

Skin, paper, tiles: a cross-cultural history of Kadiwéu art

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Abstract

This article focuses on the global traffic in images relating to Kadiwéu culture in South America, analyzing the extent to which they are entangled in the group's continuing sense of presence. It begins with Kadiwéu designs as they appeared in the sketchbook of the artist-explorer Guido Boggiani in the late nineteenth century. It then explores the mapping of Kadiwéu territory and the practices and protocols informing a politics of land rights, cultural property and economic survival, looking in particular at the commissioning of Kadiwéu designs for a housing estate and an associated exhibition in Berlin early in the twentieth-first century. By developing a cross-cultural history of Kadiwéu art that considers the transnational networks across different times and spaces, including the case of a transcultural history of copyright, the article seeks to contribute to the ongoing re-thinking of the colonial archive and its afterlife.

Keywords

Indigenous art, cultural property, dialogic history, colonial archive, South America

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Current work on cultural heritage highlights the continuing importance of local difference alongside global histories, with the concept of cultural property itself ‘an active site of claim making’ caught between the local and the global (Anderson and Geismar, 2017: 2). A growing number of critical works on contemporary ‘tribal art’ in various parts of the world are concerned with the intricacies of working with, and re-working, material heritage in particular contexts, reflecting new ways of thinking about the geographies of modernity (Thomas, 1999; Yoshita, 2008; Clifford, 2013). The reciprocal exchange of aesthetic, technological and curatorial practices between source communities and institutional repositories is ‘one of the major themes of critical museology and museum anthropology in the current moment’ (Anderson and Montenegro, 2017: 434), raising questions about conventional conceptions of cultural heritage, property and identity. Addressing the materiality and performativity of museum collections, such work highlights the ways in which the colonial archive may enable ‘multiple and unanticipated affordances in the present’ (Basu and De Jong, 2016: 9).

This paper seeks to contribute to the ongoing re-thinking of the colonial visual archive and its afterlife by examining a particular case in the history of the documentation, transmission and re-use of indigenous designs. It draws attention to the articulation of the conception of cultural property in a specific context and locality, considering the transnational flow of ideas and practices across different times and spaces and across different media. The focus of the paper is on the delicate arabesques painted on the skin by Kadiwéu women on the border of Paraguay and Brazil, first documented in pencil and ink on paper,

as well as on gelatin-coated glass plates, by Guido Boggiani, a nineteenth-century Italian artist-explorer.¹ These patterns were subsequently abstracted from the immediate context of encounter and reproduced in photographic and diagrammatic form in influential anthropological publications, most famously by Claude Lévi-Strauss. More recently, they have become integral to the transmission of contemporary Kadiwéu cultural heritage on a global scale, for example in designs for tiles commissioned for residential blocks on a Berlin housing estate. In tracing the historical trajectory which connects these material forms – designs on skin, paper and tiles – this paper addresses questions of indigenous agency in the production of Kadiwéu culture for a global audience, from the sketches of Guido Boggiani to the assertion of Kadiwéu land rights today.

The global circulation of these designs provides a compelling means of expression for the Kadiwéu's continuing 'sense of presence'.² Descendants of the Mbayá-Guaikuru, a powerful nomadic group who resisted the incursions of Spanish and Portuguese colonists along the Paraguay River during the eighteenth century (Pim, 2010: 476-478), the Kadiwéu later felt the impact of war and disease, especially through contact with Brazilian and Paraguayan soldiers (Herberts, 2011: 39). By the time Boggiani first encountered them in 1887, the Kadiwéu had a much-reduced presence in the region. Approaching the indigenous groups of the Gran Chaco for the purposes of trade (he was looking for deer and jaguar skins), Boggiani was astounded by the sophistication of their designs. Tendrils and spirals, mixed with geometrical figures in the most original and creative combinations, adorned their faces and bodies, ornaments, ceramics, hides and horses. Seeking to document and reproduce these patterns through

interaction with the women who produced them, Boggiani filled his diaries and sketchbooks with drawings, sketches and diagrams.³ Returning to Paraguay in 1896, he hoped on a second visit to consolidate his credentials as an anthropologist, this time travelling with a photographic camera. Over a period of five years he made more than four hundred photographs on glass gelatin plates of various sizes. These plates were recovered by Czech explorer Alberto Frič after Boggiani's violent death in 1901 (Frič and Fričová, 1997).

In the first part of this paper, I begin with the moments in which Boggiani's sketches and photographs were made, using evidence of his encounters with Kadiwéu women to develop a case for a dialogic history of drawing as a mode of knowledge-making (Ballard, 2013). The continuing resonance of Boggiani's work in the Gran Chaco region over the succeeding decades needs to be situated in the wider context of the politics of land and indigenous heritage. In the second part of the paper, I therefore explore the mapping and re-mapping of Kadiwéu territory in the twentieth century, an unsettled history in which Boggiani's maps and drawings provided a resource for the Kadiwéu and their allies, notably Alain Moreau, a São Paulo lawyer who has been a prominent defender of their land rights and cultural heritage. In the third part of the paper, I focus on the process by which Kadiwéu designs were translated into legally-protected cultural property (with Moreau's assistance) and entered into an architectural competition for the design of exterior tiles for a Berlin housing estate in 1997, and the subsequent presentation of this story in an exhibition held in the Ethnological Museum in Berlin in 2002. Throughout the paper, I am concerned with the practices and protocols of interaction between the Kadiwéu and their interlocutors, representatives and allies that have enabled

the production and circulation of their designs and continue to inform a politics of land rights and economic survival.

Looking back: visualizing the Kadiwéu at the end of the nineteenth century

On 10 February 1892, writing from Nalique in the interior of Mato Grosso (now Mato Grosso do Sul), Boggiani (1895: 122) noted that ‘I have new opportunities to admire the skill of the [Kadiwéu] women in drawing every day. And what is even stranger, I observe that this skill was communicated also to the Chamacoco women who, elsewhere, display an almost complete denial of this art.’⁴ He then goes on to remark on the high quality of the drawings, commenting that even if he decided to collect only the ‘most original and notable ones’ he would have to spend too much time doing just that, in addition to risk running out of paper.

Despite this note of caution, Boggiani devoted a significant amount of time (and paper) to sketching the Kadiwéu’s arabesques. He paid close attention to their artful decorations, which according to him were ‘full of taste and character,’ describing in detail the elaborated choreography of the women’s hands that moved deftly from the *Genipa* fruit juice to the contours of their ‘patients’ faces, forming a ‘drawing that could serve as a template for a brocade’ (Boggiani, 1895a: 79, 88). Gradually, he started creating his own patterns in ‘Kadiwéu’ style – ‘the admiration for my skill was without end,’ he boasts in his diary (Boggiani, 1895a: 101). The request from some of the Kadiwéu that he decorate their faces suggests a remarkable degree of confidence, the white man being invited to touch the indigenous’ faces with an art that mimicked their own. Having been observed making a watercolour of a particularly beautiful flower by

the wife of Capitãozinho (the Kadiwéu chief in Nalique), he noted that ‘his ability in drawing and painting’ attracted considerable interest amidst the Kadiwéu, ‘specially among the women, who were more skilful in this matter’ (Boggiani 1895a: 129–130). This recognition inspired Boggiani still further, as he became ever more preoccupied with his art.

