Chronicles of Re-existence: Ruptures and (Re)encounters Promoted by Contemporary
Brazilian Indigenous Literature

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Abstract: Drawing from decolonial theories, this article critically analyzes Daniel Munduruku's Crônicas de São Paulo: Um Olhar Indígena [Chronicles of São Paulo: An Indigenous Gaze] (2019), focusing on the author's reflection on symbolic voids that neglect Indigenous presence and their ways of seeing and experiencing the world. In his book, Munduruku navigates São Paulo, translating Indigenous toponyms that name stations, parks, and entire neighborhoods in the city. By promoting a reflection on the Indigenous roots of the metropolis, the author also uncovers the colonial remains of a so-called post-colonial Brazil. This article seeks to contribute to the understanding of the ruptures and (re)encounters promoted by contemporary Brazilian Indigenous literature, and its pivotal role in reframing denied epistemes through native memory, narratives, and cosmologies.

Resumo: A partir de teorias decoloniais, este artigo analisa criticamente Crônicas de São Paulo: Um Olhar Indígena, de Daniel Munduruku (2019), concentrando-se na reflexão do autor sobre lacunas simbólicas que negligenciam a presença indígena e suas formas de ver e experienciar o mundo. No livro, Munduruku se desloca por São Paulo, traduzindo topônimos originários que nomeiam estações, parques e bairros inteiros da cidade. Ao promover uma reflexão sobre as raízes Indígenas da metrópole, o autor desvela os vestígios coloniais de um Brasil dito pós-colonial. Este



artigo busca contribuir para o entendimento das rupturas e (re)encontros promovidos pela literatura Indígena brasileira contemporânea e seu papel fundamental para reformular epistemes negadas através da memória, narrativas e cosmologias originárias.

Introduction

A century ago, during and after the São Paulo Modern Art Week of 1922, Brazilian Indigenous cultures inspired modernist writers and artists, such as Tarsila do Amaral with the well-known painting *Abaporu* (1928) meaning "man who eats" in Tupi-Guarani. Today, Indigenous cultures take the lead as Indigenous populations self-represent through various channels and media, including literature. Expanding on the understanding of Indigenous self-representation and grounded in the decolonial concept of epistemic disobedience (Mignolo, 2010)—where marginalized groups reclaim and reshape knowledge systems imposed by colonial powers—this article focuses on a close reading of the book *Crônicas de São Paulo: Um Olhar Indigena* [Chronicles of São Paulo: An Indigenous Gaze], written by Daniel Munduruku (2019). The book, originally published in 2004, is an example of literature of "re-existence" (Albán, 2017), as a movement that goes beyond resistance to reclaim individual and collective identities. In the book, Munduruku crosses the city of São Paulo on a journey made by subway, bus and on foot, in which he explains the meaning and context of the Indigenous terminologies that name subway stations, parks and neighborhoods in the city. Along the

¹ All quotations from Daniel Munduruku's book and select other sources cited in this piece, as well as their titles, have been translated from Portuguese into English by the author.

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way, the author reflects on the formation of the metropolis, which has never ceased to be indigenous.

Daniel Munduruku hails from the Munduruku people, whose communities are situated across the states of Amazonas, Mato Grosso, and Pará, where he was born. He holds a Ph.D. in Education from the University of São Paulo and completed postdoctoral studies in Linguistics at the Federal University of São Carlos. Munduruku's literary repertoire includes more than 60 publications, covering a range of themes and genres. His notable accolades include the prestigious Jabuti Prize (2004, 2017), the Brazilian Academy of Letters Prize (2010), and recognition from institutions such as UNESCO (2018).

Before delving deeper, it is crucial to clarify the use of the term "Indigenous" in this article. Rather than homogenizing distinct groups living in different settings or defining them primarily in relation to their colonizers, as seen globally (Peters and Mika, 2017), this term is employed here to represent the 305 diverse Indigenous peoples of Brazil united by historic and ongoing struggles (IBGE, 2023). The capitalized 'I' denotes a political status, emphasizing collective identity and agency rather than a mere descriptive attribute. This usage aligns with Daniel Heath Justice's argument in the book *Why Indigenous Literatures Matter*, where he argues that "Indigenous" should be treated as a proper noun affirming the agency and subjecthood of Indigenous peoples rather than objects with particular qualities (2018, p. 6).

In essence, this paper will focus on aspects of Daniel Munduruku's *Crônicas de São Paulo* (2019) that exemplify a pivotal shift in Indigenous representation by employing decolonial strategies to reclaim identity and alterity. The author revisits the history of São Paulo and, in a broader sense, the history of Brazil, through Indigenous frameworks to



confront problematic narratives and stereotypes that marginalize these populations. Building on this idea, this article examines the re-signification of urban space in Munduruku's chronicles, considering the role of Indigenous memory and narrative in this process.

In the chronicles, Munduruku's critical examination of official history emphasizes gaps and silencing mechanisms through "Indigenous cultural memory", which was defined by Kaká Werá Jecupé (2020), from the Kayapo people, as a repository passed down from elders to challenge official Brazilian history. Jecupé argues that despite marginalization within historical discourse, Indigenous worldviews offer crucial insights that fill gaps in mainstream narratives (Jecupé, 2020). His approach resonates with Aleida Assmann's theory of cultural memory, which emphasizes the significance of such memory in interpreting historical events such as the Holocaust (Assmann, 2008; 2012). By highlighting the preservation of native cosmology, Jecupé underscores how centuries of Indigenous cultural memory have been disrupted, not only by external influences but also by active suppression (Jecupé, 2020, p. 63).

