

Eternal present and history of the present time: encounters, controversies and possibilities

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Abstract

On February 9, 1914, the ideal of an egalitarian society, represented by the Holy Brotherhood of monks José and João Maria, was interrupted by the bombing of the Holy City of Taquaruçu, led by an alliance of coronels, politicians, and military men from Santa Catarina, southern Brazil. Almost a century later, this societal project resurfaced through the cultural group Renascença Cabocla, founded by descendants of the monks' devotees. This article investigates the continuity of the Brotherhood's religious and social values over time, highlighting Taquaruçu's role in the memory of the conflict known as the Contestado War and how the group Renascença Cabocla keeps these ideals alive in the present. Based on theoretical discussions about history of the present time and influenced by Gilles Deleuze's concept of temporality, this study proposes a reflection on the coexistence between the past and the present. Thus, it identifies in the ideal of the Holy Brotherhood, briefly lived in Taquaruçu, and in the group Renascença an 'extended and sacred time' that transcends linear chronology. This approach suggests a review of the historical temporality that guides history of the present time, introducing the notion of an 'eternal time' — a continuous and expansive present, as formulated by Deleuze when discussing the event's structure between the times of Cronos and Aion. In this way, it proposes an expansion of the conception of historical time that guides, as a rule, the temporal notion that serves as the epistemological basis for history of the present time, as it has been debated and practiced today.

Keywords: historical temporality; event; Contestado War; perpetual present; Aion and Cronos; history in the present time.

Presente eterno e história do tempo presente: encontros, controvérsias e possibilidades

Resumo

Em 9 de fevereiro de 1914, o ideal de uma sociedade igualitária, representado pela Santa Irmandade dos monges José e João Maria, foi interrompido pelo bombardeio da Cidade Santa de Taquaruçu, conduzido por uma aliança de coronéis, políticos e militares de Santa Catarina, região sul do Brasil. Quase um século depois, esse projeto de sociedade ressurgiu através do grupo cultural Renascença Cabocla, fundado por descendentes de devotos dos monges. Este artigo investiga a continuidade dos valores religiosos e sociais da Irmandade ao longo do tempo, destacando o papel de Taquaruçu na memória do conflito chamado Guerra do Contestado e como o grupo Renascença Cabocla mantém vivos esses ideais no presente. Com base em discussões teóricas sobre a história do tempo presente e influenciado pela concepção de temporalidade de Gilles Deleuze, o estudo propõe uma reflexão sobre a coexistência entre o passado e o presente. Identifica-se, assim, no ideal da Santa Irmandade vivido brevemente em Taquaruçu e no grupo Renascença um "tempo alargado e sagrado", que transcende a cronologia linear. Essa abordagem sugere uma revisão da temporalidade histórica que orienta a história do tempo presente, introduzindo a noção de um "tempo eterno" — um presente contínuo e expansivo, como elaborado por Deleuze ao discutir a estrutura do acontecimento entre os tempos Cronos e Aion. Dessa forma, propõe uma ampliação da concepção de tempo histórico que orienta, via de regra, a noção temporal que serve de base epistemológica a história do tempo presente, tal como tem sido debatida e praticada na atualidade.

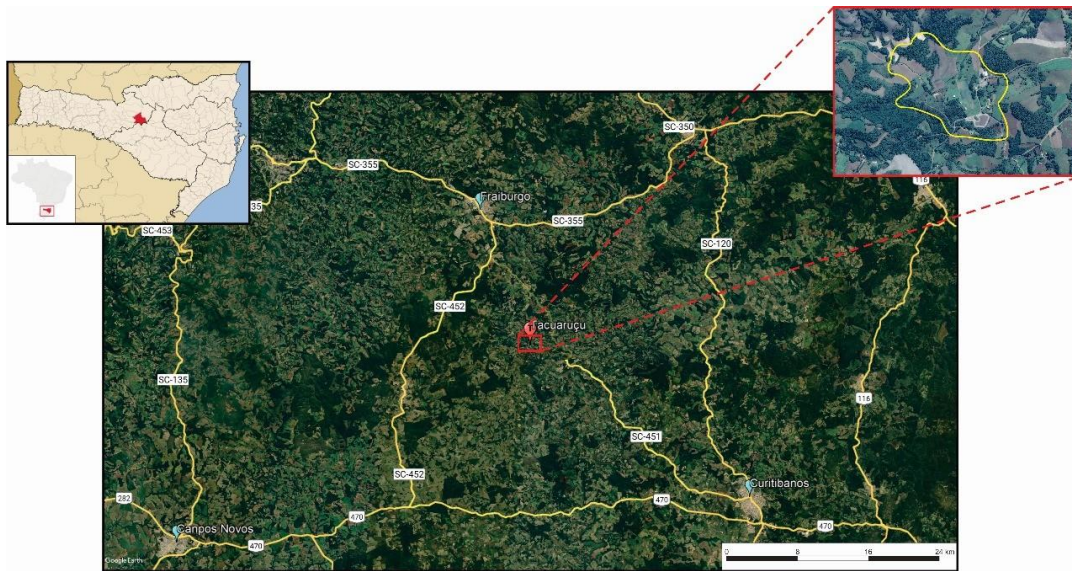
Palavras-chave: temporalidade histórica; acontecimento; Guerra do Contestado; presente eterno; Aion e Cronos; história do tempo presente.

Introduction

On February 9, 1914, the community of Taquaruçu, which called itself “Holy Brotherhood of the monks José and João Maria” and sought an egalitarian society, was attacked by government forces. The alliance between colonels, politicians, and military men from western Santa Catarina resulted in the bombing of the city. Almost a century later, descendants of the participants in this socio-religious movement, known as the Contestado War, founded the Grupo Cultural Renascença Cabocla (GCRC). The goal was to revive the ideals of the Holy Brotherhood and rebuild a community based on the principles of equality and fraternity through the celebration of traditions, beliefs and practices inherited from their ancestors.

As we can see on the map below (Image 1), the community of Taquaruçu is located in the mid-west of the State of Santa Catarina, in southern Brazil. The landscape of this region is marked by the presence of the Atlantic Forest, although today much of it has been converted into agricultural areas and pastures. The region has a mountainous relief, with altitudes that vary significantly, and this directly influences the weather and local vegetation. The mixed rainforest, a subdivision of the Atlantic Forest, is predominant in the region. This vegetation formation is characterized by the presence of large trees, such as *araucárias*, *imbuías*, and *cambuías*, in addition to a rich biodiversity. In winter, temperatures drop and can reach zero degrees. These climatic and natural landscape factors were key to the settlement system in the region, as well as to set strategies for occupying the territory. During the Contestado War, these characteristics were also important both for the military attack strategy and for the rebel defense tactics.

Image 1 – Location map of the study area



Source: Google Earth, 2024.

Between the 1913 bombing and the current organization of Renascença Cabocla, many events took place. However, some logics of social and religious structure remained. What the two historical moments have in common is the *motto* for the analytical approach that follows. This is because, one hundred years after the Taquaruçu massacre (the name by which it became historically known), the number of holy cities multiplied between March 1914 and July 1916; the characterization of those who lived in holy cities remained as fanatics and bandits; the association between the army, colonels, and the church managed to destroy all the subsequent holy cities, arrest some leaders, and execute others; it is astonishing to those who conduct research on the conflict to realize that the dream of the Holy Brotherhood is still alive today.

What is the place of Taquaruçu in the history and social and historiographical memory of the Contestado War? How can we interconnect the history of this experience, which took place in the early 20th century, to the temporality common to the field that, in the history of historiography, we name history of the present time (HPT)? To answer these questions, we test the hypothesis that despite the setbacks and the narrative structures themselves about the Contestado, this historical episode was central to the future developments of the sociopolitical organization of the Holy Brotherhood, as well as to the framing of a social and religious memory that persists in the 21st

century. And all this despite, or because of, the accumulation of more than a century of media and historiographical works about the Contestado. Taquaruçu resisted and today is reborn not so much in discourses, but in the logic of a movement that dances, that keeps alive the devotion to the monk, that revives basic life experiences that took place in the short (because interrupted) existence of holy cities in the early 20th century. Put bluntly, the hypothesis advocated is that Renascença Cabocla and the Holy City of Taquaruçu are connected by the same historical temporality: that of an eternal, extended, unique present.