More than a routine practice of field documentation, Boggiani’s experience of drawing and painting was a particular ‘form of looking.’ As David MacDougall (2006: 7, emphasis mine) puts it,

When we look, we are doing something more deliberate than seeing and yet more unguarded than thinking. We are putting ourselves in a *sensory state* that is at once one of vacancy and of heightened awareness. Our *imitative faculties* take precedence over judgment and categorization, preparing us for a different kind of knowledge. We learn to *inhabit* what we see. Conversely, thinking about what we see, projecting our ideas upon it, turns us back upon ourselves. So, simply to look, and look carefully, is a way of knowing that is different from thinking... To look carefully requires strength, calmness, and affection. The affection cannot be in the abstract; it must be an affection of the senses.

This ‘sensory state,’ or this ‘affection of the senses,’ is what enables the understanding of drawing in the field as a ‘dialogic activity,’ to use Chris Ballard’s expression (2013: 141), in which meaning and understanding are mutually constituted in the sites of encounter. Nevertheless, as Geismar (2014: 106) suggests in her discussion of the field drawings of Arthur Bernard Deacon in Vanuatu in 1926-27, sketches ‘are *also* genre works’ (emphasis in original), following anthropological conventions of the time. As I have discussed elsewhere, Boggiani used his way of seeing to propose a fusion of art and scientific enquiry in anthropological research, in which drawing in the field and artistic formation were combined to provide insights into archaeological enquiry (Martins, 2017).

In Boggiani's book *Viaggi d'un artista nell'America Meridionale: I Caduvei* (*Mbayá o Guaicurú*) (hereafter *I Caduvei*), published in 1895, from which the above quotes were taken, we can identify a tension between the effort to produce a meaningful account that would correspond with the way knowledge of the Other was being constructed in European academic circles and the other forms of sensory knowledge located in individual experience, which included touching, seeing and hearing. This sensory knowledge is in principle what enables *communication* to happen, in the original meaning of the Latin word, that is, 'to share,' 'to make common.'

Boggiani's account (1895a: 129) presents us with numerous episodes of encounter when such communication happens – as for example when Capitãozinho's wife spontaneously adjusts the mosquito net to prevent the sun's rays getting into his eyes when he is about to copy the 'beautiful brilliant light yellow' colour of a flower's leaves. In describing this event, Boggiani remarks that her attention 'is even more courteous when coming from a savage,' revealing his ambivalent feelings about the indigenous woman's behaviour.

The process of detachment required by the making of Western knowledge is made visible in Boggiani's portrait of his Chamacoco 'wife' (Figure 1).⁵ In a detailed drawing on his sketchbook, which Boggiani (1895a: 167) managed to hastily outline (against her will, as he reported), he reproduces her decorated face, which displayed the 'most original and complicated' drawings that he had yet seen. On the same page, another diagram presents an enlarged version of these patterns, with just the contour of her face roughly laid out. In Boggiani's published work *I Caduvei* (1895a: 165, 245), this portrait is reproduced embedded in his narrative, while the facial patterns, without any trace of the face

itself, are reproduced on a separate illustration at the end of the book, with the rather vague caption 'Ornamental motif of great importance with a probable symbolic meaning.'

Intrigued by Kadiwéu art, Boggiani's curiosity in turn prompted the women to explain to him their method of producing repetitive patterns on their bodies. In return for payment in the form of money or goods, he also acquired a myriad of artefacts, including their print tools, belts, old textiles, bags, hats, necklaces, earrings, dolls, ceramics, weapons.⁶ However, on some occasions, the Kadiwéu and the Chamacoco refused to trade with him, prompting Boggiani to fill in more and more pages of his sketchbook with their patterns. What becomes clear in reading Boggiani's account of his travels is that his constant use of the sketchbook, as well as his excursions in search of appropriate sites for landscape painting, stimulated the curiosity of the Kadiwéu people themselves. Having showed some of his landscape drawings and watercolours to Joãozinho, one of the Kadiwéu noble members of Nabileque, for example, Boggiani had an unexpected visit from Joãozinho's wife and sister-in-law, who also wanted to see his artwork. He promptly used this opportunity to start sketching again, capturing their features in his sketchbook. Initially discreetly, in fear of being interrupted, he became more confident in his drawing as the Kadiwéu showed increasing interest in his practice. According to Boggiani (1895a: 195), Joãozinho's sister-in-law 'was indeed very beautiful,' reminding him of 'that small wax figurine in the Louvre attributed to Raphael, or some of the figures by Luini or Leonardo.' In fact, it was Boggiani's portrait of her published in *I Caduvei* that would have the more lasting impact in the annals of anthropology (Figure 2). The portrait was later used by Claude Lévi-Strauss to substantiate his

interpretation of Kadiwéu body painting, approaching ‘the patterns as a particular expression of “split representation”’ (Martins, 2017: 205; Wiseman, 2008; Lévi-Strauss, 1977). Dissociating the painted traces from the Kadiwéu bodies, Lévi-Strauss saw them as expressions of the indigenous group’s own representation of a lost past, evidence not just of an ancient culture but of ‘antiquity’ itself (Lévi-Strauss, 1992[1955], 1942).⁷

For Boggiani, however, the shared practice of image-making established a degree of intimacy between himself and the Kadiwéu. His drawings in the field portray singular, individual subjects, rather than ethnographic ‘types.’ Living amongst them, Boggiani (1895a: 95–97, 106) began to imitate their way of dressing, fashioning himself a new wardrobe ‘à la Kadiwéu,’ including a bright-red garment, which according to him elicited the Kadiwéu’s admiration. As Michael Taussig (1993: 19) points out in his reflection on Walter Benjamin’s essay on ‘The Mimetic Faculty,’ ‘the ability to mime, and mime well, in other words, is the capacity to Other.’ Taussig (1993: 78–9) refers here to mimesis as a ‘space between,’ ‘a space permeated by the colonial tension of mimesis and alterity,’ which ‘entertains bewildering reciprocities, mixes them with sentience, with pleasures, with pain, and with the “ludicrous” and “odd mixture of surprise and imitation”.’ This colonial tension was made tangible with the publication in 1895 of *I Caduvei*, Boggiani’s diary that was edited after his return to Italy, reflecting also his deepening knowledge about the Gran Chaco region, its ethnography, geography, linguistics, astronomy and botany (Nobili, 1986). The act of publishing one’s travel accounts, Gillian Beer (1997: 140) reminds us, ‘affirms the traveller’s re-entry in his initial culture, one presented as shared with the reader.’ As she further suggests, ‘after a spell as alien, the narrator is

again homely, caught into current society's processes of exchange and affirmation.'