As discussed by scholars such as Quijano (2007), Maldonado-Torres (2009), Santos and Meneses (2009), and Mignolo (2010), traditional epistemologies have often been disregarded in favor of hegemonic knowledge, perpetuating colonial narratives and silencing Indigenous voices. This marginalization has also suppressed the importance of Indigenous literature in challenging modernity through the reclamation and reexamination of historical narratives. This reexamination is particularly significant in light of events like the São Paulo Modern Art Week of 1922 and its subsequent modernist movements, which appropriated Indigenous imagery and knowledge while keeping their voices silenced. As this study will further reflect in the analysis, Munduruku's exercise of 'consumption' of the language, literary systems,



along with the reinterpretation of the history imposed by colonial narratives to uncover the Indigenous layers of the city transcends the reappropriation of anthropophagy, as cultural cannibalism (Andrade, 1928). Due to its decolonial nature, it is closely linked to reanthropophagy (Baniwa, 2022), the appropriation of the modernist anthropophagy by the Indigenous peoples, since it subverts the power dynamics to legitimize Indigenous bodies and knowledge. The appropriation that Munduruku makes of the chronicles, for instance – a quintessentially Western genre, largely utilized by the imperial power – assumes its decolonial character by presenting an account that "not only changes the content of the conversation but also changes the terms of the conversation", echoing Mignolo's (2010, p. 5) maxim of epistemic disobedience.

Originally, the travel chronicles, now viewed as historical documents, served as colonial tools that justified the dehumanization, genocide, and epistemicides. Worldwide, chronicles played a crucial role in colonial narratives, framing non-European cultures through a distorted lens that supported imperial agendas. In Latin America, the chronicles initially reinforced colonial power dynamics but evolved to reflect local voices and societal complexities by the late 19th century (González Echevarría, 1990). In Brazil, figures like Machado de Assis, Lima Barreto, and João do Rio used the chronicle to critique urban life and social injustice, with Machado de Assis's "A Semana" ["The Week"] series exemplifying this shift (Assis, 1892; Cândido, 1970). By the 1970s, amid dictatorship, the genre increasingly addressed political and social issues, gaining relevance through both books and newspapers (Mahieux, 2013).



Challenging traditional uses of the travel chronicle genre that depicted the new world, Munduruku's narrative instead is centered in an ancestral world within what is considered modern. This analysis aims to foster dialogue, understanding, and accurate recognition of Indigenous contributions. The subsequent sections of this article will provide a historical contextualization of Brazilian Indigenous literature and an overview of existing scholarly responses to Munduruku's *Crônicas de São Paulo*. Following that, the first part of the analysis focuses on the socio-historical and urban gaps articulated in Munduruku's chronicles, while the second part examines temporal dynamics and identity reclamation. Finally, the third part reflects on the reclamation of physical and symbolic spaces through Indigenous memory, concluding with final considerations.

A brief overview of contemporary Brazilian Indigenous Literature

Understanding contemporary Brazilian Indigenous literature entails, above all, learning to interpret it within its cultural, political, and socio-historical context (Almeida, 2004; Thiél, 2012; Graúna, 2013). The trajectory of this literature is closely connected to Indigenous peoples' fight for survival (Quaresma, 2018). These first nations started to represent themselves politically using the Portuguese language at the end of the 1970s. During this time, while Brazil was still under dictatorial rule and pursuing policies aimed at "integrating" Indigenous populations (Castro, 2006, p. 20), Eliane Potiguara was already publishing in informal publications, pioneering Indigenous literary expression. By the end of the 1990s, Indigenous authors entered the literary publishing market, utilizing the language and symbols of the dominant culture to establish a communication channel with a broader non-



Indigenous audience but still being marginalized rather than recognized for their literary and intellectual depth (Graúna, 2013). It was not until the end of the 2000s that this emerging literature gained recognition as a symbol of resistance, drawing attention to the existence of many Indigenous Peoples previously deemed extinct by the Brazilian government (Castro, 2006). This new wave of literature has empowered the Indigenous population to challenge Brazil's official history, sparking reflection on the country's past and prompting a (re)interpretation of official narratives.

The counter-literature nature of Indigenous literature is elucidated by the Potiguara scholar and writer Graça Graúna in her book *Contrapontos da Literatura Indígena Contemporânea no Brasil [Counterpoints of Contemporary Indigenous Literature in Brazil]*. By analyzing authors such as Daniel Munduruku, Eliane Potiguara, and Olívio Jekupé, Graúna illustrates that this literature serves as an important tool to challenge dominant cultural narratives by presenting marginalized perspectives (Graúna, 2013, p. 66). Broadly, the term counter-literature refers to a literary movement that actively opposes and subverts hegemonic narratives. This concept is influenced by various theorists and critics, including for example Homi K. Bhabha's idea of cultural hybridity and the countering of dominant discourses in *The Location of Culture* (1994). These frameworks showcase how *Crônicas de São Paulo* embodies the counter-literature approach by challenging official narratives, as this study will further unpack in the analysis.

Munduruku's endeavor to reintegrate Indigenous cosmologies into the city's historical narrative and collective memory underpins the author's journey through the sense of identity and belonging within the urban landscape. Historically, this space has been detached from its Indigenous origins. In the article "Under Heavy Fire: Brazil and the Politics of Anti-Memory",



Carlos Fausto (2020) critiques this systematic erasure, urging a critical revisitation of official narratives focusing on what remains excluded from the official past but "still awaits becoming the subject of memory and critical discourse in Brazilian society" (2020, p. 6). This critical discourse permeates Munduruku's work, which interweaves narratives with dormant memories and overlooked symbols. In this context, Munduruku aligns with a cohort of Indigenous writers, including prominent figures such as Ailton Krenak, Auritha Tabajara, Kaká Werá Jecupé, among others, who are collectively reshaping the country's history. As Krenak describes it, this is "A descoberta do Brasil pelos índios" ["The discovery of Brazil by the Indians"] (2015, p. 11).

