

MĚ IXPAPXÀ MĚ IXÀHPUMUNH MĚ IXUJAHKREXÀ:
Territory, Knowledge and Ancestrality in the
Panhĩ School Education Processes

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(translation by Coletivo de Tradutores Berkeley-Brasil)*

I, Julio Ribeiro Kamêr Apinajé, am from the Panhĩ Apinajé people, I am a speaker of the Panhĩ Kapêr language, from the Jê linguistic family, from the Macro-jê trunk. My territory is located in the extreme north of the state of Tocantins, in the Bico do Papagaio region. The Panhĩ people recognize themselves as a people of the plateau and riverbank, and have always lived close to the Tocantins River. According to Àvila (2005) all eastern Timbira call themselves Mehin, where “Me” is a linguistic indicator of collectivity and “hin” may be understood as flesh or substance. The Apinajé, for their part, call themselves Panhĩ, where “pa” is a personal indicative of the first person plural and “nhĩ” is a dialectal variation with a similar meaning to “hin”. All Timbira, however, utilize the expression “mepanin” when they want to speak of all Timbira people of a determined collective.

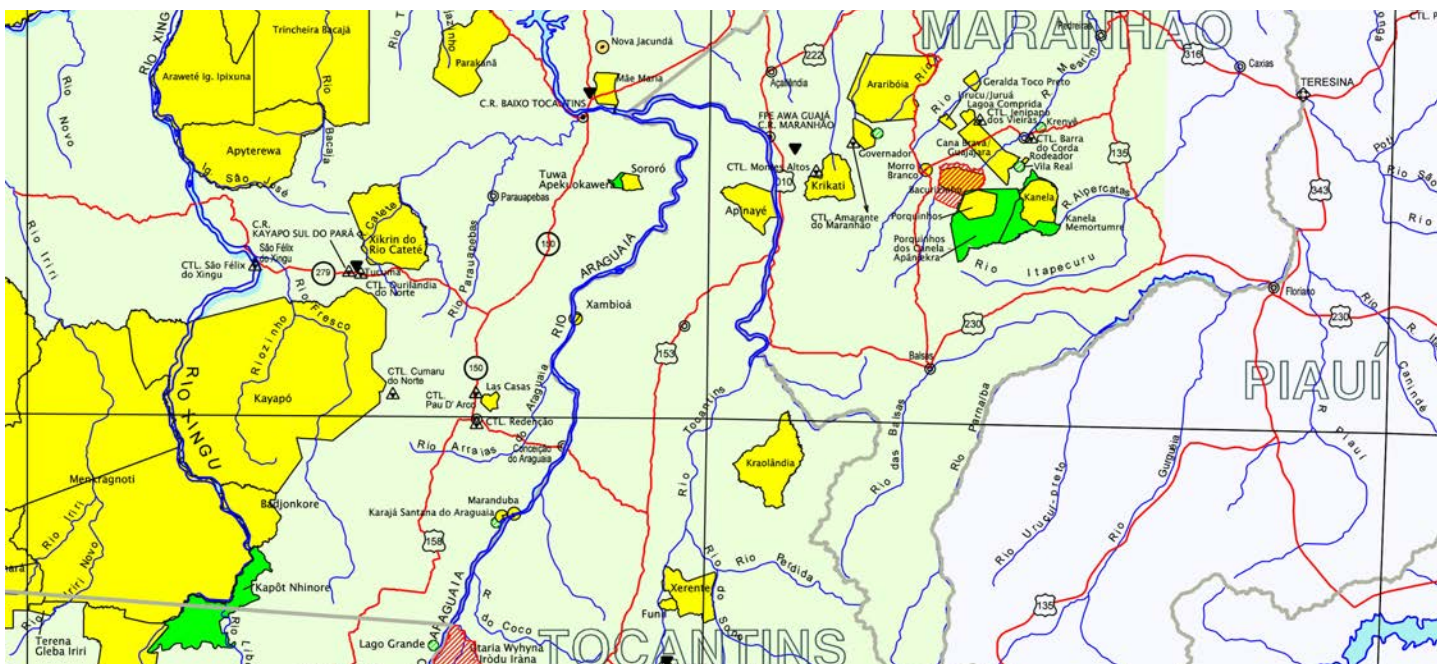
My grandfather always taught me that everything is connected, nothing in the world isolated. I know that my knowledge has as a base,

however, my territory. The story of Ahtwyr, in the ancient village of Puxiiti – Krĩhtũm, which begins my text, expresses in a particular Panhĩ way the importance of the territory and its connection with our life, with our knowledge, from hunting to the displacement of families, from the rules of coexistence to the Kupê threats, re: (we exist) in the territory. Puxiiti expresses itself and understands itself in the territory.

Currently, we have a demarcated and approved territory of 141 thousand hectares. It is an area that constantly suffers threats and invasions by non-Indians. There are eucalyptus plantations close to our lands, invasions with the intention of creating non-Indian farms within the Indigenous land, invasions to collect Bacuri, to illegally log and illegally hunt.

The Panhĩ, known in anthropological literature as the Apinajé, are one of the jê people that were almost extinct through diverse forms of violence, massacres and epidemics, like smallpox and

A map of Indigenous territories in northeastern Brazil. (Detail from https://mapas2.funai.gov.br/portal_mapas/pdf/brasil_indigena.pdf)



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others, according to data collected between 1926-28 by Snethlage and Nimuendajú. These episodes contributed to change some sociocultural and linguistic aspects.

Over time there was a considerable decrease in the frequency with which meetings took place in the courtyard and the abandonment of male formation rituals. With the decrease in meetings in the courtyard, the influence that the elders had over the youth also decreased (Nimuendaju (1983), p.16). In addition to the diseases spread by non-Indigenous people, the territory of the Panhĩ people was drastically reduced, thus excluding most of the spaces linked to their memories, such as the village of Alegria (Giraldin, (2000); Apinagé (2017)).

I am a Panhĩ/Apinajé leader and educator, I live in the Olho D'água village, founded by me, in the Apinajé Indigenous territory. I am constantly keeping up to date regarding the social public policies regarding the Indigenous issue and I am concerned about the sustainability of the world. I completed my undergraduate degree in 2013, from the Federal University of Goiás, in the Intercultural Education course at the Takinahaky Center for Indigenous Higher Education.

In some moments of my adolescence, I don't remember exactly when, I kept hearing the stories of great warriors, as well as the story of Panhĩ origin. What most intrigued me was (and still is) song. I was curious to understand it, to know how the singers become skilled people who sing a song, and how a man handles the maracá.

In conversation with my *ixtukatyj* (my grandmother) known as Nhiwêêre, but called Grehô (Júlia) when alive, I asked her about the song, how she had learned. She told me: I'll tell you but pay good attention to what I say; She said: I don't just learn if I hear a good spirit singing, or the *wajaga* hears a spirit singing and tells it to another person, whether a man or a woman, if the person is interested, they learn.

My curiosity increased, but since I was an adolescent at the time, it didn't matter much to me. That question, however, stayed planted in me. I kept wanting to learn about the Pepkaàk ritual as well, which in my initial comprehension was that the men and young men began their social and daily lives.

A year after the death of my grandfather Alexandre Kagàpxi in 2003, I was at my aunt's home in the São José village. She is the daughter

of my grandmother Nhiwêêre. In that moment, my eyes filled with tears, of regret and frustration, but it was too late, I couldn't do anything. My grandfather had passed away. I still had hope, however, in my grandmother and aunt, that from that moment forward I could do everything to learn a little from each ritualistic moment, to be a leader, singer, caller, speaker, organizer, so that the current you had a little of the memory of their ancestral knowledge.