This search for affirmation within European society sheds light on Boggiani's ambivalence towards the Kadiwéu. If his delight in 'getting rid of that vestige of civilization that was still apparent in his clothing' (Boggiani, 1895a: 95) brought him closer to indigenous peoples, as the author of a travel narrative he had to put his original clothes back on, re-establishing the necessary distance to assert the superiority of Western knowledge and gain recognition in scientific circles. He aimed to achieve this by presenting papers at the Italian Geographical Society and the Anthropological Association of Florence. In a paper delivered to the 2nd Geographical Congress in Rome, focused on markings on two Peruvian mummies held by the Prehistory and Ethnographic Museum in Rome, Boggiani challenged the assumption that the mummies were tattooed, which was accepted by most scholars of the time (Boggiani, 1895b). Instead, drawing on his ethnographic knowledge of the ornamentation practices of Kadiwéu women, alongside his artistic formation and research in libraries and ethnographic collections in Rome, Boggiani concluded that the mummies had been painted. Connecting fieldwork, direct observation, literature review and the authority of the artist in the making of ethnographic knowledge, Boggiani's work was quite innovative by the standards of contemporary Italian anthropology (Bigoni, Dantini and Roselli, 2010).

It is very likely that Boggiani intended to publish the diary of his second expedition to Kadiwéu territory in 1897, as he did with his first, this time illustrated with his own photographs. But his plans were cut short. In 1901, Boggiani was brutally killed by his Chamacoco guides (speculations about the

circumstances of the killing have been debated to the present; see Almada, 2014; Blaser, 2010: 56–57). Remarkably, however, his photographic collection ended up in the hands of the Czech explorer Alberto Vojtěch Frič, who, between 1904 and 1908, managed to salvage practically all that his predecessor had left behind in Paraguay, Brazil, and Argentina (Fričová, 1997).

In the world of early twentieth-century science, Alberto Frič was an outsider. At the Sixteenth International Congress of Americanists in Vienna in 1908, part of which was devoted to the ‘history of the discovery and settlement of the new continent,’ Frič dared to denounce German colonial abuses of indigenous peoples in southern Brazil (Ritz-Deutch, 2008). Protesting that the Brazilian government was turning a blind eye to such atrocities, he demanded that the Congress press for an end to the violence (Penny, 2003). Frič however gained little sympathy for his proposal, being accused of mixing politics and science. He also found himself portrayed in the popular press, in the words of historian Glenn Penny (2003: 250), as ‘a rabid Czech nationalist, an anarchist, and an effeminate sexual deviant in Blumenau, Rio de Janeiro, Hamburg, Vienna, and Berlin.’ Among his critics were the influential Berlin ethnologists Karl von den Steinen and Eduard Seler, who had in fact initially sent him to Brazil. As Andrew Zimmerman (2001: 174) argues, Steinen himself had also attracted controversy when he published as the frontispiece of his 1894 volume *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens* a photograph of a semi-naked Bororo chief, an image which was deemed by critics to be obscene. Excluding the photograph from later popular editions of his book, Steinen (1897: viii) advised his readers to ‘learn to grasp the naked body anthropologically and culture-historically, as in art they learned to enjoy it aesthetically.’ Although, on the one hand, Steinen was

responding to the conservatism of the German society, on the other hand he was putting the anthropological gaze in its place. It was a gaze that required a detached observer – one whose mind was in total control of their own physical corporeal desires – a way of seeing at the heart of the emergence of anthropology as a science (Martins, 2013). According to Steinen, anthropologists should keep their distance and self-control when confronted with the body of the Other, which demanded a significant degree of self-discipline and detachment. In order to observe the Other scientifically, anthropologists should ideally behave like ‘scientists,’ observing their own mode of conduct.

Both Boggiani and Frič failed to follow Steinen’s advice. Their enthusiasm for the delicate Kadiwéu arabesques, as well as their readiness to adopt or mimic indigenous modes of behaviour, are far removed from the model of the detached observer (Figure 3).⁸ Although Boggiani’s photographic image-making did follow some conventional norms – more akin to portraiture than anthropometry – his practice also suggested an intimacy with indigenous peoples that could acknowledge their co-evalness. When the German ethnologist Robert Lehmann-Nitsche (1904; see also Giordano, 2004), a curator of the Museo de la Plata, published Boggiani’s photographs in the form of an album of postcards in 1904, he lamented that ‘they were not produced according to current anthropological principles.’ In order to enter into the visual economy of ethnographic types, these images had to be adjusted. Besides retouching the individual portraits, Lehmann-Nitsche also re-ordered the sequence of photographs following his idea of the ‘types’ they represented, erasing the desired logic of their ordering within the narrative of Boggiani’s diary (Martins, 2017). He also published the

photographs of naked men and women as a 'supplement,' for anthropologists' eyes only.

Complementing the careful documentation of Kadiwéu body art, the archive of Boggiani's work also bears traces of another regime of visibility. This was associated with a 'mapping impulse,' requiring an attentive eye attuned to the detailed surface of the world and resulting not in the close-up portrait but an apparently all-embracing view (see Alpers, 1984; Jay, 2011). Boggiani's landscape views depict a world that seems to extend beyond their frame – as do his landscape paintings and still lifes. He also published a map showing the approximate location of the ethnic groups of the Gran Chaco region (Figure 4). It was in the late nineteenth century that settlers had started to advance into this region, forcing the nomadic Kadiwéu – a stratified warrior society, known for their riding skill and hunting practices – to become sedentary. According to local lore, the recognition of their territory was a just reward from the Brazilian Emperor for their services during the Paraguayan war (Silva, 2014: 97). The Kadiwéu territory was officially recognized in 1899 and its demarcation confirmed in 1903 (Silva, 2014: 68–69).

Mapping Kadiwéu territory

The history of the Kadiwéu reserve during the twentieth century was marked by violent conflict with cattle-ranchers, land invaders and squatters, including leases of land agreed by the Brazilian Indian Protection Service (SPI), and its successor the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI), established in 1967 (Silva, 2014). The current borders of Kadiwéu territory date from a presidential decree

in 1984 (Silva, 2011). Today the reserve comprises around five hundred thousand hectares, over twice the size of Luxembourg (including the villages of Bodoquena, Campina, São João, Tomázia and Barro Preto in the municipality of Porto Murtinho; Souza, 2008). Despite this, conflicts over land rights continue. It is worth noting here that the Brazilian Constitution of 1988 explicitly acknowledges indigenous rights as ‘original’ rights, preceding the actions of government and accepting the principle that the indigenous peoples were the original owners of the land (Inter-American Commission of Human Rights, 1997). In 2002, Brazil ratified the ILO (International Labour Organization) Convention 169 (on the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples); and in 2007, Brazil signed the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

The unsettled history of the Kadiwéu reserve has involved indigenous engagement with the legal process. Since the late 1970s, the Kadiwéu have had a dedicated supporter in Alain Moreau, a French philosopher and lawyer based in São Paulo. A member of the Danish NGO IWGIA (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs) and a consultant to ACIRK (Kadiwéu Reserve Indigenous Communities Association), Moreau (2015, personal communication) has for decades provided legal advice on their land rights, heritage and cultural property. The search for documentary evidence on Kadiwéu culture led Moreau directly to the archive I have been discussing in this article: and so, in 2002, he acquired Boggiani’s travel diary from Frič’s heirs.

