

## THE INDIGENOUS ISSUE IN THE SOCIO-SPATIAL FORMATION OF THE VALLEY JAGUARIBE, CEARÁ

*A questão indígena na formação socioespacial do Vale do Jaguaribe, Ceará*

*La cuestión indígena en la formación socioespacial del Vale do Jaguaribe, Ceará*

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### SUMMARY

The study proposes a theoretical reflection based on a bibliographical investigation on the role of the indigenous contribution in the process of socio-spatial formation in the Vale do Jaguaribe, in Ceará, linking the insertion of economic activities, mainly livestock, with the indigenous issue in the region, which since arrival of foreigners has been involved in many conflicts. Faced with this context, pressured by an irreversible structure, the indigenous groups established strategies that resulted in resistance processes, but that did not prevent the invader from continuing with the colonizing project of extermination of the original peoples. In this sense, this analysis, which deals with an important aspect of the history of Jaguaribe Valley, allows us to interpret the socio-spatial formation of this region from a painful process, with the entry of whites and livestock, which together legitimized the expropriation of indigenous lands. Even though they were brutally violated and assimilated with the rest of society, these people tell us that they were here and resisted before us through their strong presence in the toponymy of the municipalities and preserved customs. Despite the colonial attempt to eliminate indigenous habits, identities and cultures, they were not trapped in the past, as they continue to reinvent themselves, transform and organize themselves to this day.

**Keywords:** Indigenous issue; Socio-spatial training; Jaguaribe Valley.

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## RESUMO

O estudo propõe uma reflexão teórica a partir de uma investigação bibliográfica sobre o papel da contribuição indígena no processo de formação socioespacial do Vale do Jaguaribe, no Ceará, interligando a inserção das atividades econômicas, principalmente a pecuária, com a questão indígena na região, que desde a chegada dos estrangeiros esteve envolta em muitos conflitos. Diante desse contexto, pressionados por uma estrutura irreversível, os grupos indígenas estabeleceram estratégias que resultaram em processos de resistência, mas que não impediu o invasor de continuar com o projeto colonizador de extermínio dos povos originários. Nesse sentido, essa análise, que trata de um aspecto importante sobre a história do Vale do Jaguaribe, nos possibilita interpretar a formação socioespacial dessa região a partir de um processo doloroso, com a entrada dos brancos e da pecuária, que juntos legitimaram a desapropriação das terras indígenas. Mesmo sendo brutalmente violentados e assimilados com o restante da sociedade, esses povos nos dizem que estiveram aqui e resistiram antes de nós através da presença marcante na toponímia dos municípios e nos costumes preservados. Apesar da tentativa colonial de eliminar os hábitos, identidades e culturas indígenas, estes não ficaram presos ao passado, pois continuam se reinventando, transformando e se organizando até os dias de hoje.

**Palavras-chave:** Questão indígena; Formação socioespacial; Vale do Jaguaribe.

## RESUMEN

El estudio propone una reflexión teórica a partir de una investigación bibliográfica sobre el papel del aporte indígena en el proceso de formación socioespacial en el Vale do Jaguaribe, en Ceará, vinculando la inserción de actividades económicas, principalmente la ganadería, con la cuestión indígena en la región, que desde la llegada de los extranjeros se ha visto envuelta en numerosos conflictos. Ante este contexto, presionado por una estructura irreversible, los grupos indígenas establecieron estrategias que derivaron en procesos de resistencia, pero que no impidieron que el invasor continuara con el proyecto colonizador de exterminio de los pueblos originarios. En este sentido, este análisis, que aborda un aspecto importante de la historia pasada del Vale do Jaguaribe, permite interpretar la formación socioespacial de esta región a partir de un proceso doloroso, con el ingreso de blancos y la ganadería, quienes en conjunto legitimaron la expropiación de tierras indígenas. A pesar de que fueron brutalmente violados y asimilados con el resto de la sociedad, estos pueblos nos cuentan que estuvieron aquí y resistieron antes que nosotros, a través de su presencia en la toponimia de los municipios y en las costumbres conservadas. A pesar del intento colonial de eliminar los hábitos, identidades y culturas indígenas, estos no se quedaron atrapados en el pasado, ya que continúan reinventándose, transformándose y organizándose hoy en día.

**Palabras-clave:** Cuestión Indígena; Formación Socioespacial; Vale do Jaguaribe.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

According to Lima (2020), space undergoes multiple transformations throughout life in society, which are marked by systems of varied techniques that contribute as components of productive forces and social relations. These transformations result in socio-spatial formation, which, according to Andrade (2004), based on its understanding, we can indicate the past modes of production and understand the current stage of society.

In socio-spatial formation, “which constitutes the legitimate instrument for explaining society and the respective space” (SANTOS, 1990, p. 192), there are several elements in its structure, one of them being the introduction of economic activities. Particularly in the case of the state of Ceará, Lima (2020) points out that the Europeans appropriated the lands of the original peoples, installed corrals and made use of the labor force of the dominated. In addition, there was also the civilizing project carried out by the religious missions, which sought to catechize the indigenous people, expel them from the land and destroy their identities.

Intimately intertwined with the socio-spatial formation is the indigenous question, given that since the arrival of foreigners in the territory, today called Ceará, the original peoples face problems such as expropriations and threats resulting from the exploitation of their lands. The colonizing process was cruel and violent, and it also affected the existence of the indigenous people, leading many native groups to “disappear”. In this sense, we took as a study site the Jaguaribe Valley, in Ceará, which had its territory consolidated from the introduction of livestock and the extermination of the indigenous people.

After the Portuguese invasion of Brazilian territory, sugar production gained strength on the northeastern coast, becoming one of the greatest agricultural riches and the basis of the economy in the colonial period. Livestock, on the other hand, as a secondary activity, had a direct impact on the socio-spatial formation of the hinterland, as in the case of Vale do Jaguaribe. The interiorization of livestock in this region took place along the banks of the Jaguaribe River.

The presence and fixation of the white man disturbed the indigenous people who allied themselves with other groups and resisted the civilizing process. This led to numerous conflicts, including the "War of the Barbarians". These conflicts, along with the expansion of livestock, witnessed the resistance of the indigenous people of the hinterland and contributed strongly to the consolidation of Jaguariban territory.

However, it is important to understand how the new spaces, which are expressed in the manifestations of anthropic actions, since the arrival of the whites and the expulsion of the indigenous people, were consolidated and restructured. Thus, in this work, we seek to analyze the process of socio-spatial formation of the Vale do Jaguaribe region from the entry of livestock and the “disappearance” of the original peoples.