Academic reactions and (possible) readings of Munduruku's chronicles

Despite the growing interest in Indigenous literature, there remains a shortfall in its visibility within academia and the media at large. Daniel Munduruku's *Crônicas de São Paulo* exemplifies this issue, even though it is authored by one of the foremost figures in contemporary Indigenous literature, celebrated for his extensive literary output and numerous accolades. The book has received limited academic attention. This can be attributed to several factors, including the dominant focus on canonical Western literature in academic curricula and the lack of sufficient institutional support for Indigenous authors (Justice, 2019). Despite these challenges, in the essay "Escrita indígena: registro, oralidade e literatura - O reencontro da memória" ["Indigenous writing: record, orality and literature - The renewed encounter with memory"], Munduruku (2018, p. 83) describes Indigenous literature as a way to affirm oral traditions and preserve the native memories in a time that often ignores their



importance and identities. Munduruku's point underscores the critical need for broader recognition and inclusion of Indigenous voices in literary discourse and cultural representation.

In one of the few essays about the *Crônicas de São Paulo*, Rubelise da Cunha (2015, p. 8) highlights the work's temporalities and emphasizes its transcultural nature, inviting readers to reconsider the literary productions that bridge Western and Indigenous cultures, inspiring further decolonial readings of the chronicles. By examining the connection between Munduruku's chronicles (2019) and the chronicles of the discovery, written by travelers during the colonial period, Adriana Folle (2017) offers a framework that inspires other possible readings of Munduruku's work for a deeper understanding of the political character of re-existence that the chronicles evoke.

However, while Folle (2017, p. 43) praises the book for its simplicity, suggesting it "allows the reader to understand, without great intellectual effort, what is written", this article argues that the work is a multilayered narrative that encompasses diverse themes and worlds. A simplistic reading of it can easily lead to an interpretation anchored in supposed dichotomies, as seen in Iguma and Souza's analysis (2021), which relies on dichotomies such as "ancestral vs contemporary, river vs non-river, fertility vs sterility" (Iguma and Souza, 2021, p. 266). The authors suggest these dichotomies aid the reader in comprehending the text. Nevertheless, this analysis contends that a decolonial reading of this book based on the historical and socio-cultural aspects presented by the author throughout the narrative can significantly contribute to understanding how Indigenous memory and narrative shape identity, foster critical dialogue, and challenge entrenched hegemonic structures.



São Paulo in chronicles: socio-historical and urban gaps

In the *Crônicas de São Paulo*, while reflecting on the frequently used Indigenous names given to parks, train stops, and neighborhoods throughout the city—whose meanings and origins are unknown to most of its population—Munduruku prompts an examination of the reasons behind this widespread unfamiliarity. This contemplation of the city's Indigenous terminologies draws attention to the symbolic gaps within its urban fabric and invites further discussion within historical discourses. As the following analysis examines specific examples, it will demonstrate how this effort seeks to remove the Indigenous population from the margins of history, empowering them within their own historical, spatial, temporal, and cultural contexts.

Based on this understanding, in the chronicle "Guaianases, Guarulhos, and Guaranis", when the author speaks about the land as something that was never owned but shared ("recebeu indígenas e alienígenas" ["received Indigenous peoples and aliens"] (2019, p. 56)), he engages in an intercultural negotiation with the hegemonic discourse. This not only brings visibility to the historical past through Indigenous lenses, but also highlights the possibilities of a sense of identity and belonging emerging from this historical recovery. In this context, the author challenges the dominant narrative by positioning the colonizer as the "other," as the term "alien" emphasizes foreignness. Through this reframing, the word carries deep connotations of displacement and intrusion. Furthermore, when discussing the sacred and bloodied land of ancestors, the author reasserts the Indigenous connection to the land, now urbanized as a city. He underscores that São Paulo, prior to urbanization, was Indigenous territory: "Esta terra—arrancada dos heroicos indígenas que aqui viviam—assumiu outro



nome, inventou histórias" ["This land—taken from the heroic Indigenous people who lived here—assumed another name, invented stories"] (2019, pp. 56-57).

Despite being among the top ten cities in Brazil with the highest concentration of Indigenous peoples, according to the latest IBGE Census (2023), São Paulo paradoxically remains largely unaware of its Indigenous heritage. Nonetheless, it pulsates with a modern identity as a bustling metropolis that never sleeps. This vibrant duality is also further reflected in Sesc São Paulo's networking initiative "São Paulo Terra Indígena" ["São Paulo Indigenous Land"] (2022), which highlighted the presence of Indigenous peoples in São Paulo and promoted their leadership, whether from villages, communities, or urban settings. The project featured a visual identity by Denilson Baniwa, an artist from the Baniwa people, known for his engagement with the theme of reanthropophagy, a reinterpretation of the concept of anthropophagy as cultural cannibalism (Andrade, 1928). This concept, as previously discussed, involves the metaphorical consumption and reinterpretation of dominant cultures to reclaim and redefine Indigenous identities. Baniwa's work intertwines with the historical context of the São Paulo Modern Art Week of 1922, marking a century of evolving Indigenous representation, especially the latest self-representation, in Brazil's cultural landscape.

In the same way Baniwa highlights contemporary Indigenous presence, Munduruku delves into the historical layers of São Paulo to uncover the city's origins. The author revisits the transformative processes that turned the Indigenous lands of Piratininga into the sprawling metropolis of São Paulo—the largest city in Latin America. Echoing the idea of reanthropophagy, Munduruku metaphorically 'consumes' and reinterprets the history imposed by colonial narratives to uncover the Indigenous layers of the city: "Terra



Tupiniquim transformada em Missão que, depois, seria o núcleo de expansão da cidade" ["Tupiniquim land transformed into a Mission that would later be the core of the city's expansion"] (2019, p. 24). He also reappropriates the word Tupiniquim, which has multiple meanings, including its reference to the Tupiniquim ethnic group and as a term used pejoratively to imply a lack of sophistication. The term is also utilized to refer to something national, which homogenizes the cultural specificities of these peoples (ISA, 2020). By reclaiming this term, Munduruku highlights the rich cultural heritage and historical significance of Indigenous contributions to the city's development.