To advocate this argument, we propose, first, to introduce the discussions about the temporal boundaries of history of the present time based on the historiography recurrently called upon to theoretically and methodologically ground the field. In this same topic, the debate about the event's temporality begins, as addressed by the philosopher Giles Deleuze. Next, we propose to introduce what the Taquaruçu massacre was, highlight its impact on the contemporaries of this conflict and, finally, analyze its power, revived in the present, through the existence of a cultural organization named Renascença Cabocla, hereinafter referred to as the Renascença.

To what extent is the Holy City, materialized in 1914 in the Taquaruçu of São João and São José Maria, and in the 21st century in the Renascença, both multiple and singular? Is it both present and past? Based on these questions, it is argued that Taquaruçu and Renascença are connected by means of an extended historical time that subverts the chronological order and is situated in a divine present, whose patron is not Cronos, but Aion. Underlying this analysis there is the wish to intervene in the contemporary historiographical debate on the temporal landmarks of history of the present time, adding, to the chronological landmarks, the debate on the double temporal structure of the event.

The sources used to produce this analysis range from reports collected and produced by military men in the heat of the moment, that is, at the time of repression of the conflict, to memories of survivors of the Contestado, testimonies of people recorded in historical documentaries, and the profile of the group Renascença on the social media.

History of the present time, the event and historical time

Once established as a field of historical study, history of the present time began to face a challenge: to define precisely when the period it analyzes begins. Historians dedicated to this field have asked about the chronological milestones that mark the transition to the 'present,' a concept that is fluid and constantly changing. Influenced by François Simiand's critique of the 'chronological idol' (Simiand, 2003) in the early 20th century, these researchers have sought to overcome the historical community's fixation on delimiting exactly when the present announced in the title of the new historiographical field begins.

The first director of the Institute of History of the Present Time (Institut d'Histoire du Temps Présent [IHTP]), François Bédarida (2006), argues that history of the present time is 'the new Clio's workshop.' Accompanied by other members of the same institute, the historian says that the historiographical turn towards the present, initiated by the approach designed within the IHTP, opened a gap in the debate on historical temporality. A turning point, the author justifies, for having faced and confronted the complex relationships between history and memory, between identity demands and the so-called crisis of social science paradigms, so hotly debated in the 1970s.

Aware of the fact that the present, as historical time, is of the order of fluidity, the accidental, and what goes by, that there is, in the language consolidated by Reinhart Koselleck (2006), a present in the past, a present in the future, and a present of the order of the now, Bédarida established that history of the present time consists of mobile temporal landmarks, or provisional dwellings, since the present is updated indefinitely, and can, with the passing of time, turning itself into past-past. And it was this distanced past, detached from the present, that allowed and structured the emergence of history as a subject in the 19th century.

François Dosse (2012) and Christian Delacroix (2018) argue that the main characteristic of history of the present time is the review of the very notion of historical time. Like Bédarida, they believe that this new approach represents an epistemological break in the subject. However, when we analyze rather in-depth debates on the subject, we notice a huge concern in establishing a precise

chronological framework to separate the present from the past. In Latin America, the historian Eugenia Allier Montaño (2020) proposes that this framework be defined by the memory of the last witness of a given event, following the idea of Spanish historian Julio Aróstegui (2004).

In his work *The latest catastrophe*, Henry Rousso (2016) seeks to define a more precise landmark for the beginning of history of the present time. He suggests that the latest major global catastrophe could serve as this starting point. The proposal, seemingly more precise than that of Bédarida, would allow the chronological approaches to the military dictatorships in Latin America to be adapted as primary landmarks for defining when history of the present time begins outside of the European territory. This proposal immediately pleased the Latin American historian community, especially in Brazil.

Despite the apparent advances in Rousso's (2016) proposal, when we scrutinize the meaning of catastrophe he construes, we are surprised by a definition that, ultimately, places the traumatic events of Europe as paradigmatic for any and all history of the present time. Furthermore, it remains within the modern disciplinary logic that requires a historian in history of the present time to step back from the present itself, from the witness, from memory, so that historiographical research can be established there.

As Walderez Ramalho rightly diagnosed, in facing this debate there is a need to separate issues of methodology and epistemology. The author emphasizes:

The conceptualization of the present time as a historical period, which is expressed in the definition of the landmarks of its beginning, is supported by a conception of temporality that, in its formal aspect, remains tied to the assumptions of the representation of historical time inherited from the 19th century. And, as I have argued throughout this article, the basic principle of this representation lies in the qualitative distinction between past and present. After all, we can only declare that the present has an identifiable beginning in the temporal flow to the extent that it is individualized in relation to previous historical periods. Therefore, by delimiting the singularity of history of the present time through the logic of periodization, we reintroduce through the back door the same principle of representation of historical time that history of the present time itself had to confront in the context of its institutionalization. And, although this reintroduction takes place

under the argument that it is possible, indeed, to historicize the time that lies downstream of the border that separates the present from the past, the very act of establishing this border remains unquestioned, so that the 'present time' comes to be seen, in these terms, as a historical period (Ramalho, 2023, p. 7).

When discussing methodology and epistemology in history of the present time, it is key to consider that these reflections are not isolated from political issues. As Maria Inés Mudrovic points out, historical periodization is a political act. In her words: "when we periodize, we do more than talk about time: we discriminate, for instance, who or what belongs to the past or the present" (Mudrovic, 2021, p. 4). If we want to take seriously the historian's ethical responsibility, as Bédarida (1998) argues, it is necessary to deepen the analysis of the epistemological and ontological challenges that history of the present time poses to us. This implies asking about the very construing of the past by the historical tradition of the 19th century, seeking new ways of thinking about historical time.

It is in this field that the most recent contributions of history of the present time seem to come, namely, the one that is less concerned with the chronological approach that separates the present from the past and more with asking about the temporality of the present, the way how the presents of the past circulate, inhabit, or burst into the historian's present. François Dosse, for instance, argues that the "true singularity of the notion of history of the present time lies in the contemporaneity of the non-contemporary, in the temporal thickness of the 'space of experience,' and in the present of the incorporated past" (2011, p. 6). Christian Delacroix (2018) follows the formulations proposed by Dosse and interweaves them with some reflections on the present of the past, especially those that were interrupted but remain latent. With this, he argues that the singularity of history of the present time is not so much its chronological boundary:

Conversely, from a perspective according to which historical time is heterogeneous and discontinuous, the present is then thought of, to use Walter Benjamin's formula, as an 'in-between' of various times, a 'plurality of co-present times' consisting of emergences, reappropriations, and resurrections of the past – of 'post-coups' – and resonates with 'pasts that do not go by,' 'unresolved pasts,' 'unrealized possibilities of the past' (Delacroix, 2018, p. 71).

Maria Inés Mudrovcic has been exploring the category of time policies and has proposed that the relationship between the past and the present should be observed initially more through the relationship that the past establishes with what came before, rather than through a naturalized perspective of the past itself. Based on the performativity theory by the British philosopher John L. Austin, she claims that:

Time policies consist of a set of operations that, by sanctioning what is proper or characteristic of the present, construe an 'other', excluding it diachronically or synchronically from that present. The other is anachronistic (Mudrovcic, 2021, p. 6).

The doubt about the historical present, both in its chronological and epistemological dimensions, is not trivial, because, as we know, the birth of history as a subject placed the present under suspicion. More than that, it determined that everything that was recent, alive, heated in the historical time identified as the present experienced by the historian (at the time applied only to men), should be untouched. However, in the new Clio's workshop this conception not only holds, but is the basis of the field of history of the present time.

Aware of this deviation from the epistemological debate on the historical temporality of the present and the past (or the ever-shifting relationship that the present establishes with its pasts), we propose to enter the debate through other avenues: one that reviews the meaning of event and its temporal thickness. An event that was at the center of the discussion that led to the emergence of history as a disciplinary field of its own in the 19th century. A deviation that involves calling upon the thought of philosopher Giles Deleuze for the debate, especially the Aionic temporality that he identifies in the evental structure. An analysis that, together with recent contributions on the historical temporality of history of the present time, seeks to introduce something new into the discussion.