For the construction of this article, the methodology used fits into the investigative means, through a documental and bibliographical bias, as it was characterized by collecting data in documents, books, articles and works by authors who address the theme. In addition

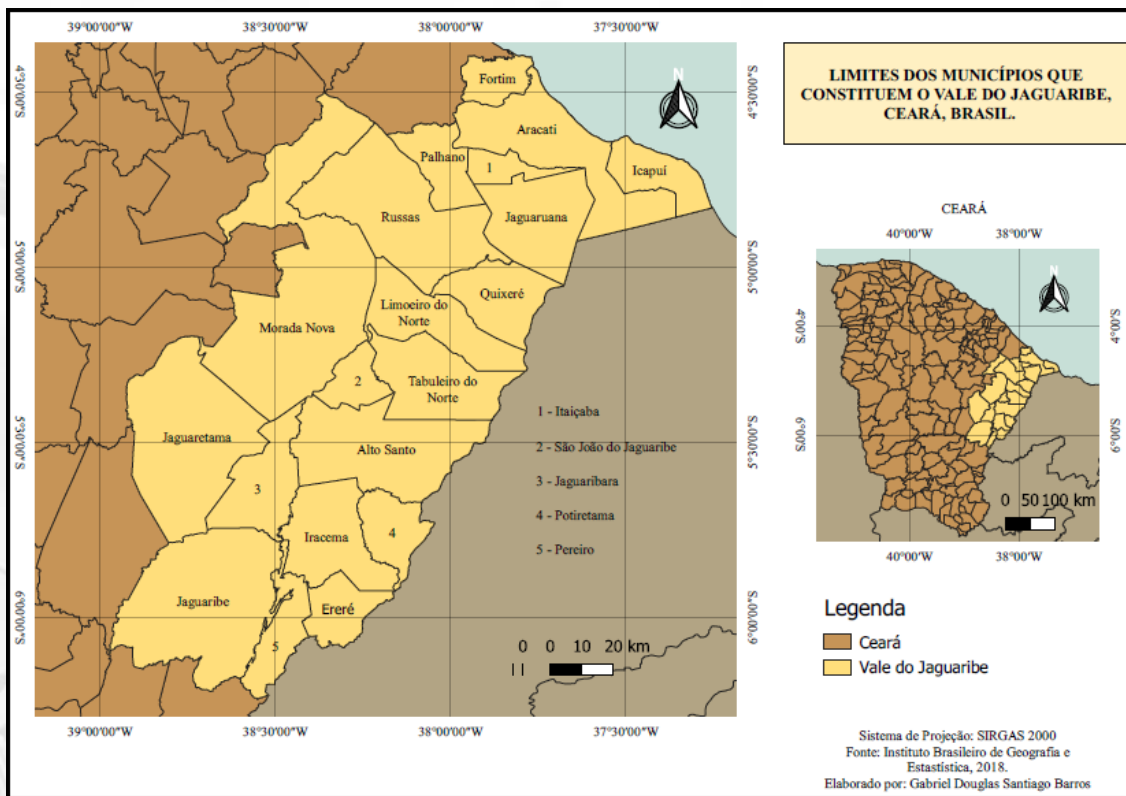
to these means, data taken from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) had a great contribution in the construction of maps and tables. The survey of data for carrying out the research considered the dimension of reality and the different human experiences. In this way, reasons that contributed to the socio-spatial formation of the Jaguaribe Valley were sought.

With this work, it is intended to present the elements responsible for the socio-spatial formation, interconnecting the process of interiorization of livestock and the indigenous extermination in the region of Vale do Jaguaribe. In addition to the introduction and final considerations, the work is divided into four more parts, and in topic two, the original peoples of the Vale do Jaguaribe stand out. In topic three, the socio-spatial formation and the conflicts caused during this process are demonstrated. In topic four, the role of livestock in the process of socio-spatial formation in the Jaguaribe Valley. In topic five, the indigenous (re)existence in the Jaguaribe Valley that is present in toponymy and customs preserved in contemporary times.

## **2 THE ORIGINAL PEOPLE OF THE JAGUARIBE VALLEY**

According to Pedrosa and Almeida (2013), during the colonial period, rivers were of great importance in the development of Brazil, as they were the main routes for the circulation and displacement of people and goods. In Ceará, the Jaguaribe River was one of the most important routes in the introduction of economic activities, mainly livestock, as discussed by Girão (1986). Chaves (2016, p. 55) points out that the first spatial configuration of Ceará was due to the “opening of paths trodden by the Portuguese State and by the social agents involved with the livestock activity”. In Ceará, the Jaguaribe Valley region was consolidated through livestock activity (LIMA, 2002). As it is a vast geographic space in the interior of the state, the Jaguariba region is characterized by its fertility and for following the course of the Jaguaribe River, which was once considered the largest dry river in the world, changing from intermittent to perennial river condition (CAVALCANTE et al, 2006). Today, this territory consists of 20 municipalities, namely: Alto Santo, Aracati, Ererê, Fortim, Icapuí, Itaiçaba, Iracema, Jaguaretama, Jaguaribara, Jaguaribe, Jaguaruana, Limoeiro do Norte, Morada Nova, Palhano, Pereiro, Potiretama, Quixeré, Russas, São João do Jaguaribe and Tabuleiro do Norte, as shown in map 01 below:

**Map 01** - Municipalities that make up the region of Vale do Jaguaribe, Ceará



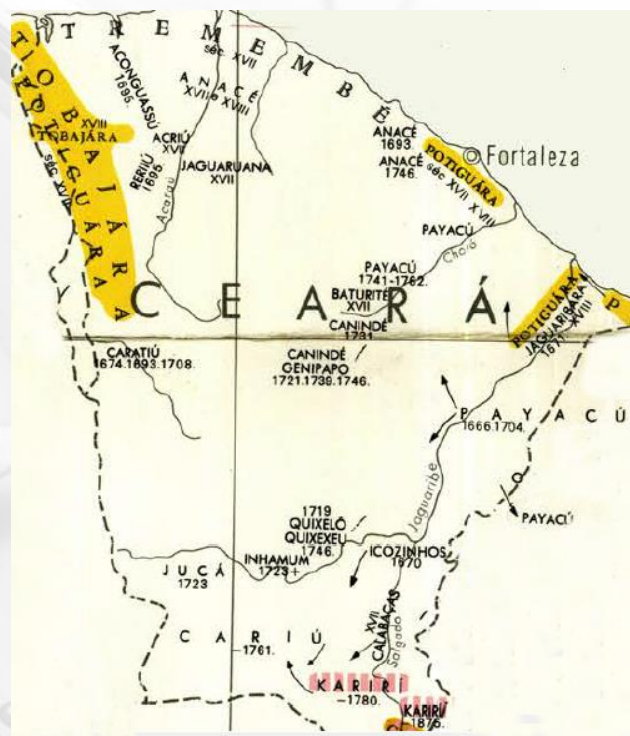
**Source:** Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics. Elaboration: Gabriel Douglas Santiago Barros (2021).