So, I asked about the Panhĩ sociocultural organization at every moment. According to my grandmother, I was interested in learning *mêgrer kryre* (simple songs) and *mêgrer rûnh* (specific songs), both with maraca. My grandmother also participated in rituals of order, such as *amnhy* (wasp) and *kuwy* (fire). She always sang. And she told me about the songs without maraca, which happen in wedding ceremonies or some everyday event.

I hope that today's youth will use this wisdom to innovate their knowledge. It is the only way to build and rework our literature and philosophies. My grandmother is one of the Panhĩ women who had ample knowledge of culture and history. She, my grandmother, would ask me: how are you going to learn all this in such a short time? I would say, no, I don't want to learn all this, I want to understand how it all works so I can explain it to other people.

She said then: For you to really learn everything gradually you should start at the foundation. I kept saying, I only want to understand how everything works. My brother-in-law said: You will still be a great singer, and I said, no, I just want to help people to understand and learn their culture, or rather, their customs.

In this way, this led to the need to report, transcribe, and write the stories and knowledge of Panhĩ culture, with the intention of working on these Panhĩ concepts with the youth. A people without stories is a people vulnerable to the "majority" society. It is extremely necessary for Indigenous people to value, strengthen and practice their knowledge, especially with the participation of the *mênywjê* (youth). This is the reason for my desire to learn and help people understand their historical and social context.

I was the first Apinajé to enter the master's in Social Anthropology. I intend to obtain more instruments or mechanisms to have access to political instances in terms of discourse and

dialogue with the *Kupẽ* (non-Indigenous people). Also, I acted as a teacher in Indigenous school education in the Tekator Indigenous School, Marizinha Village, from 2006 to 2008, teaching the subject of Mother Tongue. There, we developed pedagogical activities as imposed on us by the Tocantins state system, SEDUC. From 2009 to 2013, I worked in School Administration as School Unit Manager.

I continue to try to meet the demands of the Indigenous school in the midst of so many hierarchies and impositions coming from outside the village. The historical process of imposing a Eurocentric and ethnocentric education based on Westernized elitist culture, in which Indigenous peoples were violently exposed so that they would learn the culture of others, is a process that has been occurring since the 16th century. The way in which this education has been practiced is limitlessly cruel. It is incomprehensible, for example, that the school works by chronometric time, different from the Panhĩ concept of time.

The only way to deconstruct the systematic and hierarchical conception of the state that imposes its norms on education is by organizing a political and pedagogical process that makes the community's cosmological desire effective, in which everyone has the freedom to express and do what they think. We are, slowly and with great tension, establishing our own system of learning and teaching in the Indigenous school. We obey the structure of our mother tongue.

Gersem Baniwa helps me to think about this question by affirming that the public power should "contribute to the implementation of the project of autonomy of Indigenous peoples, based on their historical projects, developing new strategies for physical, linguistic and cultural survival" (Baniwa (2002), p. 25). Amongst the Panhĩ, we preserve traditional knowledge, and the social organization based on the division of halves like Wanhmẽ and Katãm (halves linked to log races), Kooti and Koore (names given to the children of the Sun and Moon, respectively) and whose members are affiliated to the halves through personal names.

Our own ways of learning are related to the worldview of our people. According to the Panhĩ tradition, it was the Sun and the Moon, the two Apinajé demiurges, or creators, who brought knowledge and the unique way of living the Panhĩ wisdom.

Currently, however, only some parts of our culture are practiced, like *gõhtax ho mẽ õkrepõx* (maracá singing), *mẽ àmnênh* (ritual of order¹), *Pãrkapê* (large log ritual to end mourning) and, rarely, the *Õhô* (running ritual between two groups competing on the village's radial street) and the wedding ceremony.

In these rituals the Panhĩ cultural domains of knowledge are present, which require ample territorial space, where the *mẽhkrãhtũmjê* (learned ones) and their team may drive their *mẽnỹwjê* (youth), preparing and training them in the practice so that these youth may absorb the rules of sociocultural political organization and the most diverse environments, social, political, linguistic, and cultural knowledge. This knowledge constitutes the soul of the sacred spirit on world comprehension, whether Panhĩ, vegetable, or animal.

In the Indigenous world, all beings communicate, a profound dialogue and respectful coexistence existing amongst all forms of life. Like one of the great Indigenous Yanomami affirms, through Yanomami knowledge, the live spirit of nature is who teaches a specific person.

When I started to participate in the Indigenous Intercultural Degree Course at NTFSI at UFG, I started working through contextual themes (Herbetta (2015)), which deal with knowledge in a connected way, and I realized that school can, maybe, be used as a space of interesting formation for Indigenous populations.

From my trajectory and experience, I developed then, in the Tekator school, in the Mariazinha village, for example, a series of educational projects like: *Grernhõxwỹnh Nywjê* (Strengthening the Singing among Youth in the Apinajé Rituals), in October of 2015 and the 1st Seminar "Importance of the Panhĩ Kapêr Language", in April of 2016.

These social activities pedagogically demonstrate the new pedagogical possibilities of Indigenous school to those who manage Indigenous school education.

This program and its actions have still provided us stimulation and opportunity to reflect on our knowledge, wisdom, and epistemologies, enabling us to insert our own processes of teaching and learning in the literacy of our children. They also allow us to show non-Indigenous society that we are dominating our space, occupying our territory, and showing our worldview, based on our cultural

1. Ritual by which the nominator of a child attempts to suffer the same physical suffering that his or her nominee suffered in a certain misfortune.

specificities, even being part of the national and international society.

In view of the violence suffered and wars imposed by non-Indigenous people, I now aim to discuss and reflect on the Panhĩ Indigenous cosmology in relation to school education. Since cosmology is the reference basis of the Apinajé subject and their ontological worldview, is it possible to actualize a school that is based on their own ways of teaching and learning guaranteed in article 210 of the 1988 Constitution? What dialogue can there be between ritual and school?

All these reflections and study developed until now have proved me a constant qualification in relation to school education, the public politics, and, even more importantly, have allowed me to profoundly know about my people and the importance of the Panhĩ knowledge for me while teacher and researcher.

My intention is to act better and better in the context of the Panhĩ/Apinajé people, attending to the cause and the specificities of the Panhĩ knowledge, and also the desires of my people in relation to school education, to the traditional knowledge and other demands that are always required when we assume the role of knowers of the Panhĩ world and scholars of the non-Indian world.

I take as a foundation for discussion and reflection the "*ahkrexwỳnhjaja*" (those who know or that teach/educate), or rather, the ancients, and I will dedicate myself to describe, analyze, and comprehend the educational processes of the Panhĩ/Apinajé. I seek to concretely analyze what Célia Xacriabá calls territorialized education (Xacriabá (2018), p.18), in the sense of not having possibility of disconnection between territory with Indigenous social organization.

In the condition of Indigenous teacher of the Panhĩ/Apinajé people, I intend to address, through the concepts of intercultural education and contextualized studies, the educational reality of my people, focusing on the Panhĩ/Apinajé territory and its schools, seeking to understand both the traditional educational processes specific to the Panhĩ people, which have to do with Indigenous epistemology, "based on the experience of territorialized education (Xacriabá (2018), p. 20), as well as the schooled educational processes, which were introduced by the surrounding society and which are now experienced daily by the Panhĩ people.