But before addressing the event's temporality, there is a need to explore how it is seen by the philosopher. And before him, by historians. In the *Dictionary of historical sciences*, we find the entry written by Olivier Dumoulin titled: *Événementielle* History, or evental (sic). When historicizing the event's

pathway in historiography, the author states that in the positivist approach it appears as a synonym for historical fact. More precisely, as what “leaves a unique and singular trace, marking history by its immutable and particular consequences” (Dumoulin, 1993, p. 315). If applied solely with this conception, the flank of scientificity in history might be affected, since the chain of facts/events would not have much to reveal, nor to contribute, to historiographical advancement, especially if it aims to explain and see not only the event itself, but its unfoldings in the future of the past, as well as possible causes and consequences of its emergence in a given time and context.

Dumoulin emphasizes that “today, the event, which has become a symptom, a point of observation, a reflection of structures and an agent of their evolution, is no longer incompatible with scientific ambition” (Dumoulin, 1993, p. 315), that is, the event has gained approaches other than that of a shrine, of a historical meaning supposedly immune to affections and ideologies after undergoing the sieve of criticism. The recent perspective, announced in Dumoulin’s approach, seems to be a reflection proposed by Pierre Nora (1995) when he talks about the return of fact in historiography, especially due to the role played by the media in removing from the historian’s domain the exclusivity of historical fact making. It does not seem accidental that both Dumoulin and Nora cite the Dreyfus affair as a watershed in deconstructing the historical fact’s logic as something that the new history could throw into the common grave of *Événementielle* history. Based on the defense of these authors, the historical fact returns (the return to fact is the title of Pierre Nora’s text) as part of the study of representations, the social imaginary, what pulses in the present, but which may be aligned with old structures. In short, as “collective impulses” that reveal more than what is said, seen, or shown.

Despite the contributions that such a perspective indicates for the field of history of the present time, the sense of event designed by Deleuze goes through other temporal waves. The author recognizes that the event establishes a historical moment. That it delimits an approach between past and future. He even recognizes that, through it, we can capture signs of both concrete pasts (realized or embodied in the chronological present), as well as of the ‘pure past’

or 'in itself' (and this brings together everything that the event wanted to but did not make true). More than that, through it, depending on the intellectual perspective, a series of events can derive, as a kind of common descendants of that same event.

The philosopher says:

In every event there really is the present moment of realization, the moment in which the event is embodied in a state of affairs, an individual, a person, the one we name by saying: here it is, the moment has come; and the future and the past of the event are only judged in terms of this definitive present, from the point of view of the one who embodies it (Deleuze, 2015, p. 154).

However, Deleuze highlights that, beyond what the event embodies (the present experienced, what happens, the accidental), it also has a non-corporeal dimension. In his reflection, every event is double. On the one hand, what comes true, on the other, what remains, which made it manifest as such. The author says: "each event is like death, double and impersonal in its double" (Deleuze, 2015, p. 154). He also states: "there are, therefore, two realizations, which are like the effectuation and the counter-effectuation" (Deleuze, 2015, p. 154). In short, what the historian community has worked on, albeit in various approaches, is what is realized, what is accidental in the event. Its counter-effectuation face, its unrealized dimension, the nature of being an event, has not appeared in the debates that problematize historical temporality, at least within the past of the field of history of the present time. And it is in this gap that this article seeks to contribute by introducing the Deleuzian sense of event.

The philosopher emphasizes that the part of the event that takes place is of the order of Cronos, while what did not take place is under the aegis of Aion. This divinity governs sacred time, the one whose presence becomes eternal. In his synthesis about the time governed by these two temporalities, Deleuze contrasts them in this way:

While Cronos expressed the action of bodies and the creation of corporeal qualities, Aion is the place of incorporeal events and the distinct attributes of qualities. While Cronos was inseparable from the bodies that filled him as causes and materials, Aion is populated by effects that inhabit him without ever filling him. While Cronos was limited and infinite, Aion is unlimited like the future and the past, but finite like the instant. While Cronos was

inseparable from circularity and the accidents of this circularity, such as blockages or precipitations, explosions, dislocations, hardenings, Aion extends in a straight line, unlimited in both directions. Always already past and eternally yet to come, Aion is the eternal truth of time, which has freed itself from its present corporeal content and has thus unrolled its circle, stretching itself in a straight line, perhaps all the more dangerous, more labyrinthine, more tortuous for this reason [...] (Deleuze, 2015, p. 170).

The temporality governed by Aion, therefore, is not expressed by temporal approaches, by the materiality of the present that multiplies infinitely into presents of the past, presents of the future, and presents of the present, but as action belongs to the order of what is not corporeal, to what has not come true, it is finite, like an instant, but unlimited as a body. As the philosopher said, Aion is the eternal truth of time, it stretches in a straight line, in an extended present, also without corporal limits like the god that governs it. Therefore, to scrutinize the temporality of the eternal present is, to find a connection, a common coexistence in the event's unlimitedness. It is to locate, in the corporeal structure of Cronos, not only what comes true, but also what escapes. In other words, this reflective exercise includes historically identifying "a kind of leap in the very place of the whole body that exchanges its organic will for a spiritual will, which now wants not exactly what happens, but something *in* what happens" (Deleuze, 2015, p. 152).

The idea of an expanded present that encompasses both past and future simultaneously brings about a significant shift in the way how historians think of time. This new perspective challenges the traditional chronological organization of history, paving the way for a more complex and dynamic analysis of temporality. By questioning the linearity of time, this approach broadens the scope of historical research, allowing for a deeper investigation of the relationships between the present and various historical pasts.

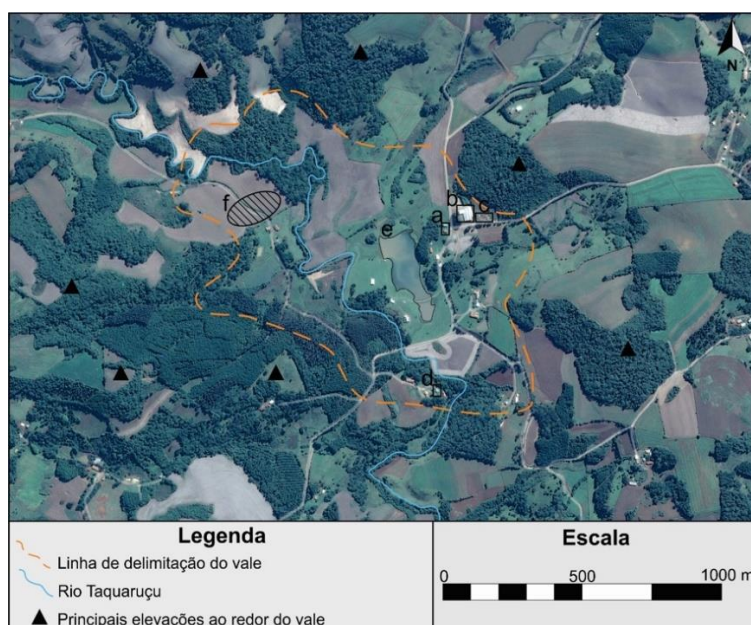
In this paper, we use Deleuze's concept of the divine gift to analyze the Taquaruçu massacre, which occurred during the Contestado War. Much more than the historical fact itself, which took place on February 8, 1914, this event represents the materialization of a broader project: the creation of the Holy Brotherhood. The analysis of the GCRC, a contemporary movement that

maintains strong ties with Taquaruçu, allows us to explore the spiritual and timeless dimension of this event, demonstrating how the divine gift manifests itself in history.