With a hot semi-arid tropical climate in practically the entire territory, and a mild tropical hot semi-arid climate in the Serra do Pereiro region, the Jaguaribe Valley is represented by its natural fertility. It has long been supported by family farming, and in the last decades of the 20th century it became the target of large world corporations, having its current landscape reformulated by the intensive use of modern cultivation and production technologies and products from the agrochemical industry in the development model designed for the countryside from the point of view of agribusiness. This new reconfiguration, mainly in the countryside, led to several social problems, in a territory marked by historical resistance, initiated by the indigenous people, and currently, in the 20th century, it has accentuated the struggle of its peasant population for land and water.

On the indigenous presence on the banks of the Jaguaribe River, Studart Filho (1931) mentions the Potiguara of the Tupi branch and other groups of the Tarairiú branch, also known as Tapuia. The Potiguara who were expelled from Rio Grande do Norte declared themselves opponents of the Portuguese at the beginning of the colonization process in Brazil, but they did not consolidate in the region, as they lived in constant conflicts with the

Europeans and the Tapuia. The Tapuia, on the other hand, were classified as a nation with an independent language, subdividing themselves into groups, such as the Canindé, Jenipapo, Jaguaribara and Paiacu (FERREIRA NETO, 2011).

**Figure 01** – Detail of the ethnohistorical map of Ceará adapted from the map by Nimuendaju (1944)



**Source:** IBGE (1987).

By analyzing figure 01 of the representation of the map of Ceará, it is possible to observe the indigenous groups and the year of invasion of Ceará territory, with emphasis on the Jaguaribara and Paiacu in the Jaguaribe Valley. In the image, we can see that the Canindé and Jenipapo groups were located near the Choró stream and not the Jaguaribe stream, as Ferreira Neto (2011) put it. But it cannot be said that the author is wrong, it is important to consider the circularity of these peoples, who for the most part had the semi-nomadic characteristic in common, which made it difficult to accurately locate them when the Portuguese arrived.

The representation of peoples, called Tapuia, has always been associated with the understanding of the sertão, which until then was an unknown space for Europeans and Tupi peoples, as Apolinário (2009) assures. According to Pompeu Sobrinho (1939), information regarding the Tapuia is scarce and based on information from the Tupi and on

the chronicles of foreigners who had contact with these groups during expeditions. The main traits in order to show the plurality of the autochthonous population of the hinterland were attentive to the semi-nomadic behavior and for living from fishing and hunting.

It is considered that the representation of native peoples has an extremely stereotyped view, and for this reason, indigenous people are often seen as savage and virile. Herckman (1639 apud POMPEU SOBRINHO, 1934), a Dutchman who traveled through the sertão on expeditions, recorded that the Tapuia had “robust bodies”, “strong bones” and a “big head with black, thick and rough hair”. According to the author, these people were always naked, except in times of war, when they covered their bodies with feathers and hid the male member with their own skin and leaves.

As for religion, they had their divine representations, with the presence of sorcerers, healers and seers. In periods of war, the natives consulted their deities in search of information about the results that the confrontations would have. Herckman (1639) alleges that the Tapuia were known for their skills, such as running fast, making their own weapons and valiantly pursuing their enemies. Before going out to battle, they used to dance while holding their weapons. Their armaments consisted of a bow and arrow and a hand ax with long handles.

According to the reports presented by Herckman (1639), the Tapuia were not organized, they led a very relaxed life. They did not have the habit of planting and when the scarce periods arrived, they headed for coastal areas where food, mainly cashew, was more easily found. The cashew fruit, for some indigenous groups spread across the Northeast region of the country, had special attention, it was associated with their mystical vision. As a result, cashew, in addition to basic food, gained mystical meaning, as evidenced by Vicente (2011).

According to Herckman (1639), the Tapuia had their own rituals. One of them was carried out when the boys turned seven to eight years old, when the elder lifted the boy and the others pierced the lower part of the ear and lips, placing a colored stone. This ritual marked virility, and after that they continued the rite with feasts. Another rite was the practice of endocannibalism, that is, when one of them died, the others ate the body. In this act, they believed that they could not be better guarded than within themselves.

Herckman (1639) also points out that if the women gave birth and the child was born dead, they ate in the same way as other corpses. Children learned to walk early and swim at nine to ten weeks of age, which were thrown into the water to learn to swim, so they were excellent swimmers. Herckman (1639) reported that in general some reached a very

advanced age and when they could no longer walk they were carried in hammocks. The older the male native was, the more honored. Different from women, who when they gave birth more than twice were treated like slaves.

Still according to Herckman (1639), in the lands of these natives there were no cattle or other animals that served as food, except the wild pig. In the rivers there were big fish that bit and hurt them when they were swimming. From the trees they took a kind of honey, which they used as food. During their travels, they spent days without finding water, hydrating themselves only from the morning dew that remained on the leaves and between the stones. The Tapuia culture was quite different from the Tupi. According to Pompeu Sobrinho (1939), the Tapuia were inferior when it came to wars. The Tupi looked upon the natives of the hinterland as barbaric and inferior enemies.

This image of the Tapuia is stereotyped, as it is constructed from prejudgments considered by the European colonizer's point of view. The dissemination of the image of native peoples as savage and inferior is a consequence of the domination that is perpetuated by the lack of proper knowledge. The original peoples, during the colonial period, did not develop writing, and the only recorded memories are the result of the invading gaze, which presents them as ferocious monsters of the hinterland. Due to this comes the need to pay attention to the way they are represented, because these representations were created from the vision of European travelers.

