

INDIGENEITY AND DICTATORSHIP: PATHS FOR MEMORY AND RESISTANCE IN BRAZILIAN CULTURE

*Indigeneidade e ditadura: caminhos
da memória e da resistência na
cultura brasileira*

CIMARA VALIM DE MELO^{1,2} 

¹University of Bristol, Bristol, England

²Instituto Federal de Educação, Ciência e Tecnologia do Rio Grande do Sul, Canoas, RS, Brasil

E-mail: cimara.valim@gmail.com

EDITORA-CHEFE:

Cássia Maria Bezerra do
Nascimento

EDITORA EXECUTIVA:

Rachel Esteves Lima

EDITORES ASSOCIADOS:

Anderson Bastos Martins
Cássia Dolores Costa Lopes
Jorge Hernán Yerro

SUBMETIDO: 15.07.2024

ACEITO: 17.10.2024

COMO CITAR:

MELO, Cimara Valim de.
Indigeneity and dictatorship:
Paths for memory and
resistance in Brazilian culture.
*Revista Brasileira de Literatura
Comparada*, v. 26, e20240963,
2024. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1590/2596-304x202426e20240963>

ABSTRACT

The individual and collective trauma of military dictatorship remains in contemporary Brazil. For native communities, who have historically suffered colonial oppression, the impact of developmental politics increased their vulnerability, making them “victims of the Miracle” as stated by Shelton Davis (1977), referring to the “Milagre Econômico” in 20th century’s Brazil. As a way of resistance, indigenist and indigenous contemporary authors and artists have sought to decolonise History as well as produce their own spaces of memory and representation. Thus, this study intends to analyse, 60 years on from the 64 Coup, how contemporary ecocriticism has been representing the shadows of military dictatorship in contemporary Brazil from the work of composers, visual artists, and writers.

KEYWORDS: Dictatorship in Brazil, indigenous peoples, arts and literature.

RESUMO

O trauma individual e coletivo da Ditadura Militar permanece no Brasil contemporâneo. Em relação às populações nativas, que historicamente sofreram a opressão colonial, o impacto da política desenvolvimentista aumentou a sua vulnerabilidade, tornando-as “vítimas do Milagre”, como afirmou Shelton Davis (1977), referindo-se ao “Milagre Econômico” no Brasil do século XX. Como forma de resistência, autores e artistas contemporâneos, indigenistas e indígenas, têm buscado decolonizar a História, bem como produzir seus próprios espaços de memória e representação. Assim, este estudo pretende analisar, 60 anos após o Golpe de 64, como a ecocrítica contemporânea vem representando as sombras da ditadura militar no Brasil contemporâneo a partir do trabalho de compositores, artistas plásticos e escritores.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Ditadura no Brasil, povos indígenas, artes e literatura.

*The most beautiful thing we have inside ourselves is our
dignity, even if it has been hurt.*

Eliane Potiguara (2009)

The individual and collective trauma of military dictatorship remain in contemporary Brazil. For native communities, who have historically suffered colonial oppression, the impact of developmental politics increased their vulnerability, and provoked the violation of fundamental human rights at different levels, producing a threat to their diverse societies and cultures. In this regard, Rubens Valente's *Os fuzis e as flechas* (2017) points out that the 1970s road construction in the core of Amazon had a particular role in the exploitation of indigenous communities and lands, a fact that had already been researched and documented by Shelton Davis (1977), who named native communities of Brazil at the time of dictatorship as "victims of the Miracle", referring to the "Milagre Econômico" and its consequences.

As a way of resistance, indigenist and indigenous contemporary artists and authors have used ecocriticism¹, together with digital media, as a means to value forest peoples' indigeneity², decolonize History, and denounce past and present violences. The Brazilian Popular Music (MPB in Portuguese) has produced a legacy of critical songs with a focus on indigenous traumatic state of affairs in the 20th century; in parallel, visual artists, such as Claudia Andujar, questioned the idea of an 'empty land' the military government used to promote their developmentalist project in the Amazonian territory. These voices and images have echoed other objects of memory, and contributed to the rewriting of trauma, adding to the ethnographic and historical work carried out on the effects of the period of repression on Brazil's native peoples. Also, women writers, such as Maria José Silveira, Eliane Potiguara and Julie Dorrico, have contributed to this scenario by producing eco-counternarratives, whereby the indigenous cause is taken into the map of contemporary literature.

Thus, this study intends to analyse, from the work of composers, visual artists, and writers, how contemporary ecocriticism has been representing the shadows of military dictatorship for native peoples in Brazil, by crossing decolonial history and the arts in its broad sense. Whether in songs released between the 1970s and 1980s, or in literary texts published after the process of re-democratisation, or even in visual artists' works during and after the period of military repression in the country, the arts produce a *corpus* of resistance that produces not only confrontation, but especially resistance to oppression and the recovery of collective memory.

THE SHADOWS OF REPRESSION ON BRAZILIAN POPULAR MUSIC

In 1973, in the same month that the Brazilian Indigenous Statute [Estatuto do Índio] (Brasil, 1973) was sanctioned, the composer Martinho da Vila had the words of his carnival theme samba vetoed by the Brazilian military censors. The song, which was launched in the following year with the title "Tribo dos Carajás Aruanã-Açu" and which was branded as being subversive, denounced the

1 In the foundational book *The Ecocriticism Reader*, Glotfelty and Fromm (1996, p. xix) define the term as "the study of the relationship between literature and the physical environment", which "takes an earth-centred approach to literary studies". The term has been widely researched and amplified for the past decades, as we can in studies carried out by Garrard (2023), referred to in this article.

2 The term is used in the sense given by William Balée (2008, p. 10), according to whom it refers to the traditional ways of knowing the world that are characteristic of cultural traditions whose subjects have historically been the human targets of colonialism and economic globalisation.

extermination of the indigenous population in the heart of the Amazon with the arrival of the “white man”, who arrived “To construct, to progress, to explore”. In resistance to the domination, the native sang: “And the Indian sang/His song of war/He wasn’t enslaved/But has disappeared from the face of the earth” ³ (Vila, 1974). The new version, used as a ‘samba-enredo’ in the carnival of 1974, had a completely opposite approach, praising the “Transamazônica”, which was the cause of the destruction orchestrated by the military government in relation to the indigenous groups encountered in its path. The newly written words, which were listened to in the carnival avenue with the samba school of Unidos de Vila Isabel, was called “Aruanã-Açu”, and mentioned very little about the Karajá ethnicity, their resistance pathways, and their fight alongside the Araguaia river as it was represented in the Aruanã myth (Costa, 2014) and in Karajá cosmogony. Instead, it idealised “the great road”, which would lead to “the progress of the distant brother”, “the hope of a new horizon”, with “celebration, integration, and love” (Galeria do Samba, 2023).

Martinho da Vila’s composition was not an isolated case. After this song, others expressed their opposition in relation to the way the development project of the Brazilian government was going, which itself became manifest as the Transamazonian project became ‘a Trojan horse’. Caetano Veloso’s “Um índio”, launched in the collective disc *Doces Bárbaros* (1976), by Gilberto Gil, Caetano Veloso, Maria Bethânia and Gal Costa, is another example.

An Indian will descend from a shining, colourful star
 From a star that will come at a breathtaking speed
 And he will land in the heart of the Southern Hemisphere, in America, in a bright moment
 After the last indigenous nation has been extinguished
 [...]

 And what will be revealed to the nations at that moment
 Will surprise everybody not because it is exotic
 But for the fact that it may have always been hidden
 While it has always been obvious (Veloso, 1976)⁴

Caetano presents the indigenous image as the personification of resistance to colonial power. Amid the heroic figures captured in the lyrics, the prophesies of ethnic extermination of native peoples in a mythical-apocalyptic tone, culminating in the revelation of a truth that is neither exotic nor idealised, a hidden truth that needs to come to light. Moreover, Djavan’s “Cara de índio” opens the artist’s second album, released in 1978. The decolonial path employed in the composition questions the very term ‘Indian’, while revealing a context marked by the deprivation of rights, lack of equality and security: “In this land everything is given/Not to the Indian/Indian wants to be named/Indian name/I doubt

³ All available translations in this paper have been made by the author.

In the original: “Estranhamente o homem branco chegou / Pra construir, pra progredir, pra desbravar / E o índio cantou / O seu canto de guerra / Não se escravizou / Mas está sumindo da face da Terra”.

⁴ In the original: “Um índio descerá de uma estrela colorida, brilhante / De uma estrela que virá numa velocidade estonteante / E pousará no coração do Hemisfério Sul, na América, num claro instante / Depois de exterminada a última nação indígena / [...] E aquilo que nesse momento se revelará aos povos / Surpreenderá a todos não por ser exótico / Mas pelo fato de poder ter sempre estado oculto / Quando terá sido o óbvio” (Veloso, 1976)

Indian/This may take time/Take care Indian”⁵. Finally, Djavan says that the indigenous cause belongs to everyone: “I’m an Indian too”.

In the same year, Elis Regina released the song “Querelas do Brasil”, from the album *Transversal do Tempo*, interpreted by her and composed by Moacir Tapajós and Aldir Blanc. The song, from its title, contributes to the critical axis of MPB, exploring indigenous and Afro-Brazilian diversity⁶ and revealing more than a complaint, a cry for help: “Brazil doesn’t know Brasil/Brasil has never been to Brazil”, “Brazil doesn’t deserve Brasil/Brazil is killing Brasil”, “From Brasil, s.o.s. Brasil”⁷. Anthropologist Alcida Ramos considered 1978⁸ a key year for the beginning of movements for indigenous rights, when The Comissão Pró-Parque Yanomami (CCPY) was founded by photographer Claudia Andujar, anthropologist Bruce Albert, and missionary Carlo Zacquini, with help of Ramos and Taylor, who had already fled on self-exile to the United Kingdom because of the government repression.

