new listening shifted

anthropophagic subjectivity to its original locus, from which we would have new lenses for contemporary social and political relations.

Many rivers flow, in the symbolic and in the real. In an inverse process to that suggested by Gullar's verses, the river of conservative forces flowed underwater without us realizing it until it became torrential in Brazil in 2015. Seen from an archaeological perspective, they are indicative of the insensitivity of progressive forces in perceiving conservative discursive formations (FOUCAULT, 2008), as if the adherents of tradition, family, and property who took to the streets to support the dictatorship had succumbed to the march of history in towards the creation of a more socially just and citizen country. Many of us believed that and even doubted the possibility of a candidate like Bolsonaro winning in 2018. The historical reality somehow submerged the hopes and utopias of progressive thought. This recollection suggests the recomposition of forces, while events are outlining new contours.

The inflection point proposed here is the anthropophagic subject, as a representation that crosses our cultural history, capable of giving us a ruler and compass for a submersion that establishes new dialogic ethics in the face of institutional deconstruction and the physical and symbolic violence in progress. It is not by chance that one of the strengths of Bolsonarism resides in the idea of a cultural war against left-wing thinking, translated into expressions such as "non-partisan school", the persecution of artists who inherited the tradition of revolutionary Brazilianness of the 1960s, as shown by João César Castro Rocha (2021). The far-right cultural war presupposes an enemy and it is no exaggeration to say that it identifies with the cultural matrix of the revolutionary Brazilianness of the 1960s, which, in some way, still demonstrates its potency. The pragmatism of those who wield the macropolitical power knows how to identify its potential enemies. Physical and symbolic violence against the indigenous themselves, neoliberal disputes for spaces outside the logic of the market, such as quilombolas, and areas of environmental protection are also representations of low anthropophagy, in a game of power and resistance that is not limited to the Brazilian issue, although its epicenter was here.

The report of the indigenous leader Jerá Guarani, for example, shows us a contemporary form of anthropophagy in the face of the relationship of resistance to maintain one's own culture, without despising technology. What is at stake is the

relationship of alterity with the world of the Juruá, the one from outside the village, where a mercantilist logic prevails. The circulation of this discourse can allow a displacement - if there is a sensitivity of listening - in the very conception of the western subject who sees him/herself in an image different from that produced by advertisement or the incessant invitation to the spectacularization of private lives on social networks.

I usually go to the Juruá world a lot, but I try to bring as little as possible to the village of the things there that are not good. I bring good things too, but they usually arrive by themselves, mainly through TV and the current technological world. What I do there, then, is sift through what comes in and talk to people about it. How far will you take it? How far do you have to take it? I try to reduce the conflict of what arrives with the traditional Guarani dynamic of having just enough for a peaceful and healthy life (GUARANI, 2020, p. 18).

The political vitality of the resistance passes through the resignification of the “technized barbarian” and its capacity for subversive exportation. There are many forms of this movement on a global scale, and the audiovisual has been a fertile field of these manifestations. The film *The Last Forest*, directed by Luiz Bolognesi, written by Luiz Bolognesi and Davi Kopenawa, the Yanomami anthropological and anthropophagic shaman, has an exemplary point of view of this mutation in the traditional forms of indigenous imagery. It is no longer the recognition of cultural difference through the lens of the western subject, but the very affirmation of a locus of territorial and cultural resistance.

The images of the tribe's daily life in the forest, serve to narrate the founding myths of their people, the brothers Omama and Yoasi. The film is spoken in the Yanomani language, and it displaces the classic idea of a documentary about the other so that the indigenous people themselves act out their founding myths (sometimes in the original language), whose essence is a community relationship and respect for nature, against mining and the violence that plague the surrounding reality. Removing gold from the earth, says the founding myth, is to open the way to the “fumes of disease”. The anthropophagic process is in Kopenawa's perception of speaking to the white man, demonstrating, through the Yanomami tradition, the ongoing destruction and violence. The shaman thus approaches the enunciator of the anthropophagic manifesto, a collective subject that alerts to other possibilities of life. This is the design of the new policy, related

to the subversive export of ideas that oppose the neoliberal model, necessary in the face of ongoing destruction and violence.