The original peoples who inhabited the Jaguaribe Valley had their survival threatened and disappeared during the civilizing process. About the occupied areas, Vicente (2011, p. 16) points out:

The region that borders the Jaguaribe River was inhabited by several native peoples, from different linguistic families, among them the Icó, belonging to the Cariri linguistic family, who occupied lands that went from the right bank of the river to the Peixe River, in Paraíba. On the left bank of the Jaguaribe, close to the coast, as far as the Mundaú river and the Baturité mountain range, lived the Jaguaribara Indians. Still close to the coast were the so-called Anacé people known to rival several other groups in the nearby region. Finally, between the right bank of the lower Jaguaribe, the Apodi; and the river Açú, in the captaincy of Rio Grande, lived the Paiaku Indians, highlighted by several historians as one of the most hostile in the region and constant. misfortune the occupation of the captaincy of Ceará, as Studart Filho put it: 'They thus become

The Jaguaribara and Paiacu were enemies and were in constant conflict. On the one hand, the people who allied themselves with the white man and, on the other, the people who reacted and fought against the oppressive system. Vicente (2011) points to the



Jaguaribara as a strong group that allied with the Portuguese and were seen as a military force in the region. About the Paiacu, a people who strongly resisted the conquest process, there is not much information, as this ethnic group was considerably reduced in a cruel act during a long-lasting conflict known as the “War of the Barbarians”.

This conflict was so named because it was a devastating confrontation between indigenous people from the sertão against the white invaders. The “War of the Barbarians”, which was one of the main conflicts in the Northeast, had a relevant influence on the socio-spatial formation of the Jaguaribe Valley, as it also occurred in this region, and affected the existence of the indigenous people who had their lands taken by the Portuguese. Therefore, it is important to think about and understand the social dynamics of natives' relationships among natives and the relationships that were built with space after the arrival of white men.

### 3 SOCIO-SPATIAL FORMATION AND ITS CONFLICTS

Santos (1988) says that space is the junction of things and relationships, and should be considered, on the one hand, a set of geographic, natural and social objects, and on the other, society in motion. The two sides are not disassociated, having together an important role in the socio-spatial formation, which, according to the author, creates and recreates itself permanently in a spatial order of objects that is parallel to the economic, social and political order, having its own and particular values to the ones men and the actions proceeding from it. Thus, the construction of society and space can be explained by the socio-spatial formation (SANTOS, 1990), which is reflected in the organization and uses of the territory.

The socio-spatial formation of Ceará, discussed by Lima (2002, 2020), was constituted from the taking of land from the indigenous peoples who populated the territory of Ceará. The captaincy of Pernambuco, for not having enough land of its own for raising cattle, ordered its men to set up farms in the captaincy of Ceará. These men crossed dense forests and lands belonging to the natives until they reached the banks of the rivers to put the cattle to graze. This followed the emblematic and violent process of conquest of the sertões of Ceará by livestock, since the cultivation of sugar cane predominated on the coast (GOMES, 2010).

Gomes (2010) points out that with the expansion of sugarcane cultivation on the coast, the conquest of lands in the interior of the captaincy of Ceará began, through which livestock was being pushed to the hinterland and with extreme violence it took over. lands

of the indigenous population. The lands belonging to the natives were expropriated and became part of the “administrative units created under the imposed regulatory orders, dismembering brother peoples” (LIMA, 2020, p. 14).

In the Jaguaribe Valley, breeders found favorable conditions to expand their herds, supply the market for meat and other products, such as leather. It was common for farms to be installed very close to each other, which contributed to the formation of the first urban centers. In this way, in addition to the corrals, the cattle trade collaborated with the capture of the interior of the captaincy:

The cattle trade, whose transport was done through the herd roads, was what allowed a greater occupation of Ceará space, including the birth of urban centers. Some of these nuclei, which already existed, expanded with the movement of merchants from one place to another, such as the example of Crato: it occurred from 1850 onwards, with the arrival of merchants from Icó to Crato, there was a great outbreak of commercial (DINIZ, 1989 apud LIMA, 2002).

The introduction of livestock activity was responsible for the occupation and economy of the vast area of Jaguariban territory, as evidenced by Lima (2002). According to Valverde (1967), the Jaguaribe River, the sparse vegetation of the Caatinga, the relief, the spontaneous outcrops sought by the cattle, among other factors, facilitated access to this region, but other elements such as the lack of water linked to droughts intermittent and poor pastures did not facilitate its consolidation.

The conquest of the sertaneja lands took place mainly along the riverbanks, and in Ceará the Jaguaribe and Acaraú streams were the most important in this process. Carvalho (2013) points out that in addition to entering these two rivers, Bahian explorers who were heading towards the state of Piauí, followed the São Francisco River and arrived in Ceará through the Cariri region. The author also talks about an expedition carried out by Captain-General Pero Coelho de Souza, who left Paraíba towards Maranhão to expel the Dutch and entered Ceará, where he had contact with indigenous leaders.

The toponym of the Jaguariba region presents the name and importance of the main river, the Jaguaribe, which was the most important in the historical process of occupation of the lands of the hinterland of Ceará, being the "gateway" for cattle ranchers coming from Rio Grande of the North and Pernambuco (SILVA, 2013). The introduction of cattle raising was responsible for the economic occupation of a large area of the territory corresponding

to the Jaguaribe Valley, as evidenced by Girão (1986) and Lima (2002). The intensification of settlement on this riverside took place at the end of the 17th century.

As in the entire Brazilian territory, this process of taking land took place through numerous conflicts. First, and continually, foreigners against natives, then foreigners against foreigners. These conflicts were more present on the sugar coast, as the Portuguese-Hispanic kingdom had a rivalry with the Dutch and French, which was fueled by raids and invasions of possessions. In Ceará, the Dutch invasion occurred because the territory was weakened and abandoned by the Iberian crown. Not happy, the Portuguese enforced territorial domination with the settlement of vacant lands, which belonged to the indigenous people of the hinterland and which they saw as useless lands (CARVALHO, 2013).

Vicente (2011) points out that before the arrival of the Europeans, the indigenous population followed their own social and cultural systems, since alliances and confrontations were established among themselves. With the presence of whites, these systems underwent modifications as a result of a new discipline and social logic imposed by the invader. This process was cruel, giving no choice to the natives who had to modify their sociability in the face of the invasion of their territories. Andrade (1986, apud LIMA, 2002, p. 7) summarizes the clash between natives and whites:

The various indigenous groups that dominated the sertaneja caatingas could not see with good eyes the penetration of the white man who arrived with cattle, slaves and aggregates and settled in the most fertile streams. They built houses, erected stick-and-mud corrals and released the cattle to pasture, driving the Indians to the mountains or to the caatingas of the interfluves, where there was a lack of water almost all year round. Living in the Stone Age, making a living mainly from hunting and fishing, the indigenous people believed they had the right to slaughter the settlers' oxen and horses, as they did any other game. After the animal was slaughtered, vindication and the reaction to the indigenous people came and, finally, the war. War that caused the devastation of the interior and which ended with the annihilation of powerful tribes and the settlement of the remnants. War that made possible the occupation, by livestock, of Ceará, of Rio Grande do Norte from almost all of Paraíba.