For all intents and purposes, the contemporary phase of civil activism began in 1978 for Brazilian Indigenism. It was triggered by the emancipation decree, an attempt to terminate the Indians’ special status and thus exempt the state from the duty of protecting them as well as their traditions and their lands. [...] Drafted during the military administration of Ernesto Geisel, the emancipation decree worked as a catalyst in bringing to the table a wide range of professionals, such as anthropologists, lawyers, journalists, artists, and church people. (Ramos, 1998, p. 270)

Similarly, Jorge Ben Jor’s composition, “Curumim chama cunhatá que vou contar” (Todo dia era dia de índio), from the album *Bem-vinda Amizade* (1981), became an anthem to revive colonial history. The song was interpreted and popularised by Baby Consuelo, whose album *Canceriana Telúrica* features it on the first track. A list of ethnic groups impacted by the predatory colonial process introduces the lyrics as the year was marked by the rampant mining in the Amazon rainforest after being propelled by the government itself, in its eagerness to turn the “green desert” (Valente, 2017) into a space for progress and economic development.

Jês, Kariris, Karajás, Tukanos, Caraíbas,
Makus, Nambikwaras, Tupis, Bororós,
Guaranis, Kaiowa, Nandeva, YemiKruia
Yanomá, Waurá, Kamayurá, Iawalapiti, Suyá,
Txikão, Txu-Karramãe, Xokren, Xikrin, Krahô,
Ramkokamenkrá, Suyá (Ben Jor, 1981)

5 In the original: “Nessa terra tudo dá / Não para o índio / Índio quer se nomear / Nome de índio / Índio quer se nomear / Duvido índio / Isso pode demorar / Te cuida índio”.

6 From its title, the song explores terms and expressions that together end up representing the construction of a cultural identity in dispute, made up of often antagonistic elements. These include ‘Querela’ [quarrel], in contrast to Ary Barroso’s song ‘Aquarela do Brasil’; and agglutinations, such as Jobim-açu [great Jobim, using the term from the Tupi, and in reference to the Brazilian composer Tom Jobim].

7 In the original: “Brasil não conhece o Brasil / O Brasil nunca foi ao Brasil”, “O Brasil não merece o Brasil / O Brasil tá matando o Brasil”, “Do Brasil, s.o.s. ao Brasil”.

8 Events dated in 1978 include the publication of the report for the mining project RadamBrasil, the release of the Indian Emancipation Project orchestrated by Minister of the Interior Rangel Reis and General Ismarth Araújo based on an aggressive integration policy from the Geisel government (Caldarelli, 1979), and the promulgation of federal decrees “designed to carve up Indian lands and transform them into an archipelago of twenty-one forest islands, encircled by five to thirty-five kilometer-wide corridors to facilitate colonization” (Albert, 2013, p.434).

Ben Jor emphasises the ethnic suffering in the present time in contrast to a past of freedom and integrity: “But now/ Your war song/ Is a cry of an innocent race”⁹ (Ben Jor, 1981). Like Martinho da Vila’s lyrics, the war chant is the most important weapon, turning music into a vehicle for resistance by artists engaged in the indigenous cause at a time of many international campaigns. Even considering that the songs express in some points a certain dose of Romanticism as they bring a view of the facts filtered by non-indigenous people, and perhaps imply, in some cases, the myth of the ‘good savage’, they bring to light spaces of representation that are urgently needed in a time marked by political and socio-environmental deprivation: “And the Indian sang”/ “to reveal to the peoples”/ “His chanting”/ “Indian wants to nominate himself”¹⁰ As we can see, they act as counter-discourses to amplify indigenous voices, which leads us to Mora’s (2014) argument that “The effect of a counter-narrative is to empower and give agency to those communities.”

More than songs of resistance, the productions presented here act as evidence of the situation of the *povos originários* [original peoples]¹¹ in dictatorial Brazil, whose voices echo through Brazil’s artistic and cultural legacy, giving clues to erased truths that need to be uncovered as well as valuing a conception of indigeneity integrated to territorialities that distance themselves from the notion of *terra nullius* or *domicilium vacuum* (Balée, 2008, p. 13). Artistic productions from the dictatorial and post-dictatorial periods can be read as traces of the military regime’s impact on Brazil’s forest peoples, especially because of the traces that the developmentalist project left for future generations. They also play the role of “memory objects” (Figueiredo, 2017, p.46), adding to documents considered confidential/ secret, forgotten or missing that have come to light in recent decades, such as the Figueiredo Report, which was rediscovered after having disappeared for decades as Starling (2013) points out:

Even today we know very little about the crimes committed by the dictatorship against indigenous populations. The most important document denouncing these crimes – the “Figueiredo Report” – was produced by the Brazilian State and remained missing for 44 years – a period in which the official information was that the Report had been destroyed in a fire. The allegation does not stand up. The report was found by independent researchers in 2013, with 5 thousand of the more than 7 thousand pages that were in the original version. [...] The result presented by the prosecutor in his report is appalling: killings of entire tribes, torture and all kinds of cruelty were committed against indigenous people in the country, mainly by large landowners and State agents.¹²

9 In the original: “Mas no entanto agora / O seu canto de guerra / É um choro de uma raça inocente”.

10 In the original: “E o índio cantou” / “revelará aos povos” / “Seu canto” / “Índio quer se nomear”.

11 Besides the commonly given terms — “Indigenous people are also known as first peoples, aboriginal peoples, native peoples, or autochthonous peoples” (IPBES, [2018]) — the Portuguese phrase “povos originários” [original peoples/first peoples] is widely used among Brazilian indigenous groups rather than other terms.

12 In the original: “Ainda hoje sabemos muito pouco sobre os crimes cometidos pela ditadura contra as populações indígenas. O mais importante documento de denúncia sobre esses crimes – o ‘Relatório Figueiredo’ – foi produzido pelo próprio Estado brasileiro e ficou desaparecido durante 44 anos – durante todo esse período a informação oficial era a de que o Relatório havia sido destruído em um incêndio. A alegação não procede. O Relatório foi encontrado quase intacto, por pesquisadores independentes, em 2013, com 5 mil páginas e 29 tomos – das 7 mil páginas e 30 tomos que constavam da versão original. [...] O resultado apresentado pelo procurador em seu Relatório é estarrecedor: matanças de tribos inteiras, torturas e toda sorte de crueldades foram cometidas contra indígenas no país, principalmente pelos grandes proprietários de terras e por agentes do Estado.”

Popular Brazilian Music, or MPB, was not the only example of criticism. There were other areas of critical expression, appearing in literature, the visual arts and the cinema in relation to the struggles of the forest peoples of Brazil during the military dictatorship, giving hidden clues and concealed truths which could be deciphered. The aim here is to follow such traces by looking at narratives, fictional or not, especially those produced after the Brazilian Military Dictatorship (1964-1985), but which make a reference to the impact of repression on the original peoples, especially in relation to the vestiges that the developmentalist project left for future generations. Between literature, testimony, essays and ethnography, they seek to retrace the paths of exploration with the aim of finding answers in relation to the deep scars that have marked indigenous ethnic groups in contemporary Brazil.

ECOCRITICISM AND SPACES OF RESISTANCE IN CLAUDIA ANDUJAR'S PHOTOGRAPHY

From MPB to visual arts and literature, there have been ways in which the memory of the indigenous peoples' struggles has been narrated in Brazil since the 1964 Military Coup. Based on the amalgamated concepts of ecocriticism and counter-narrative, such spaces of representation and memory assume sociocultural and historical importance. As they promote resistance to the reality faced by native peoples, they act as linguistic ruins, discourse spaces in which the evidence of destruction of indigenous sources can emerge. This process includes the representation of violences against forest peoples, not only from the time of military dictatorship but throughout the history of Brazil. As a landmark for a new step into ecocriticism in Brazil, we can highlight the promulgation of the Constitution (Brasil, 1988), which initiated several processes of demarcation of indigenous lands in the Amazonian territory.

The concept of ecocriticism contributes for a better understanding of the social-environmental and political character of Brazilian contemporary writing. From the contextual point of view, it is embodied in the momentum of the 1990s, a period of redemocratization in Brazil, when the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (Eco-92), or the 'Earth Summit' (UN, 1992), took place in Rio de Janeiro, playing an important role as the country had been repeatedly featured in the international headlines in respect of environmental issues. In its geopolitical reach, ecocriticism establishes a movement of de/reterritorialization, which can recontextualize social, spatial and corporeal structures outside pre-established categorizations and boundaries, producing non-hierarchical networks. In this direction, ecocritics share their "overt political commitment with other scholars within the humanities and social sciences" (Garrard, 2023, p. 4), engaging voicing positions transversally, and breaking with hierarchic socio-cultural structures.

In addition, counter-narratives appear to be territories of resistance and de/re-territorialization via counter-discourses to hegemonic practices. They produce the possibility of views through diverse identities, create new meanings and involve a variety of genres, from informative and testimony texts to literary pieces. Thus, they are able to formulate a way of liberty, of social emancipation (Bamberg, 2004), and a move away from marginalised spaces as Mora (2014) suggests:

Counter-narrative refers to the narratives that arise from the vantage point of those who have been historically marginalised. The idea of “counter-” itself implies a space of resistance against traditional domination. A counter-narrative goes beyond the notion that those in relative positions of power can just tell the stories of those in the margins. Instead, these must come from the margins, from the perspectives and voices of those individuals. A counter-narrative thus goes beyond the telling of stories that take place in the margins. The effect of a counter-narrative is to empower and give agency to those communities. By choosing their own words and telling their own stories, members of marginalized communities provide alternative points of view, helping to create complex narratives truly presenting their realities.

From the above, counter-narratives could be seen as being made of historical rubble, that is, marginalised memories, ruins of the future (DeLillo, 2001). Allied to eco-writing, they are likely to construct literary pathways of resistance for native peoples, embodying ancestry, global sustainability, gender and racial justice, in order to question multiple layers of oppression, environment changes and degradation given by ecological imperialism (Crosby, 1986). In addition, eco-literature aims at compromising with collectivity and social change as it reflects on territory and ecological crisis by creating imaginary scenarios of risk and (lost) entanglement between humans and nature. In the case of contemporary Brazilian writing, eco-counternarratives have become a powerful space among women writers with comprehensive online participation through their activism. Within or beyond their literary discourse, women authors have used new media tools to break the boundaries between ecology and technology, nature and culture, including indigenous writers who, like Ledesma and Chacón (2019) argue, “cannibalize and deploy technology in defence of Brazil’s environment”.