Two of Moreau’s interventions in Kadiwéu campaigns are particularly relevant to this paper. The first relates directly to mapping. Until 1980, FUNAI managed the Kadiwéu contracts with ranchers and paid their taxes. Interpreting the 1988 constitutional legislation to the benefit of cattle ranchers, FUNAI

lawyers agreed contracts for the use of land in Kadiwéu's territory with elite members of the Kadiwéu Reserve Indigenous Communities Association. These families (about 100 of them) moved to the nearby cities of Campo Grande and Corumbá, leaving the remaining Kadiwéu to struggle against the action of squatters. In order to enhance their control of the territory, Moreau compiled a map of the reserve, a complicated jigsaw of properties based on aerial photography. But the map was not enough. The reservation was continually invaded; the original border posts put up by FUNAI – measuring 25cm in height – were destroyed (Ellingham, 2013). The borders had to be more clearly demarcated *in situ*. With the support of a Danish NGO, the community is now establishing monumental concrete markers weighing 700 kg (70cm high x 40cm depth), evidently more difficult to demolish. So far, none of these have been touched, though building such markers on the northern borders of the reservation have proved more challenging, given the confrontation with squatters from the nearby city of Corumbá. In order to improve access to the banks of the Naitaka River, while avoiding the trespassers, Moreau himself came up with the idea of constructing a new municipal road. This was inaugurated in 2015 and duly named 'Guido Boggiani' (Moreau, 2015, personal communication). Having pioneered the mapping of the Kadiwéu territory, Boggiani now has been mapped onto their land.

In 2015, Brazilian filmmakers Lucia Murat and Rodrigo Hinrichsen released a documentary about the contemporary Kadiwéu, under the title *The Nation That Didn't Wait for God (A nação que não esperou por Deus)*. The poster of the film combines Kadiwéu arabesques with a blurred close-up portrait of the Kadiwéu chief Ademir Matchua painted with *Genipa* dye, performing their war

cry (Figure 5). Unsurprisingly, Alain Moreau's name appears in the acknowledgements. This remarkable film gives visibility to a challenge shared by numerous indigenous groups in Brazil – that is, 'the political task of resisting into the future' (Devine Guzmán, 2013: 169). Exploring the influence of television, alcohol and the Protestant Church on the Kadiwéu community, Murat and Hinrichsen also depict their deft negotiations with cattle farmers, whose settlements had encroached onto their territory. Unfortunately, the Kadiwéu chief Matchua, who led these negotiations, was killed shortly after the film was finished, due to a political dispute about the group's future. This event indicates that the assertion of authority also requires negotiations within the community itself. What makes this documentary (which incorporates scenes from Murat's 1999 fiction film, *Brave New Land* [*Brava Gente Brasileira*]) particularly noteworthy is its recognition of the various temporalities entangled in Kadiwéu everyday lives. Although the Kadiwéu have swapped horses for motorcycles, the long shots of the landscape and the slow pace of the film allow viewers to engage directly with that world, without romanticizing it. And by letting the indigenous peoples speak, performing for themselves, the film suggests that despite all the recent individual transformations they still remain Kadiwéu.

'With paint and paper, we have transformed old knowledge into art'

The extent of Alain Moreau's interventions in the cultural politics of the Kadiwéu is reflected in a revealing episode in the transcultural history of copyright.⁹ This story has its origins in 1997, when the authorities in the Hellersdorf district in Berlin (*WoGeHe – Wohnungs Gesellschaft Hellersdorf*), together with the social

research Institute IFS (*Institut für Stadtforschung und Strukturpolitik*), decided to renovate a housing estate in the former GDR Yellow Quarter (*Gelbes Viertel*), in order to make it aesthetically and functionally more attractive. In consultation with local tenants, it was agreed to open an international competition to Latin American architects. The competition, organized in collaboration with the Group of Latin American Architects in Berlin (*Gala - Grupo de Arquitectos Latinoamericanos*), attracted fifty-six proposals (Sabbag, 1998). The winners were Brazilian architects Francisco Fanucci and Marcelo Ferraz from the *Brasil Arquitetura* office in São Paulo, whose proposal included a combination of elements of Brazilian culture and Modernist architecture on the façades, including the use of traditional colours from the Brazilian Northeast, ceramic tiles and wooden trellises (*muxarabis*, originally from Portuguese colonial architecture), and the creation of internal courtyards (Sabbag, 1998; Moreira, 2003; Brasil arquitetura, nd). Four renowned sculptors were also commissioned by the architects to create artworks to mark the entrance of the courtyards, addressing different aspects of Brazilian space and society, respectively, the indigenous nations (Siron Franco), the ‘three races’ (Miguel dos Santos), the destruction of the forest (Frans Krajcberg), and the wealth of its subsoil (Amílcar de Castro). From these, just the latter was built (Amílcar de Castro’s artwork is a large-scale Corten steel sculpture with a diameter of 8 meters weighting 25 tons; Moreira 2003).

The proposed neo-tropical embellishment of the austere concrete blocks of the Hellersdorf housing estate in Berlin provided an unlikely opportunity to revive the artistic skills of the Kadiwéu. In considering options for the re-decoration of the building façades, architects Fanucci and Ferraz were drawn to

Kadiwéu pictorial patterns. As their acquaintance with these patterns was only through publications, the issue of copyright was raised, and so they made contact – through the lawyer Alain Moreau – with the Kadiwéu Association. In managing the project, Fanucci and Ferraz worked in partnership with Pedro Moreira and Nina Nedelkov from the architectural office *NGM Architekten*, who reached an agreement with the Hellersdorf Housing Association to commission the Kadiwéu Association to produce new design work for the sum of 10,000 Euros (the sort of fee that might be paid to a German artist). The Association in turn decided to organize a competition in which all Kadiwéu women aged 16 years or over could take part. They also stipulated that the prize-money would be shared amongst all participants, not just the winners, in order to avoid jealousy. The Kadiwéu women also requested that part of the money was set aside to allow the winners the opportunity of visiting Germany, once the project was complete.

The response amongst the Kadiwéu was enthusiastic. A total of 92 women took part in the competition, producing 271 designs on sheets of paper in the format of the tiles (Figure 6). From these, the architects in São Paulo and Berlin selected six designs, for use in the manufacture of a total of 50,000 tiles for the housing estate. In June 1998, when the work was completed, six Kadiwéu women, together with their babies, visited the Yellow Quarter in Berlin (Moreira, 2003). Interviews with the women were broadcast on local Berlin television programmes and newspapers.