The invaders, with the raising of cattle, began to control more land, increasing their domain through the expropriation, expulsion and massacres of indigenous people who were replaced by cattle and used as slave labor. From livestock farming, other activities were spreading, as was the case with cotton production, which also made use of indigenous labor. "The boom in cotton as an alternative product of Ceará's economy took place in small-sized

properties, usually in the hands of partners and tenants of the large estates” (FERREIRA NETO, 2011, p. 26).

As asserted by Palitot (2009, p. 67), “this region was reputed to be the best area for raising cattle, starting to be occupied by sesmeiros around the end of the 1670s”. The distribution of sesmarias, understood as lots granted to Europeans in the name of the King of Portugal, was a painful event for the life of the native peoples of the Jaguariban region. This administrative measure, for the European, aimed to cultivate uncultivated land and intensify the population of the region. The “uncultivated” lands were divided and registered as abandoned lands, but which actually belonged to the natives who lost their territory to the installation and perpetuation of the white men's greed.

Livestock did not generate as much capital as sugar production. As it was being consolidated, resources became increasingly scarce, and, to meet the need, they enslaved the indigenous people. In relation to this situation that the indigenous people were subjected to, Ribeiro (1995) describes them as “slaves of the poor”, as indigenous labor was cheaper.

In addition to livestock, there were also religious expeditions, which aimed to catechize indigenous people, who in turn were known for their courage, for not easily allowing themselves to succumb to the desires of the white man. The behavior of the indigenous people did not seem correct in the colonizer's view, and therefore the need to significantly change the lives of these peoples. They offered a false peace and parties so that in a moment of relaxation they could convert the natives. Through these onslaughts, at certain times the colonizing Christians were able to carry out their mission of catechizing.

These missions came with the idea of destroying cultural manifestations that did not match the European colonizing and religious vision, which, together with cattle raising, took over land and tormented the lives of indigenous people who strongly resisted. Appreciation for the territory was one of the reasons for resistance. Defeated by the aggravation of the exterminating and ethnocidal colonizing process, and with the consolidation of livestock, the indigenous people found themselves between white slavery and the oppression of religion.

With the formation of population centers linked to cattle and missions, the natives realized that their space was being reformulated and adapted to the unending ambition of the white man. According to Lima (2002), the reformulation of the system and the geographic space modified the functions and gave rise to new ways of meeting the production flows and new relationships, which suited the modernity of that time. All of this, associated with other factors, led to the process of intensification of Jaguariban socio-spatial formation through the extermination of indigenous peoples.

The occupation of Vale do Jaguaribe was heading towards a violent process, pressured by an irreversible structure. As an alternative, indigenous groups have established survival strategies, whether individual or collective. This led to numerous conflicts, with the “War of the Barbarians” being the most representative of the history of resistance and socio-spatial formation in the region.

The “War of the Barbarians” was so named because it was a devastating, long-lasting and bloody confrontation between indigenous people from the sertão against white invaders between the 17th and 18th centuries (SILVA, 2018). Outraged by the system that was being consolidated, many Tapuia groups joined forces to fight the colonization process. This conflict, in particular, because it also happened in the Jaguaribe Valley, influenced the existence and the paths taken by the indigenous groups in that region.

This conflict placed the Tapuia as an obstacle in the colonization project. In the context of the “War of the Barbarians”, Araújo (2007) points out that many changes to the military enterprise were applied to contain indigenous resistance. For Studart Filho (1958), the Tapuia united in an organized and generalized resistance in the Captaincy of the North to fight against the advance of the colonization process. Vicente (2011, p. 78) disagrees and believes that the indigenous people could have been encouraged by the “confrontation that took place between other groups and, thus, decided to also build resistance to the colonizers, but it would be very unlikely that this resistance would have been built in a timely manner. organized way”.

According to Araújo (2007), the invaders relied on the help of the “paulistas”, who were military specialists in massacring indigenous people. Abreu (1954 apud ARAÚJO, 2007), citing an anonymous author in relation to the “War of the Barbarians”, says that without these men the invader would have no chance of victory against the Tapuia who were protagonists in this conflict.

During the conflict, to contain the indigenous resistance, villages and prisons were installed so that the indigenous people could form an alliance and the settlement of the territory could be carried out. With the transformative advances generated by this fight, the indigenous people lost land, were marginalized, arrested and inserted in the settlements. Some indigenous people who managed to escape were persecuted and raped. These indigenous people, in moments that required resistance, were interpreted as savages by the residents of the region, who used the so-called “just war” to contain them.

For this “just war” to be installed, it was necessary to follow some conditions, as stated by Araújo (2007, p. 17):

Álvaro Pais then enumerated five conditions for carrying out a just war: first, the persona, which was the condition in which laity and clerics could participate in a war, although priests should restrict themselves to spiritual work; second, the res, which was the pre-existing condition of an injustice on the part of the adversary for war to be declared; third, the cause, a condition that predicted that war was a necessary evil to achieve peace, even if “by itself” it was considered evil; fourth, the animus, which was the condition that even though the war had a legitimate motive, it could become unjust if the intention was driven by hatred or revenge; and fifth and last, auctoritas, which was the condition that only the Prince or the Church is given a declaration of war, as a declaration of war by private individuals was void.

The “just war” was an exterminating instrument used to justify the imprisonment and enslavement of indigenous people, using as an argument the hostility of indigenous people when they rebelled, that is, when they showed resistance. This movement had numerous consequences for the natives, in which women and children were raped and captured, and adult men, almost entirely, were executed, as stated by Ferreira Neto (2011).

The relationships that the natives had with these spaces were reinvented several times and in many ways. These conflicting episodes were responsible for the identity reconfiguration of the originals of the land and for the restructuring of the Jaguariban territory until the present day. Several times they needed to reinvent themselves and resist in the face of the situations posed. These confrontations, such as the “Guerra dos Bárbaros” and the “just war”, reduced the indigenous strength in the region to the point of leading to their supposed “disappearance”, since from that moment on they needed to re-elaborate their spaces, beliefs and customs in order to guarantee your survival.