Eco-counternarratives¹³ largely integrate the territories of anthropology, journalism and the arts. Foreign anthropologists with on-site fieldwork linked to the indigenous peoples of the Amazon carried out from the 1970s onwards witnessed the process of the silencing of academic research during the military dictatorship. Their ethnographic narratives are important and necessary elements in the memorialist restitution of the military dictatorship legacy as they produce interpretations which are not related in official history. What they share is not only the experience of contact with indigenous societies in the Amazon territory during the leading years of the dictatorship or the indigenous investigations, but also the memory of censorship and the production of ethnographic narratives, which contribute to the reconstruction of a history of erasure which has been there¹⁴.

Anthropological works such as *Victims of the Miracle: Development and the Indians of Brazil*, by Shelton Davis (1977), *Pacificando o Branco*, by Bruce Albert and Alcida Ramos (2002), and *Die If You Must*, by John Hemming (2003) can be analysed through their ecocritical character, through which academic, political and ideological resistance to the condition imposed on original peoples by the military regime in Brazil is observed. Davis’s work, published during Brazil’s dictatorship, begins with a map of the “Brazilian Amazon”, accompanied by the representation of the “Transamazônica” and the road system related to it. In the critical path established by the anthropologist, we can observe his aim of tracing the links that exist between the Brazilian Government’s development policy and the

13 By eco-counternarratives we want to integrate the concepts of ecocriticism and counter-narrative, highlighting counter-narratives with an ecocritical approach.

14 Examples include Shelton Davis (North American), Alcida Rita Ramos (Portuguese naturalised Brazilian), Kenneth Taylor (Scottish), Stephen Baines (English) and Bruce Albert (French).

threats to indigenous peoples and the environment. Davis explains the clear position of the military regime in regard to the ‘development’ of the Amazon, which paved the way for the strong insertion of agribusiness and livestock farming in the Amazon region, with various investments. In addition to investment in highways, the Polamazônia project stands out. Among the affected regions was the Xingu National Park, considered by farmers to be the “flet mignon” of Brazil (Davis, 1977). These projects boosted the “race for the Amazon”, without any sustainable policy, environmental preservation or protection of the region’s native peoples.

In this context, the visual arts have played an important role in restoring the past and transforming the present regarding indigenous rights by documenting, denouncing, and publicising original peoples’ struggles and ways of living in the “land-forest”, with a wide international impact. As Jamille Pinheiro Dias (2022, p. 142) points out, environment thinking and indigenous epistemologies have been committed to advancing the decolonisation of knowledge and taken up the fight against capitalist monoculture, considering “a tangled ecology of human, plant, animal, mineral, spiritual, and other non-human beings” (Dias, 2022, p. 146). Photography in particular has been a powerful way of communication as it unveils moral and aesthetic issues while exploring reality in its multiple layers. In *On Photography*, Susan Sontag (1977, p. 34) refers to the photographer’s work as a visual encounter that provokes reaction — “the shock of immersion in experiences that cannot be beautified, the encounter with what is taboo, perverse, evil”. Composed of “miniatures of reality”, photography can demystify the arts and reality, the represented and the lived/ documented to produce tension while it reveals a new world to the world.

Within this scenario, the critical work by activist and photographer Claudia Andujar corroborates visual ecocriticism through which counter-narratives can be produced and accessed with great reach and impact. A Jewish-Swiss immigrant in Brazil since 1955, and a Holocaust survivor, she devoted decades of her life to “photographing and protecting the Yanomami, one of Brazil’s largest indigenous groups” (Fondation Cartier, 2023). Andujar mentions that she started to photograph in Brazil as a way of communication as she didn’t speak Portuguese (Andujar *apud* Fondation Cartier, 2023), and her “first self-assigned project” was with the Karajá on Bananal Island, in 1956, which highlights her interest in unveiling forest peoples and their life narratives. Before deciding to live with the Yanomami in the border between Brazil and Venezuela in the 1970s, she also developed a photographic project focused on Bororo women in 1964, followed by another one on Xikrin peoples in the state of Para in 1966, when she started to work on photojournalism. Andujar had her first encounter with the Yanomami in 1971, when she photographed them for the first time (Fondation Cartier, 2023).

Andujar’s first works date back to the time photographs of indigenous children, men and women were sold indiscriminately both within Brazil and abroad, with their faces printed on postcards acting as symbols of the exotic and the genuine, so dear to the populist nationalism encouraged by the Regime. As a protagonist in the campaign for the demarcation of Yanomami territory, her trajectory can be considered a highlight in pro-indigenous activism through visual arts in Latin America, which led to the support from the Guggenheim Foundation and Fapesp in the 1970s, but also got her caught by military government due to the National Security Law:

In 1974, the Brazilian government, which was a military government, decided to open the road — the Perimetral Norte. *I was there when all this happened, I recorded many things with my camera. I saw the suffering of the Indians with the opening of this road.* The destruction of trees, deforestation etc... A disaster with all the diseases that came in and killed hundreds and hundreds of Yanomami.

The Brazilian government became very suspicious of what I was doing here and *expelled me because I was a witness to the massacre.* They expelled me with the excuse that I was a foreigner who was trying to steal the Indians' land so that the Americans could occupy the Amazon (Andujar, 2016, our emphasis)¹⁵.

Andujar's expulsion in 1977 was accompanied by censorship, conspiracy and persecution, which was sustained even after the military regime, as we can see in the content of the book *A farsa Yanomami* (Menna Barreto, 1995). In his criticism of the actions of 'aliens' in Amazonian territory, the former military officer particularly targets the foreign photographer, accusing her of creating the term Yanomami to change the map of the Amazon for the interests of the media and foreigners seeking to control the territory. The attack on Andujar adds to the repercussions of the dictatorship on the concept of otherness and territoriality connected to indigenous peoples, even after the restoration of democracy, which reached women activists. It's no coincidence that the artist was among those chosen for the exhibition *Radical Women: Latin American Art, 1960-1985* (Brooklyn Museum, 2018), which focuses on women who made history under the conditions of repression experienced in Latin America and which also includes, among others, the artist Anna Bella Geiger. Menna Barreto's arguments are easily refutable: back in 1968, the Yanomami [Yanoama] peoples had already been studied by anthropologists Alcida Ramos and Kenneth Taylor, whose work resulted in a report containing a proposal to demarcate their territory (Ramos; Taylor, 1968). However, the proposal was disregarded by the government at the time, and the couple were expelled from Amazon in 1978, the year in which Andujar co-founded the Pro-Yanomami Commission (CCPY)¹⁶ with Carlo Zacquini and Bruce Albert, a non-governmental non-profit organisation for the protection of the territorial, cultural and civil rights of Yanomami (Fondation Cartier 2020).

In any case, Andujar has built up a legacy of exhibitions and publications of visual anthropology based on a cosmopolitical approach that guides her projects carried out in the Yanomami territory. Among the most significant works involving Andujar's visual legacy are *Yanomami Dreams* (1974; 2002), *Genocide of the Yanomami: Death of Brazil* (1989; 2021), *The Yanomami Struggle* (Fondation Cartier, 2020; Vermelho, 2021), as well as the series *Marcados* (2009). In these, there is one of the first direct references to the genocide suffered by the Yanomami during the period of the Military Dictatorship, with the first exhibition on this subject held shortly after the fall of the regime.

¹⁵ In the original: "Em 1974, o governo brasileiro, que era um governo militar, decidiu abrir a estrada – a Perimetral Norte. Eu estava lá quando tudo isso aconteceu, registrei muitas coisas com minha câmera. Eu vi o sofrimento dos índios com a abertura dessa estrada. A destruição das árvores, desmatamento etc. Um desastre com todas as doenças que entram e que mataram centenas e centenas de Yanomami. O governo brasileiro ficou muito desconfiado do que eu estava fazendo aqui e me expulsaram, mas porque eu era uma testemunha do massacre. Expulsaram-me com a desculpa de que eu era uma estrangeira que estava tentando roubar a terra dos índios para os americanos ocuparem a Amazônia."

¹⁶ Originally called the Commission for Creation of the Yanomami Park.

Marcados project was essential for the indigenous cause to gain visibility through the visual arts. Based on a collection of black-and-white portraits of the Yanomami taken by CCPY between 1981 and 1984 as part of a vaccination campaign (Souza; Garcez, 2020, p. 8), it has opened different ways of interpretation, “re-signifying the relationship between documentary and artistic work from the point of view of the status of these images and questioning the genre of identification photography” (Bracchi; Soares, 2019, p. 272). The portraits place Andujar in the position of witness of the ethnocide, and shock the viewer in the face of the images (Souza; Garcez, 2020, p. 1-2) as she reveals through the paradox between life and death, protection and extermination, the memory of collective trauma, which have been present since the beginning of Andujar’s life because of the Holocaust “marks”. In this regard, the identification photos, with “numbered people” recovered from concentration camps after World War II produce a line of similarity with the “labelled and numbered” Yanomami, offering testimony to the violence and oppressive colonialisms, fuelled in Brazil since 1500. They bridge the gaps between her personal memories and what the Yanomami experienced as a result of the developmentalist project pursued by the military dictatorship, which brought deforestation and mining to the original peoples deep in the rainforest.

As a work of resistance by Andujar during Brazil’s dictatorial regime, the series of portraits *Marcados* (Figure 1) represents a counter-narrative to the government’s recurring idea of an ‘empty’ Amazon, like a green desert, waiting to be populated and developed, Andujar focused on the notion that “the look is the soul of each person” who was portrayed with numbered boards identifying each image. She reveals her deep concern to the indigenous struggles at the time, and the use of photography as a way of communication with the world: “I am connected to the indigenous, to the land, to the primary struggle. All of that moves me deeply. [...] I was driven here, to the Amazon jungle, for this reason. It was instinctive. I was looking to find myself” (Fondation Cartier, 2020).