In examining São Paulo's beginnings, the author reveals a complex tapestry of identities and histories that continues to shape the city's narrative. By examining these historical layers, Munduruku sheds light on São Paulo's colonial past, much like Baniwa's artistic reinterpretation of anthropophagy, to underscore the enduring presence and influence of Indigenous cultures within the modern urban landscape:

Ali seriam construídos os primeiros prédios que revelariam o pensamento quadrado dos europeus. Esse pensamento que eles tentariam impor aos Tupiniquim para forçá-los a abandonar seus hábitos selvagens.

[There, the first buildings would be constructed, revealing the square mindset of the Europeans. This mindset that they would try to impose on the Tupiniquim to force them to abandon their *wild habits.*] (2019, p. 24, author's emphasis).



The wordplay chosen by the author to discuss the city's foundation makes evident the tension, conflict, and imposition of one culture over another, with the so-called European "square mindset" being imposed on the Indigenous cyclical thinking, considered "wild". It is worth noting that the region now known as São Paulo served as a geographic hub, connecting various regions and Indigenous settlements through paths believed to have been established centuries earlier by large wild animals and the Indigenous peoples themselves who traversed the area (Krenak, 2019b). Several official records suggest that due to its geographic location and access to various overland and river routes, São Paulo may have been the city with the highest number of enslaved Indigenous peoples during colonial times (Jecupé, 2020, p. 61). The violent conflicts that allegedly soaked the city's soil with blood have gradually been erased and suppressed by political and historical interventions, as described by Angatu (2017) regarding what the scholar refers to as the city's second foundation in 1872, when the government, in an attempt to whiten the population, persecuted sociocultural practices, traditions, and communities linked to African, Indigenous, rural, and mixed-race groups, aiming for sociocultural and ethnic cleansing—a phenomenon that continues to influence current power dynamics (Angatu, 2017, p. 200).

In spite of the significant concentration of Indigenous peoples living in the city, approximately 55,000 according to the latest IBGE Census (2023), São Paulo appears to still operate under old political paradigms of invisibility and marginalization. Historical research based on official data collected by Angatu in his work *Nem Tudo Era Italiano - São Paulo e Pobreza* (1890-1915) [*Not Everything was Italian: São Paulo and Poverty* (1890-1915)] (2017), points to the effort to keep a significant portion of the population, migrants from the northeast



(primarily Indigenous and Afro-descendants), and other regions of the country invisible, giving prominence to the flow of Italian, Spanish, Japanese, Lebanese, and Portuguese immigrants, to name a few. Munduruku positions himself precisely against this invisibilization, reclaiming São Paulo's multicultural nature. The chronicles emphasize that long before it acquired its current name, the land harbored various Indigenous cultures: "presenciou a caminhada dos Tamoios, dos Tupiniquim, dos Tupinambá, dos Guaianá, dos Guaru... Entre tantos" ["it witnessed the journey of the Tamoios, Tupiniquim, Tupinambá, Guaianá, Guaru... Among many others"] (Munduruku, 2019, p. 56).

Munduruku refers to São Paulo as the land of many peoples and nations, portraying the city as Mother Earth herself. This characterization elevates the city's natural essence as the central figure in Munduruku's narrative. It reflects a fundamental philosophy shared among various Indigenous cultures, which is based on a sense of belonging, not through ownership, but through being an integral part of the land: "sem desejo de posse, apenas com a alegria e o cuidado necessários para viver uma longa vida" ["without a desire for possession, but with the joy and care needed to sustain life"] (2019, p. 55). This pathway challenges conventional notions of land ownership and underscores the Indigenous worldview that emphasizes harmony and reciprocity with nature. Munduruku's portrayal of São Paulo as Mother Earth highlights the city's deep historical and cultural layers, inviting a reconsideration of urban spaces as living entities intertwined with human experiences. It prompts us to reflect on how Indigenous philosophies can enrich our understanding of place and belonging in urban contexts, urging us to embrace a more inclusive approach to urban development and stewardship.



Temporal dynamics and reclaiming identity in Munduruku's narrative

In Munduruku's work, the reaffirmation of identity begins with the re-appropriation of Indigenous words still present in the city and extends to the city itself, which has never ceased to be Indigenous despite its modern appearance (Munduruku, 2019, p. 12). The author's journey unfolds nonlinearly, with digressions spanning different types of memory and timelines: the present one, in which he navigates through stations and neighborhoods of São Paulo; his childhood, guided by autobiographical memory; and the ancestral time that predates the author's existence, constituted from cultural memory derived from collective experiences shared by the village elders. As noted by Menezes de Souza (2006), informed by the work of DaMatta (1987) and Sullivan (1988), Indigenous narrative employs a circular understanding of time based on the present, reflecting our world as it is, and the previous present, which refers to other configurations and organizations of the world. In his essay "Escrita indígena: registro, oralidade e literatura" ["Indigenous Writing: Record, Orality, and Literature"] (2018), Munduruku emphasizes this cyclical nature of time, which is tied to the cycles of nature, contrasting with the Western linear organization of time. In Indigenous communities, storytellers play a crucial role in giving meaning to current experiences and keeping the past alive and relevant (Munduruku, 2018, p. 83). The teachings passed down to Munduruku by village elders guide the connection of time and space in the chronicles, along with his childhood memories. This is evident when the author explains how, at the end of the day, children would listen to elders' stories while also being taught to "alcançar os ancestrais no mundo dos sonhos" ["reach the ancestors in the dream world"] (Munduruku, 2019, p. 35).