The Holy City

The Jagunço Museum is currently located in the village of Taquaruçu de Cima. It is part of the municipality of Fraiburgo and belongs to the State of Santa Catarina, in southern Brazil. Taquaruçu is about 350 km far from the capital city, Florianópolis, and was the scene of a historical episode known as the Contestado War (1912-1916). As we can see on the map (Image 2), the small community complex of Taquaruçu currently includes, in addition to the museum (a), a church (b), and a cemetery (c). A large dam (e) stands out in the landscape. This space, currently covered in water, was once occupied by the Holy City designed by the Holy Brotherhood. To the left of the reservoir, we can see the place where the army's artillery force took up position and bombed the community in 1914 (f). The headquarters of the group Renascença Cabocla (d) is not far from there.

Image 2 – Location map of the study area



Source: Google Earth, 2024.

The museum was created in 2003. It consists of objects such as weapons, common utensils of the region's inhabitants, as well as letters and photographs. This material was gathered by a local resident, Pedro Aleixo Felisbino. According to Luiz Carlos da Silva, Felisbino built the museum using objects found by him and local residents during their rural work. They were shell casings and bomb fragments, objects that appeared in the earth that was turned over during its preparation for agriculture. It was as if the earth, victim of the tragedy of the 1914 military bombing, vomited out to visitors what it had once been forced to swallow. When comparing the Jagunço Museum with other museums in Santa Catarina devoted to the conflict, Silva states: “by searching for objects and memories of war survivors, as well as their descendants’, they (Pedro Felisbino and his wife Lora de Lorenzi) managed to form collections that had as their main characteristic the memories of the caboclos themselves, resulting in a collection that is very different from other museums” (Silva, 2023, p. 412).

In the early 20th century, Taquaruçu was under the jurisdiction of Curitibanos, and before that, it was Xokleng indigenous land. As Felisbino tells us, “Taquaruçu was home to imposing pine trees that surprised the bandeirantes and later the cattle drivers who passed through the community” (Felisbino, 2013 p. 13). The same author mentions that the former inhabitants gave the region its name. A name originated from the vast bamboo grove that competed with pine forests in the local landscape.

Taquaruçu became the first Holy City in November 1913. It all began after Teodora's dreams. She announced that the religious leader, who died in the battle of Irani in October 1912¹, recommended that his devotees go to these lands and create a community there. This recommendation was immediately

¹ The military confrontation between the security regiment of Paraná and the followers of the monk José Maria, which took place in Campos do Irani, on the border between Paraná and Santa Catarina, ended in tragedy, culminating in the death of the commander of the military operation, but also of the monk himself. The followers of José Maria who returned to their homes after the battle, as well as others who believed in his sanctity, were the ones who took the first steps towards the creation of the Holy Brotherhood. Teodora's dreams, reported almost twelve months after the battle, mobilized several families to leave their belongings and live in community in the Holy City of Taquaruçu. For a detailed analysis of the battle of Irani, see the book by Gabriel Kunrath (2023). Available at: <chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://wp.ufpel.edu.br/ppgh/files/2023/09/Livro-Gabriel-Carvalho-Kunrath.pdf>. Accessed on: Nov. 8, 2024.

supported and accepted by men and women who believed in the monk's sanctity, most of whom were small landowners or local squatters. The Holy City would be governed by him, José Maria, together with a phalanx of saints and angels, including Saint Sebastian, Saint George, Saint Anthony, and Our Lady.

Between November 1913 and February 1914, the community had several leaders known among the faithful as holy children or virgin children: Teodora, 11 years old; Manoel, 18 years old; and Joaquim, 11 years old. All of them were from the family of Querubina and Eusébio Ferreira dos Santos. In the center of the community there was a church, surrounded by wooden houses with palm-leaf roofs. In the social and political organization of this community there was a commander, usually one of the holy children², a group of warriors named Pares de França³, and a quadrangular structure in front of the church: the Holy Table. In this space, the formations were held, that is, the morning and afternoon meetings that served to make recommendations about collective activities that day, distribute tasks, share food, and announce new orders given, usually in a dream, by the monk.

The inhabitants were mostly small landowners or squatters, who had broken their ties of dependence with the local political leaders, known as colonels. These women and men wanted to put into practice what became known as the dream of an egalitarian millennium, that is, the organization of a society in which everyone had land and food, and where they could have the freedom to establish the rules of coexistence based on their own religious, political, and cultural structures. This wish, by its very nature, challenged the political authority of those who had kept the population under the yoke of subordination for centuries: large landowners, professional politicians, members of the church and the military forces. The wish for an autonomous and

² After the Taquaruçu massacre, the holy cities were governed by adults, among them Adeodato Ramos, the last rebel commander of the *Contestado*.

³ Elite group within the structure of the Holy Brotherhood. Its role was to take the lead in battles, gather food from farmers in the region, and serve as advisors to the commander and others. The relationship between the Pares de França and the Gesta Carolíngia was analyzed by Monteiro (MONTEIRO, Douglas Teixeira. *Os errantes do novo século*. São Paulo: Duas Cidades, 1974) and Espig (ESPIG, Márcia Janete. *A presença da gesta carolíngia no movimento do Contestado*. Canoas: Ed. ULBRA, 2002).

egalitarian society was what challenged these authorities and motivated the Taquaruçu massacre.

The Taquaruçu Massacre

At the beginning of 1914, the Holy City of Taquaruçu saw the sky collapse in thunder and fire. The repressive troops occupied a strategic location: on top of a hill less than a kilometer away from Taquaruçu (Image 2). According to official records, there were 754 men there, including soldiers and cattlemen, a convoy of more than 140 animals, sections of machine gunners and artillery. According to Paulo Pinheiro Machado (2004, p. 221), “more than 200 houses and a church were destroyed by 175 shots from explosive grenades, of the Schrapnell type.”

The attack took place on February 8 and began at 12:00 p.m. The few men who fought back shouted at the soldiers to have the courage to face them hand to hand. They said: “advance, hairy man! Round foot, come fight with white iron! Long live José Maria! Long live the Monarchy!” (Peixoto, 1920, p. 112). ‘Hairy’ and ‘round foot’ are popular expressions used to identify the devil, so in the common language of the time, the invitation to fight against José Maria’s followers could mean something like “dog’s children, come face us with courage and bravery.” The monarchy prevailing in the Holy Brotherhood in the early 20th century was related to a sacred conception, which included saints and sacred royalty. It also designated, as noticed by Márcia Espig, “a golden age that [the faithful] wished to resume, in a process of creating an imaginary in which divine figures, powerful kings, ancestral codes of conduct and morals played a powerful role” (Espig, 2023, p. 263).

Despite the call for war made by the Holy Brotherhood’s men, the army officers had other plans. The strategy was to maintain the attack at a distance, testing deadly machines, such as cannons and machine guns, which for the first time were being tested on a large scale against the civilian population in this region. An army officer wrote that “at 12 o’clock, Lieutenant José Júlio’s artillery, flanked by the machine guns of Lieutenants Peixoto and Isaltino, spewed, in successive flashes, powerful attacking on the stronghold in sight [...]” (Peixoto,

1920, p. 112). Another soldier asserted: “in a short time the cannons began to set some houses in the stronghold on fire” (Assumpção, 1917, p. 257). The attack continued for almost four hours without ceasing. But the resistance was intense, as we can see in assessments made by the soldiers themselves at the time:

However, the disproportionate fight did not weaken the enraged strongholds. At each interval to load new ammunition belts into the machine guns or to reload the ammunition, the gunmen appeared, like a stunning vivarium, holding the white flags with which they believed to have the power to kill fifty soldiers each time they drew three crosses in the air (Peixoto, 1920, p. 113).

The same military officer also wrote: “the defenders’ shots barely reached the distance of the troops’ excellent position; some shots from the most daring gunmen, who, stealthily in the bushes, got closer, whistled past the heads of soldiers and horsemen” (Peixoto, 1920, 113). According to military testimonies from the time, at 5:00 p.m. a torrential rain began, forcing the men of the repressive force to remain at the site of the attack and only inspect the community in ruins the following day.