Figure 1 – Horizontal 2 (1981-1983) – *Marcados*
Source: Carrato (2021)

Laura Gruber (2019) reflects that “Brazilianness was used as a State policy of the Civil-Military Dictatorship”, while “the indigenous population found itself on the one hand between extermination and on the other, the tutelage of a State, the main aim of which being its cultural assimilation.” Some of them have been recovered in art exhibitions that took place during and after the period of the dictatorship, among which are *Brasil Nativo/Brasil Alienígena* (Figure 2), by Anna Bella Geiger (1977), through which she questions the exploratory nature of postcard tourist exoticism, in the exhibitions *Mais do que Araras* (2016) and *Mulheres Radicais: Arte latino-americana, 1960 – 1985* (2018).

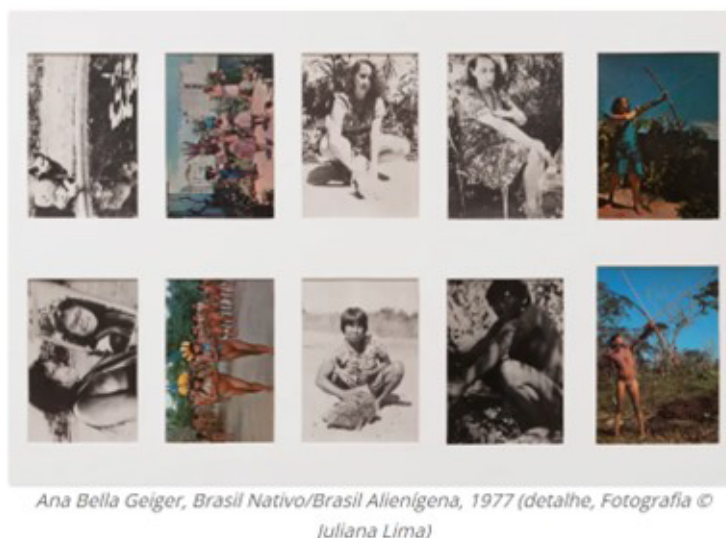


Figure 2 – Brazil nativo/Brasil Alienígena (1977)
Source: Gruber, 2019.

“Docile” natives and representatives of the colours of Brazil are included in the postcard proposal of the *Brasil Nativo* series, which “bring with them a taxonomizing look” (Gruber, 2019), whereby domination is perpetuated in the cataloguing and in the coloniser’s view of the “pacified” creatures, as indigenous groups were called after successful contacts undertaken by the government through the former SPI and Funai. Some of these cards show the Karajá on Bananal Island, produced by the company Foto Postal Colombo, distributed in Brasília. Other postcards that circulated indiscriminately at the time were from the “*Brasil Nativo*” collection, with reference to the Alto Xingu region. There is also a set with reference to the “*Paacas Novas Indians*”, in the region of Guajará Mirim, Rondônia, focusing on the bodies of naked children, men and women, alone or in groups, many of them exposed in line. The collage below portrays some fragments of those postcards (Figure 3):

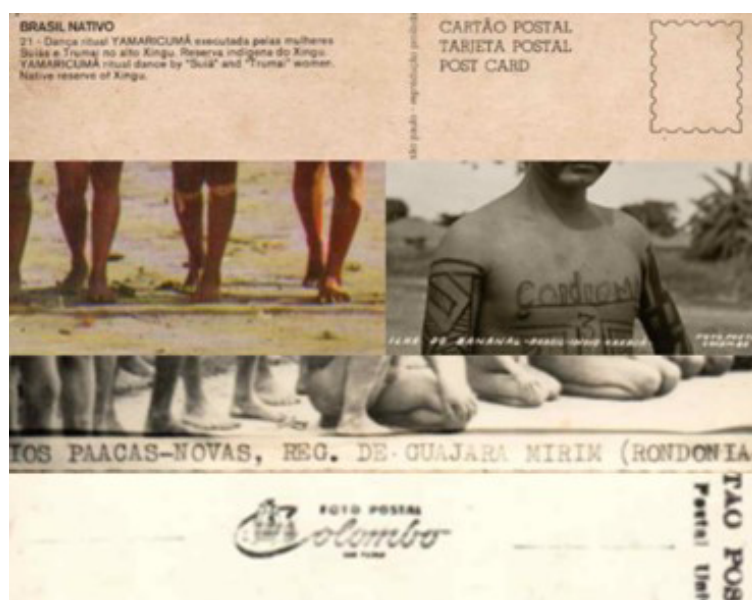


Figure 3 – Brazil nativo/Brasil Alienígena (1977)
Source: Personal archive 2024.

The examples show the political engagement of Andujar's exhibitions in the 1980s, especially with *Genocide of the Yanomami: the death of Brazil*, which took place in São Paulo in 1989. "For this audiovisual installation, Andujar re-photographed 300 images from her archive using a gold filter and projected them onto several screens. The installation presents a world progressively devastated by the violence of Western colonisation" (Carrato, 2021). Her political and critical character stands out, contributing significantly to socio-environmental activism as she establishes a rupture with "documentary photography" in Brazil as Moraes (2014) suggests. More than just a set of documents, Andujar's visual production has a strong authorial character about the life of the Yanomamis in the Brazilian Amazon (Moraes 2014, p. 57), whose experimental effect corroborates the originality and aesthetic-political engagement of her art, as we can see in the compilations for the photobooks *Yanomami* (Andujar, 1998) and *A vulnerabilidade do ser* [The vulnerability of being] (Andujar, 2005).

Taking photography as a cultural and political object, Andujar has worked on counteracting the objectification of indigenous groups (Meuser; Andujar, 2021) through images transformed into counter-narratives that have circulated worldwide. Her legacy was highlighted by Davi Kopenawa Yanomami (*apud* Fondation Cartier, 2020), who claimed that Andujar's presence contributed to the defence of rights and territory by the indigenous people themselves:

Claudia Andujar came to Brazil, passed through São Paulo, then Brasília, then Boa Vista, and then to the Yanomami lands. She arrived at the Catrimani mission. She was thinking about her project, what she was going to do, what she was going to plant. The way one would plant a banana tree, the way one would plant a cashew tree. She wore the clothes of the Yanomami, to make friends. She is not Yanomami, but she is a true friend. She took photographs of childbirth, of women, of children. Then she taught me to fight, to defend our people, land, language, customs, festivals, dances, chants, and shamanism. She explained things to me like my own mother would. I did not know how to fight against politicians, against the non indigenous people. It was good that she gave me the bow and arrow as a weapon, not for killing whites but for speaking in defense of the Yanomami people.

In this sense, Andujar's works have become a reference in the visual arts, opening a door to many contemporary indigenous and indigenist artists with a decolonial approach, such as Denilson Baniwa, a member of the Baniwa people. His work *Amazônia é uma invenção: rasura sobre livro oficial* (Baniwa, 2019) is an example of indigenous voices reconstructing indigeneity and promoting new sites of discourse as modes of resistance. Socio-environmental and political agendas are at the centre of their productions, enabling the revision and rewriting of history through access to collective memory.

Works by visual artists such as Andujar, Geiber, and Baniwa corroborates the concept of self-history presented by Graça Graúna (2013, p.63) as "it implies criticism/writing, history/memory" by native peoples. On the other hand, the work of reimagination provided by non-indigenous ones can be extensively found in ecowriting. Some examples of literary works published during the dictatorship with indigenous theme can be highlighted: the novel *Quarup*, by Antonio Callado (1967), which faced censorship through AI-5, institutionalised in 1968; *Maíra*, by Darci Ribeiro (1976), a novel written while he was in exile; and *Dessana, Dessana* by Márcio Souza and Aldísio Filgueiras (1975), a theatre-ritual performance that inspired the making of the book *Antes o mundo não existia* (1980), by Umusi Pārōkumu and Tōrāmā Kêhíri (1995), considered the first work by an indigenous author to be published in Brazil.

BRAZILIAN LITERATURE: WRITING THE TRAUMA VIA INDIGENIST AND INDIGENOUS PERSPECTIVES

Similarly to the MPB and the visual arts, the representation of indigenous peoples from the perspective of literature is in the opposite direction to the exotic and nationalist path of the postcards sold during the military regime, (re)shaping indigeneity imagery. In view of the process of domination and control experienced by the forest peoples, the notion of indigenism pursued here necessarily involves questioning colonial and imperialist practices and ideologies, rethought and deconstructed through decolonial thinking (Mignolo, 2017). In this path, new openings for speech emerge, responsible for reversing the colonial logic and promoting thought on indigenism¹⁷ from the perspective/place of indigenous speech. Counter-narratives contribute, in this regard, with their role of historical resistance, by showing that little of indigenous history has yet been told through the eyes of the original peoples themselves, and bringing to light an open space for what we are calling deconarratives, or decolonizing-ecocritical narratives. The commitment of deconarratives with socio-environmental issues, and their political engagement in the contemporary world elucidates their role for the de/reterritorialisation of discourses from groups marked by oppression and erasure.

Contemporary non-indigenous writers concerned with the past and present of *povos originários* use counter-narrative productions as a way of intertwining politics, history and reporting, exploring the limits between literature and reality. Within this scenario, we find, among others, *A mãe da mãe de sua mãe e suas filhas*, (2019), *Guerra no coração do cerrado* (2006), *Maria Altamira* (2020) and *Aqui, neste lugar* (2022), by editor and anthropologist Maria José Silveira; *Paletó e eu: memórias de meu pai indígena* (2018) and *Ficções amazônicas* (2022), by biologist Aparecida Vilaça; *Brasil: constructor de ruínas* (2019) and *Banzeiro òkòtó: uma viagem à Amazônia Centro do Mundo*, by journalist and documentary filmmaker Eliane Brum; *O som do rugido da onça* (2020), by historian Micheline Verunschck; *Ressurgência Icamiaba* (2009) and *Valentia* (2012), by anthropologist Deborah Goldemberg; *Terrapreta*, by actress and illustrator Rita Carelli; *Yuxin: Alma* (2009), by actress and novelist Ana Miranda. They are examples of works written by women committed to representing the socio-environmental struggle in Brazil with the aim of recovering the memory of indigenous peoples, embedded within the Brazilian natural ecosystem. They share the use of digital spaces, such as social media, weblogs, platforms or official websites, which turn out to be effective channels for empowerment and activism through their narratives of resistance, from which they act as interpreters of Brazil's past and present.