Oswald de Andrade did not live to see manifestations of the matriarchy of Pindorama, such as the one led by Anmiga - Articulation of Indigenous Women Heirs of Ancestrality -, a collective that organized, in 2019, the first march of indigenous women in Brasília, with the union of 2,500 women from 130 indigenous people. In 2020, in the context of the pandemic, Anmiga held the online assembly “The sacred of existence and the healing of the earth.” Here, one can see the emergence of matriarchy postulated in the manifesto, emphasizing the character of the new policy as territorial action and the relationship of human and non-human actors: rivers, trees, and animals, from a community perspective. One of the collective's manifest texts receives the suggestive name of "reflorestarmentes" (or "reforestminds", in English).

We are many, we are multiple, we are thousands of women, chiefs, midwives, healers, shamans, farmers, teachers, lawyers, nurses, and doctors, in the multiple sciences of the territory and the University" (...) earth-women, water-women, biome-women, spirituality women, tree-women, root-women, seed-women, and not just warriors-of-ancestry women.

## **6 Conclusion**

We seek to follow discontinuous lines of the anthropophagic discourse within the archive of Brazilianness and in its dialogue with a connected global society, guided by an archaeological view of Foucauldian basis. Agamben (2019) brings archeology closer to the idea of paradigm and notes that although Foucault has used this word, he never sought to define it exactly, but the meaning of what the author of *Archeology of Knowledge* understands by paradigm was present in several other expressions of his thought, such as positivity, problematizations, devices, discursive formations. The Italian philosopher also appeals to dialogues with Aristotle and Kant to point out the specificity of the paradigm, redefining the dichotomous oppositions of the particular and the universal types, form, and content. “The regime of his discourse is not logic, but analogy” (AGAMBEN, 2019, p. 21) which proposes vector intensities instead of scalar magnitudes.

In other words, the paradigmatic relationship is not simply between each sensible object, nor between them and a general rule, but above all between the

singularity (which thus becomes a paradigm) and its exposition (that is, its intelligibility). (AGAMBEN, 2019, p. 30)

*The archeology of knowledge* proposed by Foucault is, in this sense, as Agamben (2019) observes, “a manifesto of historiographical discontinuism” (2019, p. 19). Edgardo Castro (2017) seeks to conclude his work dedicated to the thought of Foucault, thinking about the philosopher's relations with modernity. The dialogue with Kant demonstrates two critical traditions: on the one hand, an analytic of truth, the search for true knowledge, and, on the other, an ontology of the present. Foucault is identified with the second point. “Foucauldian modernity (...) proposes to elaborate from what we are, historically and contingently, the possibility of being and thinking in another way.” (CASTRO, 2017, p. 150).

Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2018), when discussing the impact of the heritage of poststructuralist thinkers in the elaboration of his theory on Amerindian perspectivism, defends the understanding of contemporary experience based on a practical ontology, where the real emerges as multiple dynamics, in a state of continuous variation that collapses the old distinctions between language and world. “Knowing is no longer a way of representing the unknown, but of interacting with it, that is, a way of creating rather than a way of contemplating, reflecting or communicating.” (CASTRO, 2018, p. 11).

The question that arises is what would be the new paradigms that move in the submerged rivers in the face of the planetary scale Covid 19 pandemic crisis? “The historicity of the paradigm is neither in diachrony nor in synchrony, but in a cross between them” (AGAMBEN, 2019, p. 41). The necessary decentralization of the power of large corporations, which today dominate the internet, is defined by the Chinese philosopher Yuk Hui (2021) as technodiversity. Each culture with a colonial past should seek its own forms of expression based on this immersion in its historical and anthropological sources, observes Hui. The image of the technified barbarian materialized in productions such as *The Last Forest* and other discourses of indigenous resistance, constitutes a field of resistance that can redefine the political game in the 21st century. It comes from wild thinking, no longer in the derogatory sense that the hegemonic discourse gives it historically, in the face of a model of progress that is now visibly in crisis, nor the other of the flexible subjectivity of instrumentalized artistic avant-gardes; but the savage as the one who does not allow himself to be dominated, the resistant and the holder of lost

knowledge in the patriarchal, colonial order, whose contemporary form is neoliberalism. Mapping the discontinuous lines of these discourses is part of the archaeological work to be able to transform ourselves through the other, through which the anthropophagic metaphor restores its insurrectionary potency.

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