#### **4 INVASIONS OF WHITES AND OXEN: THE ROLE OF LIVESTOCK**

The socio-spatial formation of Brazil was centered on carrying out economic activities, mainly those that were installed in the Northeast, on the coast sugar cane and in the semi-arid hinterland, livestock. The first installed in the Zona da Mata, favored by the climate and soil fertility, and the other, centered on cattle raising, which due to the scarcity of economic attractions, such as gold and high-value spices, was inserted by the Crown in the hinterland seeking guarantee large agrarian properties to facilitate the definitive appropriation of the territory.

According to Lima (2020), livestock, which was expelled from the coast by sugar production, emerges as a complementary activity to the colonial economy of the Portuguese

crown. According to Valverde (1967), until the mid-nineteenth century, the three main breeding zones were: the south of Minas Gerais, the plains and plateaus of the south and the sertões of the northeast.

In the northernmost part of the hinterland, carved by valleys, is Ceará, formerly called the Captaincy of Siará-Grande. In this, there is the Jaguaribe Valley, whose lands were occupied by large cattle ranches (LIMA, 2020). Entering through the Jaguaribe stream, livestock had its routes well defined. This stream was the regulator of the occupation of Vale do Jaguaribe and is considered one of the most important areas of Ceará (PINHEIRO, 1999 apud GUERRA, 2012). According to Lima (2020, p. 111), “the breeders found favorable conditions to expand their herds, in order to serve the regional market for meat and other products, such as leather”.

In the region, and meeting with the natives, white men offered horses in exchange for land, but not everyone was willing to lose their land and reacted, resulting in episodes of extreme violence. Valverde (1967) points out that, according to the Royal Order of December 27, 1695, farms followed a pattern and had to be measured along a river, three leagues long and one league wide on each bank. The farms were not divided with fences, and there was a space of a league between the lands.

According to Valverde (1967) and Mendes (2016), cattle raising was quite obsolete. Animal care boiled down to healing wounds and defending wild animals. Raised loose in the pasture, the cattle were branded with iron to demonstrate that they were the property of some farmer. In addition to being goods, they were used as freight, but on the journeys they ended up dying of exhaustion, hunger and thirst.

Even with the characteristic dryness of the region, with little rainfall, and with indigenous resistance to the installation of farms, the whites continued to settle on the land. Lima (2002, p. 6) talks about a port built in Aracati that shows the economic boost that livestock found in the Jaguariban region:

Later, despite the droughts and the reaction of the indigenous people and always penetrating unknown lands, the cowboys were able to establish themselves on the banks of the Jaguaribe River. The port built, called Porto dos Barcos (Aracati), soon came to serve as an outlet for meat. The portal that would provide conditions for the flow of people and goods between the colony and other more dynamic centers, such as Recife and Salvador, was consolidated. The invasion of the Dutch to Pernambuco, the consequent skirmishes to expel them, boosted the immigration of Pernambuco, Portuguese and Paraíba to the Jaguaribe region. With this flow of immigrants, Aracati gained momentum as a center of power and production.

Lima (2002) also points out that the beef and leather trade made Aracati one of the first economically developed areas in Ceará. The flows of goods coming from the higher areas of the Jaguaribe Valley were directed towards the coast of Aracati. In addition to Aracati, the author also mentions another nucleus of livestock activity, the Vila de Russas, whose settlement and socio-spatial formation was the result of the occupation of cattle ranches and plantations.

Vicente (2011) says that cowboys in the corrals lived and slept outdoors and had meat and milk, as well as fruits and honey found in nature. In addition, the author says that new farms were established through the remuneration of the cowboys in the practice of quartering, in which for every four calves born, one belonged to the cowboy. This accelerated the expansion of cattle raising in the Jaguariban region.

Cattle were also used to transport goods from the mills, and the taxes collected were the main source of fighting the natives and blacks who resisted the Crown. This resistance took place because the occupation of the territory by the Portuguese considered that for the installation of farms it was essential to dispossess the indigenous population and enslave black Africans.

The entry of white men with their oxen and households into these lands was not satisfactory for the local indigenous people. The installation of farms in the most fertile areas of the Jaguaribe Valley expelled the natives to places where the scarcity of water was more intense. The indigenous people, who previously took their livelihood from nature, such as hunting and fishing, began to slaughter cattle. The rebellious whites subjected the indigenous people to annihilation and the settlement of the remaining settlements so that the territory would be completely occupied by cattle ranching (ANDRADE, 1986 apud LIMA, 2002).

In the socio-spatial formation of the Jaguariban territory under the oppressive system, the indigenous lands came to be dominated by the white man. It was a cruel process that did not give the native the opportunity to participate in this socio-political-economic system in a way that would benefit him. Livestock and large estates were consolidated on land and the existence of indigenous people, who did not easily surrender to the ethnocide caused by the arrival of Europeans. The invader, coldly, took the reins of the process, erasing the undesirable edges, taking the native out of his customs and inserting him into his system. In this way, what was left was a mockery of people made inferior by the colonizing process, without identities and made invisible in time and space.



## 5 INDIGENOUS (RE)EXISTENCE IN THE JAGUARIBE VALLEY

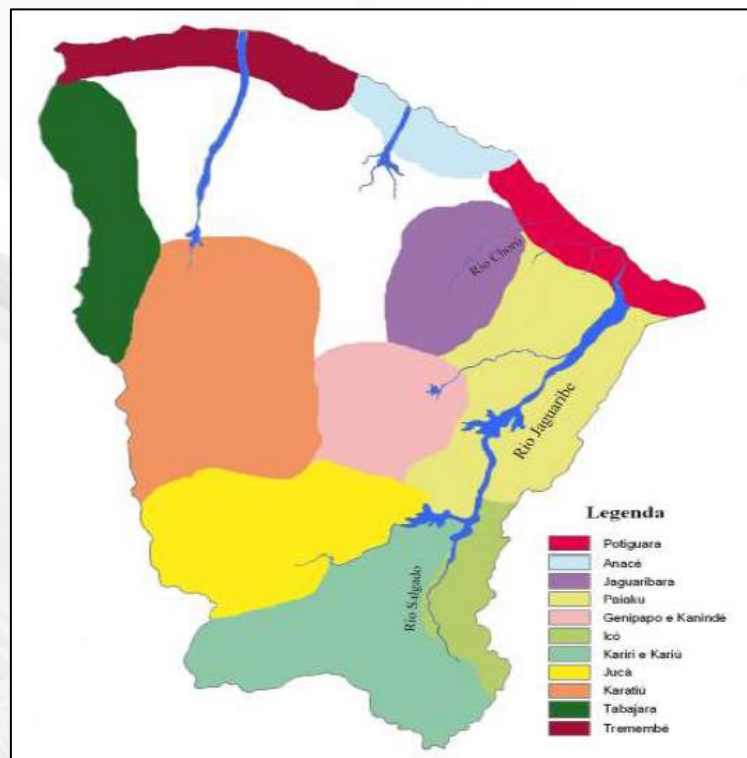
The issue of ethnic issues has occupied an important place in contemporary social struggles, and more and more indigenous groups are emerging on the political scene claiming their rights. According to Leite Neto (2006), the Northeast, highlighting the state of Ceará, is one of the territories in which this search for recognition has shown the most since the last decades of the 20th century. Antunes (2012, p. 9) points out that “Ceará is considered the third state in the Northeast in which, numerically, the phenomenon of ethnic resurgence is more latent”.