As previously reported, during the military attack on Taquaruçu, the Holy City had about 200 houses and a church, made of wood and covered with palm straw. The rapid growth of the holy community brought serious health issues. A typhoid fever epidemic began in Taquaruçu and, in addition to the alleged sacred ordinations, this factor was among the motivations for the building of a new Holy City, known as Caraguatá (about 70 km away). Because of this, at the time of military bombing, most men were absent. Pedro Felisbino, based on oral accounts he collected from survivors of the massacre, states that before most of the faithful left to build Caraguatá, “they took precautions, leaving seventy men in trenches near the stronghold to protect the Holy City, but the caboclos who always predicted the events, failed this time, because they watched the wrong way” (Felisbino, 2013, p. 56). The absence of fighting men, the imbalance of combatants, in addition to the better military technology used by repressive forces are factors attesting the cowardice of the attack and the title of massacre for that historical episode.

The violence of this meticulously planned attack had an impact on the military men themselves, who had first-hand knowledge of the situation of the

men and women who created the Holy Brotherhood of São José and São João Maria. Lieutenant Dermeval Peixoto wrote: “it was horror! It was the huge work of one hundred and fifty explosive grenades, which fell over the village for three and a half hours [...]” (Peixoto, 1920n p. 114). The testimony of Antônio Alves de Cerqueira, a doctor and army captain who participated in the Taquaruçu massacre, was similar. As part of the expedition that entered the Holy City of Taquaruçu on the morning of February 8, 1914, he declared: “the spectacle that unfolded before the eyes of the spectators was terrifying and pitiful. Fear caused by the human remains, pity for the women and children who lay inert in every corner of the stronghold” (Assumpção, 1917, p. 258). The same officer also wrote that “amidst the human fragments, sprawled out, eyes wide open, indifferent to the horrendous spectacle that surrounded her, stroking the stiff body of a fighter, an old woman was found. She was crazy.” Peixoto, in turn, reported that “inside the stronghold there were the unconscious victims of grenades: children, women, and some old people” (Peixoto, 1915, p. 114).

Despite the rhetorical and literary nature of the descriptions above, whose function includes demonstrating a certain compassion on the part of the executioners for the death of innocent people, as well as captivating the reader's attention with dramatized descriptions of a war scene – in the style that Euclides da Cunha had immortalized for Canudos –, the violence of the attack is still surprising, just as the detail of military description, which certainly did not manage to express what it meant to those who were in the community during the bombing, the hell they faced when they saw that fire and death were raining down from the top of the hill. Not to mention the despair of realizing that the enemy's weapon was aiming, indiscriminately, at women, children, the elderly, and the sick.

The memory of the remnants of this bombing is no less virulent and traumatic. In the accounts collected by Pedro Felisbino, we find that of Maria Cândida Palhano, better known as Tia Canda:

[...] I don't even want to know what we suffered there..., cannons came roaring at us and exploded..., my father and a bunch of people fled through the wild backlands, climbing up a rocky path with the children, we pulled by the hand and at night, as day

broke in the partridge field, on the coast of the field..., some people died there, they had dug holes to entrench themselves, twelve holes, full of dead people, after we passed, we went there with our hands to light a candle and look, I felt sorry for those people, they were poorly buried, there was boiling filth, on top, in twelve holes... (Felisbino, 2013, p. 57).

Military descriptions accounted for material damage. Assumpção states that “the bandits’ strongholds – the church and the largest houses in the area – were set on fire by artillery shells that incessantly targeted them” (1917, p. 259). In Peixoto (1920, p. 115), we find: “around the houses, an extensive line of square holes could be seen. Some of these pits had a huge quantity of spent shells; it was the only trace of the futile reaction.” He adds: “the variety of weapons used by the bandits was then confirmed by the varied multiplicity of shells” (Peixoto, 1920, p. 115). Lieutenant Assumpção concludes his report on the Taquaruçu massacre by informing us that, while investigating the military success of the attack, “after burying the bandits’ bodies found there, he ended up setting fire to the pine-frame huts that were still standing” (Assumpção, 1917, p. 260). Regarding the deaths among repressive forces, the same officer highlights that “four soldiers were slightly injured and one was seriously injured, who died before reaching the medical aid facility” (Assumpção, 1917, p. 260).

Despite the contradiction about unburied bodies between the military report and Aunt Canda's memory, what both reports have in common is the barbaric dimension of the massacre. And all this because a community of equals had been founded there. According to Rodrigues (2021), this community broke with the temporal logic of the dominators, to the point that a faithful of the holy monk, an inhabitant of the Holy City, resisted the intimidation of a Catholic friar who requested that the entire community be dissolved and that the people return to their homes, under penalty of being arrested or even living in sin. The response given to the priest, after driving him away from the place, was: “freedom! We are in another century” (Sinzig, 1934, p. 72). A century of extended present. Of coexistence and communion of all with saints and angels, including the monk João Maria. A present that transferred to a distant past that overcame the domination of colonels, the church, and thugs who served the interests of farmers.

It is in the logic of this divine present, under the inspiration of an egalitarian society, that Taquaruçu, as an event of eternal time, existed. In the logic of the event's meaning, which in Deleuze is addressed as a double, the concrete, accidental face was the destroyed citadel, the dead men and women, the bombing that took place on February 8, 1914. Beyond the accidental part of the event, Deleuze reminds us, there is the pure event. The one that did not take place and that spreads out in an extended present, which, in his language, is of the order of counter-effectuation. An event that, in some way, waits to be recognized. And it is about this recognition that we talk next. It manifested itself in the organization of a collective movement that gained the significant title of *Renascença Cabocla*.

Grupo Cultural *Renascença Cabocla*

Renascença Cabocla. The cultural group was born from the initiative of the couple Anísio and Ezanir Prates and has also been maintained under the leadership of one of their daughters, Alzira Prates. Dona Ezanir, as she is generally known, identifies herself as a caboclo woman and descends from a family that was at the center of the organization of the Holy Brotherhood of São José Maria: the Palhano family. The patriarch was Vidal Teixeira Palhano, who died around 1880. His sons lived directly with the monk José Maria, and Tomaz, Ignácio, and Miguel fought side by side with the monk in the Battle of Irani, in 1912. In that battle, Miguel died in combat. In Tomaz's memoir, as collected by Pedro Felisbino, the following accounts are included:

He said that in his entire life he had never used the machete so much in accurate blows, because in the fight he had lost his country boots and when he realized he was barefoot, he took off the boot of a soldier "who was still struggling." But the worst thing was his own bloody clothes; he felt himself to see if he had been cut. Feeling better, he tried to help his brother who was injured. Afterwards, he went to a small river, took a bath, and rinsed his clothes, wrung them out, got dressed and headed towards home. Still somewhat lost, he saw some saddled animals, with the reins and mouthpiece dragging in the grass and said to himself: "this is the one I'm going with." After a week of traveling, he was back in Taquaruçu, but his brother, Miguel, mortally wounded, did not survive the trip and stayed in Irani, in the care of a farmer, where he died later (Felisbino, 2013 p. 85).

In this family line, Dona Izanir is listed as Tomáz Palhano's granddaughter. However, her embryonic ties with people directly related to the man who was part of João Maria's legion are not only due to the pathway of her grandfather and great-uncle (Miguel). The caboclo ancestry, which she is so proud to express, comes from the union between Tomaz Vidal Teixeira Palhano (born in 1868) and Maria Pereira Conceição, "an Indian woman who belonged to the Tordo tribe" (Felisbino, 2013, p. 87). The couple had 14 children, being their first daughter born in 1890 and baptized with the name Francisca. The others, according to the same researcher from that locality, are, in order of birth: Cecília, Avelino, Jorge, João, Marcos, Rosa, Catarina, Conceição, Pedro, Tide, Elias, Tina, and Ângelo. This, the youngest, is Mrs. Ezanir Prates's father. Tomaz Palhano's property was around 1,500 meters from the Taquaruçu massacre's site (Image 2).

Vidal Palhano's descendants were involved in the organization of the Holy Brotherhood of São José and São João Maria, and they were also directly affected by the Taquaruçu massacre. Regarding the military attack in February 1914, we have some further notes made by the researcher Pedro Felisbino:

Avelino Palhano was twelve years old. He fled with his family to Santa Maria. They say that on his return to Taquaruçu, when he recognized the path, he "ran ahead" of his family. But when he arrived at the community, he was in a state of shock, such was the destruction that his eyes saw (Felisbino, 2013, p. 87).