While the author engages with his childhood experiences, he reveals a shift from merely narrating events to embodying the role of a storyteller. This transformation involves a continual revisiting of past experiences to update and expand the repertoire of stories in a circular movement. This dynamic of returning to be present is repeated in various passages throughout the book, maintaining a circular aspect by continuously revisiting the previous present to inform the current one. While Western cultures also have similar dynamics, the context presented by Munduruku is deeply rooted in Indigenous oral traditions. It does not organize time within preconceived notions of past, present, and future. Instead, time is organized circularly, where the past continuously informs the present, creating a cycle that integrates experiences and knowledge (Menezes de Souza, 2004; 2006). This cyclical perception of time reflects the interconnectedness and importance of each event in shaping ongoing cultural practices and understandings. It also reflects the organization of the chapters moving back and forward the city's founding landmarks.

Moreover, while Munduruku sometimes highlights a return to the memories of ancestral times to make sense of the present, in other instances, he shows ancestral heritage coexisting in the current present, interacting with it. When discussing the dilemmas of transitioning from the village to the city, the author expresses concern about what he had to offer to the city. He reflects on the questions he faced regarding how he could leave his village for the city and whether doing so would betray his people (2019, p. 42). Further on the same page, the answers seem to come from the connection with the ancestors' knowledge present in the soil, and in the sky, when the author comes to see his role as a "professor, confessor de meus sonhos" ["teacher, confessor of my dreams"] (2019, p. 42), where "confessor" is



significant as it subverts the history of religious colonization by reappropriating a term deeply rooted in Catholic tradition to emphasize a personal and cultural reclamation of his Indigenous identity and dreams.

It is also important to note that dreams hold significant importance in Indigenous cultures. Reflecting on this, Krenak recounts a time when the ancestors lived in harmony with the land: "Eles só precisavam trabalhar algumas horas por dia para proverem tudo o que era necessário para viver. No resto do tempo podiam cantar, dançar, sonhar: a vida quotidiana era uma extensão do sonho" ["They only needed to work a few hours a day to provide everything needed to live. For the rest of the time, they could sing, dance, dream: daily life was an extension of the dream" [2020, p. 46]. According to Krenak, this understanding represents a cultural legacy described as "suspender o céu" ["suspending the sky"], (Krenak, 2019a, 2020), as a way of life where humans do not dominate or exploit nature but rather live in a state of reciprocity and mutual respect with the natural world. Following this ancestral premise, Munduruku approaches the metropolis aiming to extract every possible insight from it "para manter o céu equilibrado, evitando que se auto destrua" ["to keep the sky balanced, avoiding self-destruction"] (Munduruku, 2019, p. 43). The movement of connecting the past and present, or finding traces of the previous present within the current present, continues to link the worlds through which the author moves. From this perspective, by presenting the city's millennial ancestry and challenging the socio-historical notion of secular Brazil, Munduruku intensifies the effort to disassociate from the hegemonic narratives. Thus, the author reiterates the concept of epistemic disobedience by seizing control of his own narrative as an Indigenous individual who writes books in Portuguese, resides in the city, and



maintains his Indigenous identity, contrary to previous assertions by the Brazilian state or media.

Munduruku integrates his reflections on writing and Indigenous literature with a broader narrative of resistance and self-affirmation. His chronicles are deeply rooted not only in his personal memories but also in the collective memories passed down by elders. This engagement with memory aligns with Lipsitz's (1995) concept of counter-memory, which is also closely linked to the idea of counter-literature, since it actively opposes and subverts dominant narratives through the inclusion of marginalized voices and worldviews. In the context of contemporary Brazilian Indigenous literature, and particularly in Munduruku's chronicles, this approach revisits the past to challenge and supplement dominant narratives. As Thiél (2012, p. 85) observes, "counter-memory marks a connection with the ancestors; it documents the existence of parallel stories normally not reported by the official hegemonic discourse". Thus, in *Crônicas de São Paulo*, Munduruku's work exemplifies how countermemory can be a powerful tool to uncover and affirm these alternative histories.

In Munduruku's chronicles, ancestral wisdom transitions from oral to written form, a process the author views as essential for preserving the ancestral heritage. The relationship between oral tradition and writing is viewed by the author as a complement since memory must evolve with new technologies to remain alive, and writing can serve as one of these essential tools (Munduruku, 2018, p. 83). Furthermore, Munduruku's engagement with Indigenous identity within urban environments transcends merely translating ancestral oral traditions into written forms. He skillfully blends these traditions with contemporary perspectives, demonstrating a seamless integration of ancestral wisdom into modern contexts.



By bridging traditionally perceived separate realms, Munduruku challenges and redefines the boundaries between Indigenous heritage and urban life. This approach not only preserves and revitalizes Indigenous cultures but also highlights its ongoing relevance and resilience amidst urbanization and modernity.

Munduruku's considerations of temporality navigates and challenges historical erasure and negation by affirming Indigenous presence and agency within contemporary contexts. From this framework, Munduruku's critique of modernity stems from the marginalization of Indigenous cultures. He seeks to affirm Indigenous existence by integrating contemporary experiences with ancestral traditions. Rather than rejecting modernity, Munduruku aims to find harmony between modern and ancestral elements. In the chronicle titled "Ibirapuera", for instance, he visits Ibirapuera park, the name of which is a Tupi word meaning the place of trees, and highlights a point of balance between the modern world and his ancestral roots. He reflects on the buildings in the circular space of the park, noting that it is ideal for the spirits of both, the ancestors, and the modern mankind (Munduruku, 2019, p.24): "tinha encontrado um ponto de equilibrio entre o passado e o presente" ["I had discovered equilibrium points between the past and the present"]. This synthesis of past and present emphasizes the enduring relevance of Indigenous wisdom.