In his negotiations on behalf of the Kadiwéu, lawyer Alain Moreau (2012) faced a number complex challenges. The 271 designs constituted a unique collection that clearly had a potential commercial value. Before producing their designs, the Kadiwéu women agreed to transfer copyright to their association,

ACIRK, in order to guarantee their work would be sold at a fair price. As the intellectual property of indigenous peoples in Brazil until then had never been recognized as such, Moreau was treading uncharted waters. Firstly, he had to overcome the resistance of the Brazil's artistic establishment to the idea that the indigenous women's work was 'art' and not 'craft.' Furthermore, as copyright legislation was based on the rights of individuals rather than groups, it was necessary to challenge widespread assumptions about indigenous art itself. After much negotiation, the School of Fine Arts at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro – the key authority in the matter of artistic copyright in Brazil – eventually conceded that the motifs for the tiles were individual works of abstract art, each one of them original, so that copyright could be secured (Figure 7). But there were still further hurdles: given the indigenous status of the Kadiwéu, under the protection of FUNAI, it was also necessary to establish the legal status of their local community organization (otherwise the FUNAI would have been entitled to percentage of the income generated by the sale of the drawings). The process of transcultural exchange was made possible through a series of negotiations, initially through a contract agreed by the Kadiwéu women during an assembly at their association in accordance with the Brazilian Civil Code, which was consequently sent to the architects, who then sent it to *WoGeHe* to comply with German law.

But the transnational exchange did not end there. In 2002, the Ethnological Museum in Berlin held an exhibition to celebrate Kadiwéu art, under the title *Copyright by Kadiwéu: from body painting in Mato Grosso to façade tiles in Berlin*. The exhibition organizers, Thyrs Holler, Katrin Kobler, Claudia Uzcátequi and Carolin de West, then students at the Institute for Latin American

Studies at the Freie Universität Berlin, set themselves a formidable challenge. They aimed to design an exhibition with ethnological content that was not only about the Kadiwéu's past, but also showed the extent to which their ethnic presence was significantly associated with the past. The exhibition relied on their familiarity with the museum collection of Kadiwéu artefacts gained while assisting curator Anita Hermannstädter in her work for an exhibition on German travellers to Brazil (organized with the Brazilian Cultural Institute in Germany – ICBRA; Hermannstädter, 2002), as well as the knowledge obtained during a visit to the Yellow Quarter guided by the architect Pedro Moreira.

In line with the students' emphasis on the continuity of the Kadiwéu culture in the present, a further competition was then organized by Alain Moreau and the Kadiwéu Association to produce new ceramic artefacts for the exhibition (Zander, 2002). This competition, now with a minimum age of 18, attracted an even stronger interest among the Kadiwéu, with 119 participants. It was stipulated that the ceramic vessels should be of a limited size, in order to differentiate them from the standard pottery produced by Kadiwéu women for the tourist market. Participants had a week to produce one vessel each: from these, a jury in São Paulo selected eighteen pieces. The winning vessels (plus a special one produced by an 89-year-old Kadiwéu elder), along with a video documenting the process of their production, were displayed together with the museum's ethnographic holdings alongside Boggiani's photographs (including samples of the hand-coloured postcards edited by Robert Lehmann-Nitsche, borrowed from the Ibero-American Institute in Berlin), and the whole collection of the Kadiwéu women's tile drawings, bringing this article full circle (Figure 8). This exhibition also included valuable information about the museum collection

items the Kadiwéu women had provided on their earlier visit in 1998. In the exhibition catalogue (Augustat and West, 2002: 11), under the heading ‘The indigenous perspective: Hellersdorfer and Kadiwéu,’ testimonies from a Yellow Quarter resident (Uwe Hoppe) and from a Kadiwéu artist (Sandra da Silva) were printed on the same page. While Hoppe felt that the cultural significance of the Kadiwéu patterns was somewhat lost amongst the residents, Silva proudly asserted that ‘with paint and paper, we have transformed old knowledge into art,’ expressing her delighted that ‘Kadiwéu art has reached Europe.’ The contrast qualifies Moreira’s optimistic statement in the catalogue that ‘architecture can not only shelter, but it can also connect’ (Augustat and West, 2002: 9).

Supported by a private sponsor (and with the help of Alain Moreau), eight Kadiwéu women, accompanied by the anthropologist Lux Vidal from the University of São Paulo, were able to visit Berlin to attend the opening of the 2002 exhibition, which took place at the Ethnological Museum Dahlem, in Berlin (9 June – 15 October 2002; Moreira, 2002). A little bolder than the six women who had visited four years earlier, these women used their visit to reflect on the significance of the community’s artefacts on display but no longer in use, and also to copy their motifs for re-use on newly-made objects back home (Zander, 2002; Augustat, 2016, personal communication). Paraphrasing Clifford (2013: 309), the exhibition was ‘a restorative connection across time and space.’

Although the Berlin episode was clearly exceptional in that it enabled a group of relatively underprivileged Kadiwéu women to travel to one of the key centres for global cultural production, it contributed to what Arjun Appadurai (2004) has expressed as ‘the capacity to aspire.’ As the Kadiwéu designer Benilda

Vergílio (quoted in Iuvaro, 2012: 84) recalls in 2010, the project '*Copyright by Kadiwéu* created an intense mobility in the community.' As she further recollects,

When this event happened, I wasn't at university yet, that's why I remember I participated indirectly, following my grandmother's enthusiasm... I was still a young girl. But I participated in all the meetings that were organized, including the ones with FUNAI and the indigenous leaders, among others. It was necessary to overcome the bureaucratic barriers created by FUNAI to achieve a proper contract. Nevertheless, it became possible to envisage an agreement. The artistic value of the 271 drawing patterns was recognized by a renowned Institution, the School of Fine Arts in Rio de Janeiro. This idea of having gained high recognition made me very proud. This event, together with others, changed my view about our artistic work (Iuvaro, 2012: 84).

In 2011, Vergílio was awarded a degree in Design by the Catholic University of Dom Bosco in Campo Grande, developing a fashion portfolio based on the Kadiwéu patterns (Figure 9). She also became a political leader working on social inclusion policies and the enhancement of cultural heritage (Melo and Jesus, 2015). In December 2015, she organized the 1st Festival of the Guaikuru-Ejiwajegi Kadiwéu Culture in her village Alves Barros. This Festival aimed at healing and reuniting the Kadiwéu community, which was still divided one year after the killings of chief Ademir Matchua and Orácio Ferraz (Feitosa and Maldonado, 2015). During the Festival, Kadiwéu graphic art was visible in indigenous costume designs. Referring to the transposition of the patterns from the body to textiles, Cleuza Vergílio, another member of the Kadiwéu community, said, 'I understand we should not remain in that old culture, we need to develop, this reinvention is normal' (quoted in Feitosa and Maldonado, 2015).

The forms of building façades and costume designs circulate in different ways to those of the body and facial paintings that so captivated Guido Boggiani and Claude Lévi-Strauss. These twentieth-first century designs enter into commercial and cultural circuits that go well beyond the limits of the Kadiwéu

community, projecting their culture outward across spatial and cultural borders. Having achieved recognition of their art form, reclaiming 'representational sovereignty' in Laura Graham's terms (Graham, 2014: 318), the Kadiwéu women's cultural status was elevated. The process of securing copyright for their artwork, including the naming of their individual designs, brought recognition to the local context from which their work derived, counteracting 'the common perception of an undifferentiated "indigenous person",' as Jane Anderson (2010) puts it. While the 'privatised space of property law' might not always be recommended as an international approach for the protection of indigenous cultural heritage (Macmillan, 2013: 363), the particular case of attribution of copyright to the Kadiwéu women can be understood as a local strategy appropriate to both Kadiwéu community and the Brazilian context. The value placed on their 'baroque' art through the copyright process forms part of a 'politics of recognition,' which cannot be dissociated from the political concern about their rights to land.¹⁰ Access to the land, as Graziato (2011: 182) points out, adds yet an important dimension to Kadiwéu material culture. The colourful clay soils found in the karst landscape of the Bodoquena plateau in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul provide a varied palette for the Kadiwéu artisans, who have amplified the colour pattern of their ceramics, distinguishing their current production from that of other regional ethnic groups. In addition to the traditional white, black and red, as recorded by Boggiani (1895a: 134-135), they now employ ochre, brown, yellow and green, a combination reflecting the pattern of minerals and organic matter which characterises the region's landscape (Silva et al., 2017). Knowledge of the specific location of each deposit

is a valuable asset that the Kadiwéu women prefer to keep to themselves, sharing with only a few members of their families (Graziato, 2011: 182).