Marcos Palhano, in turn, was married to Ana, who, while José Maria was living in that region, earned the title of virgin. This title was attributed to Cecília Palhano, who also knew José Maria in person. Dona Ezanir's father, Angelo Pereira Palhano, was born after the Contestado War (officially ended in 1916), but inherited detailed accounts of the conflict from his brothers and father. It is through these accounts that Dona Ezanir construes her identity as a caboclo woman from Contestado and passes it on to her children and grandchildren. It is also through this direct relationship with the organization of the Santa Irmandade that Renascença Cabocla connects, historically and temporally, with the Holy City of Taquaruçu and the ideals existing there.

Alzira Prates, who works alongside her mother in organizing the cultural collective, is a primary school teacher at Escola Linha Rodrigues de Morais, in the town of Monte Carlo/SC, which was once a conflict zone. Alzira has degrees in pedagogy and history. She accompanies her mother in novenas, singing, the recommendation of souls, and in the conversation circles that Dona Ezanir holds for the public at the Renascença or in academic spaces. She is also part of the network of caboclo educators, created in 2022 by the initiative of teachers and political leaders in the region, a movement woven like a network built by many hands, with horizontal leadership and a project to bring together ongoing political-pedagogical experiences in the region (Nascimento, 2024).

The headquarters of Renascença Cabocla is located on the small rural property of the Prates family and is situated on the municipal border between Monte Carlo and Fraiburgo (Image 2). The Renascença is just over a kilometer away from the Museu do Jagungo and, therefore, from the location where the headquarters of the Holy City of Taquaruçu was located. Thus, there are major social, political, spatial, and ethnic connections between Renascença Cabocla and the Holy City of Taquaruçu.

The name, Renascença, announces something relevant about this bond. It is a group that, through cultural practices and ethical and political commitment to the dead of the Holy Brotherhood, aims to revive the ideals of communities created under the belief of an egalitarian society, unified by the devotion, still present and alive, around the monk João Maria. Although Taquaruçu was built under the devotion of José and João Maria.

Following the paths opened by Deleuze, we may say that João Maria de Agostinho, João Maria de Jesus, and José Maria, the three monks best known in historiography, as demonstrated by Fachel (1995), are accidental, concrete incarnations of a figure deified in life, which the caboclo tradition recognizes as monk João Maria. We know that in the mid-west of Santa Catarina other men were identified under the legend of João Maria, but that until the mid-20th century other healers who passed through the region also received this title. In this sense, the entity that catalyzes caboclo devotion today is the pure subject,

which hovers beyond the incarnated and singular figures. João Maria is one, but he is also a legion.

As observed by anthropologist Tania Welter (2023), in the local imagination, the monk, as a sacred entity, did not die, but was enchanted at the top of a mountain in the region that has the suggestive name of Serra da Boa Esperança. And as an enchanted being, João Maria continues to appear and help people to this day. Among his abilities there are:

The ability to be omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent, invisible, unattainable, long-lived, or immortal, to change shape, become invisible, levitate or move over water, modify the state of things and interfere in people's lives, know 'the men's hearts,' punish sinners, cleanse what is dirty or make sacred what he touches. João Maria is also recognized as an excellent healer and a profound connoisseur of medicinal herbs and healing procedures (Welter, 2023, p. 364).

It is this sacredness that gave rise to the Holy City of Taquaruçu in the early 20th century, just as it is the catalyst for the festive and devotional celebrations of the GCRC. In a text introducing the history of this group, published on *Facebook* in January 2018, it is stated that:

Since 2006, the group Renascença Cabocla has had its own headquarters in a rustic warehouse and decorated with objects, tools, work instruments from the past, among others, located in the community Linha Morais, Municipality of Monte Carlo, on the property of Mr. Anísio Prates (GCRC, 2018).

We are informed, on the same social media profile, that the name, Renascença Cabocla, was created in 2004 and that the group does not seek profit, does not have a legal personality and does not receive social subsidies from public agencies. This observation says something about the collective: it does not bind itself to the constraints of political authorities, as well as to earning the respect and trust of the local population. Under the heading of a group devoted to culture, we can find the statement that aims to distance itself from institutional politics, but that is still political since it has resisted the disqualification of the caboclo cause of the Holy Brotherhood for over a century. Among the many points of connection between the ideals of the Holy Brotherhood and Renascença Cabocla, it is worth highlighting one: the making of

a new world, far from the constraints of the official political structure, which should be done through practical actions, in a collective organization.

Subsequently in the post, it is stated that Renascença “seeks only to resume the caboclo culture in the region” (GCRC, 2018). And, in the order of the past that it aims to resume, it includes: “prayers, dances, typical foods, customs, and even some handicrafts” (GCRC, 2018). Renascer is the act of being born again, resurrecting, waking up. Through the rituals of the Renascença, the ‘resumed’ past becomes present. As highlighted by Tania Welter and Pedro Martins:

The Contestado remnants use their own ways to experience and recall religious precepts consisting of rituals (such as the Recommendation of Souls and the Singing Rosary), holy symbols (such as São João Maria), and their own calendars. This is a religiosity experienced in domestic contexts or in public spaces and generally coordinated by local lay leaders, such as prayer leaders, chaplains, healers, and blessers. It is a unique religious form marked by institutional autonomy, creativity, and presence in daily life focused on tradition (Welter; Martins, 2013, p. 97).

The recreation of the egalitarian dream promised by João Maria is reborn in the cultural organization through a festive atmosphere in a community society. The memory of the ancestors of Taquaruçu is revived at the table, with abundant food, in the design of handicrafts, in the building technology of a (clay) house like the headquarters of the Renascença, in the practices of blessings, novenas, and sacred songs, such as those led today by Dona Ezanir Prates, and in the past by women like Querubina Ferreira do Santos, Teodora, Maria Rosa, Chica Pelega, and the direct descendants of Dona Ezanir: the men and women of the Palhano family.

About the social composition of the Renascença, it is said:

Renascença Cabocla consists of simple, honest, and hard-working people who honor their culture and seek to live in a way that aims for the common good, without political or economic ambitions. It is open to anyone who wants to participate, of their own free will, as long as they have the same interests, which are to seek unity, solidarity, cooperation, and especially the organization of families, without distinction of color, sex, political party, or age (GCRC, 2018).

Follow below some events celebrating the Contestado Centennial in which the collective participated, including presence in debates and academic and cultural seminars, as well as testimonies in two important documentary films released in the context of the event. The first, *Contestado: restos mortais*, by filmmaker Silvio Back (2012), and the second, *Terra Cabocla*, directed by Márcia Paraíso and Ralf Tambke (2015).

The direct connection between the Renascença and the Holy City of Taquaruçu appears in the last paragraph of the document. It says:

We believe that studying the past, showing the youngest how people lived in the old system, represents appreciating life under construction, means preserving what is good, analyzing what is no longer useful, and above all, preserving the memory of a people who fought bravely for their ideals (GCRC, 2018).

Expressions such as resuming culture and teaching the young with examples from the old system can frighten historians and anthropologists, for whom culture goes through history in changes and internal rhythms that move according to the movements of society itself. However, such phrases deserve to be analyzed not only for what they announce, but above all for the group's practice and for the set of things that escape the trivial, namely, the idea that we seek to monumentalize the common good, the memory of struggle, cooperation, and collective organization, without distinctions of class, race, and gender. It is the search for the celebration of life under construction. But which includes in its script, the memory of those who fought for common ideals.

A collective that adopts the feminine noun Renascença as its name wants to show us something more than what was stated in the introductory text. If the group expresses a rebirth of the Holy Brotherhood's ideals, it makes a point of linking itself to caboclo men and women, that is, of showing that it is not just any memory, any struggle, or desire for justice. It is not just any renaissance, but the caboclo's, just like the tradition that was passed down by their ancestors. A transmission that is repeated not only orally, but in the way of building, in the conduct of religious rituals, in dances, in respect for nature, and in dance performances.