Truthfully, I worry about the the tense articulation between both processes of knowledge transmission, investigating two main axes: Panhĩ education and land/"territory" (according to the Timbira geographical understanding and also in the understanding of the Apinajé). I equally seek to think about possible (or not) articulations between specific learning processes, located in musical rituals and school dynamics.

In this context, I intend to observe, reflect, and analyze in what way all this historical process of public politics against Indigenous peoples can really provide a social inclusion and participation of the Panhĩ people in the construction of another possible education.

It would be wonderful for the Indigenous people themselves to manage their territory and their educational policy without the intermediation of the State and Municipal Education Departments (SEDUC). I believe that this will still be a point of future discussion among the various Indigenous peoples regarding school educational autonomy.

The reconstruction of school education policy is a basic instrument for strengthening social and political issues of territory.

Personal Trajectory and Relationship with My Grandfather

I come from a family that is made up of two large Panhĩ groups, which are: Hipõknhõxwỳnh and Hikrenhõxwỳnh, subdivided into the Kooti halves, children of the sun, and Koore, children of the moon. My grandmother Nhiwêêre, who is my mother's mother, is Hikrenhõxwỳnh and follows the Koore half and the Wanhme party. My grandfather Alexandre Kagàpxi is Hipõknhõxwỳnh and follows the same pattern as the Kooti half and the Katàm party. I belong, therefore, to two halves and parties, which control and organize the Apinajé social groups. All my aunts are Hikrenhõxwỳnh.

I perform, therefore, the two function of pairs of halves in the rituals and daily life, which are classified in the following way as we see in Giralдин:

These terms Kooti and Korre reveal a system which serves to qualitatively define almost all the elements of the universe: plants, animals, cosmos, names, ornaments, paintings and also behavior and discursive form. The general Kooti and Koore classification system, however, is present in the other pairs of halves: Hipõnhõxwỳnh

– Ixkrenhõxwỳnh, when classifying people's behavior: Waxmẽ – Katàm; when referring to body paintings [...] (Giraldim (2000), p.72).

The table below observes the meaning of each term, party, half, and nomination. This table brings the description and cataloging performed during the specialization research of professors Cassiano Apinajé, Davi Wamimen, Maria Reis Pãxre, and Júlio Kamêr. This table explains the terms in detail, see below.

These terms define and mark the behavior, the position, and the social organization of the Panhĩ people. The Katàm and Wanhmẽ parties identify the groups of men and women by their body paintings, horizontal and vertical, that express themselves in simple log race rituals and in the great ritual of *Pàrkapê* (large log ritual).

The Kooti and Koore pairs mark in turn their social position in the space of the village. A delivery of ornaments, for example, is performed by the *kràmngêt* (formal friend – the one who delivers the ornament) after the end of mourning, when the ornament is received by the *kràm* (formal friend – the one who receives the ornament). If the person is to be part of the sun, his/her *tukatyj* will obviously be with his/her grandchild in the courtyard facing the sun, and the same happens if he/she is to be part of the moon, he/she must also be facing where the moon rises.

The most famous pairs of terms, Hipôknhõxwỳnh and Hikrenhõxwỳnh, determine groups that are constantly in conflict (this is a healthy conflict, according to the nomenclature). The understanding that: “the pair of halves

HALVES

Table 1 – Taken from the press: Kagà jahkrexà pê Mãytk nẽ Tekator kôt mẽ pahte Amnhĩ nhĩpêx nẽ Paxàhpumunh ho Hihtỳx – Pedagogical Policy Project (PPP) Apinajé - Specialization – Transdisciplinary Pedagogical Management. August 2016.

KATÀM Term which refers to half of men, opposite of WANHMỄ.	WANHMỄ Term which refers to half of men, opposite of KATÀM
KOOTI Term related to social position. (Sun)	KOORE Term related to social position. (Moon)
KRENHÕXWỠNH (nomenclature which defines the behavior of a person) – is a serious person. No joking	HIPÔKNHÕXWỠNH Person is very extroverted – similar to hotxuá – serious and funny – very joking
KRÀMGÊT OU IXKRÀMGÊT Formal friend, the one who delivers the ornament.	KRÀM OU PAKRÀM Formal friend, the one who receives the ornament.
<i>Below is a list of some Apinajé names (great names), which define addition with other lesser names for both male and female genders, they are:</i>	
GRER Grer Kaxko, Grer Gàpkwỳr, Grer Kapxô, Grer Nhĩhĩkupu.	WANHMỄ Wanhmẽxỳ, Wanhmẽgô, Wanhmẽprêk, wanhmẽpřĩ.
AMNHI Amnhi Mykô, Amnhi Kapa, Amnhi Teprã, Amnhi Pôrgo, Amnhi Jakàkoe,	KATÀM Katàmcoxêt, Katàmjaka, Katàmtyk, Katàmprĩ.
IRE Ire Mrykrax, Irekà, Irekrã, Irekrã Jaka, Irekỳ.	PỄP Pễpkrahô, Pễpnhõxà, Pễpno, Pễpyxi.
PÃX Pãxkỳ, Pãxtyk, Pãxkê, Pãxma, Pãxjaaka	

Hipôknhōxwỳnh / ixkrenhōxwỳnh also expresses the same hierarchical principle of the general classification system. Through it, it is possible to classify, above all, people's behaviors." (Giraldim (2000), p. 74)

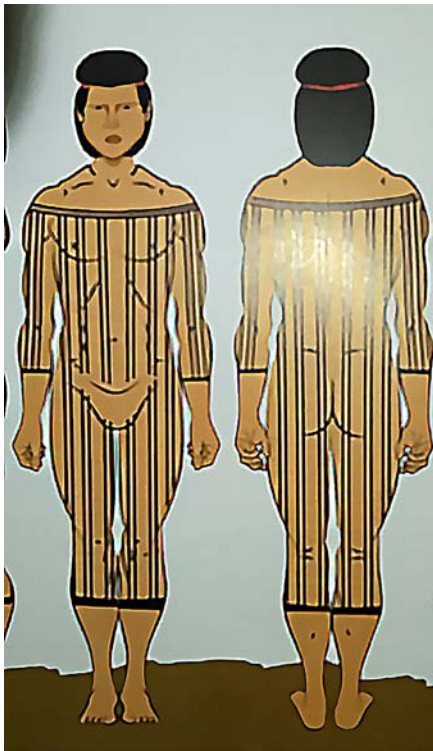
The Hipôknhōxwỳnh's role is to make people pay attention to the act in which they are participating, such as painting, hunting and singing. During all these moments, the conduct of this position is to play the funny role (but seriously). People get angry or happy because of the humor produced by him/her. It is similar to the Hoxwa of Mehĩ Krahô. Hikrenhōxwỳnh, in turn, has the role of accompanying the cultural activities that take place in the center of the external courtyard, or rather, the activities that take place in the radial part of the village or inside the houses. He/she is a serious person, without jokes. He/she is a person who shows respect and sincerity.

DaMatta (1976) and Giralдин (2000) had the same perception of these groups: Hipôknhxwỳnh and Ixkrenhōxwỳnh, since both have the important function of articulation, causing everyone to participate in ritual and daily activities in the village.

It must also be highlighted that the naming process by which children are named uses the names of their great-grandfather, great-grandmother, grandfather and grandmother. The names of their brother or sister are given to their son or daughter. Family names are always used, so following Table 1, we can see, for example, that the names IRE and AMNHI are great names, which in turn are accompanied by adjectives as in the case; Irekrã (Ire - krã: head), Amnhimykô (Amnhi, feminine name - mykô: male genital organ, is a feminine name and when he was born he was male).