Local strategies and dialogic history

By following the trajectory of their designs over time and across space, this paper has explored the ways in which the Kadiwéu have negotiated their cultural survival in dialogue with the external world. As Arjun Appadurai (2004: 62) reminds us, 'no culture, past or present, is a conceptual island onto itself, except into the imagination of the observer.' As he further asserts, 'cultures are and always have been interactive to some degree.' Understanding how this interaction takes place requires considering the local strategies of negotiation by indigenous peoples with the Western Other, including the affordances provided by the colonial archive. This gesture opens up a space for a dialogic history that avoids conflating all the manifestations of the ethnographic encounter into one dominant colonizing paradigm of knowledge control.

In this paper I have also highlighted some of the strategies of interaction with the external world that have allowed the Kadiwéu to survive against the odds. If the emergence of anthropology as a science forced Guido Boggiani to distance himself from the Kadiwéu in order to assert his credentials as an anthropologist in Europe, the recognition of common ground in the encounter between Kadiwéu art and Boggiani's artistic practice brought them into dialogue. A century later, in Berlin, the legacies of this encounter were used to reconnect the Kadiwéu with their cultural heritage and to enable them to derive benefit from it. And although the 'mapping impulse' has been commonly associated with

militarized and imperial regimes of visibility (see Smith, 2014), in the case of the Kadiwéu the mapping and marking of territory has also been of pivotal importance to their quest to secure rights to their land.¹¹ In a wider context, the attention paid in this paper to interactions between the Kadiwéu and non-indigenous others in the making and circulation of visual images reflects current developments in anthropological understandings of culture that recognize ‘that the boundaries of cultural systems are leaky, and that traffic and osmosis are the norm, not the exception’ (Appadurai, 2004: 61). By focusing on the circulation and re-circulation of objects – in this case Kadiwéu designs from the interior of Mato Grosso do Sul – we can find evidence of multiple and dispersed agency in the making of claims over cultural heritage.

Figures

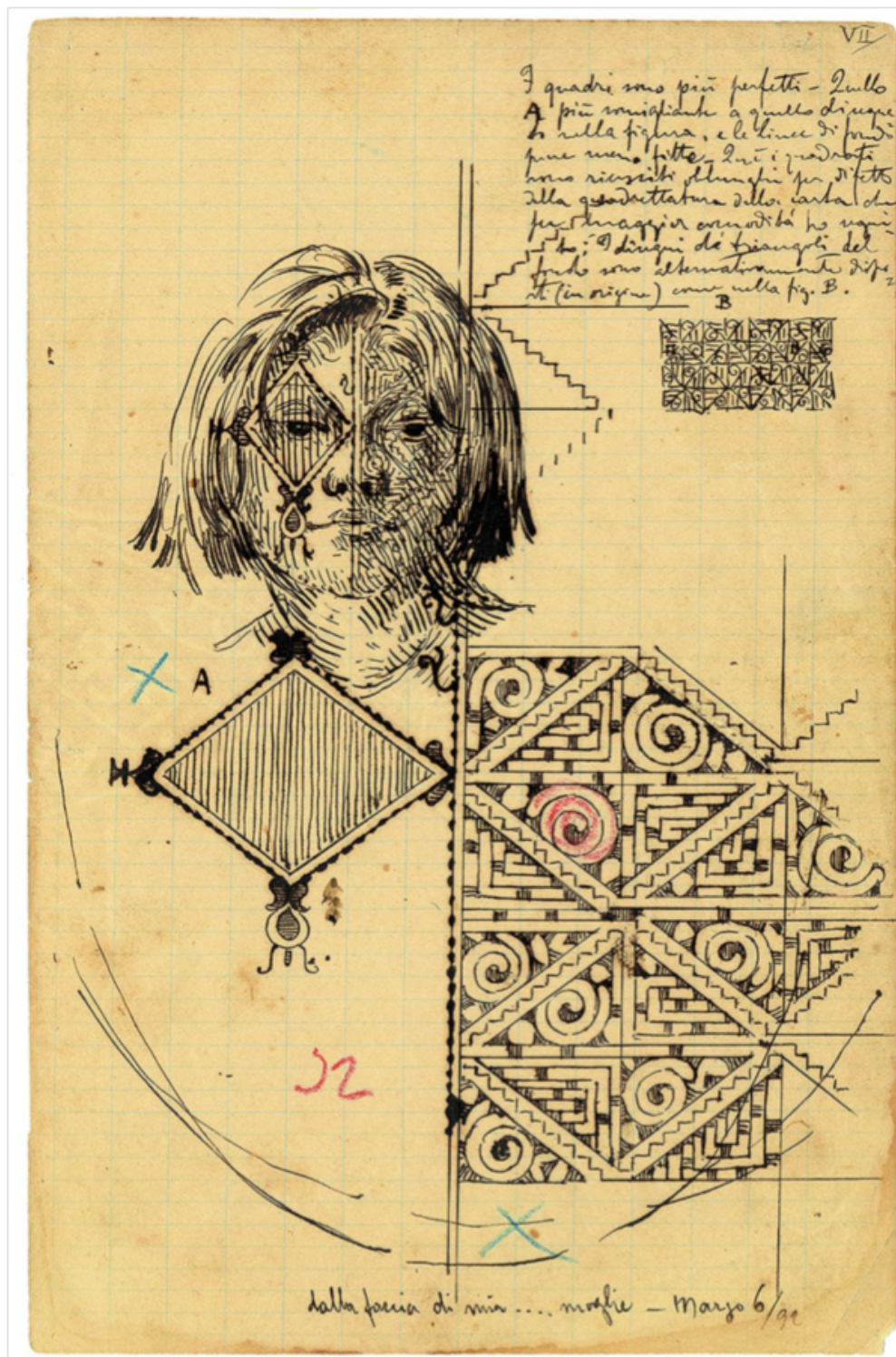


Figure 1. Guido Boggiani's sketchbook of his first expedition to Kadiwéu territory, 1892, courtesy of Pavel Frič / Yvonna Fričová (Prague).