This is because Ceará was one of the first states in Brazil to declare that there were no native peoples in its territory. This is because during the 19th century each Nation State adapted its political, socioeconomic and cultural practices to the models of European civilization that denied the presence and influence of indigenous peoples and blacks. For this reason, the provincial government of Ceará, in a decree of the year 1863, stated that there was no indigenous presence in Ceará, claiming that they had already mixed with the current society. This attitude propagated the logic of the ideology of the national state, reflecting even today in indigenous existence (ANTUNES, 2012).

Debates about indigenous issues in the Jaguaribe Valley are still very limited, as unlike other places in Ceará, the indigenous peoples of this region were almost completely exterminated. They didn't leave many records and the information is currently very limited, fragmented and of dubious veracity. Even so, Vicente (2011) prepared a map with the distribution of the indigenous peoples of Ceará in the 17th century, and in the region corresponding to the Vale do Jaguaribe we can observe the presence of some groups, especially the Paiacu and Potiguara, but also the Jaguaribara, Icó, Jenipapo and Canindé.

With the consolidation of livestock, Dornelles (2017) says that the invaders claimed that indigenous people from Ceará were “mixed” and living alongside “civilization”. This denial and silencing of the ethnic condition was a method used for the appropriation of native lands. Denying indigenous identities implies the denial of rights, among which, naturally, is the right to collective ownership of land (XAVIER, 2015).

**Figure 02** – Distribution of the indigenous peoples of Ceará in the 17th century



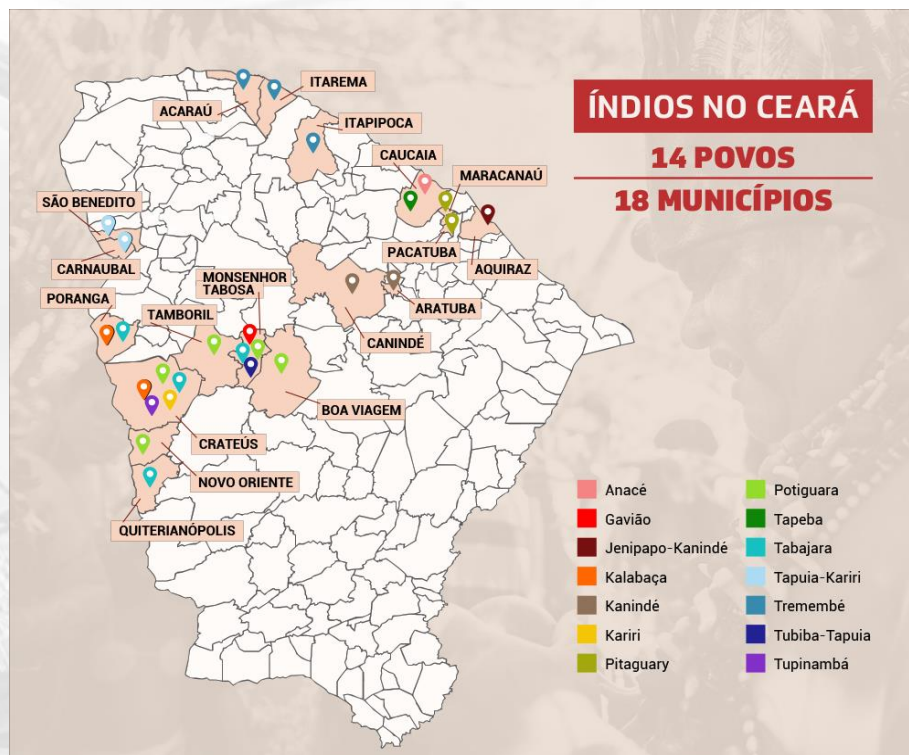
**Source:** Vicente (2011, p. 11)

In the Jaguaribe Valley, as a result of this denial and the conflicts caused by the white presence, the installation of farms and religious missions, the indigenous people were forced to seek other means to survive. Some groups allied themselves with the invader, such as the Potiguara, and others, like the Paiaku, resisted in defense of their territory until they had no more strength and were settled in villages, where they were victims of extermination. The fate of these peoples was overwhelming, since oscillating between religious indoctrination and colonizing domination, violence was persistent. In addition to the diseases that the Europeans carried in their bodies, the owners of the farms changed their work regime and entered into conflict with missionaries, who sought religious strengthening and the monopolization of the indigenous people (FERREIRA NETO, 2011).

Considering these events, we can reflect on the absence of the Paiaku ethnic group and the lack of other groups occupying the Vale do Jaguaribe region in contemporary times, as shown in Figure 03, which shows the indigenous distribution of Ceará in 2019. Porto Alegre (1992) explains the issue of absence based on the concept of “indigenous disappearance”, which is a problem that can only be known and recognized if the discourse is turned to the past. The author believes that the natives were silenced about the notion of

assimilation, which for her is characterized as “disappearance”, resulting in the process of ethnic miscegenation and spatial distribution of the population.

**Figure 03 - Distribution of indigenous peoples in Ceará in 2019**



Source: Montefusco (2019).

However, even with the absence of the indigenous population of Vale do Jaguaribe on the map in Figure 3, according to data from the IBGE Demographic Census, corresponding to the years 1991, 2000 and 2010, some Jaguaribe municipalities showed the presence of individuals who declared themselves indigenous peoples, as can be seen in Table 01.