Once again, the author connects different times in search of balance. This temporal immersion, also practiced by storytellers in Indigenous communities to preserve memories and knowledge, aligns with the role of a teacher, which eventually becomes Munduruku's profession, as he explains in the chronicle "Pirituba", asserting that both roles carry the same fundamental task of instructing, of informing (2019, p. 43). However, despite Munduruku



finding points of equilibrium between the two worlds and having found his place within the city as a teacher, he conveys that his deeper connection remains with the ancestral realm. The opposition to the modernization project in the chronicles does not stem from a new negation; it is not about destroying modernity but rather about considering new relational forms of modernity that accept different ways of being and existing in the world. In this sense, while demarcating symbolic territories, the writing of Munduruku, as well as that of Indigenous peoples in a broader sense, (re)inscribes the Indigenous population into history, no longer as mere extras, being represented, but as authors of their own narrative at the center, revealing the colonial wounds (Anzaldúa, 1999) that pervade multiple spheres, as gaps, voids.

Throughout the book, absence emerges as a recurring theme, functioning as a potent driving force. The author employs the word *saudade* in different contexts to talk about longing, nostalgia, and, more specifically, homesickness, all possible translations of the term. By highlighting the potential of this feeling to incite action, the author sets the narrative in motion. In the opening chronicle "Tatuapé" (a Tupi term meaning 'armadillo's path'), it is the feeling of "saudades de um tempo em que a natureza imperava" ["*saudade* [nostalgia] for a time when nature ruled"] (Munduruku, 2019, p. 16) that fuels the author on this journey of ancestral reclamation. Similarly, in "Jabaquara" (another Tupi word, denoting a place of refuge for escaped enslaved people), the narrator points out that the escaped enslaved population was left only with *saudade*, once again illustrating how this emotion catalyzed action, leading to the creation of the first Quilombos, characterized by him as a places of freedom, celebration, and resistance:



Um desses lugares se chamava Jabaquara [...] O nome tupi por excelência [...] parecia querer dizer que nossos antepassados indígenas entendiam que só se é verdadeiramente livre quando se tem uma terra onde se possa bater os pés para convidar os espíritos ancestrais.

One of these places was called Jabaquara. [...] The name, quintessentially Tupi [...] implied that our Indigenous ancestors understood that one is truly free only when they have a land where they can stamp their feet to summon ancestral spirits (2019, p. 30).

Here, the author alludes to what can be understood as two definitions of Quilombo: one rooted in colonial times, where it was delineated as a settlement formed by black enslaved people who ran away, and a contemporary interpretation portraying it as a site of freedom, cultural celebration, and resistance (Schmitt, Turatti, and Carvalho, 2002). This modern perspective acknowledges that while traditional Quilombos were established by escaped enslaved people, contemporary Quilombos may include diverse inhabitants who align with the community's historical, cultural, and social practices. Regarding the creation of these sites, in Munduruku's narrative, *saudade* served to stimulate actions, as well as to bring closeness between different groups, such as mankind and nature, or the Indigenous and the African enslaved peoples, all in a relational sense, as can be observed in the following excerpt: "Estar longe de casa [...] fez com que eu me lembrasse da teia que une todos os povos na tentativa de manter o nosso planeta equilibrado" ["Being far from home [...] made me remember the web that connects all peoples to keep our planet balanced"] (2019, p. 30).

Munduruku keeps weaving in the notion of balance, challenging conventional dichotomies throughout the text. In the "Ibirapuera" chronicle, for instance, the author comments on the "[pensamento] quadrado dentro do círculo" ["square [thought] within the



circle"] (Munduruku, 2019, p. 24), referencing the buildings within the park's nature. This expands on his earlier critique of the European "square mindset" imposed during the city's foundation, now contextualizing it within a more contemporary setting. This observation not only symbolizes the clash between urban development and the natural environment but also serves as a metaphor for Munduruku's own quest for harmony between Indigenous ancestral knowledge and contemporary urban life. Moreover, it reflects his broader philosophical stance on reconciling Indigenous ways of living with Western modernity. By finding beauty and meaning in this coexistence, Munduruku suggests a path towards cultural resilience and harmony, where Indigenous traditions not only survive but thrive within contemporary urban landscapes. In this way, the "Ibirapuera" chronicle exemplifies Munduruku's thematic approach to balance, illustrating how he navigates and challenges dichotomies to affirm Indigenous presence and agency within the complexities of modern Brazilian society.

The chronicles also reveal how the invisible wounds of colonialism have brought the native ancestry closer to the ancestry of other peoples. In the aforementioned chronicle "Jabaquara", Munduruku states that "por causa da saudade reviveram os espíritos criadores que trouxeram de volta a presença da mãe África" ["because of *saudade*, the creative spirits revived, carrying dances and melodies that brought back the presence of Mother Africa"] (2019, p. 28). In the same way, in Munduruku's case, after highlighting his *saudade*, the author embarked on the journey through São Paulo to rescue the memory of other times in a narrative that makes several references to Mother Earth. Whether connected with Mother Africa or Mother Earth, the relationship with ancestors is mirrored in how natural elements are treated and regarded. The bond with the land occurs symmetrically, resonating in the sense of



identity and moving away from the Western paradigm that places mankind at the center. Munduruku's narrative bridges the struggles of Indigenous and African diasporic peoples, highlighting their common experiences. He recounts the suffering endured by the African populations forcibly displaced through enslavement (Munduruku, 2019, p. 27), drawing parallels with the ongoing challenges faced by Indigenous communities today, such as forced displacements and adaptation struggles in urban centers like São Paulo.