We will observe the main body paintings with the following terms described above:

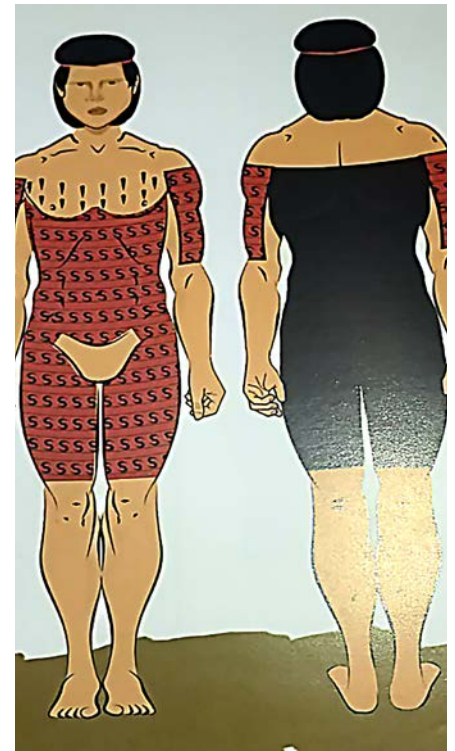
Paintings



Wanhmẽ Painting (Giralдин (2018), p.62.) Front and back of the vertical painting of the Wanhmẽ half, painting used that marks the Wanhmẽ half, in the case of the log race.



Katàm Painting (Giralдин 2018, p.66.) Front and back of the horizontal painting of the Katàm, painting used to mark the Katàm half.



Kooti Painting (Giralдин (2018), p.76.) Kooti is known as a way to mark social status in the courtyard when activities or rituals take place. The group of these halves remains in their position. It is the most commonly used painting in the delivery of ornaments by the formal friend. It is a painting that is part of the Hipôknhōxwỳnh group.

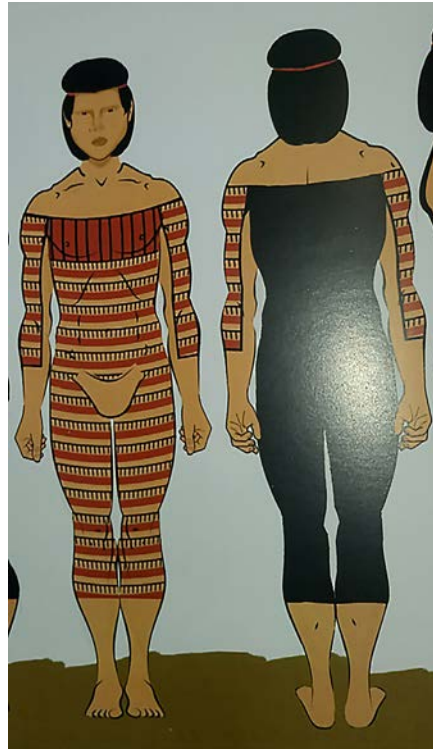
Paintings (continued)



Koore Painting (Giraldin (2018), p.42.) Koore is known as a way to mark social status in the courtyard when activities or rituals take place. The group of these halves remains in their position. It is the most commonly used painting in the delivery of ornaments by the formal friend. It is also used in weddings and formation. It is a painting that is part of the Kreknhõxwýh group.

I myself act according to family and social precepts, obeying each function of the pairs of terms and my nomination, which my *nã* and *pãm* (aunt and uncle) ordered. Thus follows my sociocultural family life pattern and position in ritual activities and in daily life. This is the basis of my social formation. I have always had a close relationship with the school institution.

When I was younger, around 1996, I didn't imagine myself studying, I didn't know the point of studying. I preferred to go to the forest to watch birds, fish, bathe, play, go to other places, accompany my parents to the farm. I would repeat the school year, but without understanding. At the time, the school operated until the fourth grade of elementary school. There was a small school with two rooms. This school was called Tekator, in the village of Mariazinha, where I currently teach.



KRENHÕXWÝNH Painting (Giraldin (2018), p.74.) This painting is also used in the delivery of ornaments.



HIPÔKNHÕXWÝNH Painting (Giraldin (2018), p.40.) HIPÔKNHÕXWÝNH – is also used in the delivery of ornaments.

I studied with the missionary Beht Nohkwýj, Irmã Amnhàk, Isis Irepxi, and also with Panhĩ teacher Maria Célia Krẽre, my colleague who had graduated from the Intercultural Education Course at the *Universidade Federal de Goiás* (UFG, Federal University of Goiás.) I also studied with the New Tribes Mission of Brazil (MNTB) which continues to this day. I completed the fourth grade in 1999, but in 2000 and 2001 I repeated everything again, because the school did not offer the next grade.

At this time, the *Fundação Nacional dos Povos Indígenas* (FUNAI, the National Foundation for Indigenous Peoples) transported students who were in the following grades. I was 16 years old and still did not communicate well in Portuguese. The teacher hired by FUNAI guided me in communication and activities so that I would be prepared. Even so, in 2002, at the age of 17, I

did not speak Portuguese well. I did 70% of the activities in Panhĩ and 15% speaking Portuguese.

I began studying with *Kupẽ* (non-Indigenous) students in the city of Tocantinópolis in 2002. First in the Padre Giuliano Morett state school, where there were Panhĩ in the São José, which made it a little easier. At this time, the second phase of secondary education was created in the village of São José, at the Mãtyk school. Since the majority were from this village, the school where I studied in the city closed. That same day I thought, what am I going to do at this time of night?

I went to another school called Pio XII State School. I only remember having said to the director that the school where I studied closed and that I needed to study. I started to study along with people from my village, which helped a little. I liked the school, the professors liked me and even gave me books. The *Educação de Jovens e Adultos* (EJA, Education of Youth and Adults) operated in this school. I studied there in 2002 and 2003 and completed the second phase of elementary education. I went with other Panhĩ students in the truck under the rain, the sun, the dust.

I returned to study the first series of secondary education in the old Standard school in 2004, but then in the first month of the year the students began to give up. FUNAI saw that there was no way to invest in only two students being transported in the truck and cut transportation. I was left once again without an exit. This time there was no way out and I had to wander the villages doing other activities until the state provided secondary education in the village of Mariazinha, in 2005, where my parents live. There I began to study again and complete my secondary education in 2007.

At this time that I studied the disciplines, the content prepared me for *Kupẽ* knowledge and there was very little content on Panhĩ knowledge, based on an Indigenous epistemic matrix. I went on trying to improve knowledge in Panhĩ content outside the school space. At the time, there were not many socio-educational projects happening.

I was hired by the *Secretaria de Educação e Cultura do Estado do Tocantins* (SEDUC-TO, Department of Education and Culture of the State of Tocantins) to contribute with the sociocultural knowledge that I possess. They believed that I had ways to rebuild cultural and social practices. I began working and taking the Indigenous

teaching course, which always takes place during the vacation periods, January and July, from the moment the state hired me. In 2006, as a teacher in the first phase of elementary school, teaching first grade in the Panhĩ *Kapẽr* language. It was an incredible experience to be able to work with children age 6 and up.

In 2007, I started to work with the second phase of elementary and secondary education teaching in the maternal tongue. I went through some remarkable episodes in my life as a student and professional. That same year, I was in the third grade of high school and when it was time for my class, I was confused because I was both a teacher and a student. I tried to fulfill both roles at the same time. I played the role of both teacher and student during that class period.