Therefore, the ethnic composition of the Contestado inhabitants is another major link between the Renascença and Taquaruçu. If today the remnants of the social conflict identify themselves as caboclos, in the past this was the most common racial characteristic among the first members of the Holy Brotherhood of São José Maria. It was not, and it is not today, an identity by exclusion, since both in the early century and today, men and women of African or European descent are part of the community gathered in the tradition of devotion to São João Maria and even in the common actions of the Holy Brotherhood. But the focal point of this identity is caboclo, because it identifies itself as heir of indigenous traditions. Herculano Teixeira de Assumpção, a military man and historian who worked in the repression of conflict, despite positioning himself against those who echo prejudices about inhabitants of the Contestado region, gives us some clues about the sociocultural characteristics of caboclo men and women in the mid-west of Santa Catarina:

Do you know the rustic type of the Contestado backwoodsmen? I am going to tell you in a few lines. There is the light-skinned backwoodsman and the Indian caboclo. The first has large drooping moustaches, wears trousers – bombachas, covers himself with a poncho-pala, and boots with thin metal chains, which hold the big spurs. The second is tanned, has straight hair, and a beard with few strands; his eyes, lively, always lowered, without fixing on the interlocutor, are cast sideways and stereotype the innate distrust and his generally perverse instinct. Both, however, go armed from head to toe; around their necks they cannot do without the colorful scarf, on their heads, the wide sombrero, and on their bodies, the very long jacket overlapping the vest (Assumpção, 1917, p. 199).

Despite the racialized analyses, very common in his time, Assumpção makes a point of showing the relationship between the caboclo and the Indian communities, which were numerous in the mid-west of Santa Catarina, but in Taquaruçu, in particular, the Xokleng people, of which an ancestor of Dona Ezanir Prates was a member.

The gender aspect is another common point that deserves to be highlighted in the way how Taquaruçu's past is experienced in the present. Gender is seen along with Bell Hooks (2019), especially when the author defines it as a cultural and political category used to justify the oppression of women and control over their lives, but also as a space for resistance and change.

Without denying the aspect of control and silencing of female bodies, it is worth highlighting how some caboclo women have resisted and changed the tradition of the Holy Brotherhood today.

In this sense, if Querubina and Teodora were the female couple that put into practice the dream of an egalitarian society, Izanir/Alzira Prates are, today, the maintainers of the vital energy of the politico-cultural collective named Renascença Cabocla and, consequently, of transmitting the memory of struggle and courage of peoples of the past. A political collective, in addition to a cultural one, because in practice this is clear in countless ways: resistance, collective organization, worship of ancestors, positioning on the relationship with nature, and encouragement of family farming. As stated in one of the songs performed by them at the group's headquarters, and also available on *Facebook*: “to change society the way we want, participating without fear of being a woman” (GCRC, 2018). The dances, the stories and advice told around the wood stove, the memories of ancestors, the praise of agricultural production on small rural properties, the defense of water sources and nature as a whole, everything is based on the stories told by Dona Ezanir. And each action is referred to the recommendations that would have been given by the monk.

The class division of the Holy Cities – Taquaruçu and Renascença – also appears in the logic of an eternal present that has in the practice of *pixirum* another point of connection and permanence that flies above chronological time. *Pixurum*, or *pixirum*, is a kind of collective work for the sake of common action. In the Contestado region, it is a customary practice among small and medium-sized landowners and squatters who organize themselves in the community to work in the fields. According to Gemeli:

The *pixurum* was a work meeting characterized by mutual assistance. It created important relationships of sociability and trust, especially because the work was not governed by market practices. Those called to work did not receive monetary value. However, when it was necessary to call on the *pixurum* to work for their benefit, they were promptly met through this relationship of exchange of days of service. It was a moral commitment. Eating during the workday was an intrinsic duty of the caboclo who called on the *pixurum*, and, as a rule, it was up to the partner/wife to prepare lunch while the men worked in the fields. The consumption of *cachaça* was also part of the work; it was

usual to prepare *caipirinhas* or drink pure *cachaça*, between the workday stages. At the end of the day, the *pixurum* was concluded with a celebration, a caboclo dance or the *pixurum* dance, with music, food, and drink, which began right after the end of work and continued into the early hours of the morning or even until daybreak (Gemelli, 2017, p. 74).

Alexandre Tomporoski adds that:

Considering that collective work was a preponderant factor in the lives of the poor population of the Contestado plateau, it seems reasonable to assume that the elements of solidarity that involved the *pixurum* broke down or softened certain barriers, including those of an ethnic nature. The differences between elements of various ethnic groups could be overcome by the need for help with work and by the notion of solidarity. Since the *pixurums* brought together virtually the same people several times throughout the year, the tendency was for individuals in the neighborhood to come together (Tomporoski, 2013, p. 74).

Just like in the *pixurum*, the logic in the Renasença organization is collective, in mutual aid, in collective work, such as that carried out to build the shed that houses the group. In the documentary film *Terra Cabocla* (2012), Mrs. Ezanir Prates explains that during the Contestado War, the members of the Holy Brotherhood were persecuted, lost their lands, and had no opportunity to bury their children, parents, or relatives. And since that time, they have never been able to develop economically. The matriarch of the Renasença attributes many of the ills that afflict the impoverished rural populations of the mid-west to the present day to political persecution and military violence.

The Renasença, in its daily practice, in its proposal for an extended family, in its festive rites, in the logic of collective work, in the defense of small properties and sustainable agriculture, suspends the accelerated rhythm of capitalism and opens a gap in the chronological historical temporality to share in the extended historical present of the event in the Holy Brotherhood of São João Maria, the same event that was embodied in the Holy City of Taquaruçu in 1914 and, today, it is materialized in the Renasença. With the difference that in the early century the faithful tried to live a life completely detached from the outside world. Today, the Holy Brotherhood of São João Maria, embodied in Renasença Cabocla, cannot demand from its members a full-time life at the

group's headquarters, working with agriculture, practicing the rituals left by the monk.

Just like Alzira Prates, who works as a teacher in the municipality of Monte Carlos, many other participants in this collective also have their routine divided between other tasks and activities governed by the formal, neoliberal, accelerated, compartmentalized work time. But when they meet at the Renascença, there they connect with the eternal, divine, and expanded present of the Holy Brotherhood. And they dance, and sing, and eat, and pray, and celebrate life. A collective, community, common life, of today and yesterday. In the Renascença rituals, they see themselves on the threshold of an expanded present, which was not consolidated in Taquaruçu due to the politico-military violence that murdered people, shattered dreams, but was unable to erase the powers of the greater event that are the ideals of the Holy Brotherhood. Although not consolidated, the Holy Brotherhood's dream has withstood time and today it is reborn by resuming the power of the event's existence materialized at the time.

Final remarks

If the cultural, social, and political links between Renascença Cabocla and the Holy City of Taquaruçu were crossed in this analysis, it remains to return to the central argument, reworking the problem question: would Renascença Cabocla and the Holy Brotherhood inhabit the same historical time? Following the logic of Cronos, surely not, after all, 2004 (date of the collective's emergence) is not 1913 (date of the first movements towards the Holy City of Taquaruçu). Even if the political power of colonels continues to oppress economically less favored people, even if the belief in João Maria has resisted more than a century of oppression, even if the traces of military violence (bombs, projectiles, weapons) have overflowed into the cultivation of the region's agricultural fields, still, the singular event that we name Holy Brotherhood is not the same as the Renascença's.

In the early century, there were countless families, 200 houses, and a church. Today, the collective, as Alzira Prates reminds us in her testimony,

consists of around 10 regular families and others that participate at specific times, such as parties. And even though the Renascença is open to various family groups, schools, and social groups that go there to recall, together, the dream of an egalitarian society in the holy cities, the Renascença is not Taquaruçu.

If, as it has been suggested, Holy Brotherhood and the Renascença, although situated in two distant historical contexts, share, at least at an existential level, the same historical time; if both share, through countless connections, a temporality that Deleuze identifies as a divine present, or the present of eternity, it remains to indicate what were the conditions of emergence, first of the creation of the Holy City in 1913/14, second of the Renascença in 2004 and, finally, the factors that allowed the encounter between the Renascença and Taquaruçu, despite the chronological distance, to be anchored in an expanded, potential, or divine present.