Maria José Silveira deserves special attention in terms of representation of the lives of original peoples in connection to military repression. Digital activism is present in her social media and opinion spaces, with texts having been published since 2010 on Maria José Silveira's Blog. The author brings with her the marks of the dictatorship and takes them to her literary productions, as can be seen more directly in the novel *O fantasma de Luis Brunel* (2018). In 1971, after entering political activism, she was persecuted and lived in hiding until she went into exile in Peru in 1973, where she studied anthropology. From this starting point, her work strongly links together literature and politics in a toing and froing between past and present, to seek to understand the conflicts that marked the

¹⁷ Indigenism is seen here in its political and critical nature, considered by anthropologist Alcida Ramos as a phenomenon of an interethnic nature, beyond "policy making" and "private interests" (Ramos, 1998).

country's history. Looking a little closer at Silveira's production, the work *Maria Altamira* (2020) is emblematic of indigenous peoples' struggles facing the loss of their spaces. By bringing together two countries – Peru and Brazil – and their tragedies, Silveira builds a point of *interarts*, turning music and literature into a path of resistance. As Regina Dalcastagnè says in the introduction, “this is a book to be read with the sound of a lament”, “from the buried city in Peru in the 1970s to the lands recently flooded by the Belo Monte powerplant in Pará” (Silveira, 2020, p. 11).

Immersed in present facts, through her literature, Silveira activates memory as a form of resistance and denunciation in her literary activism. *Maria Altamira*'s narrative projects itself precisely into the past that produced the start of the threats to the people of the Xingu. Focusing on the time-space of the Volta Grande do Xingu from the 1970s to 2000, in its cartographic nature, the novel has the interethnic force that makes up the South American peoples. Because of the divergences that are present in the story of Alelí, a Peruvian, and Maria Altamira, a Brazilian, the narrative opens avenues for countless questions about a time of political, social and environmental crisis. From Peru to Xingu, the narrative is divided by land and water but also by the memory of Latin American dictatorships. From the mountains that accompany the history of Yungay, built at the bottom of the Andean valley, to the Volta Grande do Xingu, a region that encompasses the Arara and Paquichamba indigenous lands (Yudjá/Juruna people), lives and cultures are intertwined in the imminence of the arrival of the biggest enemy: the industrial plant, symbol of death for riverside communities and people dependent on the fauna and flora of the region, suffering the impact of the alteration of the water course with the Belo Monte Dam in Xingu.

The course of the narrative and that of the river meet through the individual story of mother-daughter, also representative of mother-nature, mother-forest and their irreparable losses. On the way, the wanderer comes across soldiers spreading fear from one border to another: “She could have stayed, perhaps, if it hadn't been for one of those mornings in the splendour of the deserted expanse when a lorry with several soldiers passed by. [...] She saw the canvas bags in the back of the lorry. On the way back, the lorry was empty: ‘More of Pinochet's dead’” (Silveira, 2020, p.39).¹⁸ The narrative interweaves stories of repression in Latin America. From the repercussion of the dictatorship in Chile to the one experienced in Brazil's countryside, the wanderer's journey reveals “the fear and misery in the peasants' heads” because of the government's counter-offensive to the guerrillas: “More than ten thousand soldiers chasing a handful of guerrillas that many people had never seen before. A lot of young people killed in the bush. Heads cut off. “You'd better shut your mouth, or they'll cut yours off too.” (Silveira, 2020, p.55)¹⁹. Between silence and fear, the solitary woman crosses the region of Goiás, and enters the Amazonian territory:

Alelí crosses the region as if crossing the field of a phantom battle. She doesn't play, she doesn't sing, she doesn't stop. For the one who insisted, she would strum the sound of the charango, but without voice and without enthusiasm, everything entirely useless to ward off the evils of the world.

18 In the original: Ela poderia ter ficado, talvez, se não fosse, em uma daquelas manhãs na natureza esplendorosa da vastidão deserta, a passagem de um caminhão com vários soldados. [...] Viu na carroceria os sacos de lona. Na volta, a carroceria vazia. “Mais mortos de Pinochet” [...].

19 In the original: “Mais de dez mil militares atrás de um punhado de guerrilheiros que muita gente nunca tinha visto. Muita rapaziada morta pelos matos. Cabeças cortadas. “Melhor calar essa boca, senão cortam a sua também.”

What was wrong with people? Why were they so bad, so despicable, so undeserving? Until when? (Silveira, 2020, p.51)²⁰

The violence of the 1970s and 1980s sets the pace of the work. “In the 1970s, there was no virgin land in the cemetery; the gravedigger had to bury a coffin on top of another.” (Silveira, 2020 p. 256). With repression in sight, her music ceases – music and dictatorship do not share the same space. The silence is symbolic of the period of censorship and death, which shroud that time-space like a shadow. Amid the stagnation of freedom and human rights, the woman moves. She enters the “village of Paquiçamba, in Volta Grande do Xingu, on the banks of the powerful river that rises in Mato Grosso, flows to Pará and then flows into the Amazon” (Silveira, 2020, p. 55).

In addition to the military repression characteristic of the 1970s in Brazil and other Latin American countries, already seen in other indigenist works, such as Darcy Ribeiro’s *Maíra* (Sá, 2004, p. 276), the resistance to government actions with serious socio-environmental repercussions in the Upper Xingu region is highlighted in the narrative:

[...] the indigenous peoples of the region were uniting, thinking about preparing a big meeting to show their strength and their discontent with what the government was planning to do. The Yudjá, the Arara, the Xavante, the Xicrin, the Kayapó, the Xipaya, the Kuruaya, the Asurini, the Parakanã, the Araweté, the Munduruku were all going to show that they would not accept this dam on the Xingu. They were tired of the white man’s abuse. (Silveira, 2020, p. 67)²¹

The story of the Yudjá, as narrated in *Maria Altamira*, is representative of countless other original peoples at the hands of oppressive colonialism and voracious capitalism. It is their story of expulsion and death, of “infinite sadness” and the “falling of the last sky” (Silveira, 2020, p. 68) that unites them with the protagonist and their own collective memory. The Juruna’s struggles in relation to the government’s imposition of development in the region are not restricted to the Belo Monte Dam. The Belo Sun mining project is another example.

While indigenist women writers produce counter-narratives based on a native socio-environmental proposal, the role of indigenous writers is also increasing in the new millennium. With a distinct language, their literature oscillates between the narrative, the mythological and the poetic, corroborating the appreciation of new critical perspectives on the identities that surround the “indigenous being” within the “Brazilian being”. According to Eliane Potiguara (2023, p. 17), it is necessary to invoke “the wise look of original women in the construction of the magical, mystical, mythical and holistic world of our daily lives and transmit this to new generations”, an ancestral look, centred on orality, which shows resistance in a genocidal and oppressive world by rescuing the history of his people.

The narrative voices of contemporary indigenous authors such as Eliane Potiguara, Graça Graúna, Márcia Wayna Kambéba and Trudruá Dorrico, among many other representatives of indigenous

20 In the original: “Aleli atravessou a região como se atravessasse o campo de uma batalha fantasma. Não tocou, não cantou, não parou. Para um ou outro que insistia, ela dedilhava o som do charango, mas sem voz e sem ânimo, tudo tão inútil para espantar as maldades do mundo. O que acontecia com as pessoas? Por que eram tão ruins, tão desprezíveis, tão desmerecedoras? Até quando?”

21 In the original: “[...] os povos indígenas da região estavam se unindo, começando a pensar na preparação de um grande encontro para mostrar sua força e seu descontentamento com o que o governo estava pensando fazer. Os Yudjá, os Arara, os Xavante, os Xicrin, os Kayapó, os Xipaya, os Kuruaya, os Asurini, os Parakanã, os Araweté, os Munduruku, todos iriam mostrar que não aceitariam essa história de barragem no Xingu. Estavam cansados do abuso dos brancos.

peoples in Brazilian territory, bring with them individual pains belonging to those who carry with them “subjectivities based on collective identity” (Dorrico; Negro, 2023, p. 7), of those who carry, through ancestry, the strength of continuity as original representatives. Even with “all this human-cultural genocide”, they show themselves to be “still survivors”, warriors, dreamlike, holistic and combative”, even with the suffering arising from “all sorts of oppression, racism, dictatorial systems, the downplaying of our gender feminine and devaluation of our culture and spirituality” (Potiguara, 2023, p. 18).

In this rescue mission, Potiguara revisits in *O vento espalha minha voz originária* (2023, p. 18), the mythological figure of the muyrakitãs, a symbol originating from ancestral strength, uniting the Ancient Amazons with contemporary women warriors from all over Brazil. But the struggle of Potiguara, a descendant of the Tupi-Guarani people (Dorrico; Negro, 2023, p. 18), is old: in the 1980s, a visit to the Guarani Kaiowá indigenous people in Mato Grosso do Sul took her to the Indigenous Missionary Council (Cimi), where she gained knowledge of “absurd cases” through narratives shared by women, which put her into action for activism, “the only woman” in a time of immense challenges for the original peoples (Potiguara, 2023, p. 18). On the eve of the promulgation of the 1988 Constitution, she worked on founding the Indigenous Women’s Group (Grumin), which “arose philosophically in 1979, took physical form in 1982 and was legally formalised in 1987” (Grumin 2006).