At the time of the class council, the teaching staff understood my situation and approved me. I participated in the selection for the Intercultural Indigenous Education course at UFG in November 2007, and was accepted. I started the course in January 2008, and in July of that year the state held a competition for teachers who had obtained qualifications in Indigenous teaching. I was accepted in fourth place among the Panhĩ teachers. I took office in January 2009. The community once again believed in me to run the school. I ran the school from 2009 to 2013.

I completed my undergraduate degree in intercultural education at the Takinahaky Center through the Federal University of Goiás (UFG) in 2012, researching the notion of sustainability for us, the Panhĩ. I discovered that the *cerrado* (Brazilian savanna) is full of music and that singing certain musical repertoires can alleviate the major problem of fires that ravage my territory year after year.

I participated again in the specialization selection for the Intercultural and Transdisciplinary Education course: Pedagogical Management at the same university in 2015. The specialization was very important, since I was increasing my knowledge regarding the academic world and Indigenous school education policies. I completed this course in 2017 with the proposition of a new Pedagogical Policy Project for the Apinajé Indigenous schools, which have our dynamic of social organization and existence as a foundation. I realized that it is fundamental to be familiar with our socio-natural knowledge as well as existing educational policies.

I wanted to do a master's degree in language (Literature), but at the same time I thought about taking a course that would help me think more, that wouldn't limit my thinking. The field of literature is good, but it wouldn't help me think, it would only make me think about literature. That would be detrimental to me. I decided to follow my academic instinct so that I could contribute to my Panhĩ Apinajé people and to the Indigenous peoples of Brazil and the Kupẽ. I participated in the master's selection in November 2016, in the Postgraduate Program in Social Anthropology and was accepted in third place. I must say that the selection wasn't easy. I wrote six pages of text by hand that deal with "the perspective of anthropology from the perspective of Indigenous people" and "the perspective of anthropology from the perspective of non-Indigenous people". I reflected a lot on Indigenous authorship and questioned the role of anthropologists in the production of knowledge about my people.

Indigenous participation in the academic world will gradually change the stance of the university. It represents a different perspective in the university.

For the Panhĩ, learning is free and works if the person has interest. Movement is fundamental to learning. One learns something according to their stance. There is a process of formation of the social being, in which a child is born and observes their parents, learning the habits of the home, watching their parents talk about everyday life, and especially listening to their grandfather and grandmother about stories and customs. From there, the social formation begins, moving from the home to the courtyard, where one learns by socializing the knowledge of the home with the collective, participating in innumerable ritual moments, in which one's social position, rights and duties are expressed. In this process, the young person acquires the Panhĩ vocabulary, stories and musical repertoire.

I also learned some *mẽ õkrepõx* (songs), not exactly because I wanted to learn. Actually, the ways and practice of singing said something I didn't understand. My restlessness made me interested in learning more. The Panhi person is curious, questioning. The fact that I saw my grandmother participating in singing with a maracá, the *mẽ õkrepõx rũnhti* ritual, *choro: mẽ mỳr maati* and *mẽ mỳr mã prĩ*, the ritual of order and marriage encouraged me to want to know more.

On my grandfather's side, I was more interested in knowing the process of wisdom of *Mẽ amnhĩ*. This term in Apinajé is an invocation to the spiritual being that only a *pajé* (shaman) knows to conduct, for instance, in some happenings when an incident occurs, such as an ant sting, etc. I got to hear some of my grandfather's knowledge. From my grandmother, I got to see and participate in some ritual moments.

When they both passed away, I began to research, study, and analyze all of this before I even became a teacher because one day, I would need these sources to study and contribute to my people with this knowledge. Therefore, this critical stance made me learn many things about my culture. This is how I learned the songs, and finally, the Apinajé singer, Mr. Alexandre, known as Zé Cabelo, taught me the rhythm of the maracá. He taught me how to use it. This is how I learned my cosmology.

My grandfather, Alexandre Kagãpxi, is a fundamental person in my education as a Panhi social being. He was born around the middle of the twentieth century in the old Botica village. Over there, according to him, when he told his life story at the time, he observed that singing in the courtyard, log races, women making *xwỳhkupu* (a cassava dough cake) were more frequent, and he probably heard his parents and grandparents do the same thing I did when observing and following social and historical behaviors. He learned all this cultural wisdom when he moved to Aldeia Mariazinha, one of the oldest villages according to Nimuendaju, during his visit to my territory in 1928. It was right at the time of the pandemic that almost annihilated the Panhi people, according to the ethnographic account itself.

My grandfather was one of the last elders to have more sociocultural experience at that time. So much so that during that period, he learned the songs of *Mẽ amnhĩ*, *Amnhy*, and the history of *Pẽpkumrẽx* and *Pẽpkaàk*. He did not obtain knowledge of writing, but he already had empirical knowledge of his historical reality. There was no school at that time. But there was the traditional school, based on rites, where he became a person prepared with all the cultural requirements. According to my *nã* (aunt) Kupẽprõ from the village of São Raimunda, my grandfather knew the stories of the organization of the *Pẽp* and *mẽ Amnhĩ* and the ritual of *Ôhô*, etc. One of my uncles, Grossinho, was the last man to participate in *Pẽp*. I remember all of this because

of my family and thanks to a Kupẽ researcher, who is my grandmother's *tõx* (Irepxi – Maria Barbosa), and who named him Wanhmẽ Nhĩnhuryti (Giraldin (1997)). He researched my family.

My grandfather learned things by participating and listening, and unfortunately, he passed away of old age in 2003. I will continue by recounting his memory and educating young people with the little knowledge he left me. There are many records made in 1997 by this Wanhmẽ Nhĩnhuryti, some songs and vocative genres transcribed by me. All of them will serve as material for research and a broad understanding of sociocultural didactic contexts.

Thanks to my grandfather and other elders who left their knowledge recorded and, which is still little explored, we can carry out a process of socio-natural education suitable for young people. I have already been able to listen to a large part of the audio recordings, which deal with some rituals, behaviors, and habits of nature, as well as behaviors among relatives. There are also some traces referring to *Pẽp*. Now, thanks to my grandfather, this history will be reconstructed and lived in practice with the modern generation.

Our history or the history of Panhĩ does not end here. It will always be updated with the participation of young people.



Alexandre Kagãpxi

My grandfather Alexandre Kagãpxi, who contributed greatly to Apinajé culture, despite being one of the last participants in the making of the *Pẽp*, is today unknown to anyone, except in audio recordings made by researchers who had the opportunity to record.

<https://www.uft.edu.br/lali/index.php?pagina=paginas/galeriaFotos%2010/10/2019>

Musicality in the Panhĩ Land



Furna Negra village – traditional crafts meeting October 2018. (Photo from author's personal archive.)

Panhi music is the basis of all Apinajé social formation processes. It is present in all rituals, which are musical and the basis of the social formation of the Panhi people. They equally demonstrate a complex way of understanding and producing the world. I also remember my grandparents by the songs they sang. Amongst the Krahô, also Timbiras of Tocantins, the same is true. The understandings of Krahô teachers Kõnry and Gregório are similar. Kõnry, a Krahô teacher at the *19 de abril* school in the Manoel Alves village, highlights:

The community is very important because it is with it that we celebrate. [...] Music serves to cheer people up. It shows the way animals and nature behave. It shows the marking of time and space in the village. [...] For [...] Gregório Huhtê Krahô (2013), when studying Krahô music, [...] one comes into contact with other cultural domains and knowledge, such as history, geography, territory [...]. (Herbetta (2017), p. 39.)