In the first case, Taquaruçu was born from the factors that triggered a crisis in the colonelist system of the First Republic, fueled by the devotion to the figure of the monks, but largely based on the belief that small landowners, squatters, and associates placed in Teodora's dreams. Through this dream, the monk, well-known and respected by the local community, called people to live in community with the promise that everyone would be equal there. In the second case, it is worth recalling that according to the Renascença manifesto, published on the social media, the Contestado's memory began to grow during the 1980s, when some researchers interviewed survivors, but it came true with the organization of the headquarters in 2004. These two chronological milestones relate to two major events.

The first was the policy of demarcating historical monuments on the Contestado, instituted by Governor Esperidião Amin and manifested in his official action of monumentalizing the figure of the Contestado man as a typical element of Santa Catarina's identity (Machado, 2023). The year 2004, in turn, is after the creation of the Jagunço Museum, next to the headquarters of the Renascença, and suggests a dispute and division of the conflict's memory within the community. A division that reveals various options for not letting people

forget what happened in the region. In the museum, through objects of military oppression, in the Renascença through the recreation of community life.

However, in both cases the process of warming local memory contributed, both by official authorities during Amin's administration and by intellectuals interested in the subject who, in interviews collected for their research studies, called on survivors of the massacre (and their descendants) to narrate what happened. No less important is the fact that the earth began to stir from its womb material traces of the massacre, returning to the region's residents projectiles, weapons, and shrapnel that had victimized men and women in Taquaruçu. The encounter of the Renascença with Taquaruçu, the fact that there was a promised encounter of the present with the past, making them share the same temporality, that of the divine present, concerns the way in which the traditions, rites, and experiences left by the monk ended up being incorporated into the practice of the cultural group.

Nevertheless, if we revisit the paths opened by Deleuze on the event's temporality, it is possible to advance the discussion and bring something new about the links between the Renascença and the Holy City, between the present and the past, but also about the very conception of the present and the past. As we have seen, the Renascença lives on a collective organization that has as its center the celebration of the ancestors who fought in the Contestado War. More precisely, the community exists to carry forward the teachings left by the monk João Maria. And these are: the traditions of faith, domestic baptism, the defense of water springs (considered holy waters and named, in the region, Olhos D'Água de São João Maria), the care for the dead through the Recommendation of Souls, the defense of the right to land and agricultural production for all people.

In this sense, the Renascença establishes a direct relationship with the Holy Brotherhood, and more specifically, with the Holy City of Taquaruçu, which is close to the headquarters of the cultural collective. A relationship that resumes the event's ideals, in its double face: realization and counter-realization, embodied in Taquaruçu, unlimited in the ideal conception of the Holy Brotherhood. A dream of community life interrupted in its incarnated form, of Taquaruçu, experienced by Teodora, Querubina, Manoel, Joaquim, Eusébio,

Linhares, as well as by the direct descendants of Dona Ezanir Prates, the Palhano family, especially her indigenous grandmother, named Maria Pereira Conceição through Christian baptism. But it is also in the festive practices, in the dance performances (which tell, by means of the body and rituals, the stories of struggle and resistance of the holy cities) that the Renascença joins Taquaruçu and creates a link, a common time, between the past and the present. A time that we may name, along with Deleuze, eternal time. It is not so much through the Renascença, as the material headquarters of the group today, that we verify a common event, an extended present. This is because, despite the spiritual, ritualistic, and even physical proximity between the Renascença and the dam that today covers the space that once housed Taquaruçu, they are all part of the accidental order of the event. Applying the language proposed by Deleuze, it is its material face, or the one that came true.

The eternal present that unifies Renascença Cabocla and the Holy City of Taquaruçu lies on what connects the ideals of society, the projects for the future, the ways of celebrating life in community. If the event, as brightness and splendor, lacks a material body to shelter it, Deleuze reminds us, “it is in what happens a pure expression that gives us a signal and waits for us” (2015, p. 152), that is, in the context of the Holy Brotherhood, the 1914 event opened a crack in historical time and widened into a divine present, waiting to be recovered. In the philosopher's conception of the divine present, this can be evidenced at the point where he announces:

Thus, the greatest present, the divine present, is the great mixture, the unity of corporeal causes in themselves. It measures the activity of the cosmic period in which everything is simultaneous:

If wanting the event means first grasping its eternal truth, which is like the fire on which it feeds, this wanting reaches the point where war is waged against war, the wound, traced alive like the scar of all wounds, the death that returns, wanted against all deaths (Deleuze, 2015, p. 152).

Renascença and Taquaruçu. Present of the past, and past present. Everything connected by the simultaneity expressed in the rites and in the wish for life and memory carried out in the activities of the contemporary cultural collective. In the Renascença, João Maria's advice, the strength of women and

men who fought for an egalitarian society, and the wish for a fair and dignified life for caboclo men and women in the Contestado are mixed. In this way, it is possible to think of the Renascença as a ‘trace,’ just as addressed by Christina Sharpe (2023), that is, as a condition of existence for caboclo populations in the Contestado that were marked by violence and dehumanization⁴. But ‘trace’ also as a space of survival, creativity, and resistance, in which people reimagine ways of being and living. The Renascença as a victory of life against all deaths, Taquaruçu as a scar that is the present mark of a wound open in the past. Taquaruçu, scar. The Renascença, war for life. The Renascença is a living body that identifies and shows the wound, not only to denounce the massacre, but mainly to overcome death. And overcoming death was also part of the event consisting in the Holy City of Taquaruçu. It is for this reason that many people connected with the dream of the girl Teodora and were willing to start their lives over in that sacred place.

This conception of historical time, the living, eternal, spiritual present of the event, poses a challenge to historical temporality, as a rule, addressed in the field of history of the present time. Especially that which delimits the field’s present to the latest catastrophe or to the chronological approach of recent history. The present of eternity, as an extended present, may, in the Deleuzian sense, have been realized in chronological approaches completely detached from the living witness, from the fragile historian’s life, and even from the updating of historical fact as a drive, as a representation or imaginary updated in the present. It may be repeated in future presents governed by Chronos. It may have occurred in remote times, centuries and centuries ago. But as a counter-effectuation, as being, as incorporeal, this present that is never past, always leaves a sign and waits for someone to recognize it and join it.

⁴ Sharpe builds her reflection based on the experience of black populations in the diaspora. She denounces racism and highlights ‘trace’ as a category that reflects how institutions and power structures were shaped by the legacy of slavery and continue to perpetuate racial inequalities, but also how it is felt in the bodies of black people, who carry historical and current traumas, but who, at the same time, turn this burden into resistance. The use of the category, applied to caboclo men and women in the Contestado, does not erase the critical, political, and affective meaning construed by the intellectual, but seeks to expand it to other subjects who have had their bodies marked by violence, racism, and the experience of struggle and resistance, just as in the case of the Contestado remnants in the present.

When this happens, as in the connection between the Renascença and the Holy Brotherhood, it is more than a past that does not go by, since for several decades Taquaruçu, as a singular event, was forgotten and did not have a living presence in the region. It also cannot be grounded only in the condition of analyzing the uses of the past, since, in our defense, it is a unique temporality, that of the eternal present, spiritual present, or divine present. It has always existed in latency and was pulsating, waiting for recognition. And, in the case analyzed herein, this moment had demonstrated conditions as a basis.

Thinking of history, or rather, historical temporality, based on this conception of time, poses other challenges on the historiographic field of history of the present time. One of them is to include in the repertoire of their research studies the recognition, by the historian, when this encounter occurs. And, in recognizing it, to claim this event as an area of interest of history of the present time, as part of the temporality of the same present that makes the field something different from history in the traditionally consolidated historiography. It also implies recognizing that the relationships that the present establishes with the past are much more complex than those that we inherited from the historicist disciplinary tradition of European modernity. It remains to be seen whether we are prepared for this.

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