Considered the first indigenous woman to publish a book in Brazil (Souza, 2023), with her poem “Identidade Indígena” (1975) and her book *A Terra é a Mãe do Índio* (1989) marking the beginning of her literary trajectory, Eliane Potiguara carries with her a living representation of the myth of the Amazon warriors and their muyrakitã – green amulet, “protection from/of life”. The saga of the Amazon warriors – who gave their name to the largest state in Brazil – is at the centre of indigenous cosmogony and has been brought to light by several writers since *Macunaíma*, by Mário de Andrade (1928), whose narrator writes “To Our Very Dear Subjects, The Amazon Ladies” (Andrade, 1984, p. 67). The mythical figure of the icamiabas is taken up by Potiguara and other native writers, such as Yaguarê Yamã, author of *Pequenas Guerreiras* (2020); it is also transfigured by non-indigenous works such as *A Ressurgência Icamiaba*, by Deborah Goldenberg (2009) and *Aqui. Neste lugar*, by Maria José Silveira (2022). Narrated by Ci, Mãe do Mato, Silveira’s narrative takes the reader to the City of Tents, the birthplace of the mothers and Icamiaba warriors to dystopically reconfigure the symbolologies of the Amazons, the El Dorado and the Makunaimã, represented in the work by the double characters Macu and Naíma.

The story of Makunaimã, which comes from “indigenous Pemon, Taurepang, Wapichana and Macuxi voices, peoples who are [their] legitimate heirs” (Goldemberg *et al*, 2019), is mentioned in the documentary *A Vitória dos Netos de Makunaimê* (Sesc-SP, 2011) and represented in *Panto Pia’: A história do Makunaima* (2019), a Portuguese-Taurepang bilingual book by Clemente Flores Taurepang and Devair Fiorotti (2022). Almost a century after “the hero without any character” created by Mário de Andrade in *Macunaíma* (1928), the indigenous legend is restored in a verbal-visual counter-narrative, through the orality-writing connection. Linked to the region of Mount Roraima, in the far north of Brazil, where the Raposa do Sol indigenous land is located, the indigenous hero is precious to the Macuxi people, of which writers Sony Ferseck and Dorrico belong, and establishes a paradox with Mário de Andrade’s deconstructed hero, as Lucia Sá (2004, p. 276) rightly observes: “As for Macunaíma, the

trickster deconstruction of the national hero, we saw that he became the last of his tribe, overcome by loneliness, isolation, and longing for the time he had spent in São Paulo.”

Dorrigo is one of the organisers of *Originárias: uma antologia feminina de literatura indígena* (2023), responsible for the profile @leiamulheresindigenas and the Contemporary Indigenous Literature channel on YouTube. She wrote *Eu sou macuxi e outras* (2019), in which ancestry comes to the fore through a poetic counter-narrative, which brings to light in “the way back”, and released by memory, the Makunaima macuxi, creative hero, different from that propagated by Brazilian modernism. Through him comes his generational journey – mother, grandmother – with his losses accounted for in the colonisation process: “My mother’s language is different from my grandmother’s, / my grandmother speaks the language of Makunaima” (Dorrigo, 2019, p. 19). This intercultural relationship produces something new, interethnic: “As I cannot escape the verb that formed me, / I combined two more languages to tell a story: / *Englixí* and *Macuxês*” (Dorrigo, 2019, p.21)²².

Among the facts rescued is the image of the gold-mining father, a paradox that marks the body of the indigenous narrator. From a testimonial perspective, the story of devastation caused by greed is exposed as a continuously open, living wound.

The richer and richer my father became
the more the river died, very slowly, suffocated by mercury.
And the more it died,
more people-trees, people-fish, people-ravines, people-people died with it.
Until one day it was my father who died (Dorrigo, 2019, p.77)²³

The denunciation of mining in native lands has become recurrent since the announcements to the press made in 1975 by the Ministry of Mines and Energy of the Geisel Government and the Government of Roraima, for which indigenous peoples were ‘hindering the development’ of the country (Valente, 2017, p. 189-190). In this sense, the narrator’s father’s fate represents that of those who died of a ‘killing happiness’: the happiness of the gold men:

They become others, hollow, little.
Others, hollow, little.
Others, very hollow, little, and then they die.
I wish it weren’t true, but it is. (Dorrigo, 2019, p.78)²⁴

Conversely, through the retelling of the founding myth of Makunaima, Dorrigo’s narrative echoes the struggle waged against capitalism: “Grandma’s ancestors told her that a prophecy had already pronounced that the Macuxi would fight against the trading people, as certain as manioc feeds our people.” (Dorrigo, 2019, p. 35) Between the cosmogonic and the dreamlike, the call to indigenous ancestry is personified in the struggle of Makunaima’s children against the “white god” and his descendants,

22 In the original: “Como não posso fugir do verbo que me formou, / juntei mais duas línguas para contar uma história: o *inglexi* e o *macuxês*”.

23 In the original: “Enquanto meu pai ficava cada vez mais rico/mais o rio-gente morria, bem devagarinho, sufocado pelo mercúrio. / E quanto mais morria, / mais gentes-árvore, gentes-peixe, gentes-barranco, gentes-gente morriam com ele./Até que um dia foi meu pai que morreu”.

24 In the original: “Se tornam outros, ocos, pouco. / Outros, ocos, pouco. / Outros, muito ocos, pouco, e depois morrem. / Queria que não fosse verdade, mas é.”

who “do not know and do not want to learn to dream”. Makunaima, therefore, does not want to be a pronoun, he wants to be a verb (Dorrigo, 2019, p. 35), action, resistance. It is this same verb that forms the narrator, in its interethnic and interlinguistic composition (Dorrigo, 2019, p. 21). In this rewriting of the foundational myth, of the action that unites creator and creature, the path opens to a story not yet told, erased “in the silence of paragraphs”, but which begins to be pronounced and written by the original voices and hands.

Although indigenous territories have been taken by force, they have not been forgotten by our peoples.

If anything can be grown on them, it's because they were fertilised with indigenous blood.

We will always remember that.

The massacres of shamans, caciques, chiefs, warriors, cunhãs and curumins have caused the blood of Mother-Earth's sons and daughters to flow, but we have never died: we have once again been born from her as a flower

fruit

chilli pepper

snake

or again in the form of an indigenous man and woman.

Letters, diaries, official documents, laws and books tell this story.

It's in the invisible lines,

in the shadows of the pages,

in the silence of paragraphs. (Dorrigo, 2019, p. 38)²⁵

Makunaima thus doesn't want to be a name, he wants to be a verb (Dorrigo, 2019, p. 35) – the same verb shapes the narrator, in her interethnic and interlingual composition (Dorrigo, 2019, p. 21). In this rewriting of the founding myth, a path is opened towards a story that has not yet been told as it was erased “in the silence of the paragraphs”, but which is now pronounced and written by the original voices and hands.

The examples brought here with the works of Potiguara and Dorrigo are representations of the insurgent and resurgent ecocriticism as well as the “shifting constitution of indigeneity” (Zhang, 2022) coming from indigenous authors in contemporary Brazil. Their ecocritical works are representatives of what Garrard (2023) states as a political commitment through engaging positions, and the breakdown of hierarchical structures. More than writers, they are living voices that spread through the forest and reach new horizons, women whose speeches transgress colonial thinking and transcend the borders of what is understood as a nation, reacting against a history of massacres, deaths and devastation in their ancestral territory. Faced with historical setbacks in native Brazil during and after the dictatorial period, the encounter between language and memory produces a path of resistance. In this horizon, the counter-narratives produced by indigenous and

25 In the original: Embora os territórios indígenas tenham sido tomados à força, não foram esquecidos pelos nossos povos. / Se algo pode ser cultivado neles, é porque foram adubados com sangue indígena. / Sempre lembraremos disso. / Os massacres aos pajés, caciques, chefes, guerreiros, cunhãs, curumins fazem escorrer o sangue dos filhos originários pela Terra-Mãe, mas nunca morreremos: dela mais uma vez nascemos/como flor/fruto/pimenta/cobra/ou de novo sob a forma de homem e mulher indígena/Cartas, diários, ofícios, leis e livros contam essa história. / Estão nas linhas invisíveis, / nas sombras das folhas, no silêncio dos parágrafos.

indigenist authors – sometimes together as we can see in the masterpiece *The Falling Sky: Words of a Yanomami Shaman*, by Bruce Albert and Yanomami Davi Kopenawa (2013) – are an instrument of denunciation and defence in the 21st century, uniting orality and writing, verbal and visual languages, especially with regard to the memory of the trauma of repression for the hundreds of indigenous peoples in the Amazonian territory.

FINAL REMARKS

2024 opens its doors with the bitter memory of the 60th anniversary of the 1964 Military Coup. In *Marquês de Sapucaí*, Rio de Janeiro, “The maracas of the Yanomami shamans” inspired the Salgueiro samba school in February, with the storyline “Hutukara”, honour the “beauty, ancient knowledge and resistance of the Yanomami people”. 50 years after the censorship of Martinho da Vila’s composition for the 1974 Carnival, the song Hutukara, a collective composition by Pedrinho da Flor, Marcelo Motta, Arlindinho Cruz, Renato Galante, Dudu Nobre, Leonardo Gallo, Ramon Via 13 e Ralfe Ribeiro, transcends a non-indigenous world-vision: “Hutukara is a great man, a great country, a great government. [...] And we are sitting here in the belly of our motherland. [...] Hutukara is a body, a body that is united, it cannot be separated” (Gomes; Kopenawa 2015, p. 146)²⁶.

The lyrics are a narrative that recalls, more than the historical struggle, the pain of countless losses, of the death of the people and the forest: “Shout the Amazon, before it collapses/ I use the tacape, I dance the ritual/I have the blood that sowed the original nation/I learnt Portuguese, the language of the oppressor/To prove to you that my sorrow is also your sorrow”. The song ends with a lament in the native *Yanomae* language: *Ya temí xoa, aê-êa* [I’m still alive] (ISA, 2024)²⁷. The presence of the Yanomami indigenous community and the leader Davi Kopenawa himself fuelled the decolonial proposal of ‘speaking with’ rather than ‘speaking for/about’. Meanwhile, in a post-Bolsonaro and post-Covid-19 pandemic Brazil, the new report by the Hutukara Yanomami Association (HAY) points out that “mining persists in the territory and promotes a strangulation of health services” after a year of the crisis announced in the territory by the Lula government, a crisis that reached its peak in 2022 (Araújo; Dantas, 2024). This example is significant for us to observe indigenism in the 21st century as a territory of struggles – a struggle of disputes that are still fierce within what Ramos (2001, p. 17) had already pointed out as the reconstruction of the national image.