In general, Panhĩ musicality describes the behavior and habits of fauna, flora, and people. In this way, musicality preserves nature and the history of the Panhĩ, and deals with vegetation, animals, flora, and the spirits of nature.

My grandmother Nhiwêêre and some *õkrepõx kanê* define and classify musicality as follows: *Mẽ grer kryre* (those sung randomly), *mẽ õkrepõx mex* (those sung specifically), *Mẽ amnhĩ* (celebration) and *Mẽ mỳr* (literally crying). There are two forms of crying, understood as serene crying and crying with a more rigorous tone (invasive): *Mẽmỳr maati* and *Mẽmỳr mãprĩ*.

MĚ ŐKREPŐX MĚ AMNHĪ NHĪPĚX

Classification and Functionalities of the songs

Table 2: Prepared by the author – October 2018.

Mě grer kryre	mě ōkrepŏx mex		Mě amnhĭ
Nhuhre jahĕ	Gŏhtàx kām mĕ ōkrepŏx		Mry hã
Ixtŏre	Gŏhtàx kĕt kām mĕ ōkrepŏx		Mrŭm hã
mytwrÿre	Kape hã mĕ ōkrepŏx		Amnhĭ nhĭpĕx hã
Wewe jaŏk	Kape hã mĕ harĭ		Ôhŏ - Pàrkapĕ - Mĕ àmnĕnh - Kupĕ Rop - Hÿrÿyti - Ixkre krãpohti
Mĕ mÿr (choro literalmente) Way of expressing feelings			
Mĕmÿr maati		Mĕmÿr mãprĭ	

The table above presents four blocks of songs, each with its own specificity and function. In the *Mĕ grer kryre* group of songs, for instance, there is more freedom to express the song, therefore anyone can do it, at any time and place. In *mĕ ōkrepŏx mex*, more skill and rules are required to be able to continue with the song.

In *Gŏhtàx kām mĕ ōkrepŏx* (singing in the courtyard), one must know where to start the song, know how to behave, and depending on each subset of the songs, which are: *auri* (beginning of the night), *kŏt hã kamât* (midnight), *arĭgro kŏt* (dawn), one must have a type of conduct. In the *Gŏhtàx kĕt kām mĕ ōkrepŏx*, singing is expressed during work, whether preparing food, painting or making *xwÿkupu* (manioc cake with meat filling), singing in steps back and forth and vice versa.

In the *Kape hã mĕ ōkrepŏx* ritual, singing takes place after the log has arrived at the courtyard. Then, singing takes place around the village. In the *Kape hã mĕ harĭ*, singing takes place when groups of men and women embrace each other, dancing and jumping, making circles around the door of the house until completing the circle where the singing began.

The *Mĕ amnhĭ* happened in the *Pĕp*, when an ant, wasp or any insect stings someone. Then the

song of the insect is sung so that the pain goes away, as if it were the antidote, but a magical antidote. In *Mĕ amnhĭ*, it is equally performed during hunting, singing about the habits and habitat of the animals.

The same happens in the *Pàrkapĕ* ritual, which is slow and reminds of sadness, and is a moment of representation of the lived experience. *Pàrkapĕ* is a large log ritual that represents the end of mourning. It is a great representation of the social behavior of a family member who already died. It is also made in the *Ôhŏ* ritual, demonstrating the social behavior and habits of animals from the *chapada/cerrado*, the main ones being: rhea, brown brocket deer and other animals. In this ritual, people from the Kooti and Koore halves face each other, running, symbolizing the animals.

With regard to *Mĕmÿr maati* and *Mĕmÿr mãprĭ*, women perform it through crying, through their expressions of feeling and lamentation. But it is not always crying with tears running down their eyes. There is a great representation of feelings. It is more than just crying; women express themselves through *Mĕmÿr maati* using inappropriate words, to the point of hurting some family members at the moment of the funeral. As for *Mĕmÿr mãprĭ*, it



Son, grandson and relatives of the late Júlia Grehô. Mariazinha village, November 2014. (From the author's personal archive.)

is where women talk to the deceased person as if they were with someone alive through this path.

It is of fundamental importance that today's young people learn about their cosmologies present in the musicality of our people. Only through this musicality can they deepen their knowledge and develop as people. Many of today's young people are not aware of how this process works. Since the Panhĩ cultural practice is not frequent, the influence of *kupẽ* knowledge is increasingly changing the Panhi's attitude and conduct. Village communities no longer visit each other, the *Krĩ kape* routine is no longer as busy as it once was, and many young people are listening to more Kupẽ music.

This is the singing with maracá that is used in all everyday moments, such as weddings, naming (baptism), hair-cutting rituals, and the inauguration of a *cacique* (chief), where the *õkrepõxkanêjaja* women (singers) stand in lines following the rhythm of the singer's maracá in the village courtyard.

There are other songs without maracás, such as *Pãrkapê* (known as a large log) and the ritual of order, and the peculiarities of women's cries. In this singing, an instrument known as *chocalho*

(rattle) is used. Currently, there are few singers among the Panhĩ Apinajé; the only singer with much experience in singing with maracás is the famous Zé Cabelo from the Brejinho village. The young people who are pursuing this career as singers are: Juliano Nhĩnô from the Mariazinha village, Jõêre from the Boi Morto village, and Edson from the Furna Negra village. Some young people are interested in acquiring singing skills.

Since music is the basis of Panhi social formation and since there are fewer and fewer singers, we are going through a very problematic moment. There is a crisis in the Panhi world.

Song, singing and its transdisciplinary pedagogical epistemology

The *õkrepõx* (song) is still a mystery to the younger generation. The more experienced ones understand what the song enunciates. There is vast knowledge and information stored in the songs, which are stories, moments that happened in the past, or even the movement of nature. Panhi musicality is a pedagogical cosmoscience present in rituals.

Indigenous wisdom and cosmoscience are strongly linked to the land, there is no way to separate it. That is because we are in it. Reflecting a little on the *cerrado*, the animals already valued the *cerrado* with its abundant wealth. The rhea led the group of animals competing among themselves in a race, until a *pajé* (shaman) who saw where the hunt was and saw this ritual of running that the rhea was leading. The shaman, with his fantastic pedagogy, understood very easily and took this knowledge to his community where he presented the entire ritual he had learned (Apinajé (2015), p.29.)

The *Ôhô* song describes, for example, the movements of nature.

According to *inhigêt* (my grandfather) and *ixtukatj* (my grandmother), the *Ôhô* ritual:

Every summer, the *cerrado/chapada* animals would gather somewhere to compete in the race. But there was a leader who commanded the group of *mryjaja* (hunting – animals). The leader was *Mãti* (ema). Then the group of animals would compete among themselves, and this ritual of racing would take place during this period. And rhea always won the race because it is a very fast-moving animal. The *Ôhô* song itself describes the behavior of each of the participating animals during the race ritual. In this race, the animals (birds) with red or orange legs symbolized the Koore half, and the animals (hunting animals, the hoofed paws) symbolized the Kooti half, and this is how the ritual happened. Until a person who is considered a shaman by the village, on one of his hunts, because the Panhĩ likes hunting. On one of these hunts, he heard shouts, one calling the other to get something. And this shaman went to this hidden movement, peeked at the ritualistic moment of the animals, observed the organization, learned all the songs of those or about animals.