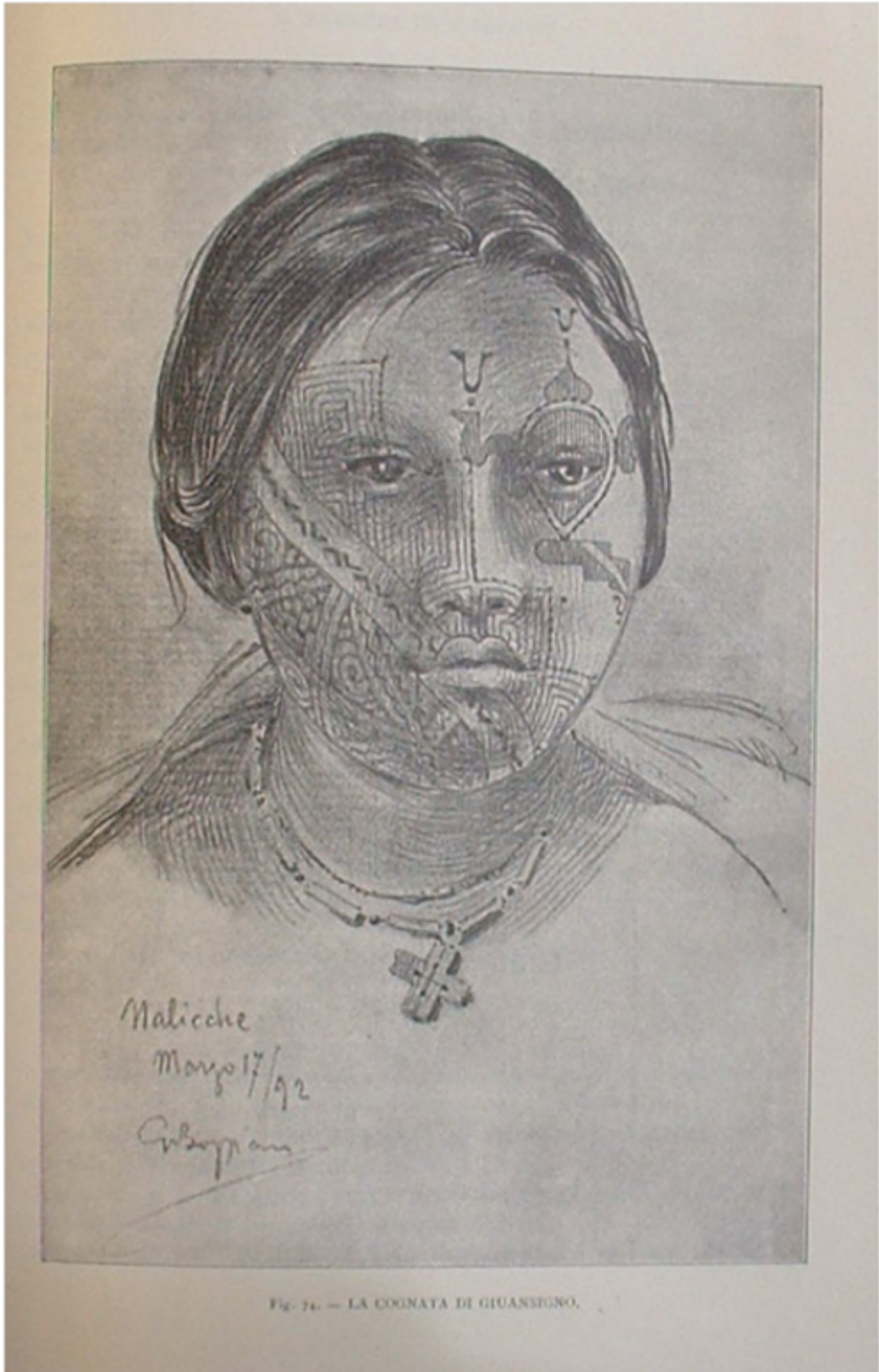


Figure 2. 'Joãozinho's sister-in-law,' in Guido Boggiani (1895: 154).



Figure 3. Alberto Vojtěch Frič, Self-portrait, Nabileque, c. 1906, courtesy of Pavel Frič Yvonna Fričová (Prague).

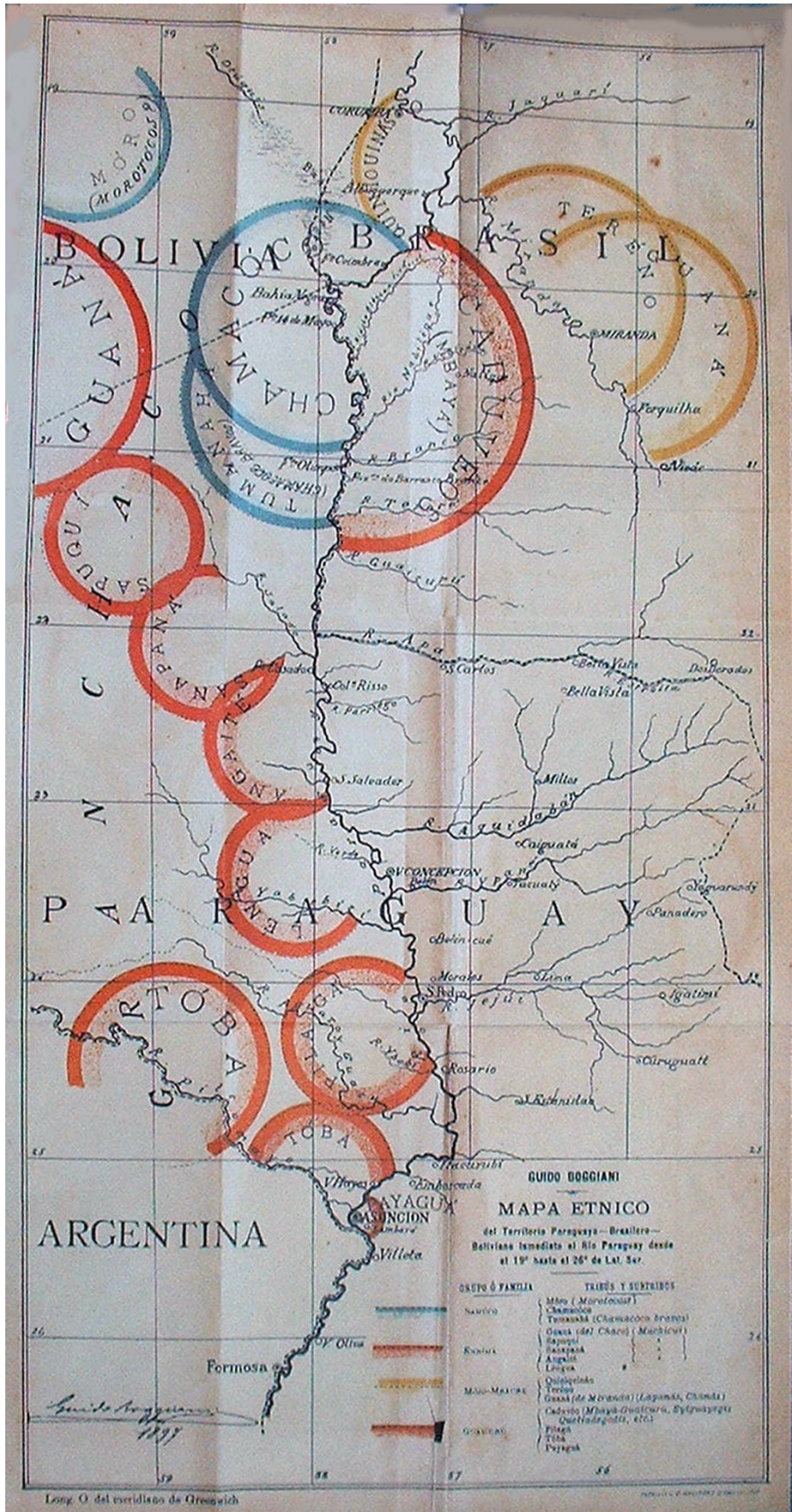


Figure 4. Guido Boggiani, Ethnic map of the Paraguayan-Brazilian-Bolivian immediate territory at Paraguay River, 1897, courtesy of Fundación Huellas de la Cultura Paraguaya.