**Table 01 - Self-declared indigenous population in the Jaguaribe Valley (1991-2010)**

Municipality	Year		
	1991	2000	2010
Alto Santo	-	35	-
Aracati	-	66	100
Ererê	-	6	-
Fortim	-	6	-
Icapuí	-	-	-
Iracema	-	5	24
Itaiçaba	-	-	17

Jaguaretama	-	-	6
Jaguaribara	-	-	-
Jaguaribe	-	44	-
Jaguaruana	-	15	91
Limoeiro do Norte	173	30	17
Morada Nova	-	-	34
Palhano	-	-	-
Pereiro	3	5	-
Potiretama	-	-	8
Quixeré	-	-	6
Russas	-	44	27
São João do Jaguaribe	-	-	-
Tabuleiro do Norte	-	78	9
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>176</b>	<b>334</b>	<b>339</b>

**Source:** IBGE Demographic Census (1991-2010).

The capture of the “indigenous” category in the Demographic Census was only possible from the year 1991, with the self-declaration in the item “color or race”, as put by Azevedo (2008). Thus, people who identify themselves as indigenous in the Census are not necessarily or directly linked to an ethnic group. Azevedo (2008) points out that people who fit into this category identify themselves, even without knowing their ancestry, as “descendant Indians”. This includes people who live in cities but who recognize that they belong to a specific ethnic group, people who reside in Indigenous Lands and people who claim to belong to specific peoples/ethnic groups who are seeking recognition.

Therefore, it is possible to observe that this self-declared indigenous population in the Jaguaribe Valley contemplates several aspects, be they physiognomic, cultural and social, since no ethnicity is recognized in this region, as shown in Figure 03. If it is verified that from 1991 to 2010, as the numbers decrease in the municipalities where they presented self-declared indigenous people, in the municipalities without this contingent they begin to be registered. This may be related to the phenomenon of ethnic appreciation, in which people or community groups come to recognize their indigenous ancestry.

Absent in Figure 03, but with a self-declared population in contemporaneity revealed by the IBGE Censuses, the Jaguaribe Valley carries with it the memory of the original peoples, who even despite centuries of confrontations, mark the toponymy of the region. Silva and Isquerdo (2020) point out that reflecting on toponymy is looking at the beginning of the formation of Brazilian society and considering the diversity of peoples, languages and cultures that existed here. The numerous indigenous toponyms

preserved until today also reflect on the influence of these peoples in the socio-spatial formation of the Jaguaribe Valley.

According to Sampaio (1928), Europeans left the coast for the sertão and used Tupi, the predominant language on the coast that served as a vehicle for conquering the territory, to name rivers, mountains, valleys and even native peoples. The meanings of the names followed the local characteristics. In this way, toponymy assumes an important role in sociocultural preservation and through it it is possible to perceive the characterization of places and understand the geographic location of any of them. Chart 01 shows the meanings of the names of some municipalities in Vale do Jaguaribe that have this ancestral heritage.

**Chart 01** – Indigenous toponymy of the municipalities of Vale do Jaguaribe.

City Name	Meaning
Aracati	Sea air / air impregnated with bad smell
Ererê	Marreca, small palmiped.
Itaiçaba	Passage of stones.
Jaguaretama	Place of the Jaguar.
Jaguaribara	Residents of Rio das Onças.
Jaguaribe	River of Jaguars.
Jaguaruana	Similar to the black jaguar.
Quixeré	Narrow river with brackish waters.
Iracema	The exit of the bees, the swarm. It can translate to the outflow or flow of honey.
Icapuí	Mato fino.
Potiretama	Region of flowers

**Source:** prepared by the authors based on Sampaio (1987).

Toponymy is one of the most visible forms of ancestral testimony in our society and of great importance in the chronicle of geographic space. Thus, with indigenous peoples extinct in the official discourse, but alive and active in the social scenario”, as Xavier (2015, p. 269) put it, this phenomenon shows the protagonist subjects of history. The diverse manifestations of the natives that arose from the conflicts against the foreigners, re-elaborate their way of existence. In addition to toponymy, in the Jaguariba region there is a tree, the carnaúba, which has symbolic, cultural and economic value for the local population. The name of this tree comes from Tupi and means “tree that scratches”. Vicente (2011) assumes that there are indications that indigenous groups, especially the Paiacu,

We can assume that this practice of working with carnauba straw is ancestral, and is still present in the region. In contemporary times, the economy of some municipalities,

such as Itaíçaba, is based on crafts made from straw from this tree, historically present in the Jaguaribe Valley. Most of the time, it is women who make the pieces and many of them do not remember how and when they started this work, because from a very early age this teaching is passed on from mother to daughter, revealing a possibly indigenous ancestry in this craft.

Even though they were brutally violated, assimilated to the society that was being built, these peoples tell us that they were here and resisted before us through their strong presence in the toponymy of the municipalities and in the preserved customs, as in the craft of weaving carnauba straw. Despite the colonial attempt to eliminate their habits, customs and cultures, the indigenous people were not trapped in the past, they continue to reinvent themselves, transform and organize themselves to this day. That's why we must preserve in memory the struggle of these peoples, so we don't forget to fight and resist for the territory that is ours.

## 6 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The colonial system modified the space several times for its own benefit, and from these modifications carried out at different times it is possible to understand the current materialized space. The socio-spatial formation is a product of these modifications and of these different times that were surrounded by violence and inequality.

It is argued that the indigenous people were the biggest contributors in this process, as all economic activities were developed on indigenous lands. It was they who lost their space to a cruel and devastating enemy, faced the dynamics that surrounded and involved them. They sought to rebuild themselves within this dynamic, they succumbed to the economic and social rationality of this violent process, they were made inferior, they lost their identities and disappeared.

Livestock was an incisive factor in the socio-spatial formation of the Jaguaribe Valley. With the introduction of this economic activity, social relations were modified and land was taken. Lima (2020, p. 184) says that from this process, the society that was consolidated was “aristocratic, with sources of wealth coming from the rural environment, the rooting of traditional families with secular economic and political dominance and broad connections to exogenous interests”.

It is understood, then, that the socio-spatial formation of the Jaguaribe Valley involves many struggles against the homogeneity of the territory that ended up producing it

under the ambition of the white man and the imposition of silence in the face of the struggle of the original peoples to remain in their territory. In this sense, this analysis, which deals with an important aspect of the history of the Jaguariban region, allows us to interpret its socio-spatial formation from a painful process, with the entry of whites and livestock, which together legitimized the expropriation of indigenous lands. This process forced the indigenous peoples from that region to integrate and disappear in society and in the space that was produced.

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