However, most of the chanting in this ritual is nothing more than the animals themselves talking about themselves. The great Wajaga, with his spiritual ability, brought and incorporated this knowledge into the Panhĩ Apinajé cosmology and culture. Thus the *Ôhô* ritual existed and continues.

Professor Odair Giraldim recorded this knowledge and songs at the request of the elder Alexandre Kagàpxi Apinajé, my grandfather. He made these audio recordings on a cassette tape in September 1997, in the Mariazinha village. In a way, I witnessed one of these recording moments. This small memory motivates my existence as a Panhĩ Apinajé.

2. South American bird of the family Cariamidae.

3. Amazon fruit.

This motivated me to understand, activate, and update this knowledge, in this case related to the *Ôhô* ritual, through his body language and his songs, which explain the behavior of the nature of the *cerrado/chapada*. Such knowledge is conveyed through the main animals, such as rhea, pampas deer and seriema², which sing *Hôhô*.

Let's look at the songs and their explanation (see following page):

As Verônica Aldé says, in relation to the Krahô: "All the little animals have their own songs...they sing themselves...the armadillo sings itself...it sings to itself...all the animals. The plants are the same thing. Even the palm tree, which is the *buriti*,³ has its own songs (Mr. Getulio Kruwakraj Krahô, Diamantina, 2012)." (Aldé (2017), p.94.)

It is interesting to note that, in fact, the characters themselves (animals and people) sing about themselves or talk about themselves. In this case, we saw here, in the transcription, the explanation of the song of the *Ôhô* ritual.

As we saw in the picture above, the song presents a process that takes place in the *cerrado*. The Rhea is in the courtyard singing and has her leg painted with urucum (annatto). It still remains in the courtyard singing. The red-legged Seriema that tripped over the bush. The pampas deer is arriving in front. Arriving in front. The dawn remains in the courtyard. Arriving from branch to branch. The monkey is arriving from branch to branch. Arriving from branch to branch. Arriving from branch to branch. We realize that the characters themselves are talking about themselves. And they are referring to the *cerrado*. As Aldé says, "every being that lives with them in the *cerrado* has its song" (Aldé (2013), p. 94.)

The *cerrado* lives and resists in the Panhy musical repertoire, which teaches young people the power of nature. The song sung by nature contributes greatly to the Panhĩ social formation in their political perspectives and social organization. Animals need to exist to balance nature. We need these beings of nature.

In this sense, for Herbetta and Apinajé, "The biome moves culture and contributes for Indigenous people to continue practicing their ancient knowledge, which was learned from nature through spiritual life." (Herbetta, Apinajé (2018), p. 58.)

The songs of Ôhô in Panhĩ Apinajé - Ôhô jarēnh ã mēhkĩnh

Table 04: Prepared by the author – November 2018

<i>Description of the song in Panhĩ Kapēr</i>	<i>Explanation of the song</i>
Ôhô arĩ krĩ xa nē kà Ôhô arĩ krĩ xa nē kà	Ôhô Stay in the courtyard singing/shouting Ôhô Stay in the courtyard singing/shouting
Hê kōnō kunōre na tē nē arĩ krĩxa nē kà Hê kōnō kunōre na tē nē arĩ krĩxa nē kà	That leg painted with annatto that went to the courtyard to sing/shout (mãti – ema ⁴)
Ôhô ari kri xa ne kà Ôhô ari kri xa ne kà	Ôhô Stay in the courtyard singing/shouting Ôhô Stay in the courtyard singing/shouting
Ôhô kriti ma pō kanã Ôhô kriti ma pō kanã	Ôhô Seriema that stumbled on the bush Ôhô Seriema that stumbled on the bush
Ma na ja kēp mrêkêre na te ne kriti ma pō kanã	That Seriema that stumbled on the bush
Ôhô ê kumũ kamã pa tē Ôhô ê kumũ kamã pa tē	Ôhô Going ahead Ôhô Going ahead
Ma na ja kēp moore na te ne ê kumu kamã pa tē Ma na ja kēp moore na te ne ê kumu kamã pa te	That pampas deer going in front That pampas deer going in front
Ôhô ê kumu kamã pa te	Ôhô Going ahead
Ôhô pahtã arigro ne xa Ôhô pahtã arigro ne xa	Ôhô we stayed the day in the courtyard Ôhô we stayed the day in the courtyard
Jô te me tire na te ne pahtã arigro ne xa Jô te me tire na te ne pahtã arigro ne xa	He came and we stayed the day in the courtyard He came and we stayed the day in the courtyard (I did not identify the character)
Ôhô pahtã arigro ne xa	Ôhô we stayed the day in the courtyard
Ôhô pahtã arigro ne xa	Ôhô we stayed the day in the courtyard
Ôhô pawàrê pa nã te Ôhô pawàrê pa nã te	Ôhô came from branch to branch
Mã na ja kôkôjre na te ne pawàrê pa nã te Mã na ja kôkôjre na te ne pawàrê pa nã te	That monkey came from branch to branch That monkey came from branch to branch
Ôhô pawàrê pa nã te Ôhô pawàrê pa nã te	Ôhô came from branch to branch Ôhô came from branch to branch

4. *Ema* means rhea in Portuguese.

Now let's look at the *Kukênh e tep* singing sung with maracá.

Kukênh par grire – Cutia da perna pequena
Hê parikrire to hê tẽ mẽ xàhà
Hê parikrire to hê tẽ mẽ xàhà
Hê parikrire to hê tẽ mẽ xàhà

Ma kukênhĩre te kaprũmũ kôtô hikre wỳrỳ (piitã harenh o axkrutnêpxi)

In the Portuguese translation it says:

The footprint of the small trail
The footprint of the small trail
The footprint of the small trail

The agouti hitting the ground for its den. (repeated three times)

Põpõ kot tep japêr/gômkahêk – The Heron Fishing

Tepeti
tepeti japêê wapôôxa nẽ
Nẽ kô kahapu

Jahê paripê mã
Jahê paripê mã põpõore xa nẽ
Nẽ kô kahapu

The song goes like this:

Looking for fish, looking for fish leaning towards the water.
The heron looking for fish leaning towards the water.

Many songs also describe human habits, that is, family social behavior.

See the song below for a description of kinship in the form of a song known in *Panhĩ de mẽ Amnhĩ*.

ME AMNHI (ME AMNHI NHIPÊX, DAILY HABITS AMONG RELATIVES)

Mo myja anã me kjêja
Mo myja anã me kjêja
Kormã kêp gjênh kaxàkàre kanê na ja
Kormã kêp gjênh kaxàkàre kanê na ja
Kormã ato amnhi mã pri tãmã tã
Kormã ato amnhi mã pri tãmã tã
Ri kormã amã ixtã kjêjaja mã

Mo myja apãm me kjêja
apãm me kjêja
Kormã kêp imry kaxàkàre kanê na ja
Kormã kêp imry kaxàkàre kanê na ja
Kormã ato amnhi mã pri tãmã tã
Kormã ato amnhi mã pri tãmã tã
Ri kormã amã ixtã kjêjaja mã

Mo myja atõx me kjêja
atõx me kjêja
Kormã kêp gjênh wryjre kanê na ja
Kormã kêp gjênh wryjre kanê na ja
Kormã ato amnhi mã pri tãmã tã
Kormã ato amnhi mã pri tãmã tã
Ri kormã amã ixtã kjêjaja mã