In this path of resurgences, Albert and Ramos (2002) can be paraphrased in bringing to the fore the eco-counternarratives of post-dictatorship Brazil as a path of representation and resistance: it is necessary to invert the perspective, “pacifying the white” through the decolonial point of view regarding “contact cosmologies”, as well as the representation of existences that are based on the Suma Qamaña paradigm of life, allied to the active role indigenous peoples “play in the construction of this national imagery” (Ramos, 2001, p. 17). Whether through self-history or gender hybridity, that is, “other forms

26 In the original: “A Hutukara é um grande homem, é uma grande pátria, um grande governo. [...] E nós estamos aqui sentados na barriga da nossa terra mãe. A Hutukara fica junto com a pedra, terra, com a areia, o rio, o mar, o sol, a chuva e o vento. Hutukara é um corpo, um corpo que é unido, ela não pode ficar separada.”

27 In the original: “Grita a Amazônia, antes que desabe / Caço de tacape, danço o ritual / Tenho o sangue que semeia a nação original / Eu aprendi português, a língua do opressor / Pra te provar que meu penar também é sua dor”. A canção termina com o lamento na voz/língua indígena: *Ya temí xoa, aê-êa* [Eu ainda estou vivo].

of expression that indigenous and descendant writers use to talk about cultural differences, giving voice and time to their characters, to their Indianness” (Graúna, 2013, p. 70) a new narrative is being unveiled beyond the role and traditional definitions of literary genres.

The plurality of eco-counternarratives by indigenist artists and indigenous peoples drives us towards the in-between spaces of representation regarding the forest peoples. In that sense, the works analysed here express the versatility of people who, even in the face of repression, suffering and extermination, seek to maintain their cultural identities, transforming the memory of trauma into historic rubble, from which their eco-counternarratives arise. As highlighted by Lúcia Sá (2004, p. 276), “Yet, if it is true that throughout the Americas native peoples share a history of dispossession, abuse, and extermination [...], it is also true that those who survive attest to the great capacity of indigenous cultures to re-create and reinvent themselves amidst the worst adversities”.

Faced with the shadows of repression and trauma, as well as a colonialist development project imposed by the military regime and which still exists in contemporary Brazil, native and non-native writers have used writing and orality, in physical and digital media, with the intention of questioning the “politics of indigeneity”, and therefore decolonizing history, in a process of recognizing the ‘Brazils’ existing within Brazil. In these modes of dialogue with tradition, women authors have opened trails through memory, testimony and the original peoples’ worldview, in an attempt to resist, politically and culturally, oppressive and dominating forces. Narrative voices thus emerge to demonstrate, as Kopenawa Yanomami (1989) desires, that it is possible to “make a better world.”

REFERENCES

- ALBERT, Bruce; KOPENAWA, Davi. How this book was written. In: ALBERT, Bruce; KOPENAWA, Davi. *The falling sky: words of a Yanomami Shaman*. Translated by Nicholas Elliot and Alison Dundy. Cambridge; London: Belknap Press, 2013. p. 424-455.
- ALBERT, Bruce; RAMOS, Alcida Rita. *Pacificando o branco: cosmologias do contato no Norte-Amazônico*. Marseille: IRD Éditions ; Imprensa oficial ; Editora da UNESP, 2002. Available from: <http://books.openedition.org/irdeditions/24689>. Accessed on: 13 Feb. 2024.
- ANDRADE, Mário de. *Macunaíma*. Translated by E.A. Goodland. New York: Random House, 1984.
- ANDUJAR, Claudia. *Yanomami*. São Paulo: DBA, 1998.
- ANDUJAR, Claudia. *A vulnerabilidade do ser*: Claudia Andujar. São Paulo: Cosac Naify, 2005.
- ANDUJAR, Claudia. *Marcados*. São Paulo: Cosac Naify, 2009.
- ANDUJAR, Claudia. Testemunha de massacre contra os Yanomami, Claudia Andujar é homenageada em Roraima [Interviewed by Janaína Souza]. *Amazônia Real*, 21 out. 2016. Available from: <https://amazoniareal.com.br/testemunha-de-massacre-contra-os-yanomami-claudia-andujar-e-homenageada-em-roraima/>. Accessed on: 12 Feb. 2024.
- ARAÚJO, Fabrício; DANTAS, Jorge Eduardo. Associações Yanomami apontam persistência de garimpeiros e estrangulamento da saúde após um ano de operações do governo federal. *Instituto Socioambiental*, São Paulo, 26 jan. 2024. Available from: <https://www.socioambiental.org/noticias-socioambientais/associacoes-yanomami-apontam-persistencia-de-garimpeiros-e-estrangulamento>. Accessed on: 18 Feb. 2024.
- BALÉE, William. Sobre a Indigeneidade das Paisagens. *Revista de Arqueologia*, [s.l.], v. 21, n. 2, p. 09-23, 2008. Available from: <https://revista.sabnet.org/ojs/index.php/sab/article/view/248>. Accessed on: 20 Apr. 2024.

- BAMBERG, Michael. Considering counter narratives. In: BAMBERG, Michael; ANDREWS, Molly. (ed.). *Considering counter narratives: narrating, resisting, making sense*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2004. p. 351-371
- BANIWA, Denilson. *Amazônia é uma invenção: rasura sobre livro oficial*, 2019. Série todo território é invenção. Available from: <https://www.behance.net/gallery/103113251/A-Amazonia-uma-invencao>. Accessed on: 14 Feb. 2024.
- BEN JOR, Jorge. *Bem-vinda Amizade*. Rio de Janeiro: Som Livre, 1981. Available from: <https://open.spotify.com/intl-pt/album/1Dbn6bkxBBY8KsQYv85aRB>. Accessed on: 14 Feb. 2024.
- BRACCHI, Daniela Nery; SOARES, Paula. O projeto Marcados, de Claudia Andujar: uma discussão sobre práticas e gêneros fotográficos. *Intexto*, Porto Alegre, UFRGS, n. 45, p. 268-291, maio/ago. 2019. Available from: <https://seer.ufrgs.br/index.php/intexto/article/view/83235/52418>. Accessed on: 05 Jun. 2024.
- BRASIL. *Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil de 1988*. Brasília, 5 out. 1988. Available from: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/constituicao/constituicao.htm. Accessed on: 02 Feb. 2024.
- BRASIL. Lei n. 6.001, de 19 de dezembro de 1973. Dispõe sobre o Estatuto do Índio. *Diário Oficial da União*, Brasília, Seção 1, 21 dez. 1973. Available from: <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/lei/1970-1979/lei-6001-19-dezembro-1973-376325-publicacaooriginal-1-pl.html>. Accessed on: 14 Feb. 2024.
- BROOKLYN MUSEUM. *Radical Women: Latin American Art, 1960–1985*. New York: 2018. Available from: https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/exhibitions/radical_women. Accessed on: 27 Feb. 2024.
- CALDARELLI, Carlos Eduardo. *Cadernos da Comissão Pró-Índio: a questão da emancipação*. São Paulo: Comissão Pró-Índio, 1979. Available from: https://cpisp.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/A_questao_da_emancipacao.pdf. Accessed on: 20 Apr. 2024.
- CARRATO, Leonardo. Photographing the Yanomami: The Pioneering Work of Claudia Andujar. *VII Foundation*, 3 dec. 2021. Available from: <https://theviiifoundation.org/photographing-the-yanomami-the-pioneering-work-of-claudia-andujar/>. Accessed on: 15 Feb. 2024.
- COSTA, Jakline. O mito de Aruanã e a criação dos Karajá. *Povos Indígenas do Brasil*, n. 8, 2014. Available from: <https://povosindigenasdobrasil.blogspot.com/2014/08/o-mito-de-arua-na-e-criacao-dos-karaja.html>. Acesso em: 06 fev.2024.
- CROSBY, Alfred. *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- DAVIS, Shelton H. *Victims of the Miracle: Development and the Indians of Brazil*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- DELILLO, Don. In the ruins of the future. *Harper's Magazine*, Dec. 2001. Available from: <https://harpers.org/archive/2001/12/in-the-ruins-of-the-future/>. Accessed on: 14 Feb. 2024.
- DIAS, Jamille Pinheiro. Environmental Thinking and Indigenous Arts in Brazil Today. *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies*, v. 31, n. 1, p. 141-157, 2022. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13569325.2022.2089101>. Accessed on: 04 Jun. 2024.
- DORRICO, Julie. *Sou macuxi e outras histórias*. Nova Lima: Caos & Letras, 2019.
- DORRICO, Trudruá; NEGRO, Maurício. *Originárias: uma antologia feminina de literatura indígena*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letrinhas, 2023.
- FOUNDATION CARTIER. Claudia Andujar, *The Yanomami Struggle*, 2020. Colaboração: Instituto Moreira Salles. Available from: <https://www.fondationcartier.com/en/exhibitions/claudia-andujar-lalutteyanomami>. Accessed on: 12 Feb. 2024.

FONDATION CARTIER. *Claudia Andujar: from Art to Activism*, 2023. Colaboração: Instituto Moreira Salles. Available from: <https://claudia-andujar.fondationcartier.com/en>. Accessed on: 12 Feb. 2024.

GALERIA DO SAMBA. *Unidos de Vila Isabel: Carnaval de 1974*. Rio de Janeiro, 2023. Available from: <https://galeriadosamba.com.br/escolas-de-samba/unidos-de-vila-isabel/1974/>. Accessed on: 06 Feb. 2024.

GARRARD, Greg. *Ecocriticism*. 3.ed. New York: Routledge, 2023.

GEIGER, Anna Bella. Brasil nativo, Brasil alienígena, 1977. In: Hammer Museum. *Digital Archive Radical Women: Latin American Art, 1960-1985*. UCL: Los Angeles, 1977. Available from: <https://hammer.ucla.edu/radical-women/art/art/brasil-nativo-brasil-alienigena-native-brazil-alien-brazil>. Accessed on: 07 Mar.2024.

GLOTFELTY, Cheryl; FROMM, Harold (ed.). *The Ecocriticism Reader: Landmarks in Literary Ecology*. Athens; London: University of Georgia Press, 1996.