Through this reflection, Munduruku underscores the resilience and adaptive strategies of marginalized communities, forced to reimagine and integrate their cultural identities into new environments: "alguém pensou: se não podemos sair daqui, por que não transportar para cá a nossa terra? Por que não aprender a viver aqui?" ["someone thought: if we cannot leave this place, why not bring our land to this place? Why not learn to live here?"] (2019, pp. 28-29) By redefining their relationship with unfamiliar landscapes, these communities continued affirming their existence and agency despite the adversities imposed upon them. The author further reflects on the Quilombolas' journey, seeing in their flight a quest for ancestral connection, a way to articulate their identity and sense of belonging. This journey mirrors, in many ways, the experience of Indigenous communities, as both groups reclaim denied epistemes to recover erased histories and re-signify spaces. It is worth noting that Quilombo communities continue to pursue territorial demarcation projects that resemble those of Indigenous peoples, despite their distinct sociocultural demands and struggles (Oliveira and Cordeiro, 2020).

This reflection on ancestral connection and the re-signification of spaces extends into Munduruku's own personal experience. He recounts a similar journey of self-discovery when



transitioning from his Indigenous community in Pará to the city of São Paulo, portraying the quest for his ancestry within the city. This reflection on the obstacles he faced in this journey occurs at various other moments in the work, for example, in the chronicle "Pirituba", when speaking of the fear "do avesso, do avesso," ["of the reverse of the reverse of the reverse"] (Munduruku, 2019, p. 41), in reference to the song "Sampa", by Caetano Veloso (1978). This is a song that, in turn, recounts the displacement of the musician, who lived in Bahia and moved to São Paulo, capturing his difficult beginning in the new city to a good "drizzle". Similarly, Munduruku undergoes a quest for identity and a sense of belonging, which seems to have been found through relationality as it was possible to observe in the chronicle "Jabaquara". In the song, Veloso also highlights the difficulty of being part of the city "quando não somos mutantes" ["when we are not mutants"] (Veloso, 1978). This phrase references São Paulo's psychedelic rock band Os Mutantes, known for their experimental style and influence on the Tropicália movement in the late 1960s. On another level, it refers to the mutant nature of the city itself, which, as Munduruku notes in the opening and closing of the book, has already taken on other names, peoples, and stories, continuously changing and mutating (Munduruku, 2019, pp. 12; 56-57).

Reclaiming physical and symbolic spaces through indigenous memory

By accompanying Munduruku in his engagement with the lingering echoes of the city's past—often blurred but ever-present, it is possible to note that his aim is not to conduct a topographical study, but to reflect on the urban landscape's intricate layers, comprehending the urban space not solely as a geographical construct but as a tapestry interwoven with



human complexities and narratives of existence. For example, when the author reflects on the word that names the chronicle "Butantã", he provides insight into its significance as a Tupi word to define firm land, emphasizing the idea of firm land as a space of stability, where one could momentarily pause and be free from nature's unpredictability (Munduruku, 2019, p. 37).

The author presents alternative ways of understanding spaces without presenting new cartographies. Instead, he retrieves neglected symbolisms within the existing maps to keep ancestral memory alive in the contemporary city. Reflecting on this, he notes, "Viver bem aqui [São Paulo] é mantê-los [ancestrais] vivos na minha memória e na memória desta colossal aldeia de desconhecidos" ["Living well here [São Paulo] is keeping them [ancestors] alive in my memory and the memory of this colossal village of strangers"] (Munduruku, 2019, p. 12). This act of keeping ancestral memory alive can be seen as a means of preserving cultures that, according to official sources, have been repeatedly declared extinct by official sources countless times throughout history.

Continuing this approach, Munduruku focuses on re-existence by reviving the dormant, multi-layered memories of the past, for instance when he refers to São Paulo as a city that has created various stories and taken on different names throughout its history (2019, pp. 56-57). The author addresses a socio-historical gap that is essentially urban and intrinsically linked to Indigenous heritage. By diving into the city's depths to reclaim the multi-layered narrative of the metropolis, Munduruku is rescuing the faded Indigenous memory, the history of native peoples in their own formats and contexts. In this journey through the city, Munduruku evokes what Ana Beatriz Azevedo describes as the "arquitetura"



dos ecos" ["architecture of echoes"] (2012, p. 80), capturing the layered and reverberating historical narratives embedded within the urban landscape. This concept symbolizes the way historical and cultural remnants persist and resonate within the contemporary cityscape, creating a layered, reverberating structure of memories and identities. Similar to theories of cultural memory and decolonial critique (Connerton, 1989; Mignolo, 2011), this perspective highlights how elements of the past continue to influence and shape the present, despite the silencing and marginalization.

By blending dimensions of space and time, Munduruku summons a collective imagery of the metropolis that includes the overlooked Indigenous presence. This concept is vividly illustrated in the chronicle "Guaianases, Guarulhos e Guaranis", where Munduruku navigates through the city's Indigenous roots, uncovering stories that interweave the ancestral with the modern. This narrative tapestry enriches the understanding of São Paulo's roots highlighting the resilience and enduring contributions of its Indigenous inhabitants. By highlighting this history of "resilience and patience" (Munduruku, 2019, p. 57) between colonizer and colonized, the author implies the tension between ways of being. This tension stems from the transition from the so-called 'old world' to the 'new world', marked by the "nem sempre amigável encontro entre nativos e alienígenas" ["not always friendly encounter between natives and aliens"] (Munduruku, 2019, p. 56), creating a different way of seeing and being.