Figure 5. Promotional poster for the film 'The Nation That Didn't Wait for God' (Lucia Murat and Rodrigo Hinrichsen, 2015), courtesy of Lucia Murat / Taiga Filmes.



Figure 6. Nine out of the 271 tile designs by Kadiwéu women entered in the competition organized by Brasil Arquitetura and NGM Architekten for the renovation of the former GDR Yellow Quarter (Gelbes Viertel) @ ACIRK (Kadiwéu Reserve Indigenous Communities Association).



UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO RIO DE JANEIRO
CENTRO DE LETRAS E ARTES

ESCOLA DE BELAS ARTES
REGISTRO DE DIREITOS AUTORAIS

Número 33.165 Livro 95 Folha 165
Protocolado sob o número 1681/98
RVD n.º 494399

Registro requerido por ASSOCIAÇÃO DAS COMUNIDADES INDÍGENAS DA RESERVA KADIWÉU - ACIRK., instituição brasileira, estabelecida na Cidade de Campo Grande/MS, CGC 33.151.697/0001-50.

Obra registrada: DESENHO ABSTRATO.



Características: desenho abstrato de padrões culturais Kadiwéu, executado com utilização de canetas hidrográficas, em papel canson.

Direitos Patrimoniais cedidos a titular pela autora JOANA BALEIA DE ALMEIDA, artista plástica, índia da aldeia brasileira Bodoquena - Reserva Indígena Kadiwéu, situada em Porto Murtinho/MS.

Rio de Janeiro, 05 de dezembro de 1998

O PRESENTE REGISTRO NÃO SE
CONSTITUI NEM TEM VALIDADE
LEGAL COMO REGISTRO DE MARCA.

María Cristina N. S. Marinbo
RESPONSÁVEL DIREITOS AUTORAIS
REG. 0036164 EBA/UFRJ

VISTO
Vitorino
VICTORINO DE OLIVEIRA NETO
DIRETOR EBA/UFRJ - MATR. 000141-0

Figure 7. Copyright certificate, Kadiwéu Reserve Indigenous Communities Association, 5 December 1998.



Figure 8. *Copyright by Kadiwéu: Von der Körperbemalung im Mato Grosso zur Fassadenfliese in Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum Berlin, 2002, photo Pedro Moreira, 24.02.2002, courtesy of Archive Nedelykov Moreira Architekten, Berlin.*



Figure 9. Model runs the catwalk at the Benilda Vergílio fashion show, Bodoquena, Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil, 2011, courtesy of Caroline Maldonado / Rede de Saberes.

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Notes

¹ I am adopting the designation Kadiwéu as it is used in present-day Brazil. In the literature we also find: Caduvei (as used by Boggiani), Caduvéu, Cadiuevos, Cadiuéu, Cadioéos, Cadiuéos, Cadivéns, Kadiueu and Kadiuéo (Herberts, 2011: 18).

² A phrase used by Anishinaabe critic Gerald Vizenor, as quoted by Devine Guzmán (2013), referring to the perpetuation of indigeneity in the twenty-first century. See also Clifford (2013).

³ María Kokrhanek, Federico Bossert and José Braustein (2015) draw attention to the role of Juan de Cominges, the botanist, soldier, explorer and archaeologist whom Boggiani met on his first expedition into the Gran Chaco region, in shaping his ethnographic interests.

⁴ All the translations into English are mine, unless otherwise stated.

⁵ According to Boggiani (1895a: 157, 164–5, 167, 171), a beautiful Chamacoco youth from Etóquiya offered to sleep with him. A week later he ‘negotiated’ with her ‘master’ to keep the young woman with him for the time he spent in Nalique, trading in return cotton fabric and other trinkets. The deal, however, lasted only two days; her master requested her back, without returning the goods.

⁶ Boggiani (1895: 168) subsequently lost one of his trunks with some of these artefacts. After his return to Italy he decided to sell the remainder to the Museo Kircheriano (now the National Prehistoric and Ethnographic Museum of Rome Luigi Pigorini) in order to support a future voyage to South America. In addition, artefacts collected by Boggiani were distributed to the following museums (after his demise): Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna; Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin; Museo Nazionale di Antropologia e Etnologia, Florence; Museum für Völkerkunde, Stuttgart; Museo Faraggiana-Ferrandi, Novara (Leigheb and Cerutti, 1986: 201–209).

⁷ In 1947 and 1948, the Brazilian anthropologist Darcy Ribeiro also documented Kadiwéu body paintings. In his book, Ribeiro (1980) mentions the memory of Boggiani was still alive in the village when he visited it (see Pechincha 2000). From the 1990s, renewed interest in the Kadiwéu by Brazilian anthropologists generated a series of Masters and Doctoral dissertations (Siqueira Junior, 1993; Pechincha, 1994; Lecznieski, 2005; Petschelies, 2013; Duran 2015). Maria Raquel da Cruz Duran’s PhD thesis (2017), which includes one chapter on the exhibition *Copyright by Kadiwéu*, became available online after I submitted this article, so I was unable to engage with her work here.

⁸ In 2000, two Czech documentary filmmakers retracing Frič’s steps in Paraguay learned that he had a Chamacoco daughter, who was still alive. Frič’s grandson Pavel and his wife Yvonna

Fričová, who live in Prague, have since established an NGO to provide assistance to the Chamacoco community (Yvonna Fričová, 2015, personal communication; see also Rogers, 2012).

⁹ Unless otherwise stated, the following details of this process are based on Moreau (2012, 2015, personal communication).

¹⁰ Fred Meyers (2014: 356) makes a similar claim in relation to Aboriginal acrylic painting in Central Australia. On the 'politics of recognition', see Appadurai (2004). For a comprehensive study of the role of intellectual and cultural property in asserting indigenous identities and sovereignties in Pacific societies, see Geismar (2013).

¹¹ In his insightful article on militarized ecologies in the Brazilian Amazon, Robert Marzec (2014: 252) shows how indigenous peoples enacted their resistance to the construction of Belo Monte Dam on the Xingú River by confronting a global representational apparatus, demonstrating 'the positive possibility of ecocritical visualization within and in excess of the age of spectacle.'