GOLDEMBERG, Deborah et al. *Makunaimã: o mito através do tempo*. São Paulo: Elefante, 2019.

GOMES, Ana Maria; KOPENAWA, Davi. *O cosmo segundo os yanomami*: Kutukara e Urihi. Rev. UFMG, Belo Horizonte, v. 22, n. 1-2, p. 142-159, Jan./Dec. 2015. Available from: <https://www.ufmg.br/revistaufmg/downloads/22/11-Artigo-11-p142-159.pdf>. Accessed on: 18 Feb. 2024.

GRAÚNA, Graça. *Contrapontos da literatura indígena contemporânea no Brasil*. Belo Horizonte: Mazza, 2013.

GRUBER, Laura. Brasil nativo, Brasil alienígena: a imagem dos povos indígenas no Brasil. *Revista Porto Alegre: pensamento, sociedade, cultura*, 26 maio 2019. Available from: <http://revistaportoalegre.com/brasil-nativo-brasil-alienigena/>. Accessed on: 05 Feb. 2024.

GRUMIN. O que é a Rede Grumin de Mulheres. *GRUMIN: Rede de Comunicação Indígena*, Saquarema, 26 ago. 2006. Available from: <https://grumin.blogspot.com/>. Accessed on: 22 Feb. 2024.

HEMMING, John. *Die If You Must: Brazilian Indians in the Twentieth Century*. London: Macmillan, 2003.

INSTITUTO SOCIOAMBIENTAL (ISA). “*Ya temi xoa!*”: A beleza e a luta do povo Yanomami desfilam na Sapucaí com o Salgueiro. Vídeo. 2024. Canal do Instituto Socioambiental no Youtube. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tm24QkJemY0>. Accessed on: 18 Feb. 2024.

IPBES. Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services. *Indigenous Peoples and local communities* [Glossary tag]. UN Environment Programme, [2018]. Available from: <https://www.ipbes.net/glossary-tag/indigenous-peoples-and-local-communities>. Accessed on: 21 May 2024.

KOPENAWA, Davi; ALBERT, Bruce. *The falling sky: words of a Yanomami Shaman*. Translated by Nicholas Elliot and Alison Dundy. Cambridge; London: Belknap Press, 2013.

LEDESMA, Eduardo; CHACÓN, Hilda. Online Activist Eco-Poetry: Techno-Cannibalism, Digital Indigeneity, and Ecological Resistance in Brazil. In: CHACÓN, Hilda (ed.). *Online Activism in Latin America*. New York: Routledge, 2019. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315202303-15>. Accessed on: 10 Feb. 2024.

MENNA BARRETO, Carlos Alberto L. *A Farsa Ianomâmi*. Rio de Janeiro, Biblioteca do Exército, 1995.

MIGNOLO, Walter. Desafios decoloniais hoje. *Epistemologias do Sul*, Foz do Iguaçu, v. 1, n. 1, p. 12-32, 2017. Available from: <https://revistas.unila.edu.br/epistemologiasdosul/article/download/772/645>. Accessed on: 09 Feb. 2024.

MORA, Raúl Alberto. Counter-Narrative. Key Concepts in Intercultural Dialogue, *Center for Intercultural Dialogue*, n. 36, 2014. Available from: <https://centerforinterculturaldialogue.files.wordpress.com/2014/10/key-concept-counter-narrative.pdf>. Accessed on: 09 Feb. 2024.

MORAES, Rafael Castanheira Pedrosa de. Rupturas na fotografia documental brasileira: Claudia Andujar e a poética do (in)visível. *Discursos Fotográficos*, Londrina, v. 10, n. 16, p. 53-84, Jan./Jun. 2014. Available from: <https://ojs.uel.br/revistas/uel/index.php/discursosfotograficos/article/view/17382/14590>. Accessed on: 05 Jun. 2024.

MEUSER; Lilly; ANDUJAR, Claudia. Yanomami: Claudia Andujar keeps on counteracting the objectification of indigenous tribes. *Lampoon*, Milan, 11 Oct. 2021. Available from: <https://lampoonmagazine.com/article/2021/10/11/claudia-andujar-triennale-the-yanomami-struggle/>. Accessed on: 05 Jun. 2024.

PĀRŌKUMU, Umusi; KĒHÍRI, Tōrāmā. *Antes o mundo não existia: mitologia dos antigos Desana-Kehiripōrā*. 2.ed. São Gabriel da Cachoeira: UNIRT; Foirn, 1995 [1980]. Available from: <https://acervo.socioambiental.org/index.php/acervo/livros/antes-o-mundo-nao-existia-mitologia-dos-antigos-desana-kehiripora-2a-ed-rev-ampl>. Accessed on: 01 May 2024.

POTIGUARA, Eliane. Committing to the Indigenous Culture and Mindset. *Pachamama: A Traditional Knowledge Newsletter of the Convention on Biological Diversity*, Montréal, v. 3, n. 3, May/Sep. 2009. Available from: <https://www.cbd.int/traditional/pachamama/pachamama-03-03-en.pdf>. Accessed on: 08 Feb. 2024.

POTIGUARA, Eliane. *O vento espalha a minha voz originária*. Rio de Janeiro: Grumin, 2023.

QUERELAS DO BRASIL. Intérprete Elis Regina. Compositor: Blanc, A./Tapajós, M. Rio de Janeiro: Phonogram, 1978. Formato 1 disco vinil, lado B, faixa 9, duração 3:49.

RAMOS, Alcida Rita; TAYLOR, Kenneth. *Sugestões para a criação de um parque indígena no território dos índios Yanoama no Norte do Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro, 6 dez. 1968. Available from: <https://acervo.socioambiental.org/acervo/documentos/sugestoes-para-criacao-de-um-parque-indigena-no-territorio-dos-indios-yanoama-no>. Accessed on: 09 Feb. 2024.

RAMOS, Alcida Rita. *Indigenism: Ethnic Politics in Brazil*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998. Available from: https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Wvpg7MLUp4gC&printsec=frontcover&hl=pt-BR&source=gbs_ViewAPI&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false. Accessed on: 07 Feb. 2024.

RAMOS, Alcida. Pulp Fictions of Indigenism. Alcida Rita. *Série Antropologia*. v. 301. Brasília: Editora da UnB, 2001. Available from: <https://acervo.socioambiental.org/sites/default/files/documents/K1D00034.pdf>. Accessed on: 07 Feb. 2024.

SÁ, Lúcia. *Rain Forest Literatures: Amazonian Texts and Latin American Culture*. Cultural Studies of the Americas, v. 16. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2004.

SESC-SP. *A Vitória dos Netos de Makunaimi*. Documentário. Direção de Marina Marcela Herrero e Ulysses Fernandes. São Paulo, 2011. Canal Sesc TV no Youtube. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gtbJ2ve6cx0>. Accessed on: 22 Feb. 2024.

SILVEIRA, Maria José. *Maria Altamira*. São Paulo: Instante, 2020.

SILVEIRA, Maria José. *Aqui. Neste lugar*. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica Contemporânea, 2022.

SONTAG, Susan. *On Photography*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977.

SOUZA, Fabio Feltrin; GARCEZ, João Pedro. Trauma colonial e o testemunho do etnocídio Yanomami: uma leitura de marcados de Claudia Andujar. *Revista Internacional Interdisciplinar INTERthesis*, Florianópolis, v. 17 p. 01-17, 2020. Available from: <https://periodicos.ufsc.br/index.php/interthesis/article/view/1807-1384.2020.e67862>. Accessed on: 05 Jun. 2024.

SOUZA, Elis Regina Guedes de. Literatura indígena e resistência no Brasil: O protagonismo da escritora indígena Eliane Potiguar. *Desde el Sur*, v.16, n.1, 2023. Available from: <https://revistas.cientifica.edu.pe/index.php/desdeelsur/article/view/1673/1251>. Accessed on: 02 May 2024.

STARLING, Heloisa. Ditadura militar e populações Indígenas [Relatório Figueiredo]. In: STARLING, Heloisa. *BrasilDoc*: Arquivo Digital. Belo Horizonte: UFMG, 2013. Available from: <https://www.ufmg.br/brasildoc/temas/5-ditadura-militar-e-populacoes-indigenas/>. Accessed on: 06 Feb. 2024.

TAUREPANG, Clemente Flores; FIOROTTI, Devair. *Panto Pia'*: A história do Makunaima. Bela Vista: Wei, 2022. [PDF available on the publishing house Facebook]. Available from: https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Khcx3U0_essphP7lm2H9BMgKfZWYKSQd/view. Accessed on: 22 Feb. 2024.

UNITED NATIONS (UN). United Nations Conference on Environment and Development. Rio de Janeiro, 3-14 Jun. 1992. Available from: <https://www.un.org/en/conferences/environment/rio1992>. Accessed on: 02 May 2024.

VALENTE, Rubens. *Os fuzis e as flechas*: história de sangue e resistência indígena na ditadura. Coleção Arquivos da Repressão no Brasil. Rio de Janeiro: Companhia das Letras, 2017.

VELOSO, Caetano. *Doces bárbaros*. Philips, 1976. Available from: <https://open.spotify.com/intl-pt/album/6NdRpuEZQ6EjnF7M5EJ2zW>. Accessed on: 22 Feb. 2024.

VILA, Martinho. *Canta Canta, Minha Gente*. RCA Victor, 1974. Available from: <https://open.spotify.com/intl-pt/track/22JMVwJKSGgZz7o4cBKHaa>. Accessed on: 22 Feb. 2024.

YANOMAMI, Davi Kopenawa. Yanomami. 1989. In: Survival International. *Yanomami*: Survival Campaign, 1989. Available from: <https://acervo.socioambiental.org/acervo/documentos/yanomami-survival-campaign>. Accessed on: 15 Feb. 2024.

ZHANG, Qi. Shifting Constitution of Indigeneity in (Post-)Colonial Brazil. *E-International Relations*, Bristol, 18 Jun. 2022. Available from: <https://www.e-ir.info/2022/06/18/shifting-constitution-of-indigeneity-in-post-colonial-brazil/>. Accessed on: 15 Jun. 2024.