Nhum mo myja atõx me kjêja
atõx me kjêja
Kormã kêp nhiaxy kaxàkàre kanê na ja
Kormã kêp nhiaxy kaxàkàre kanê na ja
Kormã ato amnhi mã pri tãmã tã
Kormã ato amnhi mã pri tãmã tã
Ri kormã amã ixtã kjêjaja mã

Mo myja atõ me kjêja
Memo myja atõ me kjêja
Kormã kêp hagrô kaxàkàre kanê na ja
Kormã kêp hagrô kaxàkàre kanê na ja
Kormã ato amnhi mã pri tãmã tã
Kormã ato amnhi mã pri tãmã tã
Ri kormã amã ixtã kjêjaja mã

Momyja kãm ixpymare na ja
kãm ixpymare na ja
Kormã kêp imry krãnãre kanê na ja
Kormã kêp imry krãnãre kanê na ja
Kormã kêp ixa pê rôr tãmã tã
Kormã kêp ixa pê rôr tãmã tã
Ri kormã amã ixtã kjêjaja mã

This song is a dialogue:

Where is the man and his group of aunts to take care of the hunt.
They are still calm

Where is the man and his group of uncles to take care of the hunt.
They are still calm

Where is the man and his group of sisters to take care of the hunt.
They are still calm
Where is the man and his group of sisters to take care of the hunt.
They are taking care of the deer hunt.
They are taking care of the peccary hunt.

This is one of the songs of *Mẽ Amnhĩ* that the *Pẽp* probably sang in initiation rituals during the education process of children and young people. It is difficult to translate into Portuguese, especially because they are different codes.

In the *cerrado*, in the forest, in the *caatinga*, in the village, in the city, and in social and political

movements, Indigenous singing remains, regardless of any space. The knowledge evokes and involves the Panhĩ reexistence.

We have already noticed that animals, plants, and people are talking about themselves and themselves in relation to the movement of nature and the organization of the Panhy world in Apinajé musicality. This means that there is a lot of knowledge trapped in the songs that are still little explored. As fossils trapped in deep or dormant layers. Currently, young people are exploring this knowledge, intending to organize and update it so that it can be used in their social formations. Besides the pedagogy that the song has to teach us, they are also simultaneously talking about the natural preservation of environmental vegetation. Not only musicality itself, but they are teaching us to relearn about ourselves.

As Gersem Baniwa states:

[...] Understanding and aligning ourselves with nature according to its dynamics, rationality, logic, and limitations and benefiting from its natural and supernatural forces and potentialities, always very generous but also very fair, is a primary educational function. But to achieve wisdom and human sensibility, it is necessary to listen, observe, to understand its messages through voices (thunder, songs), [...]. (Baniwa (2019)).

I agree with this author that Indigenous people have the sensibility to live with and understand nature. They survive according to nature. We are becoming increasingly stronger through the charm of singing. We feel stronger.

In modern times, singing, musicality is becoming a reference in formation as another way of educating, that is, another model of instructing in social environments according to intra-reality.

We learn our knowledge and songs through nature's actions; for this reason, we need ample territorial space to explore knowledge; the territory is fundamental for all of us Indigenous people.

Grernhõxwynhjê pikuprõnh

The Panhĩ are concerned with the knowledge of singing, and for this reason, they are always in contact with the Timbira group, which is similar in culture and language. That is why, with the support of FUNAI, they held the *Grernhõxwynhjê pikuprõnh* (Timbira singers meeting) in the Panhĩ Apinajé territory in the Kwýnhĩkop village (Boi

Morto village), which took place from November 26–29, 2018.

During the presentation, experienced and young singers demonstrated concern and interest.

According to Cacique Amnhô of the Pñngàati kô village (Bacuri village), "*Inhmã inhõ krepôx prãm.....Iskore kamã professôjaja mẽ kãm ôkrepôx jahkre nhũm mex nẽ.*" This chief desires that the teachers teach the young people how to sing. For the elderly Terezinha Amnhàk (my aunt), better known as Sino from the village Krĩgrire (Aldeia Aldeinha) "I'm going to have a baby who's in my arms. I'm going to have a baby who's in my arms. I'm going to have a baby who's in my arms. I'm going to have a baby who's in my arms."

She said that she sings the songs that her father sang. Elder Wanhmëre of Krĩgrire Village (Aldeinha village), the most experienced singer in the village, said: "*Ixtĩr ri mẽ atõ inhgrer õ jarẽ pa ixkĩnh nẽ.* I am very happy to see someone singing my song while I'm still alive."

Sirax, Sino pẽ Amnhàk, Amnhàk, and Amnhikunũm are sisters, both daughters of my grandmother Nhiwêêre. They and others whose names I have not mentioned dominate the singing. They are responsible for most of the Panhĩ songs.

In 2006, young Juliano Nhĩnô accompanied his brother (Júlio Kamêr) in participating in workshops and other events, such as the YOUNG METWUWAJÊ CULTURAL held by CTI – Indigenous Work Center in the city of Carolina-Maranhão. At the time, he had contact with several professional Timbira elder singers from Maranhão and Tocantins. One of our relatives, José Brasil Cujkwa, even told us that most of the singing groups he sings with are by our great-grandfather, called Salomão.

This small detail made us even more concerned about our culture. In this way, young Juliano has been preparing himself to become a professional singer. He participated in the meeting of Timbira singers from Maranhão and Tocantins in the Brejinho village in the Apinajé Indigenous area on October 17, 2014. Since then, he has been practicing singing and supporting the community and school to this day.

Our reference for being a singer was the elder Vicente MĩKũm Apinajé; when he went bankrupt, we had no one to rely on. From this process onwards, I have been investing in young Juliano, who is the only way to make him the specific person, that is, responsible for strengthening



Meeting of Timbira – Apinajé and Krahô singers. End of the meeting of singers. Boi Morto village, November 30, 2018.
(From the author's personal archive.)

Meeting of Timbira singers – Apinajé and Krahô. My name is Sirax, she is a singer who organized the meeting. Boi Morto village
November 30, 2018. (From the author's personal archive.)



the singing, but who alone would not be able to preserve the singing and its cultural history.

From this sacrifice, the project Strengthening Singing in Apinajé Rituals was born in 2014, and in 2015, the name was changed, now called *Grernhõxwýnh Nywjê* (Strengthening Singing among Young People in Apinajé Rituals). And in this way, this project persists. These are true stories that are contributing to Apinajé school education. History plays a fundamental role in the reworking of an Apinajé education.

These rudiments of culture are fundamental to be handled by the school, as long as they are able to be executed within the perspective of Panhĩ cosmology, they are important components to be transformed into a process of acquiring knowledge and learning. Let it be that in this process, the Panhĩ receive instruction regarding daily social formation. Because of this process, the Panhĩ receive their own education, where they have access to their history, social organization, culture, and mother tongue.

I couldn't find a photograph that clearly represented my grandmother, but I reproduced it from a photograph from 1997, so there is only this hand-drawn record. But we can appreciate it. During the period when she was still singing. My grandmother is one of the greatest singers among the Panhĩ. Most of her daughters, as far as I know, know how to express the *mēm̃ỹr* and some *mēm̃ỹr maati* and they all sing the *mẽ õkrepõx*. The daughters continue to develop the knowledge that my grandmother knew of great importance. That is why my grandmother kept saying that she could be responsible for continuing with this perspective of musicality and history. I am only now understanding this whole situation.



My grandmother Júlia Grehô, reproduced by me on April 30, 2004, from the 1997 photograph, with her songs being recorded by some researcher. (From the author's personal archive.)