The tensions and resulting shifts in perception presented in the book may reflect an aspect of border thinking (Anzaldúa, 1999; Mignolo and Tlostanova, 2006; Graúna, 2013), a concept that emphasizes the intersectionality of knowledge and cultural dynamics,



highlighting the significance of shifting standpoints from the margins. This form of thinking exists between worlds, particularly in contexts of miscegenation, which, as the author notes, encompasses horrors and violence, and also "criou o novo e abriu as portas da modernidade" ["created the new and opened the doors of modernity"] (Munduruku, 2019, p. 56). With this, the author concludes the chapter and, consequently the book, urging that this land, which has always welcomed many, cannot exclude its Indigenous peoples; it must also be "a casa daqueles que ainda hoje são seus filhos mais ilustres: os Guarani" ["the home of those that are still its most illustrious heirs today: the Guarani"] (Munduruku, 2019, p. 57).

In that sense, *Chronicles of São Paulo* is a claim to a sense of belonging, "uma tentativa de me encontrar naquele lugar que não era meu lugar de origem, mas que guarda minhas origens. São Paulo é terra indígena" ["an attempt to find myself in that place that was not my place of origin, but which holds my origins. São Paulo is Indigenous land"] (Munduruku, 2019, p. 8). With this work, the author embarks on a movement of reclaiming. He is reclaiming language, territories, and ways of being. This message is especially evident before the end of the book, in the chronicle "Pirituba", when the author writes about his adaptation in the city and how he understood the profound significance of words in their connections across different worlds:

Transformei o barco em trem, o arco em palavra, a mata em tabual, a escuridão em luz elétrica, a aldeia em cidade. Não troquei minha aldeia pela cidade. Eu transformei a cidade em minha aldeia.

[I turned the boat into train, the bow into word, the forest into planks, the darkness into electric light, the village into city. I did not exchange my village for the city. I transformed the city into my village] (Munduruku, 2019, p. 43).



By transforming the bow into word, and the city into his village, Munduruku exercises border thinking to record ancestral knowledge in a Western format, aligning with the definition of Indigenous literature elaborated by Maria Inês de Almeida and Sônia Queiroz (2004), as an anthropophagic ritual, in which "Uma prática do mundo dos brancos – a escrita da História – começa a conceder acesso à experiência mais ancestral, aquela que fundou a própria sociedade" ["a practice of the world of whites – the writing of History – begins to grant access to the most ancestral experience, the one that founded society itself"] (Almeida and Queiroz, 2004, p. 69).

Following Munduruku's insights, the chronicles and words, in a broader sense, do not arise randomly; they stem from lived experiences and shared memories. Similarly, in Jecupé's book *Oré awé roiru'a ma - Todas as vezes que dizemos adeus - Whenever We Say Goodbye* (2002), he recounts his displacement from an Indigenous community on the outskirts of São Paulo to the city itself. Jecupé portrays São Paulo as a vast Indigenous village where one must seek permission to belong, ritualizing this act and offering the metropolis a reflection on its own identity: "I ate the bread civilization crumbled. I survived. To achieve this, I had to devour the city's brain [...] Now, as tradition requires, I offer my spirit [...] which carries this wisdom that is not mine, it is ours" (Jecupé, 2002, pp. 16-17).

Jecupé's reanthropophagic reference resembles Munduruku's exercise of devouring language, writing, and literary forms to give back. Both authors give back a literature that synesthetically blends body and episteme in a narrative that aims to return to the city a part of itself that is often invisible. It brings forth "os sabores e saberes que faziam o colorido de



nossa gente" ["the flavors and wisdom that added vibrancy to our people"] (Munduruku, 2019, p. 55).

Final considerations

Munduruku's *Crônicas de São Paulo* reveals crucial nuances of Indigenous presence and agency within the urban narrative, mirroring contemporary Indigenous movements and articulations. By evoking ancestral memories that permeate the urban landscape, the author reveals the city's intricate layers, bridging the ancient within the modern and prompting profound discussions on the significance of Indigenous memory and narrative in shaping identity reflections. It serves as an open invitation to reexamine and challenge the gaps in official history, particularly in light of significant cultural milestones such as the centenary of the Modern Art Week in São Paulo, which in 1922 benefited from Indigenous knowledge and image but kept these populations at the margins, as objects, with no voice of their own, repeating similar colonial dynamics of extraction.

Although Munduruku does not directly engage with the São Paulo Modern Art Week of 1922, or Andrade's *Manifesto Antropófago* (1928), his subversion of power dynamics aligns closely with Baniwa's reanthropophagy (2022), since he metaphorically 'consumes' and transforms the dominant culture's language and literary genres to validate Indigenous bodies and knowledge systems. His narrative critiques colonial legacies and underscores the inherently political nature of contemporary Indigenous literature, which is deeply rooted in ongoing struggles for recognition and autonomy. Furthermore, Munduruku contributes to the ongoing debate about Indigenous identity in Brazil, examining the impact of 'civilizing'



processes. He addresses the failures of historical reparations projects aimed at the Indigenous populations that in the past were deemed extinct and only recently recognized as Brazilian citizens, having their rights endorsed by the 1988 Constitution, which remains in effect today.

Munduruku's lens of remembrance reshapes temporal and spatial understandings while confronting the erasure of Indigenous histories within urban landscapes. This reclamation and reinterpretation process extends beyond his book's pages, fostering ongoing dialogue and reflection. From a decolonial interpretation, Munduruku's narrative becomes a catalyst for uncovering hidden histories and challenging hegemonic narratives. By reclaiming ancestral knowledge and exposing the remaining colonial wounds, Munduruku paves the way for healing and reconciliation. His narrative disrupts entrenched power structures, advocating for a more inclusive and equitable society that embraces diverse voices and memories. In essence, Munduruku's work embodies a transformative vision of urban life that celebrates Indigenous resilience, interrogates dominant narratives, and fosters intercultural dialogue. Through his narrative, Munduruku invites readers to envision a future where the complexities of identity and belonging are embraced, and urban spaces become sites of cultural exchange and mutual